THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD, IN FIVE BOOKS.

THE FIRST,
Intreating of the Beginning and first Ages of the same, from the Creation unto ABRAHAM.

THE SECOND,
Of the Times from the Birth of ABRAHAM to the destruction of the Temple of SOLOMON.

THE THIRD,
From the destruction of JERUSALEM to the time of PHILIP of MACEDON.

THE FOURTH,
From the Reign of PHILIP of MACEDON, to the establishing of that Kingdom in the Race of ANTIGONUS.

THE FIFTH,
From the settled Rule of ALEXANDER's Successours in the East, until the ROMANS (prevailing over all) made Conquest of ASIA and MACEDON.

By Sir WALTER RALEGH, Knight.

Whereunto is added in this EDITION, the LIFE and TRYAL of the AUTHOR.

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The PREFACE.

HOw unfit, and how unworthy a choice I have made of my ſelf, to undertake a Work of this mixture; mine own reaſon, though exceeding weak, hath ſufficiently reſolved me. For had it been begotten then, with my firſt dawn of day, when the light of common knowledge began to open it ſelf to my younger years; and before any wound received, either from Fortune or Time: I might yet well have doubted, that the darkneſs of Age and Death would have covered over both It and Me, long before the performance. For, beginning with the Creation, I have proceeded with the Hiſtory of the World; and laſtly, purpoſed (ſome few ſallies excepted) to confine my Diſcourſe, with this our renowned Iſland of *Great Britain*. I confeſs that it had better ſorted with my diſability, the better part of whoſe times are run out in other travels, to have ſet together (as I could) the unjointed and ſcattered frame of our *Engliſh* affairs, than of the Univerſal: in whom, had there been no other defect (who am all defect) than the time of the day, it were enough; the day of a tempeſtuous life, drawn on to the very evening ere I began. But thoſe inmoſt and ſoul-piercing wounds, which are ever aking while uncured, with the deſire to ſatisfie thoſe few friends, which I have tried by the fire of Adverſity; the former enforcing, the latter perſwading; have cauſed me to make my thoughts legible, and my ſelf the ſubject of every Opinion, wiſe or weak.

To the World I preſent them, to which I am nothing indebted: neither have others that were (Fortune changing) ſped much better in any Age. For Proſperity and Adverſity have evermore tyed and untyed vulgar affections. And as we ſee it in Experience, That Dogs do alwayes bark at thoſe they know not, and that it is their nature to accompany one another in thoſe clamours: ſo it is with the inconſiderate multitude; who, wanting that Vertue which we call Honeſty in all men, and that eſpecial gift of GOD, which we call Charity in Chriſtian men; condemn without hearing, and wound without offence given: led thereunto by uncertain Report only; which *His Majeſty* truly acknowledgeth for the Author of all lies. *Blame no man* (ſaith Siracides) *before thou have enquired the matter: underſtand firſt, and then reform righteouſly.* Rumor, res ſine Teſte, ſine Judice, maligna, fallax; *Rumour is without witneſs, without Judge, malicious, and deceivable.* This vanity of vulgar opinion it was, that gave S. *Auguſtine* Argument to affirm, That he feared the praiſe of good men, and deteſted that of the evil. And herein no man hath given a better Rule, than this of *Seneca*; *Conſcientiæ ſatisfaciamus: nihil in famam laboremus, ſequatur vel mala, dum bene merearis*; *Let us ſatisfie our own Conſciences, and not trouble our ſelves with fame; be it never ſo ill, it is to be deſpiſed, ſo we deſerve well.*

Dæmonolog. l. 3. c. 3.
Eccleſ. 11. 7.
Laudari à bonis timeo, & amari à malis deteſtor.
Sen. de irâ, l. 3. c. 22.

For my ſelf, if I have in any thing ſerved my Countrey, and priſed it before my private: the general acceptation can yield me no other profit at this time, than doth a fair Sun-ſhine day to a Sea man after Shipwrack; and the contrary no other harm, than an outragious tempeſt after the Port attained. I know that I loſt the love of many, for my fidelity towards Her whom I muſt ſtill honour in the duſt; though further than the defence of Her excellent Perſon, I never perſecuted any man. Of thoſe that did it, and by what device they did it, He that is the Supreme Judge of all the World, hath taken the accompt: ſo as for this kind of ſuffering, I muſt ſay with *Seneca*, *Mala opinio, bene parta, delectat.*

As for other men; if there be any that have made themſelves Fathers of that fame, which hath been begotten for them; I can neither envy at ſuch their purchaſed glory, nor much lament mine own miſhap in that kind; but content my ſelf to ſay with *Virgil*, *Sic vos non vobis*, in many particulars. To labour other ſatisfaction, were an effect of phrenzie, not of hope, ſeeing it is not Truth, but Opinion, that can travel the World without a Paſs-port. For were it otherwiſe; and were there not as many internal forms of the mind, as there are external figures of men; there were then ſome poſſibility to perſwade by the mouth of one Advocate, even Equity alone.

But such is the multiplying, and extensive vertue of dead Earth, and of that breath-giving life which God hath cast upon slime and dust, as that among those that were, of whom we read and hear; and among those that are, whom we see and converse with; every one hath received a several Picture of face, and every one a divers Picture of mind; every one a form apart, every one a fancy and cogitation differing: there being nothing wherein Nature so much triumpheth, as in dissimilitude. From whence it cometh, that there is found so great diversity of Opinions; so strong a contrariety of inclinations: so many natural and unnatural; wise, fooliſh, manly, and childish affections and passions in mortal men. For it is not the visible fashion and shape of Plants, and of reasonable Creatures, that makes the difference of working in the one, and of condition in the other; but the form internal.

And though it pleased God to reserve the Art of reading mens thoughts to himself; yet, as the fruit tells the name of the Tree; so do the outward works of men (so far as their cogitations are acted) give us whereof to guess at the rest. Nay, it were not hard to express the one by the other, very near the life, did not craft in many, fear in the most, and the Worlds love in all, teach every capacity, according to the compass it hath, to qualifie and mask over their inward deformities for a time. Though it be also true, *Nemo potest diu personam ferre fictam: cito in naturam suam redeunt, quibus veritas non subest: No man can long continue masked in a counterfeit behaviour; the things that are forced for pretences, having no ground of truth, cannot long dissemble their own natures.* Neither can any man (saith *Plutarch*) so change himself, but that his heart may be sometimes seen at his tongues end.

In this great discord, and dissimilitude of reasonable Creatures, if we direct our selves to the Multitude; *Omnis honestæ rei malus Judex est vulgus: The common People are evil Judges of honest things*, and *whose Wisdom* (saith Ecclesiastes) *is to be despised*: if to the better sort; every understanding hath a peculiar judgement, by which it both censureth other men, and valueth it self. And therefore unto me it will not seem strange, though I find these my worthless Papers torn with Rats; seeing the slothful Censurers of all Ages have not spared to tax the Reverend Fathers of the Church, with Ambition: the severest men to themselves, with Hypocrisie; the greatest lovers of Justice, with Popularity; and those of the truest Valour and Fortitude, with Vain-glory. But of these natures, which lye in wait to find fault, and to turn good into evil, seeing *Solomon* complained long since; and that the very Age of the World renders it every day after other more malicious; I must leave the Professors to their easie ways of reprehension, than which there is nothing of more facility.

Eccles. cap. 12. Nihil facilius quàm reprehendere alium.

To me it belongs in the first part of this Preface, following the common and approved custome of those, who have left the memories of Time-past to after-Ages; to give, as near as I can, the same right to History which they have done. Yet, seeing therein I should but borrow other mens words; I will not trouble the Reader with the repetition. True it is, that among many other benefits, for which it hath been honoured; in this one it triumpheth over all humane knowledge, that it hath given us life in our understanding, since the World it self had life and beginning, even to this day; yea, it hath triumphed over time, which, besides it, nothing but eternity hath triumphed over: for it hath carried our knowledge over the vast and devouring space of many thousands of years, and given so fair and piercing eyes to our mind; that we plainly behold living now (as if we had lived then) that great world, *Magni Dei sapiens opus, The wise work* (saith *Hermes*) *of a great God*, as it was then, when but new to it self. By it (I say) it is, that we live in the very time when it was created: we behold how it was governed; how it was covered with waters, and again re-peopled; how Kings and Kingdoms have flourished and fallen, and for what vertue and piety God made prosperous; and for what vice and deformity he made wretched, both the one and the other. And it is not the least debt we owe unto History, that it hath made us acquainted with our dead Ancestors; and, out of the depth and darkness of the earth, delivered us their memory and fame. In a word, we may gather out of History a policy no less wise than eternal; by the comparison and application of other mens fore-passed miseries with our own like errours and ill-deservings. But it is neither of Examples the most lively instruction, nor the words of the wisest men, nor the terrour of future torments, that hath yet so wrought in our blind and stupified minds, as to make us remember, That the Infinite Eye and Wisdom of God doth pierce thorow all our pretences, as to make us remember, That the Justice of God doth require none other accuser, than our own consciences; which neither the false beauty of our apparent actions, nor all the formality, which (to pacifie the Opinions of men) we put on; can in any, or the least kind, cover from his knowledge. And so much did that heathen Wisdom confess, no way as yet qualified by the knowledge of a true God: If any (saith *Euripides*) *having in his life committed wickedness, think he can hide it from the everlasting gods, he thinks not well.*

To repeat GOD'S Judgements in particular, upon those of all degrees, which have played with his Mercies, would require a Volume apart: for the *Sea* of Examples hath no bottom. The marks, set on private men, are with their bodies cast into the Earth; and their fortunes written only in the memories of those that lived with them: so as they who succeeded, and have not seen the fall

of

of others, do not fear their own faults. GODS Judgements upon the greater and greateſt have been left to Poſterity; firſt, by thoſe happy hands which the Holy Ghoſt hath guided; and ſecondly, by their vertue, who have gathered the acts and ends of Men mighty and remarkable in the World. Now, to point far off, and to ſpeak of the converſion of Angels into Devils, for Ambition: Or of the greateſt and moſt glorious Kings, who have gnawn the graſs of the earth with Beaſts for pride and ingratitude towards GOD: Or, of that wiſe working of *Pharaoh*, when he ſlew the Infants of *Iſrael*, ere they had recovered their Cradles: Or, of the policy of *Jezabel*, in covering the murther of *Naboth* by a trial of the *Elders*, according to the Law, with many thouſands of the like: what were it other, than to make an hopeleſs proof, that far-off Examples would not be left to the ſame far-off Reſpects, as heretofore? For who hath not obſerved, what labour, practice, peril, blood-ſhed, and cruelty, the Kings and Princes of the World have undergone, exerciſed, taken on them, and committed; to make themſelves and their Iſſues Maſters of the World? And yet hath *Babylon*, *Perſia*, *Egypt*, *Syria*, *Macedon*, *Carthage*, *Rome*, and the reſt, no fruit, no flower, graſs, nor leaf, ſpringing upon the face of the earth, of thoſe ſeeds: No, their very roots and ruines do hardly remain. *Omnia quæ manu hominum facta ſunt, vel manu hominum everteruntur, vel ſtando & durando deficiunt: All that the hand of man can make, is either overturned by the hand of man, or at length, by ſtanding and continuing conſumed.* The reaſons of whoſe ruines, are diverſly given by thoſe that ground their Opinions on ſecond cauſes. All Kingdoms and States have fallen (ſay the Politicians) by outward and foreign force, or by inward negligence and diſſention, or by a third cauſe ariſing from both. Others obſerve, That the greateſt have ſunk down under their own weight; of which *Livie* hath a touch: *eo crevit, ut magnitudine laboret ſua:* Others, That the divine Providence (which *Cratippus* objected to *Pompey*) hath ſet down the date and period of every Eſtate, before their firſt foundation and erection. But hereof I will give my ſelf a day over to reſolve.

For ſeeing the firſt Books of the following Story, have undertaken the Diſcourſe of the firſt Kings and Kingdoms: and that it is impoſſible for the ſhort life of a Preface to travel after, and overtake far-off Antiquity, and to judge of it; I will, for the preſent, examine what profit hath been gathered by our own Kings, and their Neighbour Princes; who having beheld, both in divine and humane letters, the ſucceſs of infidelity, injuſtice, and cruelty; have (notwithſtanding) planted after the ſame pattern.

True it is, that the judgements of all men are not agreeable; nor (which is more ſtrange) the affection of any one man ſtirred up alike with examples of like nature: But every one is touched moſt with that which moſt nearly ſeemeth to touch his own private; Or otherwiſe beſt ſuiteth with his apprehenſion. But the judgements of GOD are for ever unchangeable; neither is he wearied by the long proceſs of time, and won to give his bleſſing in one Age, to that which he hath curſed in another. Wherefore thoſe that are wiſe, or whoſe wiſdom, if it be not great, yet is true and well grounded; will be able to diſcern the bitter fruits of irreligious policy, as well among thoſe examples that are found in Ages removed far from the preſent, as in thoſe of later times. And that it may no leſs appear by evident proof, than by aſſeveration, That ill doing hath alwayes been attended with ill ſucceſs; I will here, by way of Preface, run over ſome examples, which the Work enſuing hath not reached.

Among our Kings of the *Norman Race*, we have no ſooner paſſed over the violence of the *Norman* Conqueſt, than we encounter with a ſingular and moſt remarkable example of Gods Juſtice, upon the children of *Henry* the Firſt. For that King, when by force, craft, and cruelty, he had diſpoſſeſt, over-reach'd, and laſtly made blind, and deſtroyed his elder Brother, *Robert*, Duke of *Normandy*, to make his own Sons Lords of the Land; GOD caſt them all, Male and Female, Nephews and Neeces (*Maud* excepted) into the bottom of the *Sea*, with above an hundred and fifty others that attended them; whereof a great many were Noble, and of the Kings dearly beloved.

To paſs over the reſt, till we come to *Edward* the Second; it is certain, that after the murther of that King, the iſſue of blood then made, though it had ſome times of ſtay and ſtopping, did again break out, and that ſo often, and in ſuch abundance, as all our Princes of the Maſculine Race (very few excepted) died of the ſame diſeaſe. And although the young years of *Edward* the Third, made his knowledge of that horrible fact no more than ſuſpicious; yet, in that he afterwards cauſed his own Uncle, the Earl of *Kent*, to die, for no other offence, than the deſire of his Brothers redemption, whom the Earl as then ſuppoſed to be living; the King making that to be Treaſon in his Uncle, which was indeed Treaſon in himſelf, (had his Uncles intelligence been true) this, I ſay, made it manifeſt, that he was not ignorant of what had paſt, nor greatly deſirous to have had it otherwiſe; though he cauſed *Mortimer* to die for the ſame.

This cruelty, the ſecret and unſearchable Judgement of GOD, revenged on the Grandchild of *Edward* the Third; and ſo it fell out, even to the laſt of that Line, that in the ſecond or third deſcent, they were all buried under the ruines of thoſe buildings, of which the Mortar had been tempered with innocent blood. For *Richard* the Second, who ſaw both his *Treaſurers*, his *Chancellor*, and his *Steward*, with divers others of his Counſellors, ſome of them ſlaughtered by the

people, others in his abſence executed by his enemies; yet he alwayes took himſelf for over-wiſe, to be taught by examples. The Earls of *Huntington* and *Kent*, *Montagu* and *Spencer*, who thought themſelves as great Politicians in thoſe days, as others have done in theſe; hoping to pleaſe the King, and to ſecure themſelves by the murther of *Glouceſter*; died ſoon after, with many other their adherents, by the like violent hands; and far more ſhameſully than did that Duke. And as for the King himſelf (who, in regard of many deeds, unworthy of his Greatneſs, cannot be excuſed, as the diſavowing himſelf by breach of Faith, Charters, Pardons and Patents:) He was in the prime of his youth depoſed, and murthered by his Couſin-German and Vaſſal, *Henry* of *Lancaſter*, afterwards *Henry* the Fourth.

This King, whoſe Title was weak, and his obtaining the Crown trayterous; who brake faith with the Lords at his landing, proteſting to intend only the recovery of his proper inheritance, brake faith with *Richard* himſelf, and brake faith with all the Kingdom in Parliament, to whom he ſwore, that the depoſed King ſhould live. After he had enjoyed this Realm ſome few years, and in that time had been ſet upon on all ſides by his Subjects, and never free from Conſpiracies and Rebellions: he ſaw (if Souls immortal ſee and diſcern any things after the Bodies Death) his Grand-child *Henry* the Sixth, and his Son the Prince, ſuddenly, and without mercy, murthered; the poſſeſſion of the Crown (for which he had cauſed ſo much blood to be poured out) transferred from his Race, and by the Iſſues of his enemies worn and enjoy'd; enemies, whom, by his own practice, he ſuppoſed that he had left no leſs powerleſs, than the ſucceſſion of the Kingdom queſtionleſs, by entailing the ſame upon his own Iſſues by Parliament. And, out of doubt, humane reaſon could have judged no otherwiſe, but that theſe cautious proviſions of the Father, ſeconded by the valour and ſignal victories of his Son *Henry* the Fifth, had buried the hopes of every Competitor, under the deſpair of all re-conqueſt and recovery. I ſay, that humane reaſon might ſo have judged, were not this paſſage of *Caſaubon* alſo true; *Dies, hora, momentum, evertendis dominationibus ſufficit, quæ Adamantinis credebantur radicibus eſſe fundatæ; A day, an hour, a moment, is enough to overturn the things that ſeem to have been founded and rooted in Adamant.*

Now, for *Henry* the Sixth, upon whom the greateſt ſtorm of his Grand-father's grievous faults fell, as it formerly had done upon *Richard*, the Grand-child of *Edward*; although he was generally eſteemed for a gentle and innocent Prince, yet, as he refuſed the Daughter of *Armaignac*, of the Houſe of *Navarre*, the greateſt of the Princes of *France*, to whom he was affianced (by which match he might have defended his inheritance in *France*) and married the Daughter of *Anjou* (by which he loſt all that he had in *France*) ſo in condeſcending to the unworthy death of his Uncle of *Glouceſter*, the main and ſtrong Pillar of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*; He drew on himſelf and his Kingdom the greateſt joint-loſs and diſhonour, that ever it ſuſtained ſince the *Norman* Conqueſt. Of whom it may truly be ſaid, which a Counſellor of his own ſpake of *Henry* the Third of *France*, *Qu'il eſtoit une fort gentile Prince; mais ſon reigne eſt advenu en une fort mauvois temps: That he was a very gentle Prince; but his Reign happened in a very unfortunate Seaſon.*

It is true, that *Buckingham* and *Suffolk* were the practicers and contrivers of the Duke's death: *Buckingham* and *Suffolk*, becauſe the Duke gave inſtructions to their authority, which otherwiſe under the Queen had been abſolute; the Queen, in reſpect of her perſonal wound, *ſpretæque injuria formæ*, becauſe *Glouceſter* diſſwaded her marriage. But the fruit was anſwerable to the ſeed; the ſucceſs to the counſel. For after the cutting down of *Glouceſter*, *York* grew up ſo faſt, as he dared to diſpute his Right, both by arguments and arms; in which quarrel, *Suffolk* and *Buckingham*, with the greateſt number of their adherents, were diſſolved. And although for his breach of Oath by Sacrament, it pleaſed God to ſtrike down *York*; yet his Son the Earl of *March*, following the plain path which his Father had troden out, deſpoiled *Henry* the Father, and *Edward* the Son, both of their lives and Kingdom. And what was the end now of that politick *Lady* the *Queen*, other than this, That ſhe lived to behold the wretched ends of all her partakers; that ſhe lived to look on, while her Husband the King, and her only Son the Prince, were hewen in ſunder; while the Crown was ſet on his head that did it? She lived to ſee her ſelf deſpoiled of her eſtate, and of her moveables: and laſtly, her Father, by rendring up the Crown of *France*, the Earldom of *Provence*, and other places, for the payment of 50000 crowns for her Ranſome, to become a ſtark Beggar. And this was the end of that ſubtilty, which *Siracides* calleth *ſine*, but *unrighteous*: for other fruit hath it never yielded ſince the World was. *Sirac.* 19.

And now it came to *Edward* the Fourth's turn (though after many difficulties) to triumph. For all the Plants of *Lancaſter* were rooted up, one only Earl of *Richmond* excepted; whom alſo he had once bought of the Duke of *Britain*, but could not hold him. And yet was not this of *Edward* ſuch a Plantation, as could any way promiſe it ſelf ſtability. For this *Edward* the King (to omit more than many of his other cruelties) beheld and allowed the ſlaughter which *Glouceſter*, *Dorſet*, *Haſtings*, and others, made of *Edward* the Prince in his own preſence; of which tragical Actors, there was not one that eſcaped the Judgement of GOD in the ſame kind. And he, which (beſides the execution of his Brother *Clarence*, for none other offence than he himſelf had formed in his own imagination) inſtructed *Glouceſter* to kill *Henry* the Sixth, his Predeceſſor; taught him alſo, by the ſame art, to kill his own Sons and Succeſſors, *Edward* and *Richard*. *For,*

thoſe

thoſe Kings which have ſold the blood of others at a low rate; have but made the Market for their own enemies, to buy of theirs at the ſame price.

To *Edward* the *Fourth*, ſucceeded *Richard* the Third, the greateſt Maſter in miſchief of all that fore-went him; who, although, for the neceſſity of his Tragedy, he had more parts to play, and more to perform in his own Perſon, than all the reſt; yet he ſo well fitted every affection that plaid with him, as if each of them had but acted his own intereſt. For he wrought ſo cunningly upon the affections of *Haſtings* and *Buckingham*, enemies to the Queen, and to all her Kindred, as he eaſily allured them to condeſcend, that *Rivers* and *Grey*, the Kings Maternal Uncle and half Brother, ſhould (for the firſt) be ſevered from him: Secondly, he wrought their conſent to have them impriſoned: And laſtly (for the avoiding of future inconvenience) to have their Heads ſevered from their *Bodies*. And having now brought thoſe his chief inſtruments to exerciſe that common Precept which the Devil hath written upon every Poſt, namely, To depreſs thoſe whom they had grieved, and to deſtroy thoſe whom they had depreſſed; He urged that Argument ſo far, and ſo forcibly; as nothing but the death of the young King himſelf, and of his Brother, could faſhion the concluſion. For he cauſed it to be hammered into *Buckingham*'s head, That, whenſoever the King, or his Brother, ſhould have able years to exerciſe their power, they would take a moſt ſevere revenge of that cureleſs wrong offered to their Uncle and Brother, *Rivers* and *Grey*. *Scelera ſceleribus tuenda.* Sen. de Clem.

But this was not his manner of reaſoning with *Haſtings*, whoſe fidelity to his Maſters Sons was without ſuſpect; and yet the Devil, who never diſſwades by impoſſibility, taught him to try him. And ſo he did. But, when he found by *Catesby*, who ſounded him, that he was not fordable, he firſt reſolved to kill him ſitting in Council; wherein having failed with his Sword, he ſet the Hangman upon him, with a weapon of more weight. And, becauſe nothing elſe could move his appetite, he cauſed his head to be ſtricken off, before he eat his Dinner. A greater Judgement of God, than this upon *Haſtings*, I have never obſerved in any Story. For, the ſelf-ſame day that the Earl *Rivers*, *Grey*, and others, were (without trial of Law, or offence given) by *Haſtings* advice, executed at *Pomfret*; I ſay, *Haſtings* himſelf, in the ſame day, and (as I take it) in the ſame hour, in the ſame lawleſs manner, had his Head ſtruck off in the Tower of *London*. But *Buckingham* lived a while longer; and with an eloquent Oration perſwaded the *Londoners* to elect *Richard* for their King. And having received the Earldom of *Hereford* for reward, beſides the hope of marrying his Daughter to the Kings only Son; after many grievous vexations of mind, and unfortunate attempts, being in the end betrayed and delivered up by his truſtieſt ſervant; he had his Head ſevered from his Body at *Salisbury*, without the trouble of any of his Peers. And what ſucceſs had *Richard* himſelf after all theſe miſchiefs and murthers, policies, and counter-policies to Chriſtian Religion; and after ſuch time as with a mercileſs hand he had preſſed out the breath of his Nephews and Natural Lords, other than the proſperity of ſo ſhort a life, as it took end, ere himſelf could well look over and diſcern it? the great out-cry of innocent blood obtained at GOD'S hand the effuſion of his; who became a ſpectacle of ſhame and diſhonour, both to his friends and enemies.

This cruel King, *Henry* the Seventh cut off; and was therein (no doubt) the immediate inſtrument of Gods Juſtice. A politick Prince he was, if ever there were any, who by the engine of his wiſdom, beat down and overturned as many ſtrong oppoſitions, both before and after he wore the Crown, as ever King of *England* did; I ſay, by his wiſdom, becauſe, as he ever left the reins of his affections in the hands of his profit, ſo he alwayes weighed his undertakings by his abilities, leaving nothing more to hazzard than ſo much as cannot be denied it in all humane actions. He had well obſerved the proceedings of *Loys* the Eleventh, whom he followed in all was royal, or royal-like; but he was far more juſt, and begun not their proceſſes whom he hated or feared by the execution, as *Loys* did.

He could never endure any mediation in rewarding his ſervants, and therein exceeding wiſe; for whatſoever himſelf gave, he himſelf received back the thanks and the love, knowing it well, that the affections of men (purchaſed by nothing ſo readily as by benefits) were trains that better became great Kings, than great Subjects. On the contrary, in whatſoever he grieved his Subjects, he wiſely put it off on thoſe that he found fit miniſters for ſuch actions. Howſoever, the taking off of *Stanlies* Head, who ſet the Crown on his, and the death of the young Earl of *Warwick*, Son to *George* Duke of *Clarence*, ſhews, as the ſucceſs alſo did, that he held ſomewhat of the errours of his Anceſtors; for his poſſeſſion in the firſt Line ended in his Grand-child, as that of *Edward* the Third, and *Henry* the Fourth had done.

Now, for King *Henry* the Eighth, if all the Pictures and Patterns of a mercileſs Prince were loſt in the World, they might all again be painted to the life, out of the Story of this King. For, how many ſervants did he advance in haſte (but for what vertue no man could ſuſpect) and with the change of his fancy ruined again; no man knowing for what offence? To how many others, of more deſert, gave he abundant flowers from whence to gather Honey, and in the end of Harveſt burnt them in the Hive? How many Wives did he cut off, and caſt off, as his fancy and affection changed? How many Princes of the blood (whereof ſome of them for age, could hardly crawl towards the block) with a world of others of all degrees (of whom our common Chroni-

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cles have kept the accompt) did he execute? yea, in his very death-bed, and when he was at the point to give his accompt to GOD for the abundance of blood already ſpilt, he impriſoned the Duke of *Norfolk* the Father; and executed the Earl of *Surry* the ſon; the one, whoſe deſerving he knew not how to value, having never omitted any thing that concerned his own honour, and the Kings ſervice; the other never having committed any thing worthy of his leaſt diſpleaſure; the one exceeding valiant and adviſed; the other no leſs valiant than learned, and of excellent hope. But beſides the ſorrows, which he heaped upon the Fatherleſs and Widows, at home; and beſides the vain enterpriſes abroad, wherein it is thought that he conſumed more treaſure, than all our victorious Kings did in their ſeveral Conqueſts; what cauſleſs and cruel wars did he make upon his own Nephew King *James* the Fifth? What Laws and Wills did he deviſe to eſtabliſh this Kingdom in his own iſſues? uſing his ſharpeſt weapons to cut off, and cut down thoſe Branches, which ſprang from the ſame root that himſelf did. And in the end (notwithſtanding theſe his ſo many irreligious proviſions) it pleaſed God to take away all his own, without increaſe; though, for themſelves in their ſeveral kinds, all Princes of eminent vertue. For theſe words of *Samuel* to *Agag* King of the *Amalekites*, have been verified upon many others: *As thy Sword hath made other women childleſs, ſo ſhall thy mother be childleſs among other women.* And that blood which the ſame King *Henry* affirmed, that the cold air of *Scotland* had frozen up in the North, God hath diffuſed by the Sun-ſhine of his grace; from whence his *Majeſty* now living, and long to live, is deſcended. Of whom I may ſay it truly, That if all the malice of the World were inſuſed into one eye; yet could it not diſcern in his life, even to this day, any one of thoſe foul ſpots, by which the conſciences of all the fore-named Princes (in effect) have been defiled; nor any drop of that innocent blood on the Sword of his Juſtice, with which the moſt that fore-went him have ſtained both their hands and fame. And for this Crown of *England*, it may truly be avowed; that he hath received it even from the Hand of God, and hath ſtaied the time of putting it on, howſoever he were provoked to haſten it: That he never took revenge of any man that ſought to put him beſide it; That he refuſed the aſſiſtance of Her enemies, that wore it long, with as great glory as ever Princeſs did: That *His Majeſty* entred not by breach, nor by blood; but by the Ordinary Gate, which his own right ſet open; and into which, by a general love and obedience He was received. And howſoever *His Majeſty*'s preceding title to this Kingdom, was preferred by many Princes (witneſs the Treaty at *Cambray* in the year 1559.) yet he never pleaſed to diſpute it, during the life of that renowned *Lady* his Predeceſſor; no, notwithſtanding the injury of not being declared Heir, in all the time of her long Reign.

Neither ought we to forget, or neglect our thankfulneſs to God for the uniting of the Northern parts of *Britanny* to the South, to wit, of *Scotland* to *England*, which though they were ſevered, but by ſmall brooks and banks, yet, by reaſon of the long continued War, and the cruelties exerciſed upon each other, in the affection of the Nations, they were infinitely ſevered. This, I ſay, it is not the leaſt of God's bleſſings which *His Majeſty* hath brought with unto this Land; No, put all our petty grieviances together, and heap them up to the height, they will appear as a Mole-Hill, compared with the Mountain of this concord. And if all the Hiſtorians ſince then have acknowledged the uniting of the *Red-Roſe* and the *White*, for the greateſt happineſs (Chriſtian Religion excepted) that ever this Kingdom received from God, certainly, the peace between the two Lions of *Gold* and *Gules*, and the making them one, doth by many degrees exceed the former; for by it, beſides the ſparing of our *Britiſh* Blood, heretofore, and during the difference, ſo often and abundantly ſhed, the ſtate of *England* is more aſſured, the Kingdom more enabled to recover her antient honour and rights, and by it made more invincible, than by all our former alliances, practices, policies, and conqueſts. It is true, that hereof we do not yet find the effect. But had the Duke of *Parma*, in the year 1588. joyned the Army which he commanded, with that of *Spain*, and landed it on the South-coaſt; and had *His Majeſty* at the ſame time declared himſelf againſt us in the North, it is eaſie to divine what had become of the Liberty of *England*: certainly, we would then, without murmur, have brought this Union a far greater praiſe than it hath ſince coſt us. It is true, that there was never any Common-weal, or Kingdom in the World, wherein no man had cauſe to lament. Kings live in the World, and not above it. They are not infinite, to examine every man's cauſe, or to relieve every man's wants. And yet, in the later (though to his own prejudice) *His Majeſty* hath had more compaſſion of other mens neceſſities, than of his own Coffers. Of whom it may be ſaid, as of *Solomon*, *Dedit Deus* Solomoni *latitudinem cordis*; Which, if other men do not underſtand with *Pineda*, to be meant by *Liberality*, but by *Latitude of knowledge*; yet may it be better ſpoken of *His Majeſty*, than of any King that ever *England* had; who, as well in divine, as in humane underſtanding hath exceeded all that fore-went him, by many degrees.

Fin. comment in Sol. 1. K. 4.

I could ſay much more of the *Kings Majeſty*, without flattery: did I not fear the imputation of preſumption, and withal ſuſpect, that it might befall theſe Papers of mine (though the loſs were little) as it did the Pictures of Queen *Elizabeth*, made by unskilful and common Painters, which,

which, by her own commandment were knock'd in pieces, and caſt into the fire. For ill *Artiſts*, in ſetting out the Beauty of the external; and weak Writers, in deſcribing the Vertues of the internal; do often leave to Poſterity, of well formed faces, a deformed memory; and of the moſt Perfect and Princely minds, a moſt defective Repreſentation. It may ſuffice, and there needs no other diſcourſe; if the honeſt *Reader* but compare the cruel and turbulent paſſages of our former Kings, and of other their Neighbour-Princes (of whom, for that purpoſe I have inſerted this brief Diſcourſe) with *His Majeſties* temperate, revengeleſs, and liberal diſpoſition; I ſay, that if the honeſt *Reader* weigh them juſtly, and with an even hand; and withall, but beſtow every deformed child on his true Parent; He ſhall find, that there is no man that hath ſo juſt a cauſe to complain, as the King himſelf hath. Now, as we have told the ſucceſs of the trumperies, and cruelties of our own Kings, and other great Perſonages; ſo we find, that GOD is every where the ſame God. And, as it pleaſed him to puniſh the uſurpation and unnatural cruelty of *Henry* the Firſt, and of our Third *Edward*, in their Children for many Generations: ſo dealt he with the Sons of *Loys Debonaire*, the Son of *Charles* the Great, or *Charlemain*. For after ſuch time as *Debonaire* of *France* had torn out the eyes of *Bernard* his Nephew, the Son of *Pepin*, the eldeſt Son of *Charlemaine*, and Heir of the Empire, and then cauſed him to die in Priſon, as did our *Henry* to *Robert* his elder Brother; there followed nothing but murthers upon murthers, poiſoning, impriſonments, and civil War; till the whole Race of that famous Emperour was extinguiſhed. And though *Debonaire*, after he had rid himſelf of his Nephew by a violent death, and of his baſtard Brothers by a civil death (having incloſed them with ſure guard all the days of their lives, within a Monaſtery) held himſelf ſecure from all oppoſition; yet God raiſed up againſt him (which he ſuſpected not) his own Sons, to vex him, to invade him, to take him priſoner, and to depoſe him; his own Sons, with whom (to ſatisfie their ambition) he had ſhared his eſtate, and given them Crowns to wear, and Kingdoms to govern, during his own life. Yea, his eldeſt Son *Lothaire* (for he had four, three by his firſt Wife, and one by his ſecond; to wit, *Lothaire*, *Pepin*, *Loys*, and *Charles*) made it the cauſe of his depoſition, that he had uſed violence towards his Brothers and Kinſmen; and that he had ſuffered his Nephew (whom he might have delivered) to be ſlain. *Eo quod*, ſaith the Text, *fratribus & propinquis violentiam intulerit, & nepotem ſuum, quem ipſe liberare poterat, interfici permiſerit; Becauſe he uſed violence to his Brothers and Kinſmen, and ſuffered his Nephew to be ſlain, whom he might have delivered.* *Step. Paſquier recher. l. 5. c. 1.*

Yet did he that which few Kings do; namely, repent him of his cruelty. For, among many other things which he performed in the General Aſſembly of the States, it follows: *Poſt hæc autem palam ſe erraſſe confeſſus, & imitatus Imperatoris* Theodoſii *exemplum, pœnitentiam ſpontaneam ſuſcepit, tam de his, quam quæ in* Bernardum *proprium nepotem geſſerat: After this, he did openly confeſs himſelf to have erred, and following the Example of the Emperour* Theodoſius, *he underwent voluntary penance, as well for his other offences, as for that which he had done againſt* Bernard *his own Nephew.* *Paſq. Ibidem.*

This he did, and it was praiſe-worthy. *But the blood that is unjuſtly ſpilt, is not again gathered up from the ground by repentance. Theſe Medicines, miniſtred to the dead, have but dead rewards.*

The King, as I have ſaid, had four Sons. To *Lothaire* his eldeſt, he gave the Kingdom of *Italy*, as *Charlemaine* his Father had done to *Pepin*, the Father of *Bernard*, who was to ſucceed him in the Empire. To *Pepin*, the ſecond Son, he gave the Kingdom of *Aquitaine*; to *Loys*, the Kingdom of *Bavier*; and to *Charles*, whom he had by a ſecond Wife, called *Judith*, the remainder of the Kingdom of *France*. But his ſecond Wife, being a mother-in-law to the reſt, perſwaded *Debonaire*, to caſt his Son *Pepin* out of *Aquitaine*; thereby to greaten *Charles*, which, after the death of his Son *Pepin*, he proſecuted to effect againſt his Grand-child bearing the ſame name. In the mean while, being invaded by his Son *Loys* of *Bavier*, he dies for grief.

Debonaire dead, *Loys* of *Bavier*, and *Charles*, afterward called the *Bald*, and their Nephew *Pepin* of *Aquitaine*, joyn in league againſt the Emperour *Lothaire* their eldeſt Brother. They fight near to *Auxerre*, the moſt bloody battel that ever was ſtrucken in *France*; in which, the marvellous loſs of Nobility, and men of War, gave courage to the *Saracens* to invade *Italy*; to the *Hunns* to fall upon *Almaine*; and the *Danes* to enter upon *Normandy*. *Charles* the *Bald* by Treaſon ſeizeth upon his Nephew *Pepin*, kills him in a Cloyſter; *Carloman* rebels againſt his Father, *Charles* the *Bald*, the Father burns out the eyes of his Son *Carloman*; *Bavier* invades the Emperour *Lothaire*, his Brother, *Lothaire* quits the Empire, he is aſſailed and wounded to the heart by his own conſcience, for his Rebellion againſt his Father, and for his other cruelties, and dies in a Monaſtery. *Charles* the *Bald* the Uncle, oppreſſeth his Nephews, the Sons of *Lothaire*, he uſurpeth the Empire, to the prejudice of *Loys* of *Bavier*, his elder Brother; *Baviers* Armies, and his Son *Carloman*, are beaten, he dies of grief, and the Uſurper *Charles* is poiſoned by *Zedechias* a *Jew*, his Phyſician, his Son *Loys le Beque* dies of the ſame drink. *Beque* had *Charles* the *ſimple*, and two Baſtards, *Loys* and *Carloman*; they rebel againſt their Brother, but the eldeſt breaks his neck, the younger is ſlain by a wild Boar; the Son of *Bavier* had the ſame ill deſtiny, and brake his neck by a fall out of a Window in ſporting with his companions. *Charles* the *groſs* becomes Lord of all that the Sons of *Debonaire* held in *Germany*; wherewith not contented, he

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invades *Charles* the *ſimple*: but being forſaken of his Nobility, of his Wife, and of his Underſtanding; he dyes a diſtracted Beggar. *Charles* the *ſimple* is held in Wardſhip by *Eudes*, *Major* of the Palace, then by *Robert*, the Brother of *Eudes*; and laſtly, being taken by the Earl of *Vermandois*, he is forced to dye in the priſon of *Peron*. *Loys* the Son of *Charles* the *ſimple* breaks his neck in chaſing a Wolf; and of the two Sons of this *Loys*, the one dyes of poiſon, the other dyes in the Priſon of *Orleans*; after whom, *Hugh Capet*, of another Race, and a ſtranger to the *French*, makes himſelf King.

Theſe miſerable ends had the Iſſues of *Debonaire*; who after he had once apparelled Injuſtice with authority, his Sons and Succeſſors took up the faſhion, and wore that Garment ſo long without other proviſion, as when the ſame was torn from their ſhoulders, every man deſpiſed them as miſerable and naked Beggars. The wretched ſucceſs they had (ſaith a Learned *Frenchman*) ſhews, *Que en ceſte mort il y avoit plus du fait des hommes que de Dieu, ou de la juſtice; That in the death of that Prince; to wit, of* Bernard *the Son of* Pepin *the true Heir of* Charlemain, *men had more meddling, than God or Juſtice had.*

But to come nearer home; it is certain that *Francis* the Firſt, one of the Worthieſt Kings (except for that Fact) that ever the *French-men* had, did never enjoy himſelf, after he had commended the deſtruction of the Proteſtants of *Mirandol*, and *Cabrieres*, to the Parliament of *Provence*, which poor people were thereupon burnt and murthered; men, women, and children. It is true that the ſaid King *Francis* repented himſelf of the fact, and gave charge to *Henry* his Son, to do Juſtice upon the murtherers, threatning his Son with GODS Judgements, if he neglected it. But this unſeaſonable care of his, God was not pleaſed to accept for payment. For after *Henry* was ſlain in ſport by *Montgomery*, we all may remember what became of his four Sons, *Francis*, *Charles*, *Henry*, and *Hercules*. Of which, although three of them became Kings, and were married to beautiful and vertuous Ladies; yet were they, one after another, caſt out of the World, without Stock or Seed. And notwithſtanding their ſubtilty, and breach of Faith; with all their Maſſacres upon thoſe of the Religion, and great effuſion of blood, the Crown was ſet on his Head, whom they all laboured to diſſolve; the Proteſtants remain more in number than ever they were, and hold to this day more ſtrong Cities than ever they had.

Let us now ſee if God be not the ſame God in *Spain* as in *England* and *France*. Towards whom we will look no further back than to *Don Pedro* of *Caſtile*; in reſpect of which Prince, all the Tyrants of *Sicily*, our *Richard* the Third, and the great *Evan Vaſilowick* of *Muſcovia*, were but petty ones: this *Caſtilian*, of all the Chriſtian and Heathen Kings, having been the moſt mercileſs. For, beſides thoſe of his own Blood and Nobility, which he had cauſed to be ſlain in his own Court and Chamber, as *Sancho Ruis*; the great Maſter of *Calatrava*, *Ruis*, *Gonſales*, *Alphonſo Tello*, and *Don John* of *Arragon*, whom he cut in pieces, and caſt into the ſtreets, denying him Chriſtian burial: I ſay, beſides theſe, and the ſlaughter of *Gomes Mauriques*, *Diego Peres*, *Alphonſo Gomes*, and the great Commander of *Caſtile*; he made away the two Infants of *Arragon* his Couſin-Germans, his Brother *Don Frederick*, *Don John de la Cerde*, *Albuquergues*, *Nugnes de Guzman*, *Cornel*, *Cabrera*, *Tenorio*, *Mendes de Toledo*, *Guttiere* his Great Treaſurer, and all his Kindred; and a world of others. Neither did he ſpare his two youngeſt Brothers, innocent Princes, whom after he had kept in cloſe Priſon from their Cradles, till one of them had lived ſixteen years, and the other fourteen; he murthered them there. Nay, he ſpared not his Mother, nor his Wife the Lady *Blanch* of *Bourbon*. Laſtly, as he cauſed the Arch-biſhop of *Toledo*, and the Dean to be killed, of purpoſe to enjoy their Treaſures; ſo did he put to death *Mahomet Aben Alhamar*, King of *Barbary*, with thirty ſeven of his Nobility, that came unto him for ſuccour, with a great ſumm of Money, to levy (by his favour) ſome Companies of Souldiers to return withal. Yea, he would needs aſſiſt the Hangman with his own hand, in the execution of the old King; in ſo much as Pope *Urban* declareth him an enemy both to God and Man. But what was his end? Having been formerly beaten out of his Kingdom, and re-eſtabliſhed by the valour of the *Engliſh Nation*, led by the famous Duke of *Lancaſter*: He was ſtabbed to death by his younger Brother, the Earl of *Aſtramara*, who diſpoſſeſſed all his Children of their Inheritance, which, but for their Fathers injuſtice and cruelty, had never been in danger of any ſuch thing.

Hiſt. of Spain.

If we can parallel any man with this King, it muſt be Duke *John* of *Burgoign*, who after his traiterous murther of the Duke of *Orleans*, cauſed the Conſtable of *Armagnac*, the Chancellor of *France*, the Biſhops of *Conſtance*, *Bayeux*, *Eureux*, *Senlis*, *Saintes*, and other religious and reverend Church-men, the Earl of *gran Pre*, *Hector* of *Chartes*, and (in effect) all the Officers of Juſtice of the Chamber of Accompts, Treaſury, Requeſts (with ſixteen others to accompany them) to be ſuddenly and violently ſlain. Hereby, while he hoped to govern, and to have maſtered *France*; He was ſoon after ſtrucken with an Ax in the face, in the preſence of the *Daulphin*; and without any leiſure to repent his miſ-deeds, preſently ſlain. *Theſe were the lovers of other mens miſeries: and miſeries found them out.*

French invent. in anno 1418.

Now, for the Kings of *Spain*, which lived both with *Henry* the Seventh, *Henry* the Eighth, Queen *Mary*, and Queen *Elizabeth*; *Ferdinand* of *Arragon*, was the firſt, and the firſt that laid the foundation of the preſent *Auſtrian* greatneſs. For this King did not content himſelf to hold *Arra-*

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gon by the usurpation of his Ancestor; and to fasten thereunto the Kingdom of *Castile* and *Leon*, which *Isabel* his Wife held by strong hand, and his assistance, from her own Niece, the Daughter of the last *Henry*; but most cruelly and craftily, without all colour or pretence of right, he also cast his own Neece out of the Kingdom of *Navarre*; and, contrary to Faith, and the Promise he made to restore it, fortified the best places, and so wasted the rest, as there was no means left for any Army to invade it. This King, I say, that betrayed also *Ferdinand* and *Frederick*, Kings of *Naples*, Princes of his own Blood, and by double alliance tyed unto him; sold them to the *French*; and with the same Army, sent for their succour under *Gonsalvo*, cast them out; and shared their Kingdom with the *French*, whom afterwards he most shamefully betrayed.

This wise and politick King, who sold Heaven and his own Honour, to make his Son the Prince of *Spain*, the greatest Monarch of the World; saw him dye in the flower of his years; and his Wife great with child, with her untimely birth, at once and together buried. His eldest Daughter married unto *Don Alphonso* Prince of *Portugal*, beheld her first Husband break his neck in her presence; and being with child by her second, dyed with it. A just Judgement of God upon the Race of *Alphonso*, now wholly extinguished; who had not only left many disconsolate Mothers in *Portugal*, by the slaughter of their children; but had formerly slain with his own hand, the Son and only comfort of his Aunt the Lady *Beatrix*, Dutchess of *Viseo*. The second Daughter of *Ferdinand*, married to the Arch-Duke *Philip*, turned fool, and dyed mad, and deprived. His third Daughter, bestowed on King *Henry* the Eighth, he saw cast off by the King; the Mother of many troubles in *England*; and the Mother of a Daughter, that in her unhappy zeal, shed a world of innocent blood; lost *Calice* to the *French*; and dyed heart-broken without increase. To conclude, all those Kingdoms of *Ferdinand* have Masters of a new name; and by a strange Family are governed and possess'd.

Charles the Fifth, Son to the Arch-Duke *Philip*, in whose vain enterprises upon the *French*, upon the *Almans* and other Princes and States, so many multitudes of Christian Souldiers, and renowned Captains were consumed; who gave the while a most perillous entrance to the *Turks*, and suffered *Rhodes*, the Key of *Christendom*, to be taken; was in conclusion chased out of *France*, and, in a sort, out of *Germany*; and left to the *French*, *Mentz*, *Toule*, and *Verdun*, places belonging to the Empire, stole away from *Inspurg*: and scaled the *Alpes* by torch-light, pursued by Duke *Maurice*; having hoped to swallow up all those Dominions; wherein he concocted nothing, save his own disgraces. And having after the slaughter of so many Millions of men, no one foot of ground in either, He crept into a Cloyster, and made himself a Pensioner of an hundred thousand Duckets by the year, to his Son *Philip*, from whom he very slowly received his mean and ordinary maintenance. *Nether. hist. l. 7. fol. 313.*

His Son again, King *Philip* the Second, not satisfied to hold *Holland* and *Zealand*, (wrested by his Ancestors from *Jaqueline*, their lawful Princess) and to possess in peace many other Provinces of the *Netherlands*; perswaded by that mischievous *Cardinal* of *Granvile*, and other *Romish* Tyrants; not only forgot the most remarkable services, done to his Father the Emperour, by the Nobility of those Countreys, not only forgot the Present made him upon his entry of forty Millions of *Florens*, called the *Novaile aid*; nor only forgot that he had twice most solemnly sworn to the General States, to maintain and preserve their antient Rights, Priviledges, and Customs, which they had enjoyed under their thirty and five Earls before him, Conditional Princes of those Provinces: but beginning first to constrain them, and enthral them by the *Spanish Inquisition*, and then to impoverish them by many new devised and intolerable Impositions, he lastly, by strong hand and main force, attempted to make himself not only an absolute *Monarch* over them, like unto the Kings and Soveraigns of *England* and *France*; but *Turk-like*, to tread under his feet all their Natural and Fundamental Laws, Priviledges, and antient Rights. To effect which, after he had easily obtained from the *Pope* a dispensation of his former Oaths (which Dispensation was the true cause of the War and Bloodshed since then;) and after he had tryed what he could perform, by dividing of their own Nobility, under the Government of his base Sister *Margaret* of *Austria*, and the *Cardinal Granvile*; He employed that most mercileſs *Spaniard*, *Don Ferdinand Alvarez* of *Toledo*, Duke of *Alva*, followed with a powerful Army of strange Nations; by whom he first slaughtered that renowned Captain, the Earl of *Egmont*, Prince of *Gavare*; and *Philip Montmorency* Earl of *Horn*; made away *Montigue*, and the Marques of *Bergues*, and cut off in those six years (that *Alva* Governed) of Gentlemen and others, eighteen thousand and six hundred, by the hands of the Hangman, besides all his other barbarous murthers and massacres. By whose ministery, when he could not yet bring his affairs to their wished ends, having it in his hope to work that by subtilty which he had failed to perform by force, He sent for Governour, his bastard Brother, *Don John* of *Austria*, a Prince of great hope, and very gracious to those people. But he using the same Papal advantage that his Predecessors had done, makes no scruple to take Oath upon the holy Evangelists, to observe the Treaty made with the General States; and to discharge the *Low-Countreys* of all *Spaniards*, and other strangers therein garrisoned; Towards whose Pay and Pasport, the *Netherlands* strained themselves to make a payment of six hundred thousand pounds. Which Moneys received, he suddenly surprised the *Hist. of the Netherlands.*

Citadels of *Antwerp* and *Nemures*; not doubting (being unſuſpected by the States) to have poſſeſs'd himſelf of all the maſtering places of thoſe Provinces. For whatſoever he overtly pretended, he held in ſecret a contrary counſel with the Secretary *Eſcovedo*, *Rhodus*, *Barlemont*, and others, Miniſters of the *Spaniſh* Tyranny formerly practiſed, and now again intended. But let us now ſee the effect and end of this perjury, and of all other the Duke's cruelties. Firſt, for himſelf; after he had murthered ſo many of the Nobility; executed (as aforeſaid) eighteen thouſand ſix hundred in ſix years, and moſt cruelly ſlain Man, Woman, and Child in *Mecklin*, *Zutphen*, *Narden*, and other places; and after he had conſumed ſix and thirty Millions of Treaſure in ſix years, notwithſtanding his *Spaniſh* vaunt, That he would ſuffocate the *Hollanders* in their own Butter-barrels, and Milk-tubs; He departed the Countrey no otherwiſe accompanied, than with the curſe and deteſtation of the whole Nation; leaving *His Majeſties* Affairs in a ten-fold worſe eſtate than he found them at his firſt arrival. For *Don John*, whoſe haughty conceit of himſelf overcame the greateſt difficulties: though his judgement were over-weak to manage the leaſt: What wonders did his fearful breach of faith bring forth, other than the King his Brothers jealouſie and diſtruſt, with the untimely death that ſeized on him, even in the flower of his youth? And for *Eſcovedo* his ſharp-witted Secretary, who in his own imagination had conquered for his Maſter, both *England* and the *Netherlands*; being ſent into *Spain* upon ſome new project, he was at his firſt arrival, and before any acceſs to the King, by certain Ruffians, appointed by *Anthony Peres* (though by better warrant than his) rudely murthered in his own lodging. Laſtly, if we conſider the King of Spain's carriage, his counſel and ſucceſs in this buſineſs, there is nothing left to the memory of Man more remarkable. For he hath paid above an hundred Millions, and the lives of above four hundred thouſand Chriſtians, for the loſs of all thoſe Countreys, which for beauty, gave place to none; and for revenue, did equal his *Weſt-Indies*; for the loſs of a Nation which moſt willingly obeyed him; and who, at this day, after forty years War, are, in deſpight of all his forces, become a free Eſtate, and far more rich and powerful than they were, when he firſt began to impoveriſh and oppreſs them.

Oh! by what plots, by what for-ſwearings, betrayings, oppreſſions, impriſonments, tortures, poiſonings, and under what reaſons of State, and politick ſubtilty, have theſe fore-named Kings, both ſtrangers, and of our own Nation, pulled the vengeance of GOD upon themſelves, upon theirs, and upon their prudent Miniſters! and in the end have brought thoſe things to paſs for their enemies, and ſeen an effect ſo directly contrary to all their own counſels and cruelties; as the one could never have hoped for themſelves; and the other never have ſucceeded: if no ſuch oppoſition had ever been made. GOD hath ſaid, and performed it ever: *Perdam ſapientiam ſapientum*; *I will deſtroy the wiſdom of the wiſe.*

But what of all this? and to what end do we lay before the eyes of the living, the fall and fortunes of the dead; ſeeing the world is the ſame that it hath been; and the children of the preſent time, will ſtill obey their Parents? It is in the preſent time, that all the wits of the World are exerciſed. To hold the times we have, we hold all things lawful; and either we hope to hold them for ever; or at leaſt we hope, that there is nothing after them to be hoped for. For, as we are content to forget our own experience, and to counterfeit the ignorance of our own knowledge, in all things that concern our ſelves; or perſwade our ſelves, that GOD hath given us Letters Patents to purſue all our irreligious affections, with a *Non obſtante*; ſo we neither look behind us what hath been, nor before us what ſhall be. It is true, that the quantity which we have, is of the body: we are by it joyned to the earth; we are compounded of earth; and we inhabit it. The Heavens are high, far off, and unſearchable; we have ſenſe and feeling of corporal things; and of eternal grace, but by revelation. No marvel then that our thoughts are alſo earthly; and it is leſs to be wondred at, that the words of worthleſs men cannot cleanſe them; ſeeing their doctrine and inſtruction, whoſe underſtanding the Holy Ghoſt vouchſafed to inhabit, have not performed it. For, as the Prophet *Eſay* cryed out long ago, *Lord, who hath believed our reports?* And out of doubt, as *Eſay* complained then for himſelf and others: ſo are they leſs believed, every day after other. For, although Religion, and the truth thereof, be in every mans mouth, yea, in the diſcourſe of every woman, who, for the greateſt number are but *Idols* of *Vanity*; what is it other than an univerſal diſſimulation? We profeſs that we know GOD, but by works we deny him. For Beatitude doth not conſiſt in the knowledge of divine things, but in a divine life; for the Devils know them better than men. *Beatitudo non eſt divinorum cognitio, ſed vita divina.* And certainly, there is nothing more to be admired, and more to be lamented, than the private contention, the paſſionate diſpute, the perſonal hatred, and the perpetual war, maſſacres, and murthers, for Religion among *Chriſtians*; the diſcourſe whereof hath ſo occupied the World, as it hath well near driven the practice thereof out of the World. Who would not ſoon reſolve, that took knowledge but of the religious diſputations among men, and not of their lives which diſpute, that there were no other thing in their deſires, than the purchaſe of Heaven; and that the World it ſelf were but uſed as it ought, and as an Inn, or place wherein to repoſe our ſelves in paſſing on towards our Celeſtial habitation? when on the contrary, beſides the Diſcourſe and outward profeſſion, the Soul hath nothing but hypocriſie. We are all (in effect) become

Paul to Titus, c. 1. v. 10.

become Comedians in Religion; and while we act in geſture and voice, divine vertues, in all the courſe of our lives, we renounce our Perſons, and the parts we play. For Charity, Juſtice, and Truth, have but their being *in terms*, like the Philoſophers *Materia prima*.

Neither is it that wiſdom, which *Solomon* defineth to be the *School-Miſtreſs of the Knowledge of God*, that hath valuation in the World; it is enough that we give it our good word: but the ſame which is altogether exerciſed in the ſervice of the World, as the gathering of riches chiefly, by which we purchaſe and obtain honour, with the many reſpects which attend it. Theſe indeed be the marks, which (when we have bent our conſciences to the higheſt) we all ſhoot at. For the obtaining whereof it is true, that the care is our own; the care our own in this life, the peril our own in the future; and yet, when we have gathered the greateſt abundance, we our ſelves enjoy no more thereof, than ſo much as belongs to one man. For the reſt, He that had the greateſt wiſdom, and the greateſt ability, that ever man had, hath told us, that this is the uſe: *When goods increaſe* (ſaith *Solomon*) *they alſo increaſe that eat them; and what good cometh to the Owners, but the beholding thereof with their eyes?* As for thoſe that devour the reſt, and follow us in fair weather; they again forſake us in the firſt tempeſt of misfortune, and ſteer away before the Sea and Wind; leaving us to the malice of our deſtinies. Of theſe, among a thouſand Examples, I will take but one out of Maſter *Dannet*, and uſe his own words: *Whileſt the Emperour* Charles *the Fifth, after the reſignation of his eſtates, ſtayed at* Uloſhing *for Wind, to carry him his laſt journey into* Spain; *He conferred on a time with* Seldius, *his Brother* Ferdinand's *Embaſſadour, till the deep of the night. And when* Seldius *ſhould depart; the Emperour calling for ſome of his ſervants, and no body anſwering him, (for thoſe that attended upon him, were ſome gone to their lodgings, and all the reſt aſleep) the Emperour took up the Candle himſelf, and went before* Seldius, *to light him down the Stairs; and ſo did, notwithſtanding all the reſiſtance that* Seldius *could make. And when he was come to the Stairs foot, he ſaid thus unto him;* Seldius, *remember this of* Charles *the Emperour, when he ſhall be dead and gone, That Him, whom thou haſt known in thy time environed with ſo many mighty Armies and Guards of Souldiers, thou haſt alſo ſeen alone, abandoned, and forſaken, yea, even of his own ſervants, &c. I acknowledge this change of Fortune to proceed from the mighty hand of God, which I will by no means go about to withſtand.* Eccleſ. 5. 10.

But you will ſay, that there are ſome things elſe, and of greater regard than the former. The firſt is, the reverend reſpect that is held of Great Men, and the Honour done unto them by all ſorts of people. And it is true indeed: provided, that an inward love for their Juſtice and Piety, accompany the outward worſhip given to their places and power; without which, what is the applauſe of the multitude, but as the out-cry of an Herd of *Animals*, who without the knowledg of any true cauſe, pleaſe themſelves with the noiſe they make? For, ſeeing it is a thing exceeding rare to diſtinguiſh Vertue and Fortune; the moſt impious (if proſperous) have ever been applauded; the moſt vertuous (if unproſperous) have ever been deſpiſed. For, as Fortunes man rides the Horſe, ſo Fortune her ſelf rides the Man. Who when he is deſcended, and on foot; the Man taken from his Beaſt, and Fortune from the Man; a baſe Groom beats the one, and a bitter contempt ſpurns at the other, with equal liberty.

The ſecond is, the greatning of our proſterity, and the contemplation of their glory whom we leave behind us. Certainly, of thoſe which conceive that their Souls departed take any comfort therein, it may truly be ſaid of them which *Lactantius* ſpake of certain Heathen Philoſophers; *Quod ſapientes ſunt in re ſtulta.* For, when our ſpirits immortal ſhall be once ſeparate from our mortal bodis, and diſpoſed by GOD; there remaineth in them no other joy of their poſterity which ſucceed, than there doth of pride in that ſtone, which ſleepeth in the Wall of a King's Palace, nor any other ſorrow for their poverty, than there doth of ſhame in that which beareth up a Beggars cottage. *Neſciunt mortui, etiam ſancti, quod agunt vivi, etiam eorum filii, quia animæ mortuorum rebus viventium non interſunt; The dead, though holy, know nothing of the living, no, not of their own children; for the Souls of thoſe departed, are not converſant with their affairs that remain.* And if we doubt of Saint *Auguſtine*, we cannot of *Job*; who tells us, *That we know not if our Sons ſhall be honourable; nither ſhall we underſtand concerning them, whether they ſhall be of low degree.* Which *Eccleſiaſtes* alſo confirmeth; *Man walketh in a ſhadow, an diſquieteth himſelf in vain; he heapeth up riches, and cannot tell who ſhall gather them. The living* (ſaith he) *know that they ſhall die, but the dead know nothing at all; for who can ſhew unto man, what ſhall be after him under the Son?* He therefore accounteth it among the reſt of worldly vanities, to labour and travel in the World; not knowing after death, whether a fool or a wiſe man ſhould enjoy the fruts thereof; *which made me* (ſaith he) *endeavour even to abhorr mine own labour.* And what can other men hope, whoſe bleſſed or ſorrowful eſtates after death, God hath reſerved? Mans knowledge lying but in his hope, ſeeing the Prophet *Eſay* confeſſeth of the Elect, That *Abraham is ignorant of us and* Iſrael *knows us not.* But hereof we are aſſured, that the long and dark night of death (of whoſe following day we ſhall never behold the dawn till his return that hath triumphed over it) ſhall cover us over till the world be no more; After which, and when we ſhall again

Lact. de falſa ſap. l. 3. c. 29.

S. Aug. de cura pro mort.

Job 14. 21. Pſal. 39. Eccleſ. 9. 5. & 1. 2.

Eſa. 63. 16.

again receive Organs glorified, and incorruptible, the ſeats of Angelical affections; in ſo great admiration ſhall the Souls of the bleſſed be exerciſed, as they cannot admit the mixture of any ſecond or leſs joy; nor any return of forgone and mortal affection towards Friends, Kindred, or Children. Of whom, whether we ſhall retain any particular knowledge, or in any ſort diſtinguiſh them, no man can aſſure us; and the wiſeſt men doubt. But on the contrary; If a divine life retain any of thoſe faculties, which the Soul exerciſed in a mortal body; we ſhall not at that time ſo divide the joyes of Heaven, as to caſt any part thereof on the memory of their felicities which remain in the World. No, be their eſtates greater than ever the World gave, we ſhall (by the difference known unto us) even deteſt their conſideration. And whatſoever comfort ſhall remain of all forepaſt, the ſame will conſiſt in the charity, which we exerciſed living: and in that Piety, Juſtice, and firm Faith, for which it pleaſed the Infinite Mercy of God to accept of us, and receive us. Shall we therefore value honour and riches at nothing? and neglect them, as unneceſſary and vain? Certainly, no. For that Infinite Wiſdom of God, which hath diſtinguiſhed his Angels by degrees; which hath given greater and leſs light and beauty to heavenly bodies; which hath made differences between Beaſts and Birds; created the Eagle and the Flie, the Cedar, and the Shrub; and among Stones, given the faireſt tincture to the Ruby, and quickeſt light to the Diamond; hath alſo ordained Kings, Dukes, or Leaders of the people; Magiſtrates, Judges, and other degrees among men. And, as Honour is left to Poſterity, for a mark and enſign of the vertue and underſtanding of their Anceſtors; ſo (ſeeing *Siracides* preferreth Death before Beggary; and, that Titles, without proportionable eſtates, fall under the miſerable ſuccour of other mens pity) I account it fooliſhneſs to condemn ſuch a care; Provided, that worldly goods be well gotten, and that we raiſe not our own buildings out of other mens ruines. For, as *Plato* doth firſt prefer the perfection of bodily health; ſecondly, the form and beauty; and thirdly, *Divitias nulla fraude quæſitas*: ſo *Jeremy* cries, *Wo unto them that erect their houſes by unrighteouſneſs, and their chambers without equity*; And *Eſay* the ſame, *Wo to thoſe that ſpoil, and were not ſpoiled.* And it was out of the true wiſdom of *Solomon*, that he commandeth us, *not to drink the Wine of violence; not to lye in wait for blood; and not to ſwallow them up alive, whoſe riches we covet; for ſuch are the wayes* (ſaith he) *of every one that is greedy of gain.*

Sirac. 40. *v.* 28.

Plat. de leg. 1. 2. 6. *& in Georgeo.*

Jer. 22. 13. Eſa. 33. Prov. 1. 18, 12. Prov. 23. 1, 2, 8, 9. & 25. 9. 8.

And, if we could afford our ſelves but ſo much leiſure, as to conſider, That he which hath moſt in this world, hath, in reſpect of the world, nothing in it; and that he which hath the longeſt time lent him to live in it, hath yet no proportion at all therein, ſetting it either by that which is paſt, when we were not, or by that time which is to come, in which we ſhall abide for ever; I ſay, if both, to wit, our proportion in the World, and our time in the World, differ not much from that which is nothing, it is not out of any excellency of underſtanding, that we ſo much prize the one, which hath (in effect) no being; and ſo much neglect the other, which hath no ending; coveting thoſe mortal things of the World, as if our Souls were therein immortal, and neglecting thoſe things which are immortal, as if our ſelves, after the World, were but mortal.

But let every man value his own wiſdom, as he pleaſeth. Let the rich man think all fools, that cannot equal his abundance; the Revenger eſteem all negligent, that have not troden down their oppoſites; the Politician all groſs, that cannot merchandize their faith: Yet, when we once come in ſight of the Port of death, to which all winds drive us, and when, by letting fall that fatal Anchor, which can never be weighed again, the navigation of this life takes end; Then it is, I ſay, that our own cogitations (thoſe ſad and ſevere cogitations, formerly beaten from us by our Health and Felicity) return again, and pay us to the uttermoſt for all the pleaſing paſſages of our lives paſt. It is then that we cry out to God for mercy; then, when our ſelves can no longer exerciſe cruelty to others; and it is only then, that we are ſtrucken through the Soul with this terrible Sentence, *That God will not be mocked.* For if, according to S. *Peter*, *The righteous ſcarcely be ſaved: and that* God *ſpared not his Angels*; where ſhall thoſe appear, who, having ſerved their appetites all their lives, preſume to think, that the ſevere Commandments of the All-powerful God were given but in ſport; and that the ſhort breath, which we draw when death preſſeth us, if we can but faſhion it to the ſound of *Mercy* (without any kind of ſatisfaction or amends) is ſufficient? *O quam multi*, ſaith a reverend Father, *cum hac ſpe ad æternos labores & bella deſcendunt!* I confeſs, that it is a great comfort to our friends, to have it ſaid, That we ended well; for we all deſire (as *Balaam* did) *to dye the death of the righteous.* But, what ſhall we call a diſ-eſteeming, an oppoſing, or (indeed) a mocking of God; if thoſe men do not oppoſe him, diſ-eſteem him, and mock him, that think it enough for God, to ask him forgiveneſs at leiſure, with the remainder and laſt drawing of a malicious breath? For, what do they otherwiſe, that dye this kind of well-dying, but ſay unto God, as followeth? We beſeech thee, O God, that all the falſhoods, forſwearings, and treacheries of our lives paſt, may be pleaſing unto thee; that thou wilt for our ſakes (that have had no leiſure to do any thing for thine) change thy nature (though impoſſible) and forget to be a juſt God; that thou wilt love injuries and oppreſſions, call ambition wiſdom, and charity fooliſhneſs. For I ſhall prejudice my Son (which I am reſolved not to do) if I make reſtitution; and confeſs my ſelf to have been unjuſt (which I am too proud to do)

Gal. 6. 7. 1 Pet. 4.

if

if I deliver the oppreſſed. Certainly, theſe wiſe worldlings have either found out a new God, or made One; and in all likelihood, ſuch a Leaden One, as *Lewis* the Eleventh ware on his Cap; which, when he had cauſed any that he feared or hated, to be killed, he would take it from his head, and kiſs it; beſeeching it to pardon him this one evil act more, and it ſhould be the laſt; which (as at other times) he did, when, by the practice of a *Cardinal*, and a falſified Sacrament, he cauſed the *Earl* of *Armagnac* to be ſtabbed to death; mockeries indeed, fit to be uſed towards a Leaden, but not towards the Ever-living, GOD. But of this compoſition are all devout lovers of the World, that they fear all that is dureleſs and ridiculous; they fear the plots and practices of their oppoſites, and their very whiſperings; they fear the Opinions of men, which beat but upon ſhadows; they flatter and forſake the proſperous and unproſperous, be they Friends or Kings; yea, they dive under water, like Ducks, at every pebble-ſtone, that is but thrown towards them by a powerful hand; and on the contrary, they ſhew an obſtinate and Giant-like valour againſt the terrible judgements of the All-powerful God; yea, they ſhew themſelves Gods againſt God, and Slaves towards men; towards men, whoſe bodies and conſciences are alike rotten.

Now, for the reſt; If we truly examine the difference of both conditions; to wit, of the rich and mighty, whom we call fortunate; and of the poor and oppreſſed, whom we accompt wretched; we ſhall find the happineſs of the one, and the miſerable eſtate of the other, ſo tied by God to the very inſtant, and both ſo ſubject to enterchange (witneſs the ſudden downfall of the greateſt Princes, and the ſpeedieſt upriſing of the meaneſt perſons) as the one hath nothing ſo certain, whereof to boaſt; nor the other ſo uncertain, whereof to bewail it ſelf. For, there is no man ſo aſſured of his honour, of his riches, health, or life; but that he may be deprived of either, or all, the very next hour, or day to come. *Quid veſper vehat, incertum eſt; what the evening will bring with it, it is uncertain. And yet ye cannot tell* (ſaith *S.* James) *what ſhall be to morrow. To day he is ſet up, and to morrow he ſhall not be found; for he is turned into duſt, and his purpoſe periſheth.* And although the air which compaſſeth adverſity, be very obſcure; yet therein we better diſcern God, than in that ſhining light which environeth worldly glory; through which, for the clearneſs thereof, there is no vanity which eſcapeth our ſight. And let adverſity ſeem what it will; to happy men ridiculous, who make themſelves merry at other mens misfortunes; and to thoſe under the *croſs*, grievous: yet this is true, That for all that is paſt, to the very inſtant, the portions remaining are equal to either. For, be it that we have lived many years, *and* according to *Solomon*) *in them all we have rejoyced*; or be it that we have meaſured the ſame length of dayes, and therein have evermore ſorrowed; yet, looking back from our preſent being, we find both the one and the other; to wit, the joy and wo, ſailed out of ſight; and death, which doth purſue us, and hold us in chace, from our infancy, hath gathered it. *Quicquid ætatis retro eſt, mors tenet; whatſoever of our age is paſt, death holds it.* So, as whoſoever he be, to whom Fortune hath been a ſervant, and the Time a friend; let him but take the accompt of his memory (for we have no other keeper of our pleaſures paſt) and truly examine what he hath reſerved, either of Beauty and Youth, or fore-gone delights; what it hath ſaved, that it might laſt, of his deareſt affections, or of whatever elſe the amorous Spring-time gave his thoughts of contentment, then unvaluable; and he ſhall find that all the Art which his elder years have, can draw no other vapour out of theſe diſſolutions, than heavy, ſecret, and ſad ſighs. He ſhall find nothing remaining, but thoſe ſorrows, which grow up after our faſt-ſpringing youth, overtake it, when it is at a ſtand; and over-top it utterly, when it begins to wither; in ſo much as looking back from the very inſtant time, and from our now being, the poor, diſeaſed, and captive creature, hath as little ſenſe of all his former miſeries and pains, as he, that is moſt bleſſed in common Opinion, hath of his fore-paſſed pleaſure and delights. For whatſoever is caſt behind us, is juſt nothing; and what is to come, deceitful hope hath it: *Omnia quæ eventura ſunt, in incerto jacent.* Only thoſe few black Swans I muſt except; who, having had the grace to value worldly vanities at no more than their own price; do, by retaining the comfortable memory of a well-acted life, behold death without dread, and the grave without fear, and embrace both, as neceſſary guides to endleſs glory.

For my ſelf, this is my conſolation, and all that I can offer to others, that the ſorrows of this life are but of two ſorts; whereof the one hath reſpect to GOD; the other to the World. In the firſt, we complain to GOD againſt our ſelves, for our offences againſt him; and confeſs, *Et tu juſtus es in omnibus quæ venerunt ſuper nos; And thou, O Lord, art juſt in all that hath befallen us.* In the ſecond, we complain to our ſelves againſt GOD; as if he had done us wrong, either in not giving us worldly goods and honours, anſwering our appetites; or for taking them from us having had them; forgetting that humble and juſt acknowledgement of *Job*; *The Lord hath given, and the Lord hath taken.* To the firſt of which, S. *Paul* hath promiſed bleſſedneſs; to the ſecond, death. And out of doubt, he is either a fool, or ingrateful to GOD, or both, that doth not acknowledge, how mean ſoever his eſtate be, that the ſame is yet far greater, than that which God oweth him; or doth not acknowledge, how ſharp ſoever his afflictions be, that the ſame are yet far leſs, than thoſe which are due unto him. And if an Heathen wiſe man call the adverſities of the World but *tributa vivendi*; *the tributes of living*: a

wiſe

wiſe Chriſtian man ought to know them, and bear them as the tributes of offending. He ought to bear them man-like, and reſolvedly, and not as thoſe whining Souldiers do, *Qui gementes ſequuntur Imperatorem.*

For ſeeing God, who is the Author of all our Tragedies, hath written out for us, and appointed us all the parts we are to play; and hath not, in their diſtribution, been partial to the moſt mighty Princes of the World; That gave unto *Darius* the part of the greateſt Emperour, and the part of the moſt miſerable Beggar; a Beggar, begging Water of an Enemy to quench the great drought of death; That appointed *Bajazet* to play the *Grand Seignior* of the *Turks* in the morning, and in the ſame day, the *Footſtool* of *Tamerlane* (both which parts *Valerian* had alſo played, being taken by *Sapores*) that made *Belliſarius* play the moſt victorious Captain, and laſtly, the part of a blind Beggar; of which, examples of many thouſands may be produced: why ſhould other men, who are but as the leaſt Worms, complain of wrongs? Certainly, there is no other accompt to be made of this ridiculous World, than to reſolve, That the change of Fortune on the great Theatre, is but as the change of Garments on the leſs. For, when on the one and the other, every man wears but his own skin, the Players are all alike. Now, if any man out of weakneſs priſe the paſſages of this world otherwiſe (for, ſaith *Petrarch*, *Magni ingenii eſt revocare mentem à ſenſibus*) it is by reaſon of that unhappy fantaſie of ours, which forgeth in the brains of Man all the miſeries (the corporal excepted) whereunto he is ſubject. Therein it is, that Misfortune and Adverſity work all that they work. For, ſeeing Death, in the end of the Play, takes from all, whatſoever Fortune or Force takes from any one; it were a fooliſh madneſs in the ſhipwrack of worldly things, where all ſinks but the Sorrow, to ſave it. That were, as *Seneca* ſaith, *Fortunæ ſuccumbere, quod triſtius eſt omni fato*; *To fall under Fortune, of all other the moſt miſerable deſtiny.*

But it is now time to ſound a retreat, and to deſire to be excuſed of this long purſuit; and withall, that the good intent, which hath moved me to draw the Picture of time paſt (which we call *Hiſtory*) in ſo large a Table, may alſo be accepted in place of a better reaſon.

The examples of divine Providence, every where found (the firſt divine *Hiſtories* being nothing elſe but a continuation of ſuch examples) have perſwaded me to fetch my beginning from the beginning of all things; to wit, Creation. For, though theſe two glorious actions of the Almighty be ſo near, and (as it were) linked together, that the one neceſſarily implyeth the other; Creation inferring Providence (for what father forſaketh the child that he hath begotten?) and Providence preſuppoſing Creation; Yet many of thoſe that have ſeemed to excel in worldly wiſdom, have gone about to diſ-joyn this coherence; the *Epicure* denying both Creation and Providence, but granting that the World had a beginning; the *Ariſtotelian* granting Providence, but denying both the Creation and the Beginning.

Now, although this doctrine of Faith, touching the Creation in time (for, *by Faith, we underſtand that the World was made by the Word of God*) be too weighty a work for *Ariſtotle's* rotten ground to bear up, upon which he hath (notwithſtanding) founded the Defences and Fortreſſes of all his *Verbal* Doctrine; yet that the neceſſity of Infinite power, and the Worlds beginning, and the impoſſibility of the contrary, even in the judgement of Natural reaſon, wherein he believed, had not better informed him; it is greatly to be marvelled at. And it is no leſs ſtrange, that thoſe men which are deſirous of knowledge (ſeeing *Ariſtotle* hath failed in this main point; and taught little other than *terms* in the reſt) have ſo retrench'd their minds from the following and overtaking of Truth, and ſo abſolutely ſubjected themſelves to the law of thoſe Philoſophical Principles; as all contrary kind of teaching, in the ſearch of cauſes, they have condemned, either for phantaſtical, or curious. But doth it follow, that the Poſitions of Heathen Philoſophers are undoubtedly Grounds and Principles indeed, becauſe ſo called? Or, that *ipſi dixerunt*, doth make them to be ſuch? Certainly no. But this is true, That where natural reaſon hath built any thing ſo ſtrong againſt it ſelf, as the ſame reaſon can hardly aſſail it, much leſs batter it down: the ſame in every queſtion of Nature, and infinite power, may be approved for a fundamental Law of humane knowledge. For, ſaith *Charron*, in his Book of Wiſdom, *Tout propoſition humaine a autant d' authorite quel' autre, ſi la raiſon n' on fait la difference*; *Every humane propoſition hath equal authority, if reaſon make not a difference*: the reſt, being but the Fables of Principles. But hereof, how ſhall the upright and impartial judgement of man give a Sentence, where oppoſition and examination are not admitted to give in evidence? And, to this purpoſe, it was well ſaid of *Lactantius*, *Sapientiam ſibi adimunt, qui ſine ullo judicio inventa majorum probant, & ab aliis pecudum more ducuntur*; *They neglect their own wiſdom, who without any judgement approve the invention of thoſe that fore-went them; and ſuffer themſelves, after the manner of Beaſts, to be led by them.* By the advantage of which ſloth and dulneſs, ignorance is now become ſo powerful a Tyrant, as it hath ſet true Philoſophy, Phyſick and Divinity in a Pillory; and written over the firſt, *Contra negantem principia*; over the ſecond, *Virtus ſpecifica*; and over the third, *Eccleſia Romana.*

Charron de Sageſſe.

Lact. de orig. Erroris, l. 2. c. 8.

But for my ſelf, I ſhall never be perſwaded, that God hath ſhut up all the light of Learning within the Lanthorn of *Ariſtotle's* brains; or, that it was ever ſaid unto him, as unto *Eſdræ*,

Accendam

Accendam in corde tuo Lucernam intellectus; That God hath given invention but to the Heathen, and that they only invaded Nature, and found the ſtrength and bottom thereof; the ſame Nature having conſumed all her ſtore, and left nothing of price to after-ages. That theſe, and theſe, be the cauſes of theſe and theſe effects, Time hath taught us; and not Reaſon; and ſo hath Experience without Art. The Cheeſe-wife knoweth it as well as the Philoſopher, that ſowre Rennet doth coagulate her Milk into a Curd. But, if we ask a reaſon of this cauſe, why the ſowreneſs doth it? whereby it doth it? and the manner how? I think that there is nothing to be found in vulgar Philoſophy, to ſatisfie this, and many other like vulgar queſtions. But man, to cover his ignorance in the leaſt things, who cannot give a true reaſon for the Graſs under his feet, why it ſhould be green rather than red, or of any other colour; that could never yet diſcover the way and reaſon of Natures working, in thoſe which are far leſs noble Creatures than himſelf; who is far more noble than the Heavens themſelves: *Man* (ſaith *Solomon*) *that can hardly diſcern the things that are upon the Earth, and with great labour find out the things that are before us*; that hath ſo ſhort a time in the World, as he no ſooner begins to learn, than to dye; that hath in his memory but borrowed knowledge; in his underſtanding nothing truly; that is ignorant of the Eſſence of his own Soul, and which the wiſeſt of the Naturaliſts (if *Ariſtotle* be he) could never ſo much as define, but by the Action and Effect, telling us what it works (which all men know as well as he) but not what it is, which neither he, nor any elſe doth know, but GOD that created it (*For though I were perfect, yet I know not my Soul*, ſaith *Job.*) Man, I ſay, that is but an Idiot in the next cauſe of his own life, and in the cauſe of all actions of his life: will (notwithſtanding) examine the Art of GOD in creating the World; of GOD, who (ſaith *Job*) *is ſo excellent as we know him not*; and examine the beginning of the work, which had end before Mankind had a beginning of being. He will diſable God's power to make a World, without matter to make it of. He will rather give the Motes of the Air for a cauſe; caſt the work on neceſſity or chance; beſtow the honour thereof on Nature; make two powers, the one to be the Author of the *Matter*, the other of *Form*; and laſtly, for want of a work-man, have it Eternal; which latter Opinion *Ariſtotle*, to make himſelf the Author of a new Doctrine, brought into the World; and his Sectators have maintained it; *Parati ac conjurati, quos ſequantur Philoſophorum animis invictis opiniones tueri.* For *Hermes*, who lived at once with, or ſoon after *Moſes*, *Zoroaſter*, *Muſæus*, *Orpheus*, *Linus*, *Anaximenes*, *Anaxagoras*, *Empedocles*, *Meliſſus*, *Pherecydes*, *Thales*, *Cleanthes*, *Pythagoras*, *Plato*, and many others (whoſe Opinions are exquiſitely gathered by *Steuchius Eugubinus*) found in the neceſſity of invincible reaſon, *One Eternal and infinite Being*, to be the Parent of the Univerſal. *Horum omnium ſententia quamvis ſit incerta, eòdem tamen ſpectat, ut providentiam unam eſſe conſentiant: ſive enim Natura, ſive Æther, ſive Ratio, ſive Mens, ſive Fatalis Neceſſitas, ſive divina Lex, idem eſt quod à nobis dicitur Deus*; *All theſe mens Opinions* (ſaith Lactantius) *though uncertain, come to this*; *That they agree upon one Providence, whether the ſame be Nature, or Light, or Reaſon, or Underſtanding, or Deſtiny, or divine Ordinance, that it is the ſame which we call* GOD. Certainly, as all the Rivers in the World, though they have divers riſings, and divers runnings; though they ſometimes hide themſelves for a while under ground, and ſeem to be loſt in Sea-like Lakes; do at laſt find, and fall into, the great *Ocean*: ſo after all the ſearches that humane capacity hath; and after all Philoſophical contemplation and curioſity, in the neceſſity of this Infinite power, all the reaſon of Man ends and diſſolves it ſelf.

Wiſd. 1. 9.

Job 28.

Lact. 5.

As for others: and firſt touching thoſe which conceive the *matter* of the World to have been *eternal*, and, that God did not create the World, *ex nihilo*, but *ex materia præexiſtente*; the Suppoſition is ſo weak, as is hardly worth the anſwering. For (ſaith *Euſebius*) *Mihi videntur qui hoc dicunt, fortunam quoque Deo annectere*; *They ſeem unto me, which affirm this, to give part of the work to God, and part to Fortune*; inſomuch as if God had not found this *firſt matter* by chance, He had never been Author, nor Father, nor Creator, nor Lord of the Univerſal. For, were the *Matter* or *Chaos* eternal; it then follows, That either this ſuppoſed *Matter* did fit it ſelf to God, or God accommodate himſelf to the *matter*. For the firſt; it is impoſſible, that things without ſenſe could proportion themſelves to the Work-mans Will. For the ſecond; it were horrible to conceive of God, That as an Artificer he applyed himſelf, according to the proportion of *matter* which he lighted upon.

Euſeb. de præp. Evang. l. 7. c. 8.

But let it be ſuppoſed, That this *matter* hath been made by any Power, not Omnipotent, and infinitely wiſe; I would gladly learn how it came to paſs, that the ſame was proportionable to his intention, that was Omnipotent, and infinitely wiſe; and no more, nor no leſs, than ſerved to receive the form of the Univerſal. For, had it wanted any thing of what was ſufficient; then muſt it be granted, That God created *out of nothing* ſo much of new *matter*, as ſerved to finiſh the work of the World: Or, had there been more of this *matter* than ſufficed, then God did diſſolve and annihilate whatſoever remained and was ſuperfluous. And this muſt every reaſonable Soul confeſs, That it is the ſame work of God alone, to create any thing *out of nothing*, And by the ſame Art and Power, and by none other, can thoſe things, or any part of that eternal *matter*, be

again

again changed into Nothing; by which those things, that once were nothing, obtained a beginning of being.

Again, to say that this *matter* was the cause of it self; this, of all other, were the greatest Idiotism. For, if it were the cause of it self at any time; then there was also a time when it self was not; at which time of not being, it is easie enough to conceive, that it could neither procure it self, nor any thing else. For to be, and not to be, at once, is impossible. *Nihil autem seipsum præcedit, neque seipsum componit corpus*; *There is nothing that doth precede it self, neither do bodies compound themselves.*

For the rest, Those that feign this *matter* to be eternal, must of necessity confess, that Infinite cannot be separate from Eternity. And then had *infinite matter*, left no place for *infinite form*; but that the *first matter* was *finite*, the *form* which it received proves it. For conclusion of this part, whosoever will make choice, rather to believe in eternal deformity, or in eternal dead matter, than in eternal light, and eternal life; let eternal death be his reward. For, it is a madness of that kind, as wanteth terms to express it. For what reason of man (whom the curse of presumption hath not stupified) hath doubted, That infinite power (of which we can comprehend but a kind of shadow; *quia comprehensio est intra terminos, qui infinito repugnant*) hath any thing wanting in it self, either for *matter* or *form*; yea, for as many worlds (if such had been Gods will) as the *Sea* hath sands? For where the power is without limitation, the work hath no other limitation than the work-mans will. Yea, Reason it self finds it more easie for Infinite power, to deliver from it self a finite world, without the help of matter prepared; than for a finite man, a fool and dust, to change the form of matter made to his hands. They are *Dionysius* his words; *Deus in una existentia omnia præhabet*; and again, *Esse omnium est ipsa Divinitas, omne quod vides, & quod non vides*; to wit, *causaliter*, or in better terms, *non tanquam forma, sed tanquam causa universalis*. Neither hath the World Universal closed up all of GOD: *For the most part of his works* (*saith* Siracides) *are hid.* Neither can the depth of his Wisdom be opened by the glorious work of the World; which never brought to knowledge all it can; for then were his infinite power bounded, and made finite. And hereof it comes, That we seldom entitle GOD The *All shewing*, or The *All-willing*; but the *Almighty*, that is, infinitely able.

Cap. 16. *v.* 21.

But now for those, who from that ground, *That out of nothing, nothing is made*, inferr the Worlds eternity; and yet not so salvage therein, as those are, which give an eternal being to dead matter: It is true, if the word [*Nothing*] be taken in the affirmative; and the *making*, imposed upon Natural Agents and finite power; *That out of nothing, nothing is made.* But seeing their great Doctor, *Aristotle* himself confesseth, *Quod omnes Antiqui decreverunt quasi quoddam rerum principium, ipsumque infinitum: That all the Ancients decree a kind of beginning, and the same to be infinite*; and a little after, more largely, and plainly, *Principium ejus est nullum, sed ipsum omnium cernitur esse principium, ac omnia complecti ac regere*: it is strange, that this Philosopher, with his followers, should rather make choice out of falshood, to conclude falsly; than out of truth, to resolve truly. For, if we compare the World Universal, and all the unmeasurable Orbs of Heaven, and those marvellous bodies of the *Sun*, *Moon*, and *Stars*, with *ipsum Infinitum*, it may truly be said of them all, which himself affirms of his imaginary *Materia prima*, That they are neither *quid*, *quale*, nor *quantum*; and therefore to bring finite (which hath no proportion with infinite) out of infinite (*qui destruit omnem proportionem*) is no wonder in Gods power. And therefore, *Anaximander*, *Melissus*, and *Empedocles*, call the World Universal, but, *particulam Universitatis & infinitatis*; *a parcel of that which is the Universality, and the Infinity it self*: And *Plato*, but *a shadow* of God. But the other, *to prove* the Worlds eternity, urgeth this *Maxime*, That, *A sufficient and effectual cause being granted, an answerable effect thereof is also granted.* Inferring, that God being for ever a sufficient and effectual cause of the World, the effect of the cause should also have been for ever; to wit, the World universal. But what a strange mockery is this in so great a Master, to confess a sufficient and effectual cause of the World (to wit, an Almighty God) in his Antecedent; and the same God to be a God restrained in his Conclusion; to make God free in power, and bound in will; able to effect, unable to determine; able to make all things, and yet unable to make choice of the time when? For this were impiously to resolve of God, as of natural necessity; which hath neither choice, nor will, nor understanding; which cannot but work, matter being present: As Fire, to burn things combustible. Again, he thus disputeth, That every Agent which can work, and doth not work, if it afterwards work, it is either thereto moved by it self, or by somewhat else; and so it passeth from power to act: But God (*saith* he) is immovable, and is neither moved by himself, nor by any other; but being alwayes the same, doth alwayes work. Whence he concludeth, If the World were caused by God, that he was for ever the cause thereof; and therefore eternal. The answer to this is very easie; For that Gods performing in due time that, which he ever determined at length to perform, doth not argue any alteration or change, but rather constancy in him.

Steuc. Eug. l. 3. *c.* 9. *ex Aristot. Phys.* 3. 20.

For

For the ſame action of his will, which made the World for ever, did alſo with-hold the effect to the time ordained. To this anſwer, in it ſelf-ſufficient, others add further, that the Pattern or Image of the World may be ſaid to be eternal; which the *Platonicks* call *Spiritualem mundum*; and do in this ſort diſtinguiſh the *Idea* and *Creation in time*. *Spiritualis eſt mundus, mundi hujus exemplar, primumque Dei opus, vita æquali eſt Architecto, fuit ſemper cum illo, eritque ſemper. Mundus autem corporalis, quod ſecundum opus eſt Dei, decedit jam ab opifice ex parte una, quia non fuit ſemper: retinet alteram, quia ſit ſemper futurus:* That repreſentative, or *the intentional word* (ſay they) *the ſamplar of this viſible world, the firſt work of* GOD, *was equally antient with the Architect; for it was for ever with him, and ever ſhall be. This material world, the ſecond work or creature of* GOD, *doth differ from the Worker in this, that it was not from everlaſting; and in this it doth agree, that it ſhall be for ever to come*; The firſt point, That it was not for ever, all Chriſtians confeſs: The other they underſtand no otherwiſe, than that after the conſummation of this world, there ſhall be *a new Heaven, and a new Earth, without any new creation of matter.* But of theſe things we need not here ſtand to argue; though ſuch opinions be not unworthy the propounding, in this conſideration, of an eternal and unchangeable cauſe, producing a changeable and temporal effect; Touching which point, *Proclus* the *Platoniſt* diſputeth, That the compounded Eſſence of the World (and becauſe compounded, therefore diſſipable) is continued, and knit to the Divine Being, by an individual and inſeparable power, flowing from Divine unity; and that the Worlds natural appetite of God ſheweth, that the ſame proceedeth from a good and underſtanding divine; and that this vertue, by which the World is continued and knit together, muſt be infinite, that it may infinitely and everlaſtingly continue and preſerve the ſame. Which infinite Vertue, the finite World (ſaith he) is not capable of, but receiveth it from the divine infinite, according to the temporal Nature it hath, ſucceſſively every moment by little and little; even as the whole material World is not all together; but the aboliſhed parts are departed by ſmall degrees, and the parts yet to come, do by the ſame ſmall degrees ſucceed, as the ſhadow of a tree in a River, ſeemeth to have continued the ſame a long time in the Water, but it is perpetually renewed in the continual ebbing and flowing thereof.

Mar. Ficin. de immort. Animæ, l. 18. c. 1.

But to return to them, which denying that ever the World had any beginning, withall deny that ever it ſhall have any end, and to this purpoſe affirm, That it was never heard, never read, never ſeen, no, not by any reaſon perceived, that the Heavens have ever ſuffered corruption; or that they appear any way the older by continuance; or in any ſort otherwiſe than they were; which had they been ſubject to final corruption, ſome change would have been diſcerned in ſo long a time. To this it is anſwered, That the little change as yet perceived, doth rather prove their newneſs, and that they have not continued ſo long, than that they will continue for ever as they are. And if conjectural arguments may receive anſwer by conjectures; it then ſeemeth, that ſome alteration may be found. For either *Ariſtotle*, *Pliny*, *Strabo*, *Beda*, *Aquinas*, and others, were groſly miſtaken; or elſe thoſe parts of the World, lying within the burnt *Zone*, were not in elder times habitable, by reaſon of the *Sun*'s heat, neither were the *Seas* under the Equinoctial navigable. But we know by experience, that thoſe Regions ſo ſcituate, are filled with people, and exceeding temperate; and the *Sea*, over which we navigate, paſſable enough. We read alſo many Hiſtories of Deluges; and how that in the time of *Phaeton*, divers places in the World were burnt up, by the *Suns* violent heat.

Ariſt. Met. 2. Plin. l. 2. c. 8. Strab. l. 3. Beda de ratione tem. 11. c. 32. Thom. p. 1. q. 102. art. 2.

But in a word, this Obſervation is exceeding feeble. For we know it for certain, That Stone-walls, of matter moldring and friable, have ſtood two or three thouſand years; that many things have been digged up out of the Earth, of that depth, as ſuppoſed to have been buried by the general Flood; without any alteration, either of ſubſtance or figure; yea, it is believed, and it is very probable, that the Gold which is daily found in Mines and Rocks, under ground, was created together with the Earth.

And if bodies elementary, and compounded, the eldeſt times have not invaded and corrupted; what great alterations ſhould we look for in Celeſtial and Quinteſſential bodies? And yet we have reaſon to think, that the *Sun*, by whoſe help all creatures are generate, doth not in theſe latter Ages aſſiſt Nature, as heretofore. We have neither Giants, ſuch as the eldeſt World had, nor Mighty Men, ſuch as the elder World had; but all things in general are reputed of leſs vertue which from the Heavens receive vertue. Whence, if the nature of a Preface would permit a larger Diſcourſe, we might eaſily fetch ſtore of proof; as well that this World ſhall at length have end, as that once it had beginning.

And I ſee no good Anſwer that can be to this Objection: If the World were eternal; why not all things in the World eternal? If there were no *firſt*, no *Cauſe*, no *Father*, no *Creator*, no *incomprehenſible Wiſdom*, but that every *Nature* had been alike eternal; and Man more rational than every other *Nature*; Why had not the eternal reaſon of Man, provided for his eternal Being in the World? For, if all were equal, why not equal conditions to all? Why ſhould Heavenly bodies live for ever, and the bodies of Men rot and dye?

Again, who was it that appointed the Earth to keep the Centre, and gave order that it ſhould hang in the Air; that the *Sun* ſhould travel between the Tropicks, and never exceed thoſe bounds, nor fail to perform that Progreſs once in every year; the *Moon* to live by borrowed light; the fixed *Stars* (according to common opinion) to be faſtned like nails in a Cart-wheel; and the *Planets* to wander at their pleaſure? Or, if none of theſe had power over other; was it out of Charity and Love, that the *Sun* by his perpetual travel within thoſe two Circles, hath viſited, given light unto, and relieved all parts of the Earth, and the Creatures therein, by turns and times? Out of doubt, if the *Sun* have of his own accord kept this courſe in all eternity; He may juſtly be called eternal Charity, and everlaſting Love. The ſame may be ſaid of all the *Stars*, who being all of them moſt large and clear fountains of vertue and operation, may alſo be called eternal Vertues; the *Earth* may be called eternal Patience; the *Moon*, an eternal Borrower, and Beggar; and Man, of all other the moſt miſerable, eternally Mortal. And what were this, but to believe again in the old Play of the gods? Yea, in more gods by Millions, than ever *Heſiodus* dream'd of. But inſtead of this mad folly, we ſee it well enough with our feeble and mortal eyes: and the eyes of our reaſon diſcern it better; That the *Sun*, *Moon*, *Stars*, and the *Earth*, are limited, bounded, and conſtrained; themſelves they have not conſtrained, nor could. *Omne determinatum cauſam habet aliquam efficientem, quæ illud determinaverit*; *Every thing hath ſome efficient cauſe, by which it is bounded.*

Now, for *Nature*; As by the ambiguity of this name, the School of *Ariſtotle* hath both commended many errours unto us, and ſought alſo thereby to obſcure the glory of the high Moderator of all things, ſhining in the Creation, and in the governing of the World; ſo if the beſt definition be taken out of the ſecond of *Ariſtotle*'s *Phyſicks*, or *primo de Cælo*, or out of the fifth of his *Metaphyſicks*, I ſay, that the beſt is but nominal, and ſerving only to difference the beginning of Natural motion from Artificial: which yet the *Academicks* open better; when they call it, *A Seminary ſtrength, infuſed into matter by the Soul of the World*; who give the firſt place to *Providence*, the ſecond to *Fate*, and but the third to *Nature*. *Providentia* (by which they underſtand GOD) *Dux & Caput*; *Fatum*, *medium ex providentia prodiens*; *Natura poſtremum*. But be it what it will, or be it any of theſe (God excepted) or participating of all; yet that it hath choice or underſtanding (both which are neceſſarily in the cauſe of all things) no man hath avowed. For this is unanſwerable of *Lactantius*, *Is autem facit aliquid, qui aut voluntatem faciendi habet, aut ſcientiam*; *He only can be ſaid to be the doer of a thing, that hath either will or knowledge in the doing it.*

Ficin. de Plat. But the will and ſcience of Nature, are in theſe words truly expreſſed by *Ficinus*: *Poteſt ubique Natura, vel per diverſa media, vel ex diverſis materiis, diverſa facere; ſublata vero mediorum materiarumque diverſitate, vel unicum, vel ſimillimum operatur, neque poteſt quando adeſt materia non operari*; *It is the power of Nature by diverſity of means, or out of diverſity of matter, to produce divers things: but taking away the diverſity of means, and the diverſity of matter, it then works but one or the like work; neither can it but work, matter being preſent.* Now, if *Nature* made choice of diverſity of matter, to work all theſe variable works of Heaven and Earth, it had then both underſtanding and will; it had counſel to begin; reaſon to diſpoſe; vertue and knowledge to finiſh, and power to govern; without which, all things had been but one and the ſame; all of the matter of Heaven; or all of the matter of Earth. And, if we grant *Nature* this will, and this underſtanding, this counſel, this reaſon, and power; *Cur natura potius quam Deus nominetur?* Why ſhould we then call ſuch a cauſe rather Nature, than God? God, of whom all men have notion, and give the firſt and higheſt place to divine power: *Omnes homines notionem deorum habent, omneſque ſummum locum divino cuidam numini aſſignant.* And this I ſay, in ſhort, that it is a true effect of true reaſon in man (were there no authority more binding than reaſon) to acknowledge and adore the firſt and moſt ſublime power. *Vera Philoſophia, eſt aſcenſus ab his quæ fluunt, & oriuntur, & occidunt, ad ea quæ vere ſunt, & ſemper eadem: True Philoſophy is an aſcending from the things which flow, and riſe, and fall, to the things that are for ever the ſame.*

Lact. de ira Dei l. 1. c. 10.

Ariſt. l. 1. de Cælo. c. 3. T. 22.

For the reſt; I do alſo account it not the meaneſt, but an impiety, monſtrous, to confound God and Nature; be it but in terms. For it is God, that only diſpoſeth of all things according to his own will, and maketh of one Earth, *veſſels of honour and diſhonour*: It is Nature that can diſpoſe of nothing, but according to the will of the matter wherein it worketh. It is God that commandeth all; it is Nature that is obedient to all. It is God that doth good unto all, knowing and loving the good he doth. It is Nature that ſecondarily doth alſo good, but it neither knoweth, nor loveth the good it doth. It is God, that hath all things in himſelf; Nature nothing in it ſelf. It is God which is the Father, and hath begotten all things; it is Nature which is begotten by all things, in which it liveth and laboureth; for by it ſelf it exiſteth not. For, ſhall we ſay, that it is out of affection to the Earth, that heavy things fall

towards

towards it? Shall we call it Reason, which doth conduct every River into the salt Sea? Shall we term it knowledge in Fire, that makes it to consume combustible matter? If it be Affection, Reason, and Knowledge in these; by the same Affection, Reason, and Knowledge it is, that Nature worketh. And therefore, seeing all things work as they do (call it by *Form*, or *Nature*, or by what you please) yet, because they work by an impulsion, which they cannot resist; or by a faculty, infused by the supremest power; we are neither to wonder at, nor to worship, the faculty that worketh, nor the Creature wherein it worketh. But herein lies the wonder; and to him is the worship due, who hath created such a Nature in things, and such a faculty, as neither knowing it self, the matter wherein it worketh, nor the vertue and power which it hath; doth yet work all things to their last and uttermost perfections. And therefore every reasonable man, taking to himself for a ground that which is granted by all Antiquity, and by all men truly learned that ever the World had, to wit; That there is a power Infinite, and eternal (which also necessity doth prove unto us, without the help of Faith and Reason; without the force of Authority) all things do as easily follow which have been delivered by divine Letters, as the waters of a running River do successively pursue each other from the first fountains.

Thus much, I say, it is, that Reason it self hath taught us; and this is the beginning of knowledge. *Sapientia præcedit, Religio sequitur; quia prius est Deum scire, consequens colere*; Sapience goes before, Religion follows; because it is first to know God, and then to worship him. This Sapience, *Plato* calleth *absolati boni scientiam*, The Science of the absolute good: And another, *Scientiam rerum primarum, sempiternarum, perpetuarum*. For Faith (saith *Isidore*) is not extorted by violence; but by reason and examples perswaded: *Fides nequaquam vi extorquetur, sed ratione & exemplis suadetur*. I confess it, That to enquire further, as of the Essence of God, of his Power, of his Art, and by what mean he created the World; Or of his secret judgement, and the causes, is not an affect of Reason; *Sed cum ratione insaniunt*; but they grow mad with reason, that enquire after it: For, as it is no shame nor dishonour (saith a *French* Authour) *de faire arrest au but qu'on nascen surpasser*; For a man to rest himself there, where he finds it impossible to pass on further: so whatsoever is beyond, and out of the reach of true reason, it acknowledgeth it to be so; as understanding it self not to be infinite, but according to the Name and Nature it hath, to be a Teacher, that best knows the end of his own Art. For, seeing both Reason and Necessity teach us (Reason, which is *pars divini spiritus in corpus humunam mersi*) that the World was made by a Power infinite; and yet how it was made, it cannot teach us: and seeing the same Reason and Necessity make us know, that the same infinite Power is every where in the World; and yet how every where it cannot inform us: our belief hereof is not weakned, but greatly strengthned by our ignorance, because it is the same Reason that tells us, That such a Nature cannot be said to be God, that can be in all conceived by Man.

Lact. l. 4. c. 4. de vera sapientia.

Isaac de defin.

Quod est infinitum, & non secundum naturam terminatum, non continetur a scientia. Arist. poster.

I have been already over-long, to make any large Discourse, either of the parts of the following Story, or in mine own excuse; especially in the excuse of this or that passage; seeing the whole is exceeding weak and defective. Among the grossest, the unsuitable division of the Books, I could not know how to excuse, had I not been directed to enlarge the building after the foundation was laid, and the first Part finished. All men know, that there is no great Art in the dividing evenly of those things, which are subject to number and measure. For the rest, it suits well enough with a great many Books of this Age, which speak too much, and yet say little, *ipsi nobis furto subducimur*; We are stollen away from our selves, setting a high price on all that is our own. But hereof, though a late good Writer, make complaint, yet shall it not lay hold on me, because I believe as he doth; That who so thinks himself the wisest man, is but a poor and miserable Ignorant, Those that are the best men of War, against all the vanities and fooleries of the World, do alwayes keep the strongest guards against themselves, to defend them from their selves; from self-love, self-estimation, and self-opinion.

Generally, concerning the order of the Work, I have only taken counsel from the Argument. For of the *Assyrians*, which after the down-fall of *Babel* take up the first Part; and were the first great Kings of the World, there came little to the view of Posterity; some few enterprises, greater in Fame than Faith, of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*, excepted.

It was the Story of the *Hebrews*, of all before *Olympiads*, that overcame the consuming disease of Time, and preserved it self from the very Cradle and beginning to this day; and yet not so entire, but that the large Discourses thereof (to which, in many Scriptures, we are referred) are no where found. The Fragments of other Stories, with the Actions of those Kings and Princes which shot up here and there in the same Time, I am driven to relate by way of digression; of which we may say with *Virgil*:

Apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto ;
They appear here and there, floating in the great gulf of Time.

To the same first Ages do belong the report of many Inventions therein found, and from them derived to us ; though most of the Authors Names have perished in so long a Navigation. For those Ages had their Laws ; they had their diversity of Government ; they had Kingly rule ; Nobility ; Policy in War ; Navigation, and all, or the most of needful Trades. To speak therefore of these (seeing in a general History we should have left a great deal of Nakedness by their omission) it cannot properly be called a digression. True it is, that I have also made many others ; which, if they shall be laid to my charge, I must cast the fault into the great heap of humane errour. For, seeing we digress in the wayes of our lives ; yea, seeing the life of Man is nothing else but digression ; I may the better be excused, in writing their lives and actions. I am not altogether ignorant in the Laws of History, and of the kinds.

The same hath been taught by many, but by no man better, and with greater brevity, than by that excellent learned Gentleman, Sir *Francis Bacon*. Christian Laws are also taught us by the Prophets and Apostles ; and every day preach'd unto us. But we still make large digressions ; yea, the Teachers themselves do not (in all) keep the path which they point out to others.

For the rest, after such time as the *Persians* had wrested the Empire from the *Chaldæans*, and had raised a great Monarchy, producing actions of more importance than were elsewhere to be found : it was agreeable to the Order of Story, to attend this Empire ; whilest it so flourished, that the affairs of the Nations adjoyning had reference thereunto. The like observance was to be used towards the Fortunes of *Greece*, when they again began to get ground upon the *Persians* ; as also towards the affairs of *Rome*, when the *Romans* grew more mighty than the *Greeks*.

As for the *Medes*, the *Macedonians*, the *Sicilians*, the *Carthaginians*, and other *Nations*, who resisted the beginnings of the former Empire, and afterwards became but parts of their composition and enlargement : it seemed best to remember what was known of them from their several beginnings, in such times and places as they in their flourishing estates opposed those Monarchies, which in the end swallowed them up. And herein I have followed the best Geographers ; who seldom give names to these small Brooks, whereof many joyned together, make great Rivers ; till such time as they become united, and run in main stream to the Ocean *Sea*. If the Phrase be weak, and the Style not every where like it self ; the first shews their legitimation and true Parent ; the second will excuse it self upon the Variety of Matter. For *Virgil*, who wrote his *Eclogues*, *gracili avena*, used stronger pipes, when he sounded the wars of *Æneas*. It may also be laid to my charge, that I use divers *Hebrew* words in my first Book, and elsewhere, in which language others may think, and my self acknowledge it, that I am altogether ignorant ; but it is true, that some of them I find in *Montanus*, others in *Latine* Characters in *S. Senensis* ; and of the rest I have borrowed the interpretation of some of my friends. But say, I had been beholding to neither, yet were it not to be wondred at, having had an eleven years leisure to attain the knowledge of that, or of any other Tongue ; Howsoever, I know that it will be said by many, That I might have been more pleasing to the Reader, if I had written the Story of mine own Times, having been permitted to draw water as near the Well-head as another. To this I answer, That whosoever in writing a modern History, shall follow Truth too near the heels, it may haply strike out his Teeth. There is no Mistress or Guide that hath led her followers and servants into greater miseries. He that goes after her too far off, loseth her sight, and loseth himself ; and he that walks after her at a middle distance ; I know not whether I should call that kind of course, Temper, or Baseness. It is true, that I never travelled after mens Opinions, when I might have made the best use of them ; and I have now too few days remaining, to imitate those, that either out of extreme ambition, or extreme cowardise, or both, do yet (when Death hath them on his shoulders) flatter the World, between the Bed and the Grave. It is enough for me (being in that state I am) to write of the eldest Times ; wherein also, why may it not be said, that in speaking of the past, I point at the present, and tax the Vices of those that are yet living, in their persons that are long since dead ; and have it laid to my charge ? But this I cannot help, though innocent. And certainly, if there be any, that finding themselves spotted like the Tigers of old time, shall find find fault with me for painting them over anew, they shall therein accuse themselves justly, and me falsly.

For, I protest before the Majesty of God, that I malice no man under the Sun. Impossible I know it is, to please all ; seeing few or none are so pleased with themselves, or so assured of themselves, by reason of their subjection to their private passions, but that they seem divers persons in one and the same day. *Seneca* hath said it, and so do I : *Unus mihi pro populo erat* ; and to the same effect, *Epicurus*, *Hæc ego non multis, sed tibi* ; (or as it hath since lamentably fallen

fallen out) I may borrow the reſolution of an antient Philoſopher, *Satis eſt unus, Satis eſt nullus.* For it was for the ſervice of that ineſtimable Prince, *Henry*, the ſucceſſive hope, and one of the greateſt of the Chriſtian World, that I undertook this Work. It pleaſed him to peruſe ſome part thereof, and to pardon what was amiſs. It is now left to the World without a Maſter; from which, all that is preſented, hath received both blows and thanks: *Eadem probamus, eadem reprehendimus: hic exitus eſt omnis judicii, in quo lis ſecundum plures datur* But theſe Diſcourſes are idle. I know that as the charitable will judge charitably; ſo againſt thoſe, *qui gloriantur in malitia*, my preſent adverſity hath diſarmed me. I am on the ground already; and therefore have not far to fall; and for riſing again, as in the Natural privation, there is no receſſion to habit; ſo it is ſeldom ſeen in the privation politick. I do therefore forbear to ſtile my Readers, *Gentle*, *Courteous*, and *Friendly*, thereby to beg their good Opinions; or to promiſe a ſecond and third Volume (which I alſo intend) if the firſt receive grace and good acceptance. For that which is already done, may be thought enough; and too much: and it is certain, let us claw the Reader with never ſo many courteous Phraſes, yet ſhall we evermore be thought fools, that write fooliſhly. For concluſion, all the hope I have, lies in this, That I have already found more ungentle and uncourteous Readers of my Love towards them, and well deſerving of them, than ever I ſhall do again. For had it been otherwiſe; I ſhould hardly have had this leiſure to have made my ſelf a Fool in Print.

The

The Contents of the Chapters, Paragraphs, and Sections, in the first Book of the first Part of the History of the World.

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Of Philip *the Father of* Perseus *King of* Macedon, *his first acts and War with the* Romans, *by whom he was subdued.*

How the Romans *grew acquainted in the East Countries, and desirous of war there. The beginning of many Princes, with great Wars, at one time. The Ætolians over-run* Peloponnesus, Philip *and his associates make war against the Ætolians. Alterations of the state in* Sparta. *The Ætolians invade* Greece *and* Macedon, *and are invaded at home by* Philip.

§. II. *How* Philip *was mis-advised by ill Counsellours: who afterwards wrought Treason against him, and were justly punished. He invadeth the* Ætolians *a second time: and forceth them to sue for peace; which is granted unto them.*

§. III. Philip, *at the perswasion of* Demetrius Pharius, *enters into league with* Hannibal *against the* Romans. *The tenour of the League between* Hannibal *and* Philip.

§. IV. *How* Philip *yielded to his natural vices, being thereunto soothed by* Demetrius Pharius, *his desire to tyrannize upon the free States his associates: with the troubles into which he thereby fell, whilest he bore a part in the second Punick War. He poisoneth* Aratus; *and grows hateful to the* Achæans.

§. V. *Of* Philopœmen, *General of the* Achæans, *and* Machanidas, *Tyrant of* Lacedæmon. *A battel between them, wherein* Machanidas *is slain.*

§. VI. Philip *having peace with* Rome, *and with all* Greece, *prepares against* Asia. *Of the Kings of* Pergamus, Cappadocia, Pontus, Paphlagonia, Bythinia; *and their Lineages. Of the* Galatians.

§. VII. *The town of* Cios *taken by* Philip, *at the instance of* Prusias *King of* Bythinia, *and cruelly destroyed: by this and the like actions,* Philip *grows hateful to many of the* Greeks; *and is warred upon by* Attalus *King of* Pergamus, *and by the* Rhodians.

§. VIII. *The* Romans, *after their* Carthaginian *War, seek matter of quarrel against* Philip. *The* Athenians, *upon slight cause, proclaim war against* Philip; *moved thereto by* Attalus, *whom they flatter.* Philip *wins divers Towns, and makes peremptory answer to the* Roman *Embassadour. The furious resolution of the* Abydeni.

§. IX. *The* Romans *decree war against* Philip, *and send one of their Consuls into* Greece, *as it were in defence of the* Athenians *their confederates. How poor the* Athenians *were at this time, both in quality and estate.*

§. X. *The Town of* Chalcis *in* Eubœa, *taken and sackt by the Romans and their Associates, that lay in Garrison at* Athens. Philip *attempteth to take* Athens *by surprize: wasteth the Countrey about: and makes a journey into* Peloponnesus. *Of* Nabis *the Tyrant of* Lacedæmon, *and his wife.* Philip *offers to make war against* Nabis *for the Achæans. He returneth home through* Attica, *which he spoileth again: and provides against the enemies. Some exploits of the Romans. Divers Princes joyn with them. Great labouring to draw the Ætolians into the war.*

§. XI. *The meeting of* Philip *with the* Romans, *and skirmishing with them and his borders. The Ætolians invade his Dominions, and are beaten home. Some doings of* Attalus *and the* Roman *fleet.*

§. XII. Villius *the Roman Consul wastes a year to no effect: War of the Gauls in* Italy. *An Embassie of the Romans to* Carthage, Massanissa *and* Vermina. *The* Macedonian *prepares for defence of his Kingdom, and* T. Quintius Flamius *is sent against him.*

§. XIII. *The Romans begin to make war by Negotiation.* T. Quintius *wins a passage against* Philip. Thessaly *wasted by* Philip, *the Romans, and Ætolians. The Achæans forsaking the Macedonian, take part with the Romans. A treaty of peace, that was vain.* Philip *delivers* Argos *to* Nabis *the Tyrant, who presently enters into league with the Romans.*

§. XIV. *The battel at* Cynoscephalæ, *wherein* Philip *was vanquished by* T. Quintius.

§. XV. T. Quintius *falls out with the Ætolians, and grants truce unto* Philip, *with conditions, upon which the peace is ratified. Liberty proclaimed unto the Greeks. The Romans quarrel with* Antiochus.

CHAP. V.

The Wars of the Romans *with* Antiochus *the Great, and his Adherents.*

§. I. *What Kings of the races of* Seleucus *and* Ptolemy *reigned in* Asia *and* Egypt, *before* Antiochus *the Great.*

§. II. *The beginning of the great* Antiochus *his reign. Of* Ptolemy Evergetes, *and* Philopator, *Kings of* Egypt. *War between* Antiochus *and* Philopator. *The rebellion of* Malo: *an expedition of* Antiochus *against him: The recontinuance of* Antiochus *his* Egyptian *war, with the passages between the two Kings: The victory of* Ptolemy, *and peace concluded. Of* Achæus, *and his rebellion; his greatness, and his fall.* Antiochus *his expedition against the Parthians, Bactrians, and Indians: somewhat of the Kings reigning in* India, *after the death of the great* Alexander.

§. III. *The lewd reign of* Ptolomy Philopator *in* Egypt: *with the tragical end of his Favourites, when he was dead.* Antiochus *prepares to war on the young child* Ptolemy Epiphanes, *the son of* Philopator. *His irresolution in preparing for divers wars at once: his voyage towards the* Hellespont. *He seeks to hold amity with the Romans, who make friendly shew to him, intending nevertheless to have war with him. His doings against the* Hellespont; *which the Romans made the first ground of their quarrel to him.*

§. IV. *The Romans hold friendly correspondence with* Antiochus, *during their war with* Philip: *after which they quarrel with him. The doings of* Hannibal *at* Carthage: *whence he is chased by his enemies, and by the Romans: His flight unto the King* Antiochus: *The* Etolians *murmur against the Romans in* Greece. *The war of the* Romans *and* Achæans, *with* Nabis *the tyrant of* Lacedæmon. *The departure of the Roman*

mans out of Greece. T. Quintius *his Triumph. Peace denyed to* Antiochus *by the* Romans.

§. V. *Of the long wars which the Romans had with the Gauls, Ligurians, and Spaniards. Of* M. Porcius Cato. *Injuries done by* Maſſaniſſa *to the Carthaginians; that ſue unto the Romans for juſtice in vain.*

§. VI. *The Ætolians labour to provoke* Antiochus, Philip, *and* Nabis *to war upon the Romans, by whom they hold themſelves wronged and diſgraced.* Nabis *beſiegeth* Gyttheum, *and waſteth ſome part of* Achæa. *The exact skill of* Philopœmen *in his advantage of ground; whereby he utterly vanquiſhed* Nabis. Antiochus *being denied peace by the* Romans, *joyns with the* Ætolians. *The* Ætolians *ſurprize* Demetrias; *and by killing* Nabis, *their Confederates ſeize upon* Sparta. *But they are driven out by the Citizens: who at* Philopœmen *his perſwaſions annex themſelves to the* Achæans.

§. VII. Antiochus *perſwaded by* Thoas *the* Ætolian, *comes over into* Greece, *ill attended. Sundry paſſages between him, the Etolians, Chalcidians, and others. He wins* Chalcis, *and thereby the whole Iſle of* Eubœa. *The vanity of the Kings Embaſſadours, and the Ætolians: with the civil anſwer of* Titus *to their diſcourſe, before the Achæans. That it concerned the Greeks to have deſired peace between the Romans and* Antiochus: *as the beſt aſſurance of their own liberty. Of many petty Eſtates that fell to the King. Of* Amainder, *and an idle vanity, by which King* Philip *was loſt.* Hannibal *gives good counſel in vain. Some towns won in* Theſſaly, *the King retires to* Chalcis *where he married a young wife, and revels away the reſt of Winter, upon the coming of the Roman Conſul, all forſake* Antiochus. *He with two thouſand Ætolians kept the ſtraights of* Thermopylæ. *He is beaten and flees into* Aſia, *leaving all in* Greece *unto the Victors.*

§. VIII. Lucius Scipio, *having with him* Publius *the African his elder brother, for his Lieutenant, is ſent into* Greece. *He grants long truce to the Ætolians, that ſo he might at leiſure paſs into* Aſia. *Much troubleſome buſineß by Sea, and divers fights. An invaſion upon* Eumenes *his Kingdom: with the ſiege of* Pergamus, *raiſed by an handful of the Achæans.* L. Scipio *the Conſul comes into* Aſia, *where* Antiochus *moſt earneſtly deſires peace, and is denied it. The battel of* Magneſia: *wherein* Antiochus *being vanquiſhed, yieldeth to the Romans good pleaſure. The conditions of the peace. In what ſort the Romans uſed their victory.* L. Cornelius Scipio *after a moſt ſumptuous Triumph over* Antiochus, *is ſurnamed* The Aſiatique, *as his brother was ſtiled,* The African.

§. IX. *The Ætolians and* Gallo-Greeks, *vanquiſhed by the* Roman *Conſuls* Fulvius *and* Manlius. Manlius *hardly obtains a Triumph: being charged (among other Objections) with attempting to have paſſed the bounds appointed as fatal to the Romans by* Sibyl. *Of* Sibyl's *Prophecies; the Books of* Hermes; *and that inſcription* Simon Deo Sancto. *The ingratitude of* Rome *to the two* Scipio's: *and that beginning and faction among the Roman Nobility.*

CHAP. VI.

The ſecond Macedon War.

§. I. *The condition wherein thoſe Princes and Eſtates remained, which were aſſociates of the* Romans, *when the war with* Antiochus *was finiſhed, the* Romans *quarrel with* Philip. *They deal inſolently with the Achæans. The Macedonian being unready for war, obtains peace at* Rome, *by his ſon* Demetrius; *of whom thenceforth he becomes jealous.*

§. II. *The death of* Philopœmen, Hannibal, *and* Scipio. *That the Military profeſſion is of all other the moſt unhappy: notwithſtanding ſome examples, which may ſeem to prove the contrary.*

§. III. Philip *making proviſion for war againſt the* Romans, *deals hardly with many of his own ſubjects. His Negotiations with the* Baſtarnæ. *His cruelty. He ſuſpected his ſon* Demetrius. Demetrius *accuſed by his Brother* Perſeus: *and ſhortly after ſlain by his Fathers appointment.* Philip *repenteth him of his ſons death, whom he findeth to have been innocent, and intending to revenge it on* Perſeus, *he dieth.*

§. IV. *How the* Baſtarnæ *fell upon* Dardania. *The behaviour of* Perſeus *in the beginning of his reign. Some wars of the* Romans: *and how they ſuffered* Maſſaniſſa *cruelly to oppreſs the* Carthaginians. *They quarrelled with* Perſeus. *They allow not their confederates to make war without their leave obtained. The treaſon of* Callicrates, *whereby all* Greece *became more obnoxious to* Rome, *than in former times. Further quarrels to* Perſeus. *He ſeeks friendſhip of the Achæans, and is withſtood by* Callicrates. *The Romans diſcover their intent of Warring upon him.*

§. V. *How* Eumenes *King of* Pergamus *was buſied with* Pharnaces, *the* Rhodians, *and others. His hatred to the* Macedonian: *whom he accuſeth to the* Roman *Senate. The Senate honours him greatly, and contemns his enemies the* Rhodians, *with the cauſes thereof. The unuſual ſtoutneſs of the* Macedonian *Embaſſadours.* Perſeus *his attempt upon* Eumenes, *the brotherly love between* Eumenes *and* Attalus. Perſeus *his device to poyſon ſome of the* Roman *Senators: whereupon they decree War againſt him, and ſend him defiance, other things concerning the juſtice of this War.*

§. VI. *The* Romans *ſolicite the* Greeks *to joyn with them in the war againſt* Perſeus. *How the* Greeks *ſtood affected in that war. The timerouſneſs of* Perſeus. Martius *a* Roman *Embaſſadour deludes him with the hope of peace. His forces. He takes the field, and wins part of* Theſſaly. *The forces of* Licinius *the* Roman *Conſul: and what aſſiſtance the* Romans *had in this war. Of* Tempe *in* Theſſaly; *and what advantages the Macedonian had, or might have had, but loſt by his fear.* Perſeus *braves the Romans, fights with them, knows not how to uſe his victory, ſues for peace, and is denied it by the vanquiſhed.* Perſeus *having the worſt in a skirmiſh, forſakes all the Countrey lying without* Tempe. *The Bœotians rebel againſt the Romans, and are victoriouſly puniſhed. The Roman Commanders unfortunate in the war againſt* Perſeus. *They vex the Greeks their friends; for whoſe eaſe the Senate makes proviſion, having heard their complaints. The flattering Alabanders.*

§. VII. Q. Martius *the* Roman *Conſul, with extream difficulty and danger enters into* Tempe.

The

The Cowardize of Perſeus *in abandoning* Tempe. *The Town of* Dium *quitted by* Martius, *repaired and fortified by the King. The* Romans *attempt many places, with ill ſucceſs.* Martius *a cunning and a bad man.*

§. VIII. *Of* L. Æmylius Paulus, *the Conſul. His journey. He forceth* Perſeus *to diſcamp. He will not hazzard battel with any diſadvantage. Of an Eclipſe of the Moon.* Æmylius *his ſuperſtition. The battel of* Pydna. Perſeus *his flight. He forſakes his Kingdom; which haſtily yields to* Æmylius. Perſeus *at* Samothrace. *He yields himſelf to the* Roman *Admiral: and is ſent priſoner to* Æmylius.

§. IX. Gentius *King of the* Illyrians, *taken by the* Romans.

§. X. *How the* Romans *behaved themſelves in* Greece *and* Macedon, *after their victory over* Perſeus.

§. XI. *The war of* Antiochus *upon* Egypt *brought to end by the* Roman *Embaſſadours.*

§. XII. *How the* Romans *were dreadful unto all Kings. Their demeanour towards* Eumenes, Pruſias, Maſaniſſa, *and* Cotys. *The end of* Perſeus *and his children. The inſtability of Kingly Eſtates. The triumphs of* Paulus, Anicius, *and* Octavius: *With the Concluſion of the Work.*

THE

THE LIFE OF Sir WALTER RALEIGH.

I Determine to write the Life, the Riſe, Fortunes, and End of *Walter Raleigh*, Knight; his Memoirs being certainly worthy to be tranſmitted to Poſterity, who hath been ſo ſucceſsfully induſtrious in retrieving the Actions of former Ages from the Ruines of Time, even in its very Infancy, in a well-compil'd, maſculine, and learned Hiſtory of the World. The Image of ſo great a Perſon ſhould not be quite loſt, though drawn in little, which deſerves to be pourtraid by the greateſt Maſters of Policy, and with the boldeſt Touches. Indeed his Shadows cannot now be well left exact, ſeeing they muſt be taken ſo long after his Death; when Time hath defac'd his beſt Features, and ſhed Oblivion on the moſt beautiful of his Actions. Who follows Truth (as Sir *Walter* has wiſely remarqu'd) too near the heels, may have his teeth ſtruck out: and he that goes after her, oft loſeth her ſight, and himſelf too. Diſtance of time doth ſometimes, like ſome *mediums*, make the ſtreighteſt Actions ſeem crooked, and ſometimes gives them the advantage of Landſcapes, which appear taking and agreeable afar off, though when nearly ſearch'd, and pry'd into by a curious and intelligent Eye, they ſeem rude, harſh, and unpleaſant. We muſt therefore diſpair of a juſt and exact Account of him, unleſs we could by ſome Magick power (as the Author of a Pamphlet has done, to terrify and make *Gondamore* ſpeak the truth) raiſe him from the dead, and converſe a while with his Ghoſt. I ſhall however with what imperfect Clue our Hiſtories have bequeath'd, trace him through the various Labyrinths of Fortune, and take a Proſpect of him in the ſeveral Scenes of Court and Camp, Peace and War, till I have followed him to the Scaffold, the place of his much lamented and unhappy End; keeping as near as I can a *medium* between thoſe who in their Annals drive on with an implicit faith; and thoſe, who to get the reputation of Obſervers and men of Reach, ſteal into the private Receſſes of Princes, and diſrobe Majeſty it ſelf to find ſome Deformities, which love to their Prince, and intereſt of State ſhould cover; The beſt vail for all deform'd Actions.

In his Preface to the Hiſtory of the World.

I find him born at a place, call'd *Budely*, or *Budliegh*, in the County of *Devon*, in an houſe which his Family had long poſſeſt, call'd *Hays*: A County (as Mr. *Cambden* has obſerv'd) renown'd among forreign Nations for the Valour of the Inhabitants in Sea-Services of all ſorts. That *Spain* thought ſo, Sir *Francis Drake*, with many others of that County, as well as our Sir *Walter*, are very convincing Arguments.

In his *Britannia.*

That he was well deſcended, was never yet queſtioned, but by my Lord of *Oxon*, who indeed was wont to call him the Jack, and Upſtart. But theſe were words which only Envy and Emulation could extort, and every one very eaſily confute.

Indeed that he was a Gentleman, becauſe a Favourite, was no ill Argument among the Polititians of thoſe Times, if we may believe a Secretary of State, who hath left this as a Maxim then, That the Queen through her whole Reign never was guilty of creation, never in her choice took into her Favour a meer new man, or a Mechanick.

Sir *Robert Nanton.*

That he was but poor in the beginning ſeems not ſtrange, if we conſider him the youngeſt Brother, and the Fortunes of his Family much diminiſhed by the Generoſity (if not Prodigality) of his Anceſtors. But the wants of Fortune are often recompenc'd with the richer gifts of the Mind; Nature foreſeeing the diſability of his Eſtate, ſtock'd him with a larger portion of Senſe, bequeath'd him the fairer Patrimony of a faithful Memory, plauſible Tongue, ſtrong Wit, and ſolid Judgment.

But becauſe the natural Endowments of the Mind, though never ſo great, are capable of advancement by the help of Education, he reſolved for one of the Univerſities. *Oxon* had the happineſs to own him, where I find him in *Oriel* Colledg. His ſlender Fortune, and his active Genius, always pointed with a reſtleſs Ambition, would not let him ſettle here, ſo that he could only (like a Spy) take a tranſient view of, or (like an haſty Enemy) make ſome incurſions and inrodes into thoſe parts of Learning, which he afterwards conquered, and was entirely Maſter of.

Therefore that he might the better feed thoſe Hopes Ambition had kindled in his thoughts, and remove nearer to the Miſtreſs he courted; He reſolved for one of the Inns of Court, which he knew were always places of Eſteem with the Queen, who would ſay, *they fitted Youth for the future.* Here he ſpent his time, and improved himſelf in the intricate knowledg of our Laws, and in the ſtudies of all manly and real Accompliſhments.

But he ſtaid not long here neither, for Fate it ſeems would have him of the Sword firſt. Yet though he laid aſide his Gown, it was not with a deſign of never reaſſuming it; for through the frequent Viciſſitudes of his whole Life, he challenged a Reputation among the moſt Eminent States-men, being upon all Emergencies of Affairs conſulted, as one of the beſt Oracles of Government and Policy in his time. It's true he was never ſworn, for ſome Reaſons of State which Courts ſpread a Vail over, but was frequently called to Council. Through his Life he made good his Motto, *tam Marti, quam Mercurio*: and it is ſtill a Queſtion, Whether he was the better Stateſman or Souldier? incomparably excelling in both the Arts of Peace and War. To riſe by his Studies, probably his Condition and Ambition would not let him judge the ſpeedieſt courſe, much time and a conſiderable fortune being often ſpent in climbing up the tedious ſteps of Preferment that way. He thought it more eaſy to fight, than talk himſelf into a Reputation. Active Times, and a buſy War-like Princeſs, pointed him out the readieſt way to the Temple

ple of Honour. The Sword he judged with *Alexander* the quickeſt Inſtrument to unty all the Knots and tedious Obſtacles of Greatneſs.

Nor could he want Occaſions enow to draw forth his Spirits into Action. *France* was engaged in a Civil-War; And the Queen, whether out of concern for the Proteſtants, or for reaſon of State, to divert the Giant-Enemy the *Spaniard*, aſſiſted the poor diſtreſſed *Dutch*. And the *Spaniard* by a Policy of the ſame nature, raiſes Rebellions in *Ireland*, which, like ſubterranean Fires, broke out over all the Kingdom at ſeveral times; when one *Mac* had in one place ſpent his Force, preſently we hear of the Eruption of another. This Fire was kept in to the end of her Reign, being maintained by that laſting Fewel of Rebellion, and common pretext of change in Government, Religion: The Pope pretending the Kingdom belonged to St. *Peter*.

Of his firſt publick Appearance Mr. *Cambden* hath given us this Account: 1569.
The Queen though imbroil'd in a Rebellion at home of the Earl of *Northumberland* and *Dacres* in the North, Yet failed not to relieve the Proteſtants in *France*, who were now brought into a diſtreſſed and almoſt deſperate condition; ſhe exhorted all the Proteſtant Princes to aſſiſt the Common Cauſe, ſupplied the Queen of *Navar* with Money, taking Jewels in pawn; Permitted *Henry Champernoun* to carry into *France* a Troop of Gentlemen-Volunteers, who were reſolved to make good the Motto their Colours bore, *Fmem det nobis Virtus*. Among theſe Sir *Walter* engaged himſelf, though (as Mr. *Cambden* goes on) very young; and now firſt beginning to be of any note. So ſoon the early bloſſoms of his Valour began to appear, which afterwards grew up to an exact ripeneſs and perfection. *France* was the firſt School, wherein he learnt the Rudiments of War; and the *Low-Countries* and *Ireland* (the Military Academies of thoſe times) made him Maſter of that Diſcipline; for in both places he expoſed himſelf afterwards to Land-Service: But their ſlender Pay encouraged him not to ſtay long in either. The Service of *Ireland* eſpecially ſcarce ſupplying the neceſſities of a Military Life. Being reſtleſs and impatient of a narrow and low condition, and his Services being not ſo ſucceſful as his Hopes were great, and his Merits not anſwered with a Fortune ſtrong enough to buoy up his Reputation, he was reſolved to leave no ſtone unturned, nor any Method of living unexperimented. And ſince his Land-Expeditions could make no Additions to his Fortunes, Novelty and a deſire of putting himſelf into a better capacity, urg'd him to a Sea-Voyage. At both Sea and Land he was the true pattern of Induſtry; and if any Man ever manag'd Neceſſity to its furtheſt improvements, it was He. No expert Souldier or Mariner eſcap'd his Acquaintance and Enquiries; nothing that related to the Arts of War and Navigation miſs'd his peruſal, and one who was Maſter of thoſe parts he enjoyed could with no difficulty make thoſe Arts his own. Add to this the Methods he uſed to improve himſelf. He ſlept but five hours, four he ſpent in reading and maſtering the beſt Authors, two in a ſelect converſation and an inquiſitive diſcourſe, the reſt in buſineſs. He underwent all the labours that attend a Souldier, and fared as the meaneſt. No common Mariner took more pains, or hazarded more in the moſt difficult attempts.

What his Sea-Voyages produced Hiſtories are ſilent in; but not long after his return I find him got again into *Ireland*, appearing with his own Colours 1580.
flying in the Field, under the command of the Lord *Grey*, who ſucceeded *Pelham* in the Deputyſhip of that Kingdom. He had not been long there, before a Quarrel was raiſed between the Lord-Deputy and our Captain, (for with that Title he went into *Ireland*) which being complain'd of to a Coun-

cil of War, was referr'd to the Council-Table in *England*. Our Hiſtorians would make the Lord *Grey*'s Cauſe the faireſt, but Juſtice, and the reſult of the Council, gave *Raleigh* the Victory. What were the occaſions of this Quarrel our Annals ſlip over, and have only left a large Field for Conjecture to tire it ſelf in. Whether an eager purſuit after Honour, without exact obedience to Military Command, occaſioned by a reſtleſs deſire of doing ſomething great, or whatever elſe it might be, we leave the *Reader* to fancy. However if his Cauſe had not been good, no Apology, how well ſoever managed, could have brib'd the Judgment of ſo wiſe a Council, wholly ſtrangers to his Worth and Perſon.

About this time Authors place the *Æra* of his Riſe, but cannot well agree about the occaſion of it. Some would have *Leiceſter* to be the chief Agent in it, and that he related the whole buſineſs at Council to the Queen with no little advantage to our Captain. Not ſo much probably out of reſpect to *Raleigh*, as to his own intereſt. For Favourites, like their Princes, ſeldom eſpouſe any Cauſe upon any other ground than what advances or ſtands with their own Deſigns. His own Deſigns indeed on the Queen were blaſted, and finding the burden and envy of a Stateſman too heavy for his aged ſhoulders, he was willing handſomly to impart them to a more active *Genius*. Though great Favourites ſeldom admit of a Partner, till Age makes them willing to withdraw and leave the trouble of buſineſs to more ſpritely years. They care not to have new Plants ſet, till they themſelves are almoſt withered and ſapleſs.

Others would have his Riſe attributed to *Suſſex*, who brought him to Court to outſhine *Leiceſter*, and eclipſe the ſplendor of his Enemy. But what was the ſtrongeſt Argument and only Perſwaſive with the Queen was his Merits, which ſhe ſoon ſaw, and preſently encouraged. Nor muſt I here paſs by one ſmall ſtep to his future Heighth, which our Chronicles have overlook'd, as below the Pen of an Hiſtorian, though ſome have judged an Account of ſome little tranſactions the beſt Inlets to Truth and Myſteries of State. The occaſion was thus: Our Captain coming over out of *Ireland* upon the afore-mentioned Cauſe to Court, in very good habit (which it ſeems was the greateſt part of his Eſtate) which is often found to be no mean Introducer where Deſerts are not known, found the *Queen* walking, till ſhe was ſtopt by a plaſhy-place which ſhe ſcrupled treading on, preſently he ſpread his new Pluſh-Coat on the ground, on which the *Queen* trod gently, being not a little pleas'd as well as ſurpriz'd with ſo unexpected a Complement. Thus, as one remarques upon this Story, *An advantagious Admiſſion into the firſt Notices of a Prince is more than half a degree to Preferment*. For he preſently after found ſome gracious Beams of Favour reflecting on him, which he was reſolv'd, and well knew how to cheriſh and contract. To put the *Queen* in remembrance, he wrote in a Window obvious to her Eye,

Fuller's Worthies.

Fain would I climb, yet fear I to fall.

Which her Majeſty either eſpying, or being ſhewn, under-wrote this Anſwer,

If thy Heart fail thee, climb not at all.

But his aſpiring Soul could not reſt in the lower, though ſafer way of living; He could not be mean, whoſe Reſolutions were ſo great, and whoſe Prudence

and

and Activity made him capable of the higheſt Preferments. Inſpir'd with a reſtleſs and ambitious Genius he deſign'd nothing but what was extream, and had rather not be, than not be one of the moſt Eminent. And to the greateſt Height probably he had arrived, had he lived in any other Princes Reigns than that of *Q. Elizabeth* and K. *James*, the former being not over-haſty to raiſe any to any great Honour, and the latter not caring for Men of War and Blood.

Raleigh was ſo towardly an Apprentice in the Court-Trade, that he ſoon ſet up for himſelf, and would have improv'd this ſtock of Favour to a great advantage, had he not loſt by thoſe common Enemies to it, Envy and Jealouſie. In a ſhort time he is become a *Minion*, obtains the *Queens* Ear, is often conſulted, and nothing done without him. Her Favour and his Parts began to allarm his Rivals, who like ſome envious Neighbours will not eaſily permit any Fabrick to ſtand long that hinders their own Proſpect. Jealous Favourites, like wiſe Planters, will not ſuffer the Under-Wood to riſe, which may obſtruct the growth of taller Trees.

Leiceſter began to repent his choice of his Creature, and thought he grew too faſt in his Miſtreſſes Favour. To ſtop the current of her Affection, he privately endeavours to undermine his Eſteem, and introduce a new Favourite that might be his Rival. To bring about this deſign, *Leiceſter* thought there would be nothing wanting, if by *Raleigh*'s abſence he could have opportunity to introduce the Earl of *Eſſex*; nor did he long expect before one offer'd it ſelf: for the *Queen* being willing to encourage *Raleigh*, (who, as Mr. *Cambden* is pleaſed to tell us, was never ſufficiently to be commended for the great pains he took to diſcover remote Countries, and to advance the Glory of the *Engliſh Navigation* and *Trade*) ſent him on a Voyage to Sea. Nor did he make a vain and fruitleſs one; for at his Return he brought news of a new Country, diſcover'd by him in the Year 1584, called in honour of the Queen *Virginia*, before call'd Wingandacoa by the barbarous Inhabitants. A Country that hath been ſince of no inconſiderable Profit to our Nation. But though Patents were granted to him to ſettle a Plantation there, it grew not famous till the Reign of King *James*: Wherein this Nation quickly found out the Excellency and Fruitfulneſs of the place, ſo agreeable to our *Engliſh* Bodies, and profitable to the Exchequer. Nature there is prodigal, and makes amends for her parſimony to other parts of the World. An Acre there yielding often forty Buſhels of Corn; and, which is more ſtrange, there being three Harveſts in a Year: For their Corn is ſow'd, ripe, and cut down in little more than two Months.

For this, and other beneficial Expeditions and Deſigns, this Year her Ma- 1584.
jeſty was pleaſed to confer on him the honour of Knighthood, which in her Reign was more eſteemed than in her Succeſſors. The Queen keeping the Temple of Honour cloſe ſhut, and never open'd but to Vertue and Deſert. Nor was ſhe indeed ever haſty to reward; for ſhe ſeldom paid in any other coin than Patents and good Words. So that the greateſt number of thoſe who might pretend to Favour, were the Architects of their own Fortunes, and had little or no Encouragement from her, more than that of a Spectator, who praiſes the Workmanſhip, and commends the handſom Contrivances of a Building, but is at no part of the Expences of raiſing it. Hence our Sir *Walter*'s Rewards are quickly enumerated, for he got nothing after all his Exploits and Deſigns, but the Wardenſhip of the *Stanneries*, Command of the Guard, and the Government of *Jerſey* and *Virginia*; Places of no very great Profit, nor anſwerable to his Worth, or juſt Ambition.

1588. In 1588, the Grand *Climacterick* of *Spain*, (for Bodies Politick have their *Critical* Times) I find Sir *Walter* by his Example encouraging others of the Gentry to ſet out Ships at their proper charges, and by his admirable Conduct and Courage to put them to the beſt uſe. Which hired Ships were Actors of no ſmall uſe in that fatal Blow given to the Invincible Armada. Three Years this Giant had been growing to that portentous Greatneſs, with infinite Expences and Induſtry; but was beaten, ruin'd, and diſhonourably overthrown in leſs than a Months ſpace: the *Spaniards* finding that our Ships as well as the Heavens could fight againſt them.

But this Shock, like ſome Ague-fit, was eaſily recovered, and in a ſhort time after the *Spaniards* began to renew their former Deſigns. For in the
1592. Parliament which began *Feb.* 19. 1592, I find Sir *Walter Raleigh* informing the Houſe, that the *Queen* could not without Subſidies prevent the eminent Dangers threatned from the *Spaniard*. Of which Subſidies he ſpake (as he proteſted) not only to pleaſe the *Queen*, to whom he was infinitely obliged, but for the neceſſity he both ſaw and knew; He told them, he very well diſcovered the great ſtrength of the King of *Spain*; and to ſhew his Mightineſs, he informed the Houſe how he poſſeſt all the World. And that his Malice and ill purpoſes againſt this Realm might be evident, he ſhew'd how on every ſide he had beleaguer'd us; In *Denmark*, the King being young, he had corrupted the Council and Nobility; ſo it was very likely he would ſpeed himſelf of Ships from thence. In the Maritime Towns of the *Low-Countries*, and in *Norway* he hath laid in great ſtore of Shipping. In *France* he hath the Parliament-Towns at command; In *Britanny* he hath all the beſt Havens; and in *Scotland* he hath corrupted the Nobility, and promis'd them Forces to aſſiſt the Papiſts, and that they were ready to joyn with any Foreign Aids, that would make them ſtrong enough to be by themſelves, and to reſiſt others; for, as he thought, there were not ſix Gentlemen of that Country of one Religion. In his own Country there are all poſſible Preparations making, and he is coming with ſixty Galleys, beſides other Shipping. If our Subſidies are not ſudden, he may with eaſe invade us riding at Anchor; but all will be little enough to withſtand him. At his coming he fully reſolveth to get *Plymouth*, or at leaſt to poſſeſs ſome of the Havens this Summer within our Land. And *Plymouth* is in moſt danger; for no Ordnance can be carried thither to remove him, the paſſages will not give leave. Now the way to defeat him, is to ſend a Royal Army and ſupplant him in *Britanny*, and to poſſeſs our ſelves there; and to ſend a ſtrong Navy to Sea, and to lye with it on the *Cape*, and at *Lambuck*, to which places come all his Ships with Riches from all places, and there they may ſet upon all that come.

What ſucceſs this Speech alone had I know not, but the Subſidy was granted, with the general conſent of the Houſe, to carry on a War againſt *Spain*. His Expedition a little after demonſtrates that the Queen took his Advice, which was to afflict the *Spaniards* at a diſtance; and whilſt ſhe could not handſomly aſſault his more neighbourly and guarded parts, to diſturb thoſe that were more naked and further off, his *Indies*. The Moneys brought from thence being the Nerves and Sinews of his Power, and the chiefeſt Incendiary in the *Iriſh Rebellion*, which if handſomly ſtopt, would put an end to his Greatneſs, and humble the mighty Monarch.

That he might not want an opportunity to ſhew his Valour and Conduct in this Affair, the Queen ſends him to Sea to manifeſt both; thinking none more fit to be imployed in a Buſineſs, than the Perſon that counſelled and

ſtarted

ſtarted it. Having the Courage of a Souldier to put in execution the ſober Advices of the Gown-man. To *America* he is ſent with fifteen Men of War to poſſeſs himſelf of *Panama*, where the *Spaniards* ſhip their Riches, or to intercept their paſſage homewards. But he found more Encouragement from the willingneſs of the Seamen than from the Winds, which held the Ships in their Havens for three months; a Circumſtance, which put an ill look upon the Enterprize, and had almoſt made it vain. But nothing could allay the Courage of the Seamen, who were buoy'd up with the hopes of Prey, and the ſucceſs of their Commander. Having ſet ſail at laſt, they got beyond the *Spaniſh Cape*, called the *Lands-end*, where they met with unwelcom Intelligence, *viz.* That by expreſs Command from his *Catholick* Majeſty no Ship was to ſtir from the *Weſt-Indies* that Year. Together with this News, inſtead of meeting with the long'd-for Enemy, they were attaqu'd with a more invincible one, a furious Tempeſt, which diſperſt and diſordered the Fleet, and ſunk their Ship-Boats. Thus being on all ſides aſſaulted with Tempeſts, Diſaſters, and the worſe news of the *Spaniards* ſtay in the other World, he thought the Heavens had daſh'd his Deſigns, and rendred a well-ordered Contrivance abortive. Upon which at firſt he intended to make for home with the whole Fleet; but another Project offered it ſelf after ſecond thoughts, of dividing the Navy into two Squadrons, from the hope that though while together they had been ſucceſsleſs, yet Fortune might offer to them when ſeparated ſomething worthy their patience and deſires. Immediately one Squadron is committed to the conduct of Sir *John Burroughs*, Son to the Lord *Burroughs*; the other to Sir *Martin Forbiſher*, with their reſpective Commiſſions. Sir *Martin*'s charge was to lie off and on the Coaſt of *Spain*, to hinder the coming in of their Veſſels. Sir *John*'s to wait at the *Azores* for the coming of the Caracks out of the *Eaſt-Indies*.

Sir *Walter* was much blam'd for this Action, and thought ſhort in his Politicks in giving over the hopeful part of the Deſign to Sir *John Burroughs*, and retiring himſelf to Court. But the Succeſs was the only Argument of his Overſight, and nothing but the Event could charge him with Imprudence. The Diviſion of the Fleet proved a wiſe Deſign, and amazed the *Spaniard*. For while the *Spaniſh* Admiral eyed *Forbiſher*, the mighty Caracks were unregarded, and left to the mercy of *Burroughs*'s Men of War as an eaſy prey. Who having according to Order arrived at *Sancta Cruce*, a ſmall Town in the Iſle of *Azores*, a little after got ſight of a *Portugal* Merchant-man, (briskly purſued by a Privateer of the Earl of *Cumberland*'s) but could not reach her, an unhappy Calm keeping him at a too far diſtance. But a more welcom Storm ariſing in the night, forc'd both to weigh Anchor. Aſſoon as day appeared, the *Portuguees* was unlading as faſt as ſhe could at *Flores*, and upon the approach of the *Engliſh* fired their Carack: But though their Deſigns were ruin'd on that Ship, yet the news they got from ſome Priſoners taken, gave them freſh hopes, and heartned them with the Information, that ſeveral other Merchant-men were behind coming for *Spain*. This put Sir *John Burroughs* upon placing his Men of War at ſeveral diſtances, to reach as far about as was poſſible. But they had not long waited, before their diligence was rewarded with the ſurprizal of a large Veſſel, called *the Mother of God*, which was 165 foot long from Head to Stern, and ſeven Decks high, laden with Goods to the value of 150000 *l. Engliſh*, beſides what the Seamen privately ſeized for their own uſe.

Sir *Walter* having now deſerted his Naval Employ, and become again a Courtier, it was not long before he was ſeized with the idle Court-Diſeaſe of
1595. Love, the unfortunate occaſion of the worſt Action of his whole Life. For in the Year 1695, I find him under a Cloud, baniſh'd the Court, and his Miſtreſſes Favour withdrawn, for devirginating a Maid of Honour. But why for this one Action he ſhould lie under the imputation of an *Atheiſt*, and from a ſingle crime get the denomination of a Debauch, is the Logick of none but the Vulgar. By the ſame reaſon the other Favourites of thoſe Times (*Leiceſter*, *Cecil*, and *Eſſex*) bid as fair for thoſe titles, the latter making the Parallel good in this Vice, with his Succeſſor *Buckingham*, though in other circumſtances there was a great diſparity. Neither ever was it a Crime of any magnitude in the Orb of Courts. But to ſtop the Mouth of Fame, which is always open on ſuch occaſions, and to wipe out the Infamy of the Fact, he was ſhortly after married to the Object of his Love, the deflowred Lady. And to get Reputation among the People, who always were unjuſt to him in their Sentiments, he put himſelf on a Voyage to *Guiana*, for the Improvement and Honour of his Country. Having therefore obtained his Liberty (for, for this Action he was impriſoned ſome months) and finding all things with an unpleaſant Aſpect, he followed his *Genius* of diſcovering new Places, and tracing Nature in her more retired and hidden Paths; thinking that Abſence, and a fortunate Voyage, might reinveſt him in his Miſtreſſes thoughts, and merit a new Eſteem.

Guiana had been talk'd of much by the *Spaniards* as an excellent Country, and for one Commodity the *Spaniards* had a great reverence for, very famous, Gold, which put Sir *Walter* upon the Attempt, judging it beſides a place (if maſtered) very convenient for its ſituation to annoy and diſturb the *Spaniards American* Traffick, and would be no little help in building his Fortunes, and what was more eſtimable, Place him in his Miſtreſſes Favour again.

From *Plymouth* he ſet ſail on the ſixth of *February*, and on the 22d of *March* arrived at the Iſle of *Trinidado*, eight degrees on this ſide the *Equinoctial*-Line; where he ſoon made himſelf Maſter of St. *Joſephs*, a ſmall City; and, which was more conſiderable, of the Governour *Antonio Bereo*, from whom he got the beſt Account of thoſe Parts, and its Trade. Leaving his Ship at *Trinidado*, with ſome Pinaces and an hundred Men, and the ſmall ſtock of Knowledg he obtained of *Bereo*, he made up the great River *Ormus*, in ſearch of *Guiana*. What he found, ſaw, and performed there, his moſt ingenious Hiſtory of thoſe Parts, may ſatisfy the Curious.

In his Return he fired *Cumana*, becauſe the Inhabitants would not redeem it with Money; beſides ſeveral Cottages at St. *Maries*, and *Rio de la Hach*. Neither did he deſiſt in this Deſign of *Guiana*, for once or twice Mr. *Cambden* tells us afterwards he proſecuted it with vaſt Expences, although the *Spaniards* had placed a Colony at *Trinidado* to hinder his further Attempts.

Whilſt Sir *Walter* is ſearching for a new World, *Hawkins* and *Drake* are attempting freſh things in thoſe parts of *America* which the *Spaniards* were already poſſeſt of. But their old Fortune had left them, and the unhappineſs of the Action put an end to their Lives; In the Year 1596, both died with Grief, and bequeath'd their Hatred of the *Spaniard* to Sir *Walter*, to revenge their Quarrel.

1596. Who this Year return'd, being ſatisfied with his Expedition, and much more with the Reception he found at Court. The Storm was blown over, and his Miſtreſſes Brow was more ſmooth than at his departure; after his

Eclipſe

Eclipſe he ſhone brighter at Court, and the Death of thoſe two famous Seamen, put them upon courting Sir *Walter*, whom the neceſſity of State forced them to cheriſh and encourage. It's ſtrange, that what was *Eſſex*'s Ruine ſhould confirm Sir *Walter* in favour, frequent abſence from his Miſtreſs. But Sir *Walter*'s Obſequiouſneſs work'd much upon the humour of the Queen, who lov'd Pliantneſs and exact Obedience, which *Eſſex* could not always counterfeit.

The *Spaniard* being encouraged with the poſſeſſion of *Cales*, from whence it was but a ſhort cut over into *England*, the Death of *Hawkins*, and their former ſcourge, *Drake*, and the earneſt Solicitations of the *Iriſh* (who through her Reign had got the Itch of Rebellion, which was fed and maintained by the *Spaniard*, though they had been ſufficiently blooded by the *Engliſh*;) And the *Queen* foreſeeing a Storm gathering, thought the beſt way was to ſcatter it before it grew too great, and came too near. She reſolved therefore to begin with the *Spaniard* firſt, and fairly ſet on the Enemy in his own Ports. She ſpeedily riggs a brave Fleet, conſiſting of 150 Ships, mann'd by 6360 Souldiers, 1000 Volunteer-Gentlemen, 6772 Seamen. *Robert* Earl of *Eſſex*, and the Lord *Howard* were Commanders of equal Authority, having been both at an exceſſive charge in carrying on the War. To theſe were joyned a Council of War, conſiſting of ſeveral eminent Seamen and Souldiers, among whom was our Sir *Walter*. The Fleet was divided into four Squadrons; the firſt commanded by the Admiral Lord *Howard*; the ſecond by *Eſſex*; the third by Sir *Thomas Howard*; the fourth by Sir *Walter Raleigh*.

In the beginning of *June* they ſet ſail, and got to *Gades* the 20th: their deſign being perfectly unknown, as well to their Enemies as their own Men. *Eſſex* heated with Youth, and an ambition of doing bravely, would have preſently landed and aſſaulted the Enemy: but this heat was allayed and corrected by Sir *Walter*'s Advice, who impugned all ſuch raſh Attempts. At laſt a fit Opportunity preſented it ſelf, and by all it was reſolved to fight them. At which news the Earl threw up his Hat for joy. The Ebbing-Waters would not permit the great Ships to engage, the Shelves being of greater hazard than the Enemy. Therefore *Raleigh* is pitch'd on as the moſt proper Perſon in the midſt of the Chanel to provoke them, who accordingly in a little Ship called the *Waſtſpight*, directed his Prow againſt the Spaniſh Men of War, which thereupon preſently fell back. Upon this the reſt of the Fleet came in, and burnt and took ſeveral of their Ships. After this Victory at Sea, the Men were very importunate to go aſhore, whom *Eſſex* Landed at *Puntal*, a League from the City. At firſt the *Spaniards* received them with a great deal of courage, but the *Engliſh* charged ſo warmly, that they thought it their prudentſt way to retire with more ſpeed than they came out. The *Engliſh* purſued ſo cloſe, that they had almoſt recovered the City-Gates as ſoon as they. The Earl got upon a Bulwark near the Gate, and from thence he eſpyed an Entrance into the Town, but very hazardous, it being down a very ſteep Precipice: but this did not affright ſeveral of our *Engliſh*, who leaped from thence into the Town, and engaged the Enemy in the Streets. In the mean time Sir *Walter* and others having forced the Gates, entred the Town, and the Caſtle was ſurrendred on Merciful Conditions. But Sir *Walter* was not idle, or eager after the enjoyment of his Conqueſt; for whilſt others were reaping the plentiful Harveſt of War, he with ſome ſmall ſhips who could paſs up the Chanel, fired their Merchant-men which were withdrawn to *Port-Real*, although they offered two millions of Ducats for their

Redemption. Great vvere the Losses to the *Spaniards* by this War; and if we may believe our Histories, amounted to no less than Twenty Millions of Ducats. Upon Consultation it vvas resolv'd to quit the Town, though contrary to the Opinion of *Essex*, vvho was for keeping it, as a future Annoyance to the *Spaniards*. After this they took *Faro* in *Algarbe*, and being weary at last of their Victories, they resolved for Home, though much against *Essex*'s vvill, vvhose youthful heat vvas but inflam'd by their Successes, but vvas vvisely slak'd by the prudence of the Admiral, and the sober advice of Sir *Walter*: vvho finding their Men sick, and having gotten so ample Rewards, vvere not again for hazarding their Fortune upon hopes of a future Prey.

At their Return the Queen vvelcom'd and encourag'd her Souldiers with new Honours. All but *Essex* vvere pleased, vvho found State-Preferments not dispos'd of according to his mind. *Vere* vvas made Governour of the *Briel*, and Sir *Robert Cecil* Secretary of State.

To recover their Losses at *Gades*, the *Spaniard* riggs out a new Fleet, vvhich vvere baffled alone by the Winds; for the greatest part vvere cast avvay and wreck'd. With the Reliques of this Fleet, in the Year following I find him upon his old Designs of *Ireland*: But the Queen vvas always too nimble for the Grave *Don*, vvhose Designs, like his Ships, mov'd slow and heavy.

1597. Twenty Ships were rigg'd out at present, and afterwards encreased to an hundred and twenty Men of War and Victuallers; five thousand Men rais'd, besides a thousand old Souldiers vvho came from the *Netherlands* with *Vere*. To appease *Essex*, the vvhole Conduct of the Expedition is committed to him. The Navy vvas divided into three Squadrons; The first led by *Essex* himself; The second by *Howard*; The third by Sir *Walter*, vvho now vvas esteemed the ablest Seaman of his Age. To enoble this Expedition, several Persons of quality of all sorts engaged themselves, vvho look'd rather like Courtiers than Souldiers, being more adorn'd with Feathers and gay Cloaths, than arm'd vvith Courage and Resolution. On the ninth of *July* they set out vvith these Instructions, *viz.* To steer to *Farol* and the *Groine*, to surprize the *Spaniards* in their Harbours, and to intercept their *Indian* Fleet (the Bait of the War) at the *Azores*. Which Design vvas built upon very good Maximes of State; for it vvould hinder the Fleet intended against *England*; Their Merchant-men vvanting Convoys, might be seized on; The *Azores* won, (vvhere the *Indian* Fleet always call'd for fresh Water in their Return;) the Queen have the Dominion of the Seas; and the *Spaniard* be obliged to a Treatment of Peace. *Essex* gave out that he vvas resolved to sacrifice Himself and the Navy for his Country: But his brisk Resolutions vvere quickly daunted by a dismal Tempest, vvhich astonish'd the Mariners themselves, and forc'd home our gawdy Voluntiers, vvho thought no Enemy so terrible as a Tempest, and the severe motions of a Sea-sick stomack. Thus by this Contradiction of Heaven their Ships vvere torn, their Victuals spent, and they upon this Emergency forc'd to a Consultation what to do. Some were for laying aside the *Farol* and the *Groine* Attempts; others for a Voyage to the *Azores*, vvhich was contradicted by *Vere*. So that at last *Essex* and *Raleigh* were pitch'd on to ride Post for Advice to the *Queen*. *Essex* talk'd to the *Queen* of strange *Chimæras*; how that if he vvere permitted to have the Fleet, he would vvith ease fire the *Spanish* Navy, and perform many other bold Designs; about which the *Queen* caution'd him, and desir'd the whole Business should be managed as their joynt-discretion should prompt, and opportunity offer it self. But if it were possible, if any occasion courted them

them to it, they ſhould fire the Ships in *Farol* Haven, and intercept what other Ships they could from the *Indies*; And upon all occaſions manifeſt their Conduct and Valour. With theſe Inſtructions they ſet ſail again from *Plymouth*, (whither they were returned the 17th of *Auguſt*) but were ſeparated by a Tempeſt near the Promontory *Nerium*, or the Lands-end. A croſs Yard in *Raleigh*'s Ship was broken by the *Impetus* of the Storm, and fell, which forc'd him to ſtay behind to make it good; And having been falſely inform'd that the *Spaniſh* Fleet was bound for the *Azores*, after having repaired his Ship, he ſteer'd his courſe thitherwards. In the mean time *Eſſex*'s Jealouſy, and the pernicious Inſinuations of *Raleigh*'s Enemies, had wrought him into a belief that this Diviſion of the Navy was on purpoſe laid and fore-deſign'd by *Raleigh*: But however the buſineſs was put up at his Arrival, and *Eſſex* welcomed him, making an Apology for acquainting the Queen with the Diviſion falſly repreſented, and built (as it appear'd) on wrong ſuppoſitions.

Here wanting Water, Sir *Walter* landed without leave, and ſcarce had taken in Water before he received Orders immediately to follow *Eſſex* to *Fayal*, whither he repair'd; but not finding *Eſſex* there according to his Order, he ſpent his time in taking an exact ſurvey of the Haven, and of the People there, who from the fear and apprehenſion of what followed, were haſtily packing away their Goods. This fair Opportunity, upon Conſultation, puts him upon taking the Town, and egg'd on the Souldiers in hopes of an ample Prey. Sir *Gilly Merrick* (one of *Eſſex* his Creatures) diſſwaded Sir *Walter* from the Deſign, alledging it would rob the Earl of the Honour of taking it, and ſo confirm him his Enemy. But Sir *Walter*'s deſire of Glory, and the Souldiers Avarice, urg'd him (after he had ſtaid ſome time for *Eſſex*'s Arrival) to the Aſſault of the Place, which was at laſt taken. The next day after this Exploit *Eſſex* arrived at *Fayal*, where he was quickly inform'd of what *Raleigh* had done, and that the whole Buſineſs was tranſacted with no other deſign than to rob him of the Glory, which his Jealouſy made him eaſily believe.

Some perſwaded the Earl to try Sir *Walter* before a Council of War, and caſhier him; others without more ado would have him put to death, for landing without Orders: At laſt ſome of *Raleigh*'s Officers were caſhier'd, He himſelf frown'd on, and ſeverely reprov'd by *Eſſex*. But he never wanted an Apology for his Ambition; inſtancing that he was not obliged to the Orders the inferiour Officers and Souldiers were; that the Commiſſion did not reach Him, being one of the three Generals; Moreover, that he ſtaid for him four days; that he was neceſſitated at laſt to land, being in extream want of Water, which was not to be had without fighting. However, the Lord *Howard* became his Mediator, and perſwaded him to an honourable ſubmiſſion; which was perform'd, and accepted of; and thereupon both himſelf, and the caſhier'd Captains and Souldiers were again admitted into favour. But this was only laying their Paſſions aſleep awhile, which in the ſequel of our ſtory were again awaken'd. I cannot here omit a ſpeech of the Earls upon this occaſion, (which Sir *Henry Wotton* calls a Noble Word) who being urged to put Sir *Walter* on Martial Law: *That I would do*, ſaid he, *if he were my Friend.*

However this Expedition was not ſo glorious and great as at firſt they hoped it might have been. For after burning the Town, and taking *Flores*, *Gratioſa*, and *Villa Franca* in St. *Michaels*, with three *American Spaniſh* Ships, together with the burning of a Carack, they came home much torn, leaky,

and weather-beaten, about the end of *October*. This Expedition was commented on variouſly by the People, who were ſtrangely carried on with a blind paſſion for *Eſſex*, and ſo very prone to miſconſtrue *Raleigh*'s Actions, from a Prejudice they had entertain'd, that becauſe he was not *Eſſex*'s friend, he muſt be an enemy to his Country. However, the Queen look'd on him with another eye, and he grew faſter in her favour than his Rival, who from this time began rather to decline, by a Fault Sir *Walter* was afterwards guilty of, Inſatiable Ambition; a Principle that put him on thoſe Practices which brought him afterwards to the Block. *Eſſex* was incens'd that Sir *Robert Cecil*, *Raleigh* s Friend, was preferr'd in his abſence. And becauſe the Earl's Concerns are woven amongſt Sir *Walter's*, it will not be impertinent to give ſome Account of him here.

Eſſex was arrived at the heighth of Favour, and might have ſtaid there, had he taken his Meaſures aright, had he own'd an Obſequiouſneſs to the Queen, or been Maſter of the great Requiſite in a Courtier, *Diſſimulation*; but it was a part of his Character, to be a great Reſenter, and a weak Diſſembler of the leaſt Diſgrace. His *Ireland* Tranſactions were ill conſtrued, and his Miſcarriages nicely diſſected by the curious eyes of thoſe State-Anatomiſts, the Lord-Treaſurer *Buckhurſt*, the Lord-Admiral *Nottingham*, and his mortal Enemy Secretary *Cecil*, who began to remove him out of that Favour he had ſo long poſſeſt. But it was true, as the Earl of *Clarendon* has obſerv'd, "That though he was Rival'd by a ſtrong and ſubtile Faction, "which cared, conſulted for his Ruine; yet the Danger was thus allayed, "that they were all his publick and profeſſed Enemies, and ſo known to "the Queen, that they durſt never impertinently urge ought againſt him, "ſince they were ſure that Malice was concluded, when the Reaſon of their "Objection haply might not be conſidered.

However, in 1601 the Earl drew near his Ruine: for being hurried on by *Cuffs* ill Counſel, and his own Diſcontents, he projects new Plots againſt the State, and tampers with the King of *Scots* to remove his Enemies at Court by force, informing him that the Power of the Nation lay in their hands, *Raleigh* being Governour of *Jerſey*, &c. and other of his Enemies having the ſtrength of the Nation at their command. And vainly preſuming upon the love of the Citizens, he projects to ſeize the *Court*, and to ſecure *Raleigh*, as the moſt conſiderable Enemy he had. Of which Deſign *Gorges* informs Sir *Walter*. The better to carry on his Deſigns, *Eſſex* goes into *London*, where he endeavoured to excite the Citizens to an Inſurrection: But the City then being Rich, were not ſo apt to rebel; Rebellion being uſually the Daughter of Poverty and Diſcontent. For theſe Treaſonable Actions, being found guilty, he was condemned and executed.

That he died bravely and like a Gentleman, is not to be queſtioned; but that Sir *Walter Raleigh* ſhould come openly to ſee him die, on purpoſe only to fat his Eyes with the Sacrifice of his Enemy, can never be granted, if we may believe himſelf in the ſame circumſtances on the Scaffold, where he told his Auditors on the words of a Dying-man, he only came there to defend himſelf if any thing had been urged againſt him by the Earl.

Thus ended that Favourite, whoſe Death ſtruck a damp on the Queens proſperous days, and gave blackneſs to her declining Reign. This Blow, like that of Gunpowder, not only blew up his Friends and Neighbours, but ſhook his Enemies at a diſtance; for it reached Sir *Walter* too, who wanting ſtrength to grapple with his Rival the Treaſurer, and not owning humility enough

enough to be his Servant, periſhed at laſt in the Encounter. This himſelf preſag'd (if we may believe *Osborn*) as he came from the Execution of *Eſſex* in a Boat, when he was heard to ſay, *That it was more ſafe to have many enemies at Court of equal power, than one falſe and ambitious friend who hath attain'd to the abſoluteneſs of Command.*

The *Queen* could not long ſurvive her Favourite; for I find her Death to be the next Year following. A *Queen* who had enriched the Nation, reform'd Religion, curb'd the Pride of *Spain*, ſupported *France*, preſerv'd *Scotland*, protected the *Hollander* againſt the *Spaniard*, and had vanquiſhed his Armies by Sea and Land, reduced *Ireland* to obedience notwithſtanding all the ſubtil practices of *Spain*, and open Aſſiſtance given in Arms to her *Iriſh* Rebels, with many other things which might ſeem too much to be the Atchievements of one Reign.

King *James* her Succeſſor came to the poſſeſſion of a Kingdom arrived at the heighth of Proſperity, which like all other Bodies when they are at their Ακμὴ tend to Corruption, and degenerate. This Sir *Walter* perceiv'd, and would have, as he thought, remedied. Sir *John Forteſcue*, the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *VValter*, and others, would have obliged the King by Articles before his coming to the Crown, that his Country-mens number ſhould be limited: But this was ſtopped by the prudent Treaſurer, and the bold *Northumberland*. Sir *VValter* fear'd that the *Scots*, like Locuſts, would quickly devour this Kingdom; it being probable that, like the *Goths* and *Vandals*, they would ſettle in any Country rather than their own, and would make it their buſineſs to render our Nation as beggarly as theirs: for this, He, with the reſt of them, was afterwards frown'd on by the King, and loſt his Command of the Guards. 1602.

However, Sir *VValter* ſtill purſued the Good and Glory of his Country; and as formerly in Active Times, gave his Advice ſtill againſt the Peace with *Spain*, which might now with no great difficulty be brought on its knees. At the entrance of the King he preſented him with a Manuſcript of his own writing, with no weak Arguments againſt the Peace. But Sir *VValter* was miſtaken, for his Counſel was ill-timed, and a new Part was now to be acted, the Scene being changed. Peace was the King's Aim, whether out of Fear, or Religious Principles I determine not. But with *Spain* a Peace is concluded, with an Enemy already humbled, who now had time given them to recover their former Loſſes, and were as it were cheriſh'd to aſſault us with the greater vigor; which how true it proved every man can tell. And as if the King would quite run counter to the Queens Politiques, the Eſtates of the *Netherlands* are deſpiſed, ſlighted, and deſerted, under pretence that it were of ill example for a Monarch to protect them.

The King is hardly warm in his Throne, but there is a great noiſe of a Plot, generally call'd Sir *VValter Raleighs Treaſon*, but upon what grounds I know not, ſince he had the leaſt hand in it, as by his Tryal will appear. A Plot that is ſtill a Myſtery, and hath a Vail ſpread over it; A Plot compos'd of ſuch a Hodg-podge of Religion and Intereſts, that the World ſtands amazed Sir *VValter Raleigh* ſhould ever be drawn into it; A Plot ſo unlikely to hurt others, or benefit themſelves, that as *Osborn* tells us, "If ever Folly was capable of the title, or Pity due to Innocence, theirs might claim ſo large a "ſhare, as not poſſible to be too ſeverely condemn'd, or ſlightly enough puniſhed. Envy and Diſdain, as Sir *Walter* has told us in his *Remains*, ſeek Innovation by Faction. Diſcontent is the great Seducer, which at firſt put him to

ſearch into a Plot, he afterwards was betray'd into. The chief Ingredients in this Medley were two Prieſts *Watſon* and *Clark*, and Count *Arembergh*, Ambaſſador Extraordinary for the *Arch-Duke*, who brought in *Cobham*, and he his Brother *George Brook*, both Proteſtants, at leaſt ſeeming ſo; *George Brook* hook'd in *Parham* and others, and they the Lord *Grey* of *Wilton*, a rank Puritan. Then came in Sir *Walter*, the wiſeſt of them all, according to *Sanderſon*, who, as he tells us, dallied like a Fly in the Flame, till it conſum'd him. Willing he was to know it, and thought by his Wit to over-reach the Confederates, whom he knew well enough, though he dealt with none but *Cobham*, as I can find out. One Mr. *Lawrency* an *Antwerp*-Merchant, was the property made uſe of by *Arembergh*, and a Crony of the Lord *Cobhams*. Theſe carried on the Contrivance a long while, which (as *Sanderſon* tells us) was betray'd by *Lawrency*, and the vigilancy of *Cecil*. And indeed it was morally impoſſible that ſo many diſagreeing weak Souls ſhould carry on a Project without taking Air; The leaſt glimpſe being enough to give light to the Stateſmen of thoſe times. Their Deſigns were,

1. To ſet the Crown on the Lady *Arabella*; or to ſeize on the King, and make him grant their Deſires, and a Pardon.
2. To have a Toleration of Religion.
3. To procure Aid and Aſſiſtance from Foreign Princes.
4. To turn out of the Court ſuch as they diſlik'd, and place themſelves in Offices.

Watſon to be Lord-Chancellor.
George Brook Lord-Treaſurer.
Sir *Griffin Markham* Secretary of State.
Lord *Grey* Maſter of the Horſe, and Earl-Marſhal of *England*. But it ſeems they made no proviſion for Sir *Walter*; which is no inconſiderable Argument of his Innocency, who would have deſerved, and might have expected as great a Reward as any of them, had he been engaged in the Plot.

To oblige to Secrecy, *Watſon* draws up an Oath. But all is betray'd; they are ſeiz'd, examined, and tryed. How well or ill Sir *Walter* has acquitted himſelf, we ſhall leave to the Opinion of the Readers of the following TRYAL, which was exactly and faithfully taken.

THE

THE ARRAIGNMENT OF Sir Walter Raleigh, Kt.

Temp. Jac. 1603.

AT *Winton, Thurſday* the 17*th* of *November, Anno. Dom.* 1603. before the Right Honourable the

Earl of *Suffolk*, Lord Chamberlain.

Earl of *Devon.*
Lord *Henry Howard.*
Lord *Cecil*, Earl of *Salisbury.*
Lord *Wotton.*
Sir *John Stanhope*, Vice-Chamberlain.
Lord Chief Juſtice of *England*, *Popham.*
Lord Chief Juſtice of the Common-Pleas, *Andrews.*
Juſtice *Gaudie.*
Juſtice *Warburton*, and others, Commiſſioners by ſpecial Delegate Aſſigned.

Firſt, The Commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, was read by the Clerk of the Crown Office.

And then preſently the Indictment was in effect as followeth:

THat he did *Conſpire, and go about to Deprive the King of his Government, to raiſe up Sedition within the Realm, to alter Religion, to bring in the* Roman *Superſtition, and to procure Forraign Enemies to Invade the Kingdoms. That the Lord* Cobham, *the* 9th *of* June, *did meet with the ſaid Sir* Walter Raleigh *in* Durham *Houſe, in the Pariſh of St.* Martins *in the* Fields, *and then and there had Conference with him how to Advance* Arabella Stuart *to the Crown, and Royal Throne of this Kingdom; and that then and there it was agreed, that* Cobham *ſhould Treat with* Aremberg, *Embaſſador from to the Arch Duke of* Auſtrea, *to obtain of him* 600000 *Crowns, to bring to paſs their intended Treaſons. It was agreed, that* Cobham *ſhould go to* Albert *the Arch-Duke, to procure him to advance the pretended Title of* Arabella: *From thence knowing that* Albert *had not ſufficient Means to maintain his own Army in the* Low Countries, Cobham *ſhould go to* Spain *to procure the King to aſſiſt, and further her pretended Title.*

It was agreed, the better to Effect all this Conſpiracy, that Arabella *ſhould write three Letters, one to the Arch-Duke, another to the King of* Spain, *and a third to the Duke of* Savoy, *and promiſe three things: Firſt, to Eſtabliſh firm Peace between* England *and* Spain. *Secondly, To Tolerate the* Popiſh *and* Roman *Superſtition. Thirdly, To be Ruled by them in Contracting of her Marriage.*

And for the effecting theſe Traiterous Purpoſes, Cobham *ſhould return by the Iſle of* Jerſey, *and ſhould find Sir* Walter Raleigh *Captain of the ſaid Iſle there, and take Councel of* Raleigh, *for the Diſtributing of the aforeſaid Crowns, as the Occaſion and Diſcontentment of the Subjects ſhould give Cauſe and Way.*

And further, That Cobham *and his Brother* Brook, *met on the* 9th *of* June, *and* Cobham *told* Brook *all theſe Treaſons: To the which Treaſons*, Brook *gave his Aſſent, and did joyn himſelf to all theſe; and after on the* Thurſday *following*, Cobham *and* Brook *did ſpeak theſe words*: That there would never be a good World in *England*, till the King (*meaning our Soveraign Lord*) and his Cubs (*meaning his Royal Iſſue*) were taken away.

And the more to Diſable and Deprive the King of his Crown, and to Confirm the ſaid Cobham *in his Intents*, Raleigh *did Publiſh a Book, falſly Written againſt the moſt Juſt and Royal Title of the King, knowing the ſaid Book to be Written againſt the juſt Title of the King; which Book* Cobham *after that received of him. Further, for the better Effecting theſe Trayterous Purpoſes, and to Eſtabliſh the ſaid* Brook *in his Intent, the ſaid*

Cobham *did deliver the ſaid Book unto him, the* 14th *of* June. *And further, the ſaid* Cobham, *on the* 16th *of* June, *for accompliſhment of the ſaid Conference; And by the Trayterous Inſtigation of* Raleigh, *did move* Brook *to incite* Arabella *to write to the three forenamed Princes, to procure them to Advance her Title; and that ſhe, after ſhe had obtained the Crown, ſhould promiſe to perform three things*, viz. *Peace between* England *and* Spain. 2. *To Tolerate with Impunity*, the Popiſh *and* Roman *Superſtitions.* 3. *To be Ruled by them three, in the Contracting of her Marriage.*

To theſe Motions, the ſaid Brook *gave his aſſent, and for the better Effecting of the ſaid Treaſons*, Cobham *on the* 17th *of* June, *by the Inſtigation of* Raleigh, *did write Letters to Count* Aremberg, *and did deliver the ſaid Letters to one* Matthew de Lawrency, *to be delivered to the ſaid Count: Which he did deliver for the obtaining of* 600000 *Crowns, which Money by other Letters*, *Count* Aremberg *did promiſe to perform the Payment of; and this Letter* Cobham *received the* 18th *of* June. *And then did* Cobham *promiſe to* Raleigh, *that when he had received the ſaid Money, he would deliver* 8000 *Crowns to him, to which Motion he did conſent; and afterwards* Cobham *offered* Brook, *that after he ſhould receive the ſaid Crowns, he would give to him* 10000 *thereof; to which Motion* Brook *did aſſent.*

To the Indictment, Sir *Walter Raleigh* pleaded not Guilty.

The JURY.

Sir *Ralph Conisby*, Knight.
Sir *Thomas Fowler*, Knight.
Sir *Edward Peacock*, Knight.
Sir *William Rowe*, Knight.
Henry Goodyer, Arm.
Roger Wood, Arm.
Thomas Walker, Arm.
Thomas Whitby, Arm.
Thomas Highgate, Gent.
Robert Kempthon, Gent.
Edward Littlebury, Gent.
John Chawkey, Gent.
Robert Brumley, Gent.

Sir *Walter Raleigh* Priſoner, was asked, whether he would take Exceptions to any of the Jury.

Raleigh. I know none of them; they are all Chriſtians and Honeſt Gentlemen, I except againſt none.

E. *Suff.* You Gentlemen of the Kings Learned Jury, follow the ſame Courſe as you did the other day.

Raleigh. I pray you, I may anſwer the Points particularly as they are delivered, by reaſon of the Weakneſs of my Memory and Sickneſs.

Popham, Chief Juſtice. After the Kings Learned Council have delivered all the Evidence, you may Anſwer particularly.

Heath, the Kings Sergeant at Law. You have heard of *Raleigh*'s bloody attempts, to Kill the King and his Noble Progeny, and in place thereof, to advance one *Arabella Stuart*: The particulars of the Indictment are theſe. Firſt, That *Raleigh* met with *Cobham* the *9th* of *June*, and had Conference of an Invaſion, of a Rebellion, and an Inſurrection, to be made by the Kings Subjects, to Depoſe the King, and to Kill his Children, poor Babes that never gave Offence: Here is Blood, here is a new King and Governour. In our King conſiſts all our Happineſs, and the true uſe of the Goſpel, a thing which we all wiſhed to be Settled after the Death of the Queen. Here muſt be Money to do this, for Money is the Sinew of War. Where ſhould that be had? Count *Aremberg* muſt procure it of *Philip* King of *Spain*, 5, or 600000 Crowns, and out of this Sum, *Raleigh* muſt have 8000; then there muſt be Friends to effect this. *Cobham* muſt go to *Albert*, Arch-Duke of *Auſtria*, for whom *Aremberg* was Embaſſador at that time in *England*: And what then? He muſt perſwade the Duke to Aſſiſt the pretended Title of *Arabella*. From thence *Cobham* muſt go to the King of *Spain*, and perſwade him to Aſſiſt the ſaid Title. Since the Conqueſt, there was never the like Treaſon. But out of whoſe Head came it? Out of *Raleigh*'s, who muſt alſo adviſe *Cobham* to uſe his Brother *Brook* to Incite the Lady *Arabella* to write three ſeveral Letters, as aforeſaid in the Indictment; all this was on the *9th* of *June*. Then three days after, *Brook* was acquainted with it: After this, *Cobham* ſaid to *Brook*, 'twill never be well in *England*, till the King and his Cubs are taken away. Afterwards *Raleigh* delivered a Book to *Cobham*, Treacherouſly written againſt the Title of the King. It appears that *Cobham* took *Raleigh*, *To be either a God, or an Idol. Cobham* endeavours to ſet up a new King, or Governor. God forbid, mine Eyes ſhould ever ſee ſo unhappy a Chance.

As for the Lady *Arabella*, ſhe, upon my Conſcience, hath no more Title to the Crown than I have; which, before God, I utterly Renounce. At which Sir *Walter* ſmiled.

Cobham, a Man bred in *England*, hath no Experience abroad.

Raleigh

Raleigh, a Man of great Wit Military and a Sword-Man.

Now whether of theſe Perſons was Bred in a hollow Tree, I leave to them to ſpeak of, who can ſpeak far better than my ſelf.

Sir Edward Cook, the Kings Attourney. I muſt firſt, before I come to the Cauſe, give one Caution, becauſe we ſhall often mention Perſons of eminent Places, ſome of them great Monarchs: Whatever we ſay of them, we ſhall but Repeat what others have ſaid of them; I mean the Capital Offenders in the Confeſſion: we profeſſing Law muſt ſpeak Reverently of Kings and Potentates. I perceive theſe Honourable Lords, and the reſt of this great Aſſembly, are come to hear what hath been ſcattered upon the Wreck of Rumors; we carry a *Juſt* mind, to Condemn no Man but upon plain Evidence. Here is Miſchief, Miſchief in *Summo Gradu*, Exorbitant Miſchief. My Speech ſhall chiefly touch theſe three Points; *Imitation*, *Supportation*, and *Defence*.

The Imitation of Evil ever exceeds the Precedent, as on the contrary Imitation of good, ever comes ſhort. Miſchief cannot be ſupported, but by Miſchief: Yea, it will ſo multiply, that it will bring all to Confuſion. Miſchief is ever underprop'd by falſhood of foul Practiſes. Becauſe all theſe things did concur in theſe Treaſons, you ſhall underſtand the Main, as before you did the Bye.

The Treaſon of the Bye, conſiſteth in theſe Points: Firſt, That the Lord *Grey*, *Brook*, *Markham*, and the reſt, intended by Force in the Night, to Surprize the Kings Court, which was a Rebellion in the Heart, of the Realm, yea, in the Heart of the Heart, in the Court. They intended to make him, that is a Soveraign, ſubject to their Power, purpoſing to open the Doors with Muſquets and *Calivers*, and to take alſo the Prince and Council. Then under the Kings Authority, to carry the King to the Tower, and to make a *Stale of the Admiral*; when they had the King there, to Extort three things from him.

Firſt, A Pardon for all their Treaſons.

Secondly, A Toleration of the *Romiſh* Superſtition: Which, their Eyes ſhall ſooner fall out, than they ſhall ever ſee, for the King hath ſpoken theſe words in the hearing of many (*I will looſe the Crown and my Life, before ever I will alter Religion.*)

And, Thirdly, To remove Councelors: In the Room of the Lord Chancellor, they would have placed one *Watſon* a Prieſt, abſurd in Humanity, and ignorant in Divinity. *Brooks*, of whom I will ſpeak nothing, Lord Treaſurer; the great Secretary muſt be *Markham*. A hole muſt be found in my Lord Chief Juſtices Coat. *Grey* muſt be *Earl Marſhal, and Maſter of the Horſe*, becauſe he would have a Table in the Court: Marry, he would Advance the Earl of *Worceſter* to a higher Place; all this cannot be done without a Multitude.

Therefore *Watſon* the Prieſt telleth a Reſolute Man, That the King was in danger of *Puritans* and *Jeſuites*; ſo to bring him in blind-fold into the Action: Saying, that the King is no King till he be Crowned, therefore every Man might Right his own Wrongs; but he is *Rex Natus*, his Dignity Deſcends as well as yours, my Lords.

Then *Watſon* impoſeth a Blaſphemous Oath, that they ſhould Swear to defend the Kings Perſon, to keep ſecret what was given them in Charge, and ſeek all Ways and Means to Advance the Catholick Religion. Then they intend to ſend for the Lord Mayor and the Aldermen, in the Kings Name, to the Tower, leſt they ſhould make any Reſiſtance, and then to make Hoſtages of them; and to enjoyn them to provide for them Victuals and Munition. *Grey*, becauſe the King removed before *Midſummer*, had a further Reach, to get a company of Sword-Men to aſſiſt the Action: Therefore he would ſtay, till he had obtain'd a Regiment from *Oſtend*. So you ſee, theſe Treaſons were like *Sampſons* Foxes, which were joyned in their Tails, though their Heads were ſevered.

Raleigh. I pray remember, I am not charged with the Bye, being the Treaſon of the Prieſt.

Attourney. You are not: You ſhall obſerve three things in the Treaſons. Firſt, They had a Watch-word (the Kings ſafety) their pretence was *Bonum in ſe*, their intent was *Malum in ſe*.

Secondly, They avouched Scripture, both the Prieſts had, *Scriptum eſt*; perverting and ignorantly miſtaking the Scriptures.

Thirdly, They avouched the Common Law to prove, that he was no King till he was Crowned, alledging a Statute of 13. *Eli.* This, by way of Imitation, hath been the courſe of all Traytors.

In the 20*th* of *Edward* the 2*d*. *Iſabella* the Queen, and the Lord *Mortimer*, gave out, that the Kings Perſon was not ſafe, for the good of the Church and Commonwealth.

The Biſhop of *Carlile* did Preach on this Text (*My Head is grieved*) meaning by the Head, the King; that when the Head began to be Negligent, the People might reform what is amiſs.

3*d*. *Henry* 4*th*. Sir *Roger Claringdon* accompanied with two Prieſts, gave out, that *Richard* the 2*d* was Alive, when he was Dead.

Edward the 3*d* cauſed *Mortimers* Head to be cut off, for giving councel to Murther the King.

The 3. *Hen.* 7. Sir *Henry Stanly* found the Crown in the Duſt and ſet it on the Kings Head; when *Fitzwater* and *Garret*, told him that *Edward* the 5*th* was alive, he ſaid, *If I be alive, I will aſſiſt him.* But this coſt him his Head.

Edmond de la Pool, Duke of *Suffolk*, killed a Man in the Reign of King *Henry* the 7*th*, for which the King would have him hold his hand at the Bar, and then Pardoned him. Yet he took ſuch offence thereat, that he ſent to the Noblemen, to help to Reform the Common-wealth; and then ſaid, he would go to *France* and get Power there. Sir *Roger Compton* knew all the Treaſon, and diſcovered *Windon* and others, that were Attainted.

Temp. Eliz. Appleyard, a Traytor in *Norfolk*, ſaid a Man muſt have two Accuſers. *Helmes* was the Man that accuſed him; but Mr. *Juſt. Catlin* ſaid, that that Statute was not in force at that day, his words were (*thruſt her into the Ditch.*)

Throgmorton, in the 12*th*, or 20*th*. (*Quere* the Statute) ſpeaking of Accuſers, maketh this difference: An Accuſer is a ſpeaker by Report, when a Witneſs can ſpeak nothing but by his own Report.

If a Man do accuſe himſelf, it is more forcible than many Witneſſes. So then, ſo much by way of Imitation. This is the way of all Proceedings, there is Treaſon in the Heart, in the Hand, in the Mouth, in Conſummation.

The Wiſdom of the Law meeteth with them all, *Corde, Ore, Progreſſione, Conſummatione*; that which is in *Corde*, is the Root. You muſt take away Treaſon in the Root, in the Bud, in the Bloſſom.

Now I come to your Charge, you of the Jury, in *Determinatione finis*, and *Electione mediorum*. The greatneſs of Treaſon is to be conſidered in theſe two things, *Determinatione finis*, and *Electione mediorum*; this Treaſon excelleth in both, for that it was to Deſtroy the King and his Progeny. Theſe Treaſons are ſaid to be *Crimen læſæ Majeſtatis*, this goeth further, and may be termed *Crimen extirpandæ Regiæ Majeſtatis & totius Progeniei ſuæ.* I ſhall not need, my Lords, to ſpeak any thing concerning the King, nor of the Bounty and Sweetneſs of his Nature, whoſe Thoughts are Innocent, whoſe Words are full of Wiſdom and Learning, and whoſe Works are full of Honour; although it be a true ſaying, *Nunquam nimis quod nunquam ſatis.* But to whom do you bear your Malice? to the Children?

Raleigh. To whom ſpeak you this? You tell me News I never heard of.

Attourney. Oh Sir, do I? I will prove you the Notorioufeſt Traytor that ever came to Bar. After you have taken away the King, you would alter Religion: as you Sir *Walter Raleigh*, have followed them of the Bye in Imitation; for I will charge you with the words.

Raleigh. Your words cannot Condemn me, my Innocency is my Defence: Prove one of theſe things wherewith you have Charged me, and I will confeſs the whole Indictment; and that I am the Horribleſt Traytor that ever lived, and worthy to be Crucified with a Thouſand thouſand Torments.

Attourney. Nay, I will prove all: Thou art a Monſter, thou haſt an *Engliſh* Face, but a *Spaniſh* Heart. Now you muſt have Money: *Aremberg* was no ſooner in *England* (I Charge thee *Raleigh*) but thou incitedſt *Cobham* to go unto him, and to deal with him for Money, to beſtow on diſcontented Perſons.

Raleigh. Let me Anſwer.

Attourney. Thou ſhalt not.

Raleigh. It concerneth my Life.

Lord Chief Juſtice Popham. Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Mr. *Attorney* is but yet in the General, but when the Kings Councel have given the Evidence wholly, you ſhall Anſwer every particular.

Attourney. Oh! do I touch you?

Lord Cecil. Mr. *Attorney*, when you have done with this General Charge, do you not mean to let him anſwer to every Particular?

Attourney. Yes, when we deliver the Proofs to be Read. *Raleigh* procured *Cobham* to go to *Aremberg*, which he did by his Inſtigation: *Raleigh* Supped with *Cobham* before he went to *Aremberg*, after Supper, *Raleigh* conducted him to *Durham* Houſe; from whence *Cobham* went with *Lawrency*, a Servant of *Aremberg's*, unto him, and went in by a Back-way. *Cobham* could never be quiet until he had entertain'd this Motion, for he had four Letters from *Raleigh*. *Aremberg* anſwered, and promiſed it ſhould be performed, but knew not to whom it ſhould be diſtributed. *Cobham* and *Lawrency* came back to *Durham* Houſe, where they found *Raleigh*. *Cobham* and *Raleigh* went up, and left *Lawrency* below, where they had ſecret Conference in a Gallery, and after *Cobham* and *Lawrency* departed from *Raleigh*. Your *Reaſon* was Peace! What is that? *Spaniſh* Invaſion, *Scotiſh* Subverſion. And again, you are not a fit Man to take ſo much Money for procuring of a Lawful Peace, for Peace procured by Money is Diſhonourable. Then *Cobham* muſt go to *Spain*, and return by *Jerzey*, where

where you were Captain: And then becauſe *Cobham* had not ſo much Policy, or at leaſt Wickedneſs as you, he muſt have your advice for the diſtribution of the Money. Will you diſpoſe of ſo good a King Lineally deſcended? For he came of *Elizabeth*, Eldeſt Daughter of *Edward* the 4th. why then muſt you ſet up another? I think you meant to make *Arabella* a Titular Queen, of whoſe Title I will ſpeak nothing, but ſure you meant to make her a Stale: Ah good Lady! you could mean her no good.

Raleigh. You tell me News, Mr. *Attourney.*

Attourney. Oh Sir! I am the more large, becauſe I know with whom I deal: For we have to deal to Day with a Man of Wit.

Raleigh. Did I ever ſpeak with this Lady?

Attourney. I will Track you out before I have done: *Engliſh-Men* will not be lead by perſwaſion of Words, but they muſt have Books to perſwade.

Raleigh. The Book was Written by a Man of your Profeſſion, Mr. *Attourney.*

Attourney. I would not have you Impatient.

Raleigh. Methinks you fall out with your ſelf, I ſay nothing.

Attourney. By this Book, you would perſwade Men that he is not the Lawful King. Now let us conſider ſome Circumſtances: You know my Lord *Cobham* (for whom we all Lament, and Rejoyce; Lament in that his Houſe, which hath ſtood ſo long Unſpotted, is now Ruinated: Rejoyce, in that his Treaſons are Revealed) is neither Politician nor Sword-Man; *Raleigh* was united in the Cauſe with him, and therefore cauſe of his Deſtruction. Another Circumſtance is, the ſecret Contriving of it. *Humphry Stafford* claimed Sanctuary for Treaſon, *Raleigh* hath his Machivilian Pollicy, made a Sanctuary for Treaſon. He muſt talk with none but *Cobham*, becauſe (ſaith he) one Witneſs can never Condemn me. For *Brook* ſaid unto Sir *Griffith Markham*, take heed how you do make my Lord *Cobham* acquainted; for whatſoever he knoweth, *Raleigh* the Witch, will get it out of him. As ſoon as *Raleigh* was Examined on one Point of Treaſon concerning my Lord *Cobham*, he wrote to *Cobham* thus: *I have been Examined of you, and confeſſed nothing.* Further, you ſent to him by your truſty *Francis Kemiſh*, that one Witneſs could not Condemn; and therefore bad his Lordſhip be of good Courage. Came this out of *Cobhams* Quiver? No: But out of *Raleighs* Machivilian and Deviliſh Policy. Yea, but *Cobham* did retract it; Why then did you urge it? Now then ſee the moſt horribleſt Practices, that ever came out of the bottomleſs Pit of the loweſt Hell. After that *Raleigh* had intelligence that *Cobham* had Accuſed him, he endeavoured to have Intelligence from *Cobham*, which he had gotten by young Sir *John Payton*: But I think it was the Error of his Youth.

Raleigh. The Lords told it me, elſe I had not been ſent to the Tower.

Attourney. Then *Cobham*, by the Inſtigation of *Raleigh*, entred into theſe Actions: So that the Queſtion will be, Whether you are not the Principaleſt Traytor, and he would nevertheleſs have entred into it? Why did *Cobham* Retract all that ſame? First, Becauſe *Raleigh* was ſo Odious, he thought he ſhould fare the worſe for his ſake. Secondly, he thought, If he be free, I ſhall clear my ſelf the better. After this *Cobham* asked for a Preacher to Confer with, pretending to have Doctor *Andrews*; but indeed, he meant not to have him, but Mr. *Galloway*; A Worthy and Reverend Preacher, who can do more with the King (as he ſaid) than any other; that he, ſeeing his conſtant denial, might inform the King thereof. Here he plays with the Preacher. If *Raleigh* could perſwade the Lords, that *Cobham* had no intent to Travel, then he thought all ſhould be well. Here is Forgery. In the Tower *Cobham* muſt write to Sir *Thomas Vane*, a worthy Man, that he meant not to go into *Spain*: which Letter *Raleigh* deviſed in *Cobhams* Name.

Raleigh. I will waſh my hands of the Indictment, and Die a true Man to the King.

Attourney. You are the abſoluteſt Traytor that ever was.

Raleigh. Your Phraſes will not prove it, Mr. *Attourney.*

Attourney. *Cobham* writeth a Letter to my Lord *Cecil*, and doth will *Mellis*, his Man, to lay it in a *Spaniſh* Bible, and to make as though he found it by chance. This was after he had Intelligence with this Viper, then he was falſe.

Lord Cecil. You mean a Letter intended to me, I never had it.

Attourney. No, my Lord, you had it not. You, my Maſters of the Jury, reſpect not the Wickedneſs and Hatred of the Man, reſpect his Cauſe; if he be Guilty, I know you will have care of it, for the Preſervation of the King, the continuance of the Goſpel Authoriſed, and the Good of us all.

Raleigh. I do not hear yet, that you have ſpoken one word againſt me, here is no Treaſon of mine done: If my Lord *Cobham* be a Traytor, what is that to me?

Attourney. All that he did was by thy Inſtigation, thou Viper, for I Thou thee, thou Traytor.

Raleigh. It becometh not a Man of your Quality and Virtue, to call me ſo: But I take Comfort in it, it is all you can do.

Attourney. Have I angered you?

Raleigh. I am in no caſe to be angry.

Popham. Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Mr. *Attourney* ſpeaketh out of the zeal of his Duty, for the Service of the King, and you for your Life; be Patient on both ſides.

Now they proceed to the Reading the Proofs.

The Lord Cobham's *Examination.*

'He confeſſeth he had a Paſs-port to go to 'the *Spaniſh* King, intending to go to the 'Arch-Duke to confer with him about theſe 'Practiſes; and becauſe he knew he had not 'Money to pay his own Army, from thence 'he meant to go to *Spain*, to deal with the 'King for the 600000 Crowns, and to re-'turn by *Jerſey*, and that nothing ſhould be 'done, until he had ſpoken with Sir *Walter* 'Raleigh for diſtribution of the Money, to 'them which were diſcontented in *England*. 'At the firſt beginning he breathed out Oaths 'and Exclamations againſt *Raleigh*, calling 'him Villain, and Traytor; ſaying, He had 'never entred into theſe Courſes, but by his 'Inſtigation, and that he would never let him 'alone.

Here Mr. *Attourney* willed the Clerk of the Crown Office, to read over theſe laſt words again (*he would never let him alone.*)

The Lord Cobham's *Examination.*

'Beſides he ſpake of Plots and Invaſions: 'Of the Particulars thereof he could not 'give an Account, though *Raleigh* and he 'had Conferred of them, becauſe he was '(as he ſaid) Confounded with them. Fur-'ther, he ſaid, He was afraid of *Raleigh*, that 'when he ſhould return by *Jerſey*, that he 'would have him and the Money to the King. 'Being Examined of Sir *Arthur Gorge*, he 'freed him, ſaying:

They never durſt truſt him, but Sir *Arthur Savage* they intended to uſe, becauſe they thought him a fit Man.

Raleigh. Let me ſee the Examination: This is all the Evidence can be brought againſt me; poor ſhifts. You Gentlemen of the Jury, I pray you underſtand this: This is that which muſt either Condemn, or give me Life; which muſt Free me, or ſend my Wife and Children to beg their Bread about the Streets. This is that muſt prove me a notorious Traytor, or a true Subject to the King. I never ſaw this Examination before.

Clerk of the Council. I did read it, and ſhew you all the Examinations.

Raleigh. At my firſt Examination by my Lords at *Windſor*, what I knew of *Cobhams* practice with *Aremberg*, I anſwered Negatively: And as concerning *Arabella*, I proteſt before God, I never heard one word of it. If that be proved, let me be Guilty of a Thouſand Treaſons. It is a ſtrange thing you will impute that to me, when I never heard ſo much as the Name of *Arabella Stuart*, but only the Name of *Arabella*.

After being Examined, I told my Lords, that I thought my Lord *Cobham* had Conference with *Aremberg*, I ſuſpected his Viſiting of him: For after he departed from me at *Durham* Houſe, by his own Stairs, and paſſed over to St. *Mary-Saviours*; I knew *Lawrency* a Merchant, and a Follower of *Aremberg*, and therefore likely to go unto him. My Lord *Cecil* asked my Opinion concerning *Lawrency*; I ſaid, that if you do not Apprehend *Lawrency*, it is dangerous, he will flie; if you do Apprehend him, you ſhall give my Lord *Cobham* notice thereof. I was asked likewiſe, who was the greateſt Man with my Lord *Cobham*? I anſwered, I knew no Man ſo great with him, as young *Wyat* of *Kent*.

Aſſoon as *Cobham* ſaw my Letter to have diſcovered his Dealing with *Aremberg*, in his Fury he accuſed me, but before he came to the Stair-foot he repented him, and ſaid, he had done me wrong. When he came to the end of his Accuſation, he added, That if he had brought this Money to *Jerſey*, that I would have Delivered him to the King. Mr. *Attourney*, you ſaid this never came out of *Cobhams* Quiver, he is a ſimple Man: Is he ſo ſimple? No: He hath Diſpoſitions of his own, he will not eaſily be guided by others, but when he has once taken Head in a Matter, he is not eaſily drawn from it; he is no Babe. It is ſtrange for me to Deviſe with *Cobham*, that he ſhould go to *Spain*, to perſwade the King to Diſburſe ſo much Money, he being a Man of no Love in *England*, and I having reſigned my room of chiefeſt Command, the Wardenſhip of the *Stanneries*: It is ſtrange for me, to make my ſelf *Robin Hood*, or a *Kett*, or a *Cade*; I knowing *England* to be in better Eſtate than ever it was. I knew *Scotland* United, *Ireland* Quieted, *Denmark* Aſſured, which before was Suſpected. I knew, that having a Lady whom Time had Surprized, we had now a lawful Succeſſor. The State of *Spain* was not unknown

known to me. I had Written a Diſcourſe, which I had intended to preſent unto the King, againſt Peace with *Spain*. I knew the *Spaniard* had ſix Repulſes, three in *Ireland*, and three at Sea, and once in 1588 at *Cales*, by my Lord Admiral. I knew he was Diſcouraged and Diſhonoured. I knew the King of *Spain* to be the proudeſt Prince living; but now he cometh Creeping to the King my Maſter, for Peace. I knew whereas before he had in his Ports 6 or 7 ſcore Sail of Ships, he hath now but Six or Seven. I knew of Twenty Five Milions he had from his *Indies*, he hath ſcarce one left. I knew him ſo Poor, that the Jeſuites in *Spain*, were feign to Beg at the Church-Door. Was it ever Read or Heard, that any Prince ſhould Disburſe ſo much Money, without a ſufficient Pawn? I knew her own Subjects, the Citizens of *London*, would not Lend her Majeſty Money without Lands in Morrgage. I knew the Queen did not Lend the States Money, without *Fluſhing*, *Brill*, and other Towns for a Pawn. And can it be thought, he would let *Cobham* have ſo great a Sum?

I never came to the Lord *Cobham's*, but about matters of his Profit, as the Ordering of his Houſe, Paying of his Servants Board-wages, *&c.* I had of his when I was Examined, Four Thouſand Pounds worth of Jewels for a Purchaſe; a Pearl of Three Thouſand Pound, and a Ring worth Five Hundred Pound: If he had had a fancy to Run away, he would not have left ſo much to have Purchaſed a Leaſe in Fee Farm. I ſaw him Buy Three Hundred Pounds worth of Books, to ſend to his Library at *Canterbury*, and a Cabinet of Three Hundred Pound to give to Mr. *Attourney*, for drawing the Conveyances and God in Heaven knoweth, not I, whether he intended to Travel. But for that practice with *Arabella*, or Letters to *Aremberg*, or any Diſcourſe with him, or in what Language he ſpake unto him, if I knew any of theſe things, I would abſolutely confeſs the Indictment, and acknowledg my ſelf worthy a Thouſand Deaths.

Cobham's *Examination Read.*

The Lord *Cobham* being required to Subſcribe to an Examination, there was ſhewed a Note under *Raleigh's* hand, whereupon, when he had peruſed it, he pawſed, and after brake forth into theſe Speeches: Oh Wretch! Oh Traytor! I will now tell you all the Truth: And then ſaid, His purpoſe was to go into *Flanders*, and into *Spain*, for the Obtaining the aforeſaid Money, and that *Raleigh* had appointed to meet him in *Jerſey* as he returned Home, to be adviſed of him about the Diſtribution of the Money.

Popham, Lord Chief Juſtice. When *Cobham* anſwered to the Interrogatories, he made ſcruple to Subſcribe, and being urged to it, he ſaid, If he might hear me affirm, that a Perſon of his Degree ought to ſet his Hand, he would; I lying then at *Richmond*, for fear of the Plague, was ſent for, and I told he ought to Subſcribe; otherwiſe it were a Contempt of a high Nature: Then he Subſcribed. The Lords Queſtioned with him further, and he ſhewed them a Letter, as I thought written to me, but it was indeed written to my Lord *Cecil*: He deſired to ſee the Letter again, and then ſaid, Oh Wretch! Oh Traytor! whereby I perceived you had not performed that Truſt he had repoſed in you.

Raleigh. He is as paſſionate a Man as Lives, for he hath not ſpared the beſt Friends he hath in *England*. My Lords, I take it, he that hath been Examined, hath ever been asked if it be according to his meaning, and then to Subſcribe. Methinks, my Lords, when he Accuſes a Man, he ſhould give ſome Account and Reaſon of it; it is not ſufficient to ſay, we Talked of it. If I had been the Plotter, would not I have given *Cobham* ſome Arguments, whereby to perſwade the King of *Spain*, and anſwer his Objections. I knew *Weſtmorland* and *Bothwell*, Men of other Underſtandings than *Cobham*, were ready to beg their Bread.

Sir Thomas Fowler, one of the Jury. Did Sir *Walter Raleigh* write a Letter to my Lord before he was Examined concerning him?

Attourney. Yes.

Lord Cecil. I am in great Diſpute with my ſelf, to ſpeak in the Caſe of this Gentleman: A former Dearneſs between me and him tied ſo firm a Knot of my Conceit of his Virtues, now broken by a Diſcovery of his Imperfections. I proteſt, did I ſerve a King that I knew would be diſpleaſed with me for ſpeaking, in this Caſe I would ſpeak, whatever came of it: But ſeeing he is compacted of Piety and Juſtice, and one that will not miſlike of any Man for ſpeaking a Truth, I will Anſwer your Queſtion.

Sir *Walter Raleigh* was ſtaid by me at *Windſor*, upon the firſt News of *Copley*, that the Kings Perſon ſhould be Surpriſed by my Lord *Grey*, and Mr. *George Brook*; when I found *Brook* was in, I ſuſpected *Cobham*, then I doubted *Raleigh* to be a partaker. I ſpeak not this, that it ſhould be thought, I had greater Judgment than the reſt of my Lords, in making this haſt to have him Examined; *Raleigh* following to *Windſor*, I met with with him upon the *Tarras*, and willed him as from the King, to ſtay, ſaying, The Lords had ſomething to ſay to him: Then he was

Examined, but not concerning my Lord *Cobham*, but of the Surprising Treason, what he said of *Cobham*, he delivered unto us in such sort as of a Brother he might: We sent for my Lord *Cobham* to *Richmond*, where he stood upon his Justification, and his Quality; sometimes being Froward, he said he was not bound to Subscribe, wherewith we made the King acquainted. *Cobham* said, if my Lord Chief Justice would say it were a Contempt, he would Subscribe, whereof being resolved, he Subscribed. There was a Light given to *Aremberg*, that *Lawrency* was Examined, but that *Raleigh* knew that *Cobham* was Examined, is more than I know.

Raleigh. If my Lord *Cobham* had trusted me in the Main, was not I as fit a Man to be trusted in the Bye?

Lord Cecil. *Raleigh* did by Letters acquaint us, that my Lord *Cobham* had sent *Lawrency* to *Aremberg*, when he knew not he had any Dealings with him.

Lord H. How. It made for you, if *Lawrency* had been only acquainted with *Cobham*, and not with you. But you knew his whole Estate, and were acquainted with *Cobham's* Practice with *Lawrency*; it was known before that *Lawrency* depended on *Aremberg*.

Attourney. 1. *Raleigh* protesteth against the Surprising Treason. 2. That he knew not of the Matter touching *Arabella*. I would not charge you, Sir *Walter*, with a matter of Falshood: You say, you suspected the intelligence that *Cobham* had with *Aremberg*, by *Lawrency*.

Raleigh. I thought it had been no other Intelligence, but such as might be Warranted.

Attourney. Then it was but lawful Suspicion. But to that whereas you said, that *Cobham* had accused you on Passion, I answer three Ways. 1. I observed when *Cobham* said, Let me see the Letter again; he pawsed and when he did see that Count *Aremberg* was touched, he cried out, Oh Traytor! Oh Villain! now will I Confess the whole truth. 2. The Accusation of a Man on Hear-say, is nothing: Would he Accuse himself on Passion, and Ruinate his Cause and Posterity, out of Malice to accuse you? 3. Could this be out of Passion? Mark the manner of it: *Cobham* had told this at least two Months before to his Brother *Brook*, *You are Fools, you are on the Bye*, Raleigh *and I are on the Main, we mean to take away the King and his Cubs*; this he delivered two Months before. So mark the manner of the Matter, he would not turn the Weapon against his own Bosom, and accuse himself to accuse you.

Raleigh. Hath *Cobham* confessed that?

Lord Chief Justice. This is spoken by Mr. *Attourney*, to prove that *Cobham's* Speech came not out of Passion.

Raleigh. Let it be proved that *Cobham* said so.

Attourney. *Cobham* saith, He was a long time doubtful of *Raleigh*, that he would send him to the King. Did *Cobham* fear least you would betray him in *Jersey*? Then of necessity there must be Trust between you. No Man can betray a Man, but he that is trusted, in my understanding. This is the greatest Argument to prove, that he was acquainted with *Cobham's* Proceedings. *Raleigh* hath a deeper reach than to make himself, as he said, *Robin Hood*, a *Kett*, or *Cade*, yet I never heard that *Robin Hood* was a Traytor; they say he was an Out-law. And whereas he saith, that our King is not only more Wealthy and Potent than his Predecessors, but also more Politick and Wise, so that he could have no hope to prevail. I answer, There is no King so Potent, Wise and Active, but he may be overtaken through Treason. Whereas you say *Spain* is so Poor, Discoursing so largely thereof, it had been better for you to have kept in *Guiana*, than to have been so well acquainted with the State of *Spain*. Besides, if you could have brought *Spain* and *Scotland* to have joyned, you might have hope to prevail. For his six Overthrows, I answer, He hath the more Malice, because Repulses breed desire of Revenge. Then you say, you never talked with *Cobham* but about Leases, and Letting Lands, and Ordering his House; I never knew you Clerk of the Kitchin, *&c.* If you had fallen on your Knees at first, and Confessed the Treason, it had been better for you. You say, he meant to have given me a Cabinet of Three Hundred Pound, perhaps he thought by those means, to have Anticipated me therewith. But you say, all these are Circumstances. I answer, all this Accusation in Circumstance is true: here now I might appeal to my Lords, that you take hold of this, that he Subscribed not to the Accusation.

Lord H. How. *Cobham* was not then pressed to Subscribe.

Attourney. His Accusation being Testified to the Lords, is of as great Force, as if he had Subscribed. *Raleigh* saith again, if the Accuser be alive, he must be brought Face to Face to speak, and alledges 25. *Edw.* 3. That there must be sufficient Witness that must be brought Face to Face before the Accused, and alledgeth 10. and 13. *Eliz.*

Raleigh. You try me by the *Spanish* Inquisition, if you proceed only by the Circumstances without two Witnesses.

Attourney. This is a Treasonable speech.

Raleigh:

Raleigh. *Evertere hominem Juſtum in cauſa ſua, Injuſtum eſt:* Good my Lords, let it be proved either by the Laws of the Land, or by the Laws of God, that there ought not to be two Witneſſes appointed; yet I will not ſtand to defend this Point in Law, if the King will have it ſo: it is no rare thing to be falſly Accuſed. A Judg Condemned a Woman in *Sarum*, for killing her Husband, on the Teſtimony of one Witneſs; afterwards his Man confeſſed the Murder, when ſhe was Executed. Who after, being toucht in Conſcience for the Judgment, was uſed to ſay, *Quod nunquam de hoc facto animam in Vita ſua Purgaret.* It is alſo Commanded by the Scripture, *Deut.* 17. *In Ore duorum aut trium Teſtium*, &c. and 19. *Non ſtabit unus Teſtis, contra aliquem*, &c.

If Chriſt requireth it, as it appeareth, *Matth.* 18. If St. *Paul*, 2 Cor. 13. St. *John* &c. If by the Statute, Civil Law, and Gods Word, it be required that there muſt be two Witneſſes at the leaſt, bear with me if I deſire one.

I would not deſire to Live, if I were privy to *Cobham*'s Proceedings: I had been a Slave, a Villain, a Fool, if I had endeavoured to ſet up *Arabella*, and refuſed ſo Gracious a Lord and Soveraign: But urge your Proofs.

Lord Chief Juſtice. You offered Queſtions on divers Statutes, all which mention two Accuſers in caſe of Indictments; you have deceived your ſelf, for the Laws of 25. *Ed.* 3. and 5. *Ed.* 6. are Repeal'd. It ſufficeth now if there be Proofs made either under Hand, or by Teſtimony of Witneſſes, or by Oaths; it needs not the Subſcription of the Party, ſo there be Hands of Credible-Men, to Teſtifie the Examination.

Raleigh. It may be an Error in me, and if thoſe Laws be Repeal'd, yet I hope the Equity of thoſe Laws remains ſtill, but if you Affirm it, it muſt be a Law to Poſterity; the Proof of the Common Law is by Witneſs and Jury, let *Cobham* be here, let him ſpeak it: Call my Accuſer before my Face, and I have done.

Attourney. *Scientia ſceleris eſt mixta Ignorantia:* You have read the Letter of the Law, but underſtand it not. Here was your Anchor-hold, and your Randeſvouze, you truſt to *Cobham*, either *Cobham* muſt accuſe you, or not accuſe you; if he did, then it would not hurt you, becauſe he is but one Witneſs, if he did not, then you are ſafe.

Raleigh. If ever I read word of the Law, or Statute before I was Priſoner in the Tower, God Confound me.

Attourney. Now I come to Prove the Circumſtances of the Accuſation to be true. *Cobham* confeſſed he had a Paſs-port to Travel, hereby intending to preſent Overtures to the Arch-Duke, and from thence to go to *Spain*, and there to have Conference with the King for Money: You ſay he promiſed to come Home by *Jerzey*, to make Merry with you and your Wife.

Raleigh. I ſaid, in his return from *France*, not *Spain*.

Attourney. Further, in his Examination, he ſaith nothing could be ſet down for the Diſtribution of the Money to the Diſcontented, without Conference with *Raleigh*. You ſaid it ſhould have been for procurement of Peace, but it was for raiſing Rebellion. Further, *Cobham* ſaith, he would never have entred into theſe Courſes, but by your Inſtigation, and that you would never let him alone. Your Schollar was not apt enough to tell us all the Plots, that is enough for you to do, that are his Maſter: You intended to truſt Sir *Arthur Savage*, whom I take to be an Honeſt and True Gentleman, but not Sir *Arthur Gorge*.

Raleigh. All this is one Accuſation of *Cobham*'s, I hear no other thing; to which Accuſation he never Subſcribed nor Avouched it. I beſeech you, my Lords, let *Cobham* be ſent for, charge him on his Soul, on his Allegience to the King; if he Affirm it, I am Guilty.

Lord Cecil. It is the Accuſation of my Lord *Cobham*, it is the Evidence againſt you, muſt it not be of Force without his Subſcription? I deſire to be reſolved by the Judges, whether by the Law it is not a forcible Argument of Evidence.

The Judges. It was.

Raleigh. The King at his Coronation, is ſworn *In omnibus Judiciis ſuis Æquitatem, non Rigorem Legis obſervare*: By the Rigour and Cruelty of the Law, it may be a forcible Evidence.

Lord Chief Juſtice. That is not the Rigour of the Law, but the Juſtice of the Law, elſe when a Man hath made a plain Accuſation, by Practice he might be brought to Retract it again.

Raleigh. Oh my Lord! you may uſe Equity.

Lord Chief Juſtice. That is from the King, you are to have Juſtice from us.

Andrews. The Law is, if the Matter be proved to the Jury, they muſt find you Guilty; for *Cobham*'s Accuſation is not only againſt you, there are other things ſufficient.

Lord Cecil. Now that Sir *Walter Raleigh* is ſatisfied, that *Cobham*'s Subſcription is not neceſſary: I pray you Mr. *Attourney* go on.

Raleigh. Good Mr. *Attourney* be patient, and give me leave.

Lord Cecil. An unneceſſary Patience is a

hindrance, let him go on with his Proofs, and then Refel them.

Raleigh. I would anſwer particularly.

Lord Cecil. If you would have a Table, and Pen, and Ink, you ſhall.

Then Paper and Ink was given him.

Here the Clerk of the Crown read the Letter, which the Lord *Cobham* did write in *July*, which was to the effect of his former Examination, further ſaying, *I have diſcloſed all; to Accuſe any falſly, were to burthen my own Conſcience.*

Attourney. Read *Coplies* Confeſſion the 8*th* of *June*, he ſaith, *He was offered a* 1000 *Crowns to be in this Action.*

Here *Watſons* Additions were read.

"The great Maſs of Money from the "Count was impoſſible, ſaith *Brook*, &c.

Brook's his Confeſſion read.

"There have Letters paſſed, ſaith he, be-"tween *Cobham* and *Aremberg*, for a great "Sum of Money, to Aſſiſt a ſecond Action, "for the Surpriſing of his Majeſty.

Attourney. It is not poſſible, it was of Paſſion; For it was in Talk before three Men being ſeverally Examined, who agreed in the ſum to be beſtowed on diſaffected Perſons. That *Grey* ſhould have 12000 Crowns, and *Raleigh* ſhould have 8000, or 10000 Crowns.

Cobhams Examination, *July* 18.

"If the Money might be procured (ſaith "he) then a Man may give Penſions. Be-"ing asked if a Penſion ſhould not be given "to his Brother *Brook*, he denied it not.

Lawrency's Examination.

"Within five Days after *Aremberg* ar-"rived, *Cobham* reſorted unto him. That "Night that *Cobham* went to *Aremberg* with "*Lawrency*, *Raleigh* Supped with him.

Attourney. Raleigh muſt have his part of the Money, the efore now he is a Traytor. The Crown ſhall never ſtand one Year on the Head of the King (my Maſter) if a Traytor may not be Condemned by Circumſtances. For if *A.* tells *B.* and *B.* tells *C.* and *C. D. &c.* you ſhall never prove Treaſon by two Witneſſes.

Raleigh's *Examination was Read.*

He confeſſeth *Cobham* offered him 8000 Crowns, which he was to have for the furtherance of the Peace, between *England* and *Spain*; and that he ſhould have it within three Days. To which, he ſaid, he gave this Anſwer, When I ſee the Money, I will tell you more; for I had thought it had been one of his ordinary idle Conceipts, and therefore made no accompt thereof.

Raleigh. The *Attourney* hath made a long Narration of *Copley*, and the Prieſts, which concerns me nothing, neither know I how *Cobham* was altered. For he told me, if I would agree to the Peace, he would get me 8000 Crowns. I asked him, Who ſhall have the reſt of the Money? He ſaid, I will offer ſuch a Noble-Man (who was not named) ſome of the Money. I ſaid, he will not be perſwaded by you, and will extreamly hate you for ſuch a Motion. Let me be Pinched to Death with hot Irons, if ever I knew there was any Intention to beſtow the Money on Diſcontented Perſons. I had made a Diſcourſe againſt the Peace, and would have Printed it: If *Cobham* changed his mind, if the Prieſts, if *Brook* had any ſuch intent, what is that to me? They muſt anſwer for it. He offered me the Money before *Aremberg* came, that is difference of time.

Sergeant Philips. Raleigh confeſſeth the Matter, but avoideth it, by diſtinguiſhing of Times. You ſaid it was offered you before the coming of *Aremberg*; which is falſe. For you being Examined whether you ſhould have ſuch Money of *Cobham*, or not: You ſaid yea, and that you ſhould have it within two or three Days. *Nemo moriturus præſumitur mentiri.*

Lord Hen. How. Alledg me any Ground or Cauſe, wherefore you gave ear to my Lord *Cobham* for receiving Penſions, in Matters you had not to deal with?

Raleigh. Could I ſtop my Lord *Cobhams* Mouth.

Lord Cecil. Sir *Walter Raleigh* preſſeth, that my Lord *Cobham* ſhould be brought Face to Face. If he ask things of Favour and Grace, they muſt come only from him that gives them. If we Sit here as Commiſſioners, how ſhall we be ſatisfied, whether he ought to be brought, unleſs we hear the Judges ſpeak?

Lord Chief Juſtice. This thing cannot be granted, for then a number of Treaſons ſhould flouriſh: The Accuſer may be drawn by Practice, whilſt he is in Perſon.

Judg Gawdy. The Statute you ſpeak of, concerning two Witneſſes, in caſe of Treaſon is found to be inconvenient; therefore by another Law it was taken away.

Raleigh. The common Trial of *England*, is by Jury and Witneſſes.

Lord Chief Juſtice. No, by Examination: If three Conſpire a Treaſon, and they all Confeſs it; here is never a Witneſs, yet they are Condemned.

Judg Warburton. I marvel, Sir *Walter*, that you being of ſuch Experience and Wit, ſhould ſtand on this Point; for ſo, many Horſe-ſtealers may eſcape, if they may not be Condemned without Witneſſes. If one

ſhould

ſhould ruſh into the Kings Privy-Chamber, whilſt he is alone, and Kill the King (which God forbid) and this Man be met coming with his Sword drawn all bloody; Shall not he be Condemned to Death? My Lord *Cobham* hath, perhaps, been Laboured withal; and to ſave you, his old Friend, it may be that he will deny all that which he hath ſaid.

Raleigh. I know not how you conceive the Law.

Lord Chief Juſtice. Nay, we do not conceive the Law, but we know the Law.

Raleigh. Indeed where the Accuſer is not to be had conveniently, *I* agree with you; but here my Accuſer may, he is alive, and in the Houſe. *Suſanna* had been Condemned, if *Daniel* had not cried out: *Will you condemn an innocent Iſraelite, without Examination or Knowledg of the truth?* Remember, it is abſolutely the Commandment of God: If a falſe Witneſs riſe up, you ſhall cauſe him to be brought before the Judges, if he be found falſe, he ſhall have the Puniſhment which the Accuſed ſhould have had. It is very ſure for my Lord to Accuſe me is my certain Danger, and a means to Excuſe himſelf.

Lord Chief Juſtice. There muſt not ſuch a Gap be opened for the Deſtruction of the King, as would be, if we ſhould grant this. You Plead hard for your ſelf, but the Laws Plead as hard for the King. *I* did never hear that Courſe to be taken in a Caſe of Treaſon. There hath been Intelligence between you, and what underhand Practices there may be, I know not. If the Circumſtances agree not with the Evidence, we will not Condemn you.

Raleigh. The King deſires nothing but the knowledg of the Truth, and would have no advantage taken by Severity of the Law. If ever we had a Gracious King, now we have! I hope, as he is, ſuch are his Miniſters. If there be but a Trial of five Marks at the Common Law, a Witneſs muſt be depoſed. Good my Lords, let my Accuſer come Face to Face, and be depoſed.

Lord Chief Juſtice. You have no Law for it: God forbid any Man ſhould accuſe himſelf upon his Oath.

Attourney. The Law preſumes, a Man will not accuſe himſelf to accuſe another. You are an odious Man: For *Cobham* thinks his Cauſe the worſe, that you are in it. Now you ſhall hear of ſome Stirs to be raiſed in *Scotland.*

Part of Coplies *Examination.*

"Alſo *Watſon* told me, that a ſpecial Per-
"ſon told him, that *Aremberg* offered to him
"a Thouſand Crowns; and that *Brook* ſaid,
"the Stirs in *Scotland* came out of *Raleigh's*
"Head.

Raleigh. Brook hath been taught his Leſſon.

Lord H. How. This Examination was taken before me; Did I teach him his Leſſon?

Raleigh. I proteſt before God, I meant it not by any Privy Councellor.

Raleigh's *Examination.*

"The way to Invade *England,* were to
"begin with Stirs in *Scotland.*

Raleigh. I think ſo ſtill: I have ſpoken it to divers of the Lords, by way of Diſcourſe and Opinion.

Attourney. Now let us come to thoſe words of *Deſtroying the King and his Cubs.*

Raleigh. O barbarous! If they like unnatural Villains, ſhould uſe thoſe words, ſhall I be Charged with them? I will not hear it, I was never Falſe to the Crown of *England.* I have ſpent 40000 Crowns of mine own, againſt the *Spaniſh* Faction, for the Good of my Country. Do you bring the words of theſe Helliſh Spiders, *Clark, Watſon,* and others, againſt me?

Attourney. Thou haſt a *Spaniſh* Heart, and thy ſelf art a Spider of Hell; for thou confeſſeſt the King to be a moſt Sweet and Gracious Prince, and yet haſt Conſpired againſt him.

Watſons *Examination Read.*

"He ſaid, that *George Brook* told him
"twice, That his Brother, the Lord *Cob-*
"*ham,* ſaid to him, that you are but on the
"Bye, but *Raleigh* and I are on the Main.

Brook's *Examination Read.*

"Being askt what was meant by this *Far-*
"*gon* the Bye and the Main, he ſaid, That
"the Lord *Cobham* told him, that *Grey* and
"others, were in the Bye, he and *Raleigh*
"were on the Main. Being askt what Ex-
"poſition his Brother made of theſe words,
"he ſaid, he is loath to Repeat it. And
"after ſaith, by the Main, was meant, the
"taking away of the King and his Iſſue.
"And thinks on his Conſcience, it was in-
"fuſed into his Brother's Head by *Raleigh.*

Cobham's *Examination Read.*

"Being askt if ever he had ſaid, *It will*
"*never be well in* England, *till the King*
"*and his Cubs were taken away.* He ſaid,
"he had anſwered before, and that he would
"anſwer no more to the Point.

Raleigh. I am not named in all this: There is a Law of two Accusers, one of his own Knowledg, another by Hear-say.

Earl of Suffolk. See the Case of *Arnold.*

Lord Chief Justice. It is the Case of Sir *William Thomas*, and Sir *Nicholas Arnold.*

Raleigh. If this may be, you will have any Mans Life in a Week.

Attourney. Raleigh saith, That *Cobham* was in a Passion when he said so. Would he tell his Brother any thing of Malice against *Raleigh*, whom he loved as his life?

Raleigh. Brook never loved me; until his Brother had accused me, he said nothing.

Lord Cecil. We have heard nothing that might lead us to think, that *Brook* accused you, he was only in the Surprising Treason; for by accusing you, he should accuse his Brother.

Raleigh. He doth not care much for that.

Lord Cecil. I must Judg the best. The Accusation of his Brother was not Voluntary; he pared every thing, as much as he could, to save his Brother.

Cobhams *Examination Read.*

"He saith, he had a Book Written a-"gainst the Title of the King, which he "had of *Raleigh*, and that he gave it to "his Brother: *Raleigh* said, it was foolishly "Written.

Attourney. After the King came within Twelve Miles of *London*, *Cobham* never came to see him, and intended to Travel without seeing the Queen, and the Prince. Now in this Discontentment, you gave him the Book, and he gave it to his Brother.

Raleigh. I never gave it him, he took it off my Table. For I well remember, a little before that time, I received a Challenge from Sir *Amias Preston*, and for that I did intend to Answer it, I resolved to leave my Estate settled, therefore laid out all my loose Papers, amongst which was this Book.

Attourney. I observe there was Intelligence between you and *Cobham*, in the Tower; for after he said, it was against the Kings Title, he denied it again.

Sir William Wade. First my Lord *Cobham* confesseth it, and after he had Subscribed it, he revoked it again: To me he always said, that the Drift of it was against the Kings Title.

Raleigh. I protest before God, and his Works, I gave him not the Book.

Nota. *Sir* Robert Wroth *speaketh, or Whispereth something secretly.*

Attourney. My Lords, I must complain of Sir *Robert Wroth*; he says this Evidence is not Material.

Sir *Robert Wroth.* I never spake the words.

Attourney. Let Mr. *Serjeant Philips* testifie, whether he heard them.

One of the Commissioners then said. I will give my word for Sir *Robert Wroth.*

Sir Robert Wroth. I will speak as truly as you, Mr. *Attourney*, for by God, I never spake it.

Lord Chief Justice. Wherefore should this Book be Burnt?

Raleigh. I Burned it not.

Serj. Philips. You presented your Friend with it, when he was discontented. If it had been before the Queens Death, it had been a less matter; but you gave it him presently when he came from the King, which was the time of his discontentment.

Raleigh. Here is a Book supposed to be Treasonable; I never Read it, nor Urged it.

Attourney. This is cunning.

Raleigh. Every thing that doth make for me is cunning, and every thing that maketh against me is probable.

Attourney. Lord *Cobham* saith, that *Kemish* came to him with a Letter torn, and did wish him not to be dismaid, for one Witness could not hurt him.

Raleigh. This poor Man hath been close Prisoner this Eighteen Weeks; he was offered the Rack to make him Confess. I never sent any such Message by him, I only Writ to him, to tell him what I had done with Mr. *Attourney*; having of his at that time a great Pearl, and a Diamond.

Lord H. Howard. No Circumstance moveth me more, than this. *Kemish* was never on the Rack, the King gave Charge, that no Rigour should be used.

Commissioners. We protest before God, there was no such Matter intended, to our knowledges.

Raleigh. Was not the Keeper of the Rack sent for, and he threatned with it?

Sir William Wade. When Mr. Sollicitor and my self Examined *Kemish*, we told him he deserved the Rack, but did not threaten him with it.

Commissioners. It was more than we knew.

Cobham's *Examination Read.*

"He saith, *Kemish* brought him a Letter "from *Raleigh*, and that part which was con-"cerning the Lords of the Council, was rent "out; that he was Examined, and cleared "him of all; and that the Lord *H. Howard* "said, because he was discontent, he was fit "to be in the Action. And further, that "*Kemish* said to him from *Raleigh*, that he "should be of good Comfort, for one Wit-"ness could not condemn a Man for Treason.

Lord Cecil. Cobham was asked when he heard from you, he said, *Every Day.*

Raleigh.

Raleigh. *Kemiſh* added more, I neve bad him ſpeak theſe words.

Nota. *Mr. Attourney offered to interrupt him.*

Lord Cecil. It is his laſt Diſcouſe. Give him leave Mr. *Attourney.*

Raleigh. I am accuſed concerning *Arabella*, concerning Money out of *Spain*. My Lord Chief Juſtice ſaith, a Man may be Condemned with one Witneſs, yea, without any Witneſs. *Cobham* is Guilty of many things, *Conſcientia mille Teſtes*. He hath accuſed himſelf, what can he hope for but Mercy? My Lords, vouchſafe me this Grace. Let him be brought, being alive, and in the Houſe; let him avouch any of theſe things, *I* will confeſs the whole *Indict*ment, and Renounce the Kings Mercy.

Lord Cecil. Here hath been a touch of the Lady *Arabella Stuart*, a near Kinſwoman of the Kings. Let us not Scandal the innocent by confuſion of Speech: She is as innocent of all theſe things as *I*, or any Man here; only ſhe received a Letter from *Cobham*, to prepare her; which ſhe Laught at, and immediately ſent it to the King. So far was ſhe from Diſcontentment, that ſhe Laught him to ſcorn. But you ſee how far the Count of *Aremberg* did conſent.

The Lord Admiral (Notingham) *being by in a Standing, with the Lady* Arabella, *ſpake to the Court.*

The Lady doth here Proteſt upon her Salvation, that ſhe never dealt in any of theſe things.

Lord Cecil. The Lord *Cobham* wrote to my Lady *Arabella*, to know if he might come to ſpeak with her, and gave her to underſtand, that there were ſome about the King, that laboured to Diſgrace her; ſhe doubted it was but a Trick. But *Brook* ſaith, his Brother moved him to procure *Arabella* to Write Letters to the King of *Spain*: But he ſaith, he never did it.

Raleigh. The Lord *Cobham* hath accuſed me, you ſee in what manner he hath Forſworn it. Were it not for his Accuſation, all this were nothing. Let him be asked, if I knew of the Letter which *Lawrency* brought to him from *Aremberg*. Let me ſpeak for my Life, it can be no hurt for him to be brought; he dares not Excuſe me. If you grant me not this Favour, I am ſtrangely uſed. *Campian* was not denied to have his Accuſers face to face.

Lord Chief Juſtice. Since he muſt needs have Juſtice, the Acquitting of his old Friend may move him to ſpeak otherwiſe than the truth.

Raleigh. I have been the infuſer of all theſe Treaſons into him. You Gentlemen of the Jury, mark this, he ſaid I have been the Cauſe of all his Miſeries, and the Deſtruction of his Houſe; and that all Evil hath happened unto him, by my wicked Councel. If this be true, whom hath he cauſe to Accuſe, and to be Revenged on, but on me? And I know him to be as Revengful, as any Man on Earth.

Attourney. He is a Party, and may not come, the Law is againſt it.

Raleigh. It is a Toy to tell me of Law. I defie Law, I ſtand on the Fact.

Lord Cecil. I am afraid my often Speech (who am inferiour to my Lords here preſent) will make the World think, I delight to hear my ſelf Talk. My affection to you, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, was not extinguiſhed, but ſlaked, in regard of your deſerts. You know the Law of the Realm, (to the which your Mind doth not conteſt) that my Lord *Cobham* cannot be brought.

Raleigh. He may be, my Lord.

Lord Cecil. But do you Challenge it?

Raleigh. No.

Lord Cecil. You ſay that my Lord *Cobham*, your main Accuſer, muſt come to accuſe you. You ſay, he hath Retracted: I ſay many Particulars are not Retracted. What the Validity of all this is, is meerly left to the Jury. Let me ask you this, *If* my Lord *Cobham* will ſay, you were the only Inſtigator of him to proceed in the Treaſons, dare you put your ſelf on this?

Raleigh. *If* he will ſpeak it before God and the King, that ever *I* knew of *Arabella's* Matter, or the Money out of *Spain*, or of the Surpriſing Treaſon; *I* put my ſelf on it, Gods Will and the Kings be done with me.

Lord H. Howard. How if he ſpeak things Equivalent to that you have ſaid?

Raleigh. Yes, in a main Point.

Lord Cecil. *If* he ſay, you have been the *Inſtigator* of him to deal with the *Spaniſh* King, had not the Council cauſe to draw you hither?

Raleigh. *I* put my ſelf on it.

Lord Cecil. Then, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, think on God, and prepare your ſelf; for *I* do verily believe, my Lords will Prove this. Excepting your Faults (*I* call them no worſe) by God, *I* am your Friend. The Heat and Paſſion in you, and the Attourney's Zeal in the Kings Service, makes me ſpeak this.

Raleigh. Whoſoever is the Workman, it is reaſon he ſhould give Account of his Work to the Work-Maſter. But let it be Proved that he acquainted me with any of his Conference with *Aremberg*: he would ſurely have given me ſome Account.

Lord Cecil. That follows not. *If I* ſet you on Work, and you give me no Account, am *I* therefore *Innocent*?

Attourney. For *Arabella*, *I* ſaid ſhe was never acquainted with the Matter. Now that *Raleigh* had Conference in all theſe Treaſons, it is manifeſt; The Jury hath heard the Matter. There is one *Dyer*, a Pilot, that being in *Lisbon*, met with a *Portugal* Gentleman, who asked him if the King of *England* were Crowned yet? To whom he anſwered, *I think not yet, but he ſhall be ſhortly.* Nay, ſaith the *Portugal*, that ſhall he never be, for his Throat will be cut by *Don Raleigh*, and *Don Cobham*, before he be Crowned.

Dyer was called and Sworn, and delivered this Evidence.

Dyer. *I came to a Merchants Houſe in* Lisbon, *to ſee a Boy that I had there; there came in a Gentleman into the Houſe, and inquiring what Countryman I was,* I *ſaid an* Engliſh-Man: *Whereupon he asked me, if the King were Crowned? And I anſwered, that I hoped he ſhould be ſo ſhortly.* Nay, *ſaith he,* he ſhall never be Crowned, for *Don Raleigh*, and *Don Cobham*, will cut his Throat ere that Day come.

Raleigh What infer you upon this?

Attourney. That your Treaſon hath Wings.

Raleigh. If *Cobham* did practice with *Aremberg*, how could it not but be known in *Spain?* Why did they name the Duke of *Buckingham* with *Jack Straw's* Treaſon, but that it was to Countenance his Treaſon?

Conſider, you Gentlemen of the Jury, there is no Cauſe ſo doubtful, which the Kings Council cannot make good againſt the Law. Conſider my Diſability, and their Ability: They Prove nothing againſt me, only they bring the Accuſation of my Lord *Cobham*, which he hath Lamented and Repented as heartily, as if it had been for a horrible Murther. For he knew, that all this Sorrow which ſhould come to me, is by his means. Preſumptions muſt proceed from Precedent, or Subſequent Facts. I have ſpent 40000 Crowns againſt the *Spaniard.* I had not Purchaſed 40 Pound a Year. If I had Died in *Guiana*, I had not left 300 Marks a Year to my Wife and Son. I that have always Condemned the *Spaniſh* Faction, me-thinks it is a ſtrange thing that now I ſhould affect it! Remember what St. *Auſtin* ſays, *Sic Judicate tanquam abalio mox Judicandi; unus judex, unum Tribunal.* If you would be contented on Preſumptions delivered, to be Slaughtered, to have your Wife and Children turned into the Streets to beg their Bread; If you would be contented to be ſo Judged, Judg ſo of me.

Serj. Philips. I hope to make this ſo clear, as that the Wit of Man ſhall have no Colour to anſwer it. The Matter is Treaſon in the higheſt Degree, the end to Deprive the King of his Crown. The particular Treaſons are theſe: Firſt, To raiſe up Rebellion; and, to effect that, to procure Money; to raiſe up Tumults in *Scotland*, by divulging a Treaſonable Book againſt the Kings right to the Crown; the purpoſe, to take the Life of his Majeſty and his Iſſue. My Lord *Cobham* confeſſeth Sir *Walter Raleigh* guilty thereof. The Queſtion is, Whether he be Guilty as joyning with him, or Inſtigating of him? The courſe to Prove this, was by my Lord *Cobham's* Accuſation. If that be true, he is Guilty; if not, he is Clear. So, whether *Cobham* ſay true, or *Raleigh?* That is the Queſtion. *Raleigh* hath no Anſwer, but the Shadow of as much Wit, as the Wit of Man can deviſe. He uſeth his bare Denial; the denial of a Defendant muſt not move the Jury. In the Star-Chamber, or in the Chancery, for matter of Title, if the Defendant be called in Queſtion, his denial on his Oath is no Evidence to the Court to clear him, he doth it in *Propria cauſa.* Therefore much leſs in Matters of Treaſon. *Cobhams* Teſtification againſt him before then, and ſince, hath been largly diſcourſed.

Raleigh. If Truth be Conſtant, and Conſtancy be in Truth, Why hath he Forſworn that that he hath ſaid? You have not Proved any one thing by direct Proofs, but all by Circumſtances.

Attourney. Have you done? The King muſt have the laſt.

Raleigh. Nay, Mr. *Attourney*, he which ſpeaketh for his Life, muſt ſpeak laſt. Falſe Repetitions and Miſtakings muſt not mar my Cauſe. You ſhould ſpeak *Secundum allegata & probata.* I appeal to God and the King, Whether *Cobham's* Accuſation be ſufficient to Condemn me.

Attourney. The Kings Safety, and your Clearing, cannot agree. I proteſt, I never knew a clearer Treaſon.

Raleigh. I never had intelligence with *Cobham* ſince he came to the Tower.

Attourney. Go too, I will lay thee upon thy Back, for the Confidenteſt Traytor that ever came at a Bar. Why ſhould you take 8000 Crowns for a Peace?

Lord Cecil. Be not ſo impatient, good Mr. *Attourney*, give him leave to ſpeak.

Attourney. If I may not be patiently heard, you will incourage Traytors, and diſcourage Us. I am the Kings ſworn Servant, and muſt ſpeak: If he be Guilty he is a Traytor, if not, deliver him.

Nota. *Here Mr.* Attourney *ſat down and would ſpeak no more, until the Commiſſioners*

missioners urged and intreated him to go forward, and then proceeded.

Attourney. You had intelligence with *Cobham*, within four Days before he came to the Tower. If he be wholly *Spaniſh*, and deſired Penſion of 1500 Pound a Year from *Spain* that *Spain* by him might have Intelligence, then *Raleigh* is a Traytor. He hath taken an Apple, and pinned a Letter unto it, and threw it into my Lord *Cobham's* Window; the Contents whereof were this. *It is doubtful whether we ſhall be proceeded with or no, perhaps you ſhall not be Tried.* This was to get a Retractation. Oh! it was *Adam's* Apple, whereby the Devil did deceive him. Further, he Wrote thus, *Do not as my Lord of* Eſſex *did, take heed of a Preacher; for by his perſwaſion he confeſſed, and made himſelf Guilty.* I doubt not, but this Day, God ſhall have as great a Conqueſt by this Traytor, and the Son of God ſhall be as much Glorified, as when it was ſaid, *Viciſti Galilee*; you know my meaning. Though *Cobham* Retracted, yet he could not reſt nor ſleep, until he had Confirmed it again. If this be not enough to Prove him a Traytor, the King my Maſter ſhall not Live three Years to an end.

Nota. *Here Mr.* Attourney *produceth the Lord* Cobhams *Letter, and as he read it, Inſerted ſome ſpeeches.*

I have thought it fit, to ſet down this to my Lords, wherein I profeſs on my Soul, to write nothing but the truth. I am come now near to the Period of my Time, therefore I confeſs the truth before God, and his Angels. *Raleigh*, four days before *I* came from the Tower, cauſed an Apple (*Eves Apple*) to be thrown in at my Chamber-window; the effect of it was to intreat me to right the Wrong that *I* had done him, in ſaying, that *I* ſhould have come Home by *Jerſey*, which under my Hand to him, *I* have Retracted. His firſt Letter *I* anſwered not, which was thrown in the ſame manner, wherein he prayed me to write him a Letter, which I did. He ſent me word that the Judges met at Mr. *Attourney's* Houſe, and that there was good hope the Proceedings againſt us ſhould be ſtaied; he ſent me another time a little Tobacco. At *Aremberg's* coming, *Raleigh* dealt with me, to procure him a Penſion of 1500 Pound a Year, for which he promiſed that no Action ſhould be againſt *Spain*, but he would give knowledg before-hand. He told me the *States* had Audience with the King. (Ah, is not this a *Spaniſh* Heart in an *Engliſh* Body?) He hath been the original Cauſe of my Ruine; for I had no dealing with *Aremberg*, but by his inſtigation. He hath been alſo the cauſe of my Diſcontentment; he adviſed me, not to be overtaken with Preachers, as *Eſſex* was, and that the King would better allow of a conſtant Denial, than to Accuſe any.

Attourney. Oh damnable Atheiſt! he hath learned ſome Text of Scripture, to ſerve his his own purpoſe, but falſly alledged. He counſels him, not to be Counſelled by Preachers, as *Eſſex* was: He died the Child of God, God Honoured him at his death; thou waſt by when he died, *Et Lupus & Turpes inſtant morientibus urſæ.* He died indeed for his Offence. The King himſelf ſpake theſe words; *He that ſhall ſay* Eſſex *died not for Treaſon is puniſhable.*

Raleigh. You have heard a ſtrange Tale of a ſtrange Man; he hath Matter enough to me; but the King, and all of you ſhall Witneſs by our Deaths, which of us was the Ruine of other. I bid a poor Fellow throw in the Letter at his Window, written to this purpoſe, *You know you have undone me, now write three Lines to juſtifie me.* In this I will Die, that he hath done me Wrong: Why did not he acquaint me with his Treaſons, if I acquainted him with my Diſpoſitions?

Attourney. But what ſay you now of this Letter?

Raleigh. I ſay that *Cobham* is a baſe Diſhonourable poor Soul.

Attourney. Is he Baſe? I return it into thy Throat, on his behalf: But for thee, he had been a good Subject.

Nota. *Here* Raleigh *pulled a Letter out of his Pocket, which the Lord* Cobham *had written to him, and deſired my Lord* Cecil *to read it, becauſe he only knew his Hand; the Effect of it was as followeth.*

Cobhams *Letter of Juſtification to* Raleigh.

"Seeing my ſelf ſo near my End, for the "diſcharge of my own Conſcience, and "freeing my ſelf from your Blood, which "elſe will cry Vengeance againſt me: I pro-"teſt upon my Salvation, I never Practiſed "with *Spain* by your Procurement; God "ſo Comfort me in this my Affliction, as "you are a true Subject, for any thing that "I know. I will ſay as *Daniel*, *Purus ſum* "*a Sanguine hujus.* So God have Mercy on "my Soul, as I know no Treaſon by you.

Nota. *This was the laſt Evidence, whereupon a Marſhal was Sworn, to keep the Jury private. The Jury departed, and ſtaied not a Quarter of an Hour, but returned, and gave their Verdict* Guilty.

Serg. Heath demanded Judgment againſt the Priſoner.

Clerk of the Crown. Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Thou haſt been Indicted, Arraigned, and pleaded not Guilty, for all theſe ſeveral Treaſons, and for Trial thereof, haſt put thy ſelf upon thy Country; which Country are theſe, who have found thee Guilty. What canſt thou ſay for thy ſelf, why Judgment and Execution of Death, ſhould not paſs againſt thee?

Raleigh. My Lords, the Jury have found me Guilty. They muſt do as they are directed. I can ſay nothing why Judgment ſhould not proceed. You ſee whereof *Cobham* hath Accuſed me. You remember his Proteſtations, that I was never Guilty. I deſire the King ſhould know of the wrongs done unto me, ſince I came hither.

Lord Chief Juſtice. You have had no wrong, Sir *Walter*.

Raleigh. Yes, of Mr. *Attourney*. I deſire my Lords, to remember three things to the King. 1. I was Accuſed to be a Practiſer for *Spain*: I never knew that my Lord *Cobham* meant to go thither, I will ask no Mercy at the Kings Hands, if he will affirm it. 2. I never knew of the Practice with *Arabella*. 3. I never knew of my Lord *Cobham*'s Practice with *Aremberg*, nor of the Surpriſing Treaſon.

Lord Chief Juſtice. In my Conſcience I am perſwaded, that *Cobham* hath Accuſed you truly. You cannot deny, but that you were dealt with, to have a Penſion to be a Spie for *Spain*; therefore you are not ſo true to the King, as you have proteſted your ſelf to be.

Raleigh. I ſubmit my ſelf to the King's Mercy, I know his Mercy is greater than my Offence. *I* recommend my Wife and Son, of tender Years, unbrought up, to his Compaſſion.

Lord Chief Juſtice. I had thought I ſhould never have ſeen this Day, to have ſtood in this place againſt you; becauſe I thought it impoſſible, that one of ſo great Parts, ſhould have fallen ſo grievouſly. God hath beſtowed on you many Benefits. You had been a Man fit, and able to have ſerved the King in good Place. You had brought your ſelf into good State of Living, if you had entred into a good Conſideration of your Eſtate, and not ſuffered your own Wit to have Intrapped your ſelf, you might have lived in good Comfort. It is beſt for Man not to ſeek to Climb too high, leſt he fall; nor yet to Creep too low, leſt he be Trodden on. It was the Poſie of the Wiſeſt and greateſt Councellor, of his Time in *England*, *In medio ſpatio mediocria firma locantur*. You might have Lived well with 3000 Pound a Year, for ſo I have heard your Revenues to be. *I* know nothing might move you to be diſcontented; but if you had been Down, you know Fortunes Wheel, when it is turned about, riſeth again. *I* never heard that the King took away any thing from you, but the Captainſhip of the Guard, which he did with good Reaſons, to have one of his own Knowledg, whom he might Truſt in that Place. You have been taken for a Wiſe Man, and ſo have ſhewed Wit enough this Day. Again, for Monopolies for Wine, *&c.* If the King had ſaid, it is a Matter that offends my People, ſhould *I* burthen them for your particular good? *I* think you could not well take it hardly, that his Subjects were eaſed, though by your private hindrance. Two Vices have lodged chiefly in you; one is an eager Ambition, the other Corrupt Covetouſneſs. Ambition, in deſiring to be advanced to equal Grace and Favour, as you have been before-time; that Grace you had then, you got not in a Day or Year. For your Covetouſneſs, *I* am ſorry to hear that a Gentleman of your Wealth, ſhould become a baſe Spie for the Enemy, which is the Vileſt of all other; wherein, on my Conſcience, *Cobham* hath ſaid true: by it you would have increaſed your Living 1500 Pound a Year. This Covetouſneſs is like a Canker, that eats the Iron place where it Lives. Your Caſe being thus, let it not grieve you, if *I* ſpeak a little out of Zeal, and Love, to your good. You have been Taxed by the World, with the Defence of moſt Heatheniſh, and Blaſphemous Opinions, which *I* liſt not to Repeat, becauſe Chriſtian Ears canno tendure to hear them, nor the Authors and Maintainers of them ſuffered to Live in any Chriſtian Common-wealth. You know what Men ſaid of *Harpool*. You ſhall do well before you go out of the World, to give Satisfaction therein, and not to Die with theſe *I*mputations on you. Let not any Devil perſwade you to think, there is no Eternity in Heaven, for if you think thus, you ſhall find Eternity in Hell-Fire. *I*n the firſt Accuſation of my Lord *Cobham*, *I* obſerved his manner of ſpeaking; *I* proteſt before the Living God, *I* am perſwaded he ſpoke nothing but the truth. You wrote, that he ſhould not in any caſe Confeſs any thing to a Preacher, telling him an Example of my Lord of *Eſſex*, that noble Earl that is gone; who if he had not been carried away with others, had Lived in Honour to this Day among us. He confeſſed his Offences, and obtained Mercy of the Lord, for *I* am verily perſwaded in my Heart, he died a worthy Servant of God. Your conceit of not confeſſing any thing, is very inhumane and Wicked. This is the time of Confeſſing, that we may be Abſolved at the Day

of

of Judgment. You have ſhewed a fearful ſign of denying God, in adviſing a Man not to confeſs. It now comes in my mind, why you may not have your Accuſer Face to Face, for ſuch a one is eaſily brought to Retract, when he ſeeth there is no hope of his own Life. It is dangerous that any Traytors ſhould have any Acceſs one to another, or Conference; when they ſee themſelves muſt Die, they will think it beſt to have their Fellow Live, that he may commit the like Treaſon again, and ſo in ſome ſort ſeek Revenge.

Now it reſteth to Pronounce the Judgment, which I wiſh you had not been this Day to have received: For if the Fear of God in you, had been anſwerable to your other Parts, you might have Lived to have been a ſingular Subject. I never ſaw the like Trial, and I hope, I ſhall never ſee the like again.

The Judgment.

But ſince you have been found Guilty of theſe Horrible Treaſons, you ſhall be had from hence to the Place whence you came, there to remain until the Day of Execution; and from thence you ſhall be Drawn upon a Hurdle through the Streets, to the Place of Execution, there to be Hanged and Cut down alive, and your Body ſhall be opened, your Heart and Bowels pluckt out, and your Privy Members cut off and thrown into the Fire, before your Eyes; then your Head to be ſtrucken off from your Body, which ſhall be divided into four Quarters, to be diſpoſed at the Kings Pleaſure: And

God have Mercy upon your Soul.

Here follows the Continuation of the Life.

IT was obſerved that before the Lords (principally to my Lord *Cecil*) at *Wincheſter* (for there he was tryed, the Sickneſs then reigning at *London*) he was humble, but not proſtrate; dutiful, but not deject: For in ſome caſes he would humbly thank them for gracious Speeches; in other acknowledge that their Honours ſaid true, as in relating ſome circumſtances. And in ſuch points wherein he would not yield unto them, he would crave pardon, and with reverence urge them, and anſwer them as in points of Law, or eſſential matters of Fact. To the Jury he was affable, but not fawning; hoping, but not truſting in them; carefully perſwading them with Reaſon, not diſtemperately importuning them with Conjurations; rather ſhewing love of Life, than fear of Death. What made ill for Sir *Walter*, was his diſcovery of *Laurency* and *Cobham*'s frequent private Conferences; which ſo incens'd *Cobham* that he poſitively accuſed him, though the ſingle Evidence of one already convicted of what Sir *Walter* was but yet impeach'd, could only make a Circumſtance, and not convict him. The Judges and the King's Counſel did what they could to bawl him out of his Life, and ſince they wanted Proof, they would endeavour to tire him out. If we may believe *Osborn*, ſeveral of the Jury-men, after he was caſt, were ſo far touch'd in conſcience as to ask of him pardon on their knees.

A further Confirmation of his Innocency may be a paſſage of his own in a Letter to Secretary *Winwood*, wherein he tells him, "That the "worthy Prince of *VVales* was extream curious in ſearching out the nature "of his Offences. The Queens Majeſty had inform'd her ſelf from the be-"ginning. The King of *Denmark* at both times of his being here, was through-"ly ſatisfied of his Innocency; they would otherwiſe never have moved his "Majeſty on his behalf. The Wife, the Brother, and the Son of a King do "not uſe to ſue for Men ſuſpect. Nay, further yet, the *Scots* themſelves declar'd in favour of him, if we may believe him in another Letter of his to Sir *Robert Car*, after Earl of *Somerſet*, wherein are theſe words, "I have ever "been bound to your Nation, as well for many other graces, as for the true "report of my Tryal to the King's Majeſty, againſt whom had I been ma-"lignant the hearing of my Cauſe could not have changed Enemies into "Friends, Malice into Compaſſion, and the minds of the greateſt number "then preſent, into the Commiſeration of mine Eſtate: It is not the nature "of foul Treaſon to beget ſuch fair Paſſions; neither could it agree with the "duty and love of faithful Subjects (eſpecially of your Nation) to bewail his "overthrow that had conſpired againſt their moſt natural and liberal Lord.

Two days after *Raleigh*'s Tryal, were ſentenced *Brook*, who pretended his intention was only to try faithful Subjects, and ſaid he had a Commiſſion for ſo doing, but produc'd it not. *Markham*, who confeſt the Indictment, pleaded Diſcontent, and deſired Mercy. *VVatſon*, who confeſt he drew them all in, holding the King to be no Sovereign till he were crown'd, inſtancing in *Saul*, and *Jeroboam*; And *Clark*, who ſaid the like. *Parham* and *Brooksby* were acquitted by the Jury; *Watſon*, *Clark* and *Brook* were executed; *Markham*, *Cobham*, and *Grey* brought ſeverally on the Scaffold to dye, and at the inſtant on the Block, had their particular Executions remitted, by a Letter to the Sheriff under the King's own Hand, without the knowledge of any, ſave Mr. *Gibbs*, Gentleman of the Bedchamber, that brought it. However, an evil fate did attend theſe Men; *Grey* died in the *Tower*, the laſt of his Line; the reſt were diſcharg'd, but died miſerably poor: *Markham* and ſome others abroad;

abroad; but *Cobham* (as *Osborn* tells us) in a Room aſcended by a Ladder, at a poor Womans houſe in the *Minories* (formerly his Landreſs) died rather of hunger than a natural diſeaſe.

Sir *Walter* was left to his Majeſties Mercy, who thought him too great a Male-content to have his Freedom, and probably too innocent to loſe his Life. Therefore in the *Tower* he is confin'd, but permitted to enjoy *Libera Cuſtodia*; where he improv'd his Impriſonment to the greateſt advantage of Learning and Inquiſitive Men. Since his Majeſty had civilly buried him, and as it were baniſh'd him this World, he thought it no Treaſon to diſturb the Aſhes of former times, and bring to view the Actions of deceas'd Heroes. And certainly none was ſo fit to comment on their Atchievements, and ſo able to raiſe excellent Maximes from them, as he who had been brought up in ſo wiſe a Court as Queen *Elizabeths*, and read ſo many wiſe Men. After ſome time paſt there, he was delivered of that great *Minerva* the Hiſtory of the World, a Book which for the exactneſs of its Chronology, curiouſneſs of its Contexture and Learning of all ſorts, ſeems to be the Work of an Age. An Hiſtory which never yet met with a Detractor, and was the Envy, if ſome Authors are to be credited, of King *James* himſelf, who thought none could out-do him at the Pen. That a Man who had been the greateſt part of his life taken up in Action, ſhould write ſo judiciouſly, ſo critically of Times and Actions, is as great a Wonder as the Book it ſelf. It ſtill remains a diſpute whether the Age he lived in was more obliged to his Pen or his Sword, the one being buſie in conquering the *New*, the other in ſo bravely deſcribing the *Old* World. An Hiſtory wherein the only fault, or defect rather, is, that it wanteth one half thereof; Which was occaſioned, as our Story tells us, thus: Some few days before he ſuffered he ſent for Mr. *Walter Burr*, who formerly printed his firſt Volumn of the Hiſtory of the World, whom taking by the Hand, after ſome other diſcourſe, he ask'd how it had ſold? Mr. *Burr* returned this Anſwer, *It ſold ſo ſlowly that it had undone him.* At which words of his Sir *Walter* ſtepping to his Desk, reaches his other unprinted part of his Hiſtory, which he had brought down to the Times he lived in, and clapping his hand upon his breaſt, ſaid with a ſigh, *Ah my Friend, hath the firſt Part undone thee? the ſecond Part ſhall undo no more; this ungratefull World is unworthy of it:* and immediately going to the Fire-ſide threw it in, and ſet his foot on it till it was conſumed. As great a loſs to Learning as Chriſtendom could have ſuſtained; the greater, becauſe it could be repaired by no hand but his. It often happening to Authors, as to great Maſters in Painting, their Pieces are not valued till they are dead, and the ſucceeding Age find the Originals inimitable.

Whilſt Sir *Walter* was thus confined, Death took away his and *Eſſex*'s mortal Enemy Sir *Robert Cecil*, after Earl of *Salisbury*, who had purchaſed the monopoly of Favour, and being jealous of Sir *Walter*'s Parts, had ſome fear he might ſupplant him; which was the cauſe, according to *Osborn*, that he was brought to the aforementioned Tryal. However Sir *Walter* outlived his Enemies deſigns and hatred, and for all his kindneſſes, beſtowed upon him the following Epitaph, which I am upon very good grounds aſſured to be his. King *James* was ſo much taken with the ſmartneſs of it, that he hoped the Author would die before him. The Verſes are theſe.

Here lies Hobinal, *our Paſtor while ere,*
That once in a quarter our fleeces did ſhear.
To pleaſe us, his Cur he kept under clogg,
And was ever after both Shepherd and Dog.
For oblation to Pan *his cuſtom was thus,*
He firſt gave a trifle, then offer'd up us.
And through his falſe Worſhip ſuch pow'r he did gain,
As kept him 'oth Mountain, and us on the Plain:
Where many a Hornpipe he tun'd to his Phillis,
And ſweetly ſung Walſingham *to's* Amarillis,
Till Atropos *clapt him, a Pox on the Drab,*
For ſpight of his Tarbox he dy'd of the Scab.

If the Reader deſires a Key to theſe Verſes, he may meet with it in *Osborn's* Memoirs, who yet for all his Intelligence hath not informed us that his Miſtreſſes name was *Walſingham.*

Fourteen Years Sir *Walter* had ſpent in the *Tower*, and being weary of a ſtate wherein he could be only ſerviceable by his Pen, but not in a capacity of ſerving and enriching his Country any other way, (Of whom Prince *Henry* would ſay, that no King but his Father would keep ſuch a Bird in a Cage;) At length he fell upon an Enterprize of a Golden Mine in *Guiana* in the Southern parts of *America*. The Propoſition of this was preſented and recommended to his Majeſty by Sir *Ralph Winwood* the Secretary of State, as a matter not in the Air, or Speculative, but Real and of certainty, for that Sir *Walter* had ſeen of the Ore of the Mine, and tried the richneſs of it, having gotten a pound from thence by the hands of Captain *Kemiſh* his ancient Servant.

Sir *Ralph Winwood's* Recommendations of the Deſign, and the earneſt Solicitations for his Enlargement of the Queen, the Prince, and the *French* Leiger, (with much affection to his Deſerts, not without ſome Politick Deſigns on *Spain*) together with the Aſſeverations of Sir *Walter* of the Truth of the Mine, work'd upon his Majeſty, who thought himſelf in Honour obliged, nay in a manner engaged (as the Declaration which he publiſhed after the Death of Sir *Walter* tells us) not to deny unto his People the Adventure and Hope of ſo great Riches, to be ſought and atchieved at the Charge of Voluntiers, eſpecially ſince it ſtood ſo well with his Majeſties Politick and Magnanimous Courſes in theſe his flouriſhing Times of Peace, to nouriſh and encourage Noble and Generous Enterprizes for Plantations, Diſcoveries, and opening of a new Trade.

Count *Gondamor* (an active and ſubtile Inſtrument to ſerve his Maſter's ends) took Allarm at this, and repreſented to his Majeſty the Enterprize of Sir *Walter* to be hoſtile, and predatory, intending to a breach of the Peace between the two Crowns. But notwithſtanding, Power at laſt is granted to Sir *Walter* to ſet forth Ships and Men for that Service. However, the King commanded him upon pain of his Allegiance to give him under his Hand (promiſing on the Word of a King to keep it ſecret) the number of his Men, the burthen and ſtrength of his Ships, together with the Country and River which he was to enter; which being done accordingly by Sir *Walter*, that very Original Paper was found in the *Spaniſh* Governours Cloſet at St. *Thoma*. So active were the *Spaniſh* Miniſters, that Advertiſement was ſent to *Spain*, and thence to the *Indies*, before the *Engliſh* Fleet got out of the *Thames*.

But

But as we have just cause to admire the more than usual Activity of the *Spanish* Agents, so may we wonder no less at the Miscarriage of his Majesties present Ministers, who notwithstanding he had past his Royal Word to the contrary, yet they did help Count *Gondamor* to that very Paper; So much both King and Court were at *Gondamor's* service.

A Commission indeed is granted, but by *Gondamor's* means is limited; that the Fleet should commit no Outrages upon the King of *Spain's* Subjects by Land, unless they began first; with other limitations in the Commission, which for the Readers Curiosity and Satisfaction I have here inserted.

JAMES by the Grace of GOD, &c. To all to whom these Presents shall come, to be read, heard, or seen, and to every of them greeting. Whereas Sir Walter Raleigh Knight, intendeth to undertake a Voyage by Sea and Shipping, unto the South parts of America, or elsewhere within America, possessed and inhabited by Heathen and Savage People, to the end, to discover and find out some Commodities and Merchandizes in those Countries, that be necessary and profitable for the Subjects of these Our Kingdoms and Dominions, whereof the Inhabitants there make little or no use or estimation; whereupon also may ensue by Trade and Commerce, some propagation of the Christian Faith, and reformed Religion amongst those Savage and Idolatrous People: And Whereas We are credibly informed, that there are divers Merchants and Owners of Ships, and others, well disposed to assist the said Sir Walt. Raleigh in this his Enterprise, had they sufficient assurance to enjoy their due parts of the Profits returned (in respect of the Peril of Law wherein the said Sir Walter Raleigh now standeth:) And Whereas also We are informed, that divers other Gentlemen, the Kinsmen and Friends of the said Sir Walt. Raleigh, and divers Captains and other Commanders, are also desirous to follow him, and to adventure their Lives with him, in this his Journey, so as they might be commanded by no other than himself.

Know ye, that We, upon deliberate Consideration had of the Premisses, being desirous by all ways and means to work and procure the benefit and good of Our loving Subjects, and to give our Princely furtherance to the said Sir Walter Raleigh, his Friends and Associates herein, to the Incouragement of others in the like laudable Journeys and Enterprizes, to be hereafter prosecuted and pursued; and especially in advancement and furtherance, as well of the Conversion of Savage People, as of the increase of the Trade, Traffique, and Merchandizes used by Our Subjects of this Our Kingdom, being most famous throughout all Nations: Of Our special Grace, certain knowledg, and meer motion, have given and granted, and by these Presents for Us, Our Heirs, and Successours, do give and grant unto the said Sir Walt. Raleigh, full Power

and Authority, and free License and Liberty out of this Our Realm of England, or any other Our Dominions; to have, carry, take, and lead, for and towards his said intended Voyage into the said South parts, or other parts of America, (possessed and inhabited, as aforesaid) and to Travel thither, all such, and so many of Our loving Subjects, or any other Strangers that will become Our loving Subjects, and live under Our Obeysance and Allegiance, as shall willingly accompany him, with sufficient Shipping, Armour, Weapons, Ordnance, Munition, Powder, Shot, Habiliments, Victuals, and such Wares and Merchandizes, as are esteemed by the Wild People in those parts, Clothing, Implements, Furniture, Cattel, Horses and Mares, and all other such things as he shall think most necessary for his Voyage, and for the use and defence of him and his Company, and Trade with the People there; and in passing and returning to and fro, and in those parts to give away, Sell, Barter, Exchange, or otherwise dispose of the same Goods, Merchandizes, and Premises, to the most benefit, and at the Will and pleasure of the said Sir Walter Raleigh and his Company, and such other Person or Persons, as shall be Adventurers or Assistants with, or unto him in this his intended Voyage, and from thence to Return, Import, Convey, and bring into this Our Kingdom, or any other Our Dominions, such Gold, Silver, Bullion, or any other Wares, or Merchandizes, or Commodities whatsoever, as they shall think most fit and convenient; and the same being so Returned, Imported, Conveyed, and brought into this Our Kingdom, or any other Our Dominions, to have, take, keep, retain, and convert to the only proper Use, Benefit, and behoof of the said Sir Walter Raleigh, and his said Company, and other Persons Adventurers and Assistants with, or to him in his Voyage, without the Let, Interruption, Molestation, and Disturbance of Us, Our Heirs or Successors, or any the Officers, or Ministers of Us, Our Heirs, or Successors whatsoever, Paying and Answering unto Us, Our Heirs, and Successors, the full fifth part in five parts to be divided, of all such Gold, and Silver, and Bullion, and Oar of Gold, or Silver, and Pearl, and precious Stone, as shall be Imported over and besides, and together with such Customs, Subsidies, and other Duties, as shall be due for, or in respect of any other Goods, Wares, or Merchandizes whatsoever to be so Imported by the true meaning of these Presents. And to the end the said Sir Walter Raleigh may be the more Encouraged to go forward in this his Enterprise, and all Our loving Subjects desirous to be Adventurers with him, or Assistant unto him, may be the more incited to further his Procedings: We do hereby in verbo Regio, for Us, Our Heirs, and Successors, Covenant, Promise, and Grant, to and with the said Sir Walter Raleigh, and all other Persons that shall accompany him, or to be attendant upon him, or to be Adventurers or Assistants with, or to him in this his Voyage, that no Gold, Silver, Goods, Wares, or Merchandizes whatsoe-

ſoever, of what kind or ſort ſoever, by him or them, or any of them to be Imported into this Our Kingdom of England, or any other Our Dominions, from any the ſaid South, or other parts of America (Poſſeſſed or Inhabited, as aforeſaid) ſhall be attached, ſeized, or taken by Us, Our Heirs, or Succeſſors, or to the uſe of Us, Our Heirs, or Succeſſors, or by any the Officers or Miniſters of Us, Our Heirs, or Succeſſors Whatſoever; But that the ſame, and every of them (the fifth part of the ſaid Gold, Silver, or Bullion, and Oar of Gold and Silver, and Pearl and precious Stones, and other the Cuſtoms and Duties aforeſaid, being truly anſwered and payed) ſhall be, and remain to the ſole and proper uſe and behoof of the ſaid Sir Walter Raleigh, and his ſaid Company, and ſuch Perſons as ſhall be Adventurers with him, or Aſſiſtant to him in this his Voyage; any Law, Statute, Act of Parliament, Proclamation, Proviſion, or Reſtraint, or any Right, Title, or Claim of Us, Our Heirs or Succeſſors, or any other matter or thing Whatſoever to the contrary in any Wiſe notwithſtanding. And further, of Our more eſpecial Grace, certain knowledg, and meer motion, We do hereby for Us, Our Heirs, and Succeſſors, Ordain, conſtitute and appoint the ſaid Sir Walter Raleigh to be the ſole Governor and Commander of all Perſons that ſhall Travel, or be with him in the ſaid Voyage, to the ſaid South, or other parts of America (ſo Poſſeſſed and Inhabited as aforeſaid) or in returning from thence. And We do hereby give unto him, full Power and Authority to Correct, Puniſh, Pardon, Govern, and Rule them, or any of them, according to ſuch Orders, Ordinances, Conſtitutions, Directions, and Inſtructions, as by the ſaid Sir Walter Raleigh ſhall be from time to time Eſtabliſhed, aſwel in caſes Capital and Criminal, as Civil, both Marine and other; So always as the ſaid Statutes, Ordinances and Proceedings (as near as conveniently may be) be agreeable to the Laws, Statutes, Government and Policy of this Our Realm of England, and not againſt the true Chriſtian Faith now profeſſed in the Church of England. And becauſe that in ſuch and the like Enterpriſes and Voyages, great Inconveniences have grown by the mutinous and diſorderly carriage of the Marriners and Saylors imployed in the ſame, for want of ſufficient Authority to Puniſh them according to their Offences: We do therefore by theſe Preſents for Us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, give full Power and Authority to the ſaid Sir Walter Raleigh, in caſe of Rebellion, or Mutiny by Sea or Land, to uſe and exerciſe Marſhal Law (upon juſt ground and apparent neceſſity) in as large and ample manner as our Lieutenant General by Sea or Land, or our Lieutenants in our Counties, within Our Realm of England, have, had, or ought to have by force of their Commiſſion of Lieutenancy. And We do further by theſe Preſents, give full Power and Authority to the ſaid Sir Walter Raleigh, to Collect, Nominate and Appoint, ſuch Captains and other inferiour Commanders and Miniſters under him, as ſhall be requiſite for the

better ordering and governing of his Company, and the good of the Voyage. And further, We do by these Presents, for Us, Our Heirs and Successors, straightly Charge and Command the Warden of Our Cinque-Ports, and all the Customers, Comptrollers, Surveyers, Searchers, Waiters and other Officers and Ministers of Us, Our Heirs and Successors for the time being, that they, and every of them do quietly permit and suffer the said Sir Walter Raleigh, and all Person and Persons that shall be willing to Travel and Adventure with him in this Voyage With their Ships, Munition, Goods, Wares, and Merchandizes whatsoever out of this Our Realm, or any other Our Dominions, to pass into the said South or other parts of America, (Possessed and Inhabited as aforesaid) and from thence to return and import into this Our Realm, or any other our Dominions, any Goods, Wares, or Merchandizes whatsoever, and there to Sell, or otherwise to dispose of the same, to the best benefit and advantage, and to the only use and behoof of the said Sir Walter Raleigh and his Company, and such other Persons as shall be Adventurers With him in this Voyage, paying the fifth part of all Gold and Silver, Bullion, and Oar of Gold and Silver, and of Pearl and Precious Stone imported, and other the Customs and Duties aforesaid. And these Presents, or the Inrolment thereof shall be unto the said Warden of the Cinque-Ports, Customers, Comptrollers, and other the Officers and Ministers aforesaid, for the time being, a sufficient Warrant and Discharge in that behalf. And Our Will and Pleasure is; And by these Presents, for Us, Our Heirs and Successors, We do grant unto the said Sir Walt. Raleigh, That these our Letters Pattents, or the Inrolment thereof, and all and singular Grants, Clauses, and things therein contained, shall be Firm, strong, sufficient, and effectual in Law, according to Our gracious Pleasure and Meaning herein expressed; Any Law, Statute, Act, Provision, Ordinance, or Restraint, or any other Matter or Thing to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding. Although express mention, &c. In Witness whereof, &c. Witness Our Self at Westminster, the six and twentieth Day of August, in the fourteenth Year of Our Reign of England, France and Ireland, and of Scotland the fiftieth.

Per breve de privato Sigillo.

With

With this Commiſſion, and the Company of ſeveral brave Captains, and other Knights and Gentlemen of great Blood, and Worth, he ſet out in Queſt of the Mine, with a compleat Fleet of Twelve Sail. Letting fall a Speech at his Departure, which was rather an Argument of his Wit, than his Wiſdom, *That his whole Hiſtory of the World, had not the like Preſident: Of a Kings Priſoner to purchaſe Freedom, and his boſome Favourite to have the Halter; but in Scripture*, Mordecai *and* Haman: Meaning himſelf and the Duke of *Sommerſet*. To which he was told, that the King replied, *He might Die in that deceit*; which he did, for *Sommerſet* was ſaved. Of whom was made good, what Sir *Walter* uſed to ſay of Favourites; That Minions were not ſo happy as Vulgar Judgments thought them, being frequently Commanded to uncomely, and ſometimes to unnatural Imployments.

On the 17*th* of *November*, he Arrived at *Guiana*, having been much Retarded by contrary Winds, and having loſt ſeveral of his Voluntiers in the Voyage, by a violent *Calenture*. But of the whole Tranſactions, Sir *Walter* hath given us an exact Account, in his Letter to Sir *Ralph Winwood*, Secretary; which I have here Tranſcribed.

SIR,

AS *I have not hitherto given you any Account of our Proceedings and Paſſages towards the* Indies, *ſo have I no other Subject to Write of, than of the greateſt Misfortunes that ever befel any Man. For whereas for the firſt, all thoſe that Navigate between* Cape de Verd, *and* America, *do paſs between Fifteen or Twenty Days at moſt, we found the Wind ſo contrary, and (which are alſo contrary to Nature) ſo many Storms and Rains, as we ſpent ſix Weeks in the Paſſage; by reaſon whereof, and that in ſo great Heat, we wanted Water. For at the Iſle* Prano *of* Cape de Vred, *we Loſt our Anchors and Cables, and our Water-Casks; and being driven from the Iſle with a* Hurricane, *we were like all to have Periſhed. Great ſickneſs fell amongſt us, and carried away great Numbers of our ableſt Men, both for Sea and Land. The* 17th *of* November, *we had ſight of* Guiana, *and ſoon after came to Anchor in five Degrees of the River* Galliano; *here we ſtay'd till the* 4th *of* December, *landed our Sick-men, ſet up our Barges and Shalops, which were brought out of* England *in Quarters, waſhed our Ships, and took in Freſh-water, being Fed and Cheriſhed by the* Indians *of my old Acquaintance, with a great deal of Love and Reſpect. My ſelf being in the hands of Death this ſix Weeks, and not able otherwiſe to move, then as I was carried in a Chair, gave order to five ſmall Ships to ſail into* Orinoque, *having Captain* Kemiſh *for their Conductor towards the Mines: And in thoſe five Ships, five Companies of fifty, under the Command of Captain* Parker, *Capt.* North, *Brethren to the Lord* Monteagle, *and the Lord* North, *valiant Gentlemen, and of infinite Patience, for the Labour, Hunger, and Heat, which they have endured: My Son had the third Company, Capt.* Thornix *of* Kent, *the fourth Company, Capt.* Chidley, *by his Lieutenant, the fifth. But as my Serjeant Major, Captain* Piggot, *died in the former miſerable Paſſage, ſo my Lieutenant, Sir* Warham Saint Leiger, *lay ſick without hope of Life, and the Charge conferred on my Nephew,* George Raleigh, *who had alſo ſerved long with infinite Commendations; but by reaſon of my abſence, and of Sir* Warhams, *was not ſo well Obeyed as the Enterpriſe required. As they paſſed up the River, the* Spaniards *began the War, and ſhot at us, both with their Ordnance and Muskets; whereupon the Companies were forced to Charge them, and ſoon after Beat them out of the Town. In the Aſſault, my*

Son (more desirous of Honour than safety) was slain; with whom, to say truth, all the respects of this World have taken end in me; and although these five Captains had as weak Companies as ever followed valiant Leaders, yet were there amongst them some Twenty or Thirty valiant Adventurous Gentlemen, and of singular Courage; as of my Sons Company, Mr. Knivet, Mr. Hammond, Mr. Langworth, Mr. John Pleasington; his Officers, Sir John Hambden, Mr. Simon Leak, Corporal of the Field, Mr. Hammond, the Elder Brother, Mr. Nicholas of Buckingham, Mr. Roberts of Kent, Mr. Perin, Mr. Tresham, Mr. Mullinax, Mr. Winter and his Brother, Mr. Wray, Mr. Miles Herbert, Mr. Bradshaw, Captain Hall, and others.

Sir, I have set down the Names of these Gentlemen, to the end, that if his Majesty shall have cause to use their service, it may please you to take Notice of them for very sufficient Gentlemen. The other five Ships staid at Trinidado, having no other Port capable of them near Guiana. The second Ship was Commanded by my Vice-Admiral Captain John Pennington, of whom (to do him right) he is one of the sufficientest Gentleman for the Sea, that England hath. The third by Sir Warham Saint Leiger, an exceeding Valiant and Worthy Gentleman. The fourth by Sir John Fern. The fifth by Captain Chidley, of Devon. With these five Ships I daily attended their Armada of Spain, which had they set upon us, our Force divided, the one half in Orinoque 150 miles from us, we had not only been torn in Pieces, but all those in the River had also Perished, being of no Force at all for Sea-fight. But we had resolved to be Burnt by their sides, had the Armada arrived: But belike, they stay'd for us at Margaret, by which they knew we must pass to the Indies. For it pleased his Majesty to value us at so little, as to command me upon my Allegiance, to set down under my hand the Country and River by which I was to enter it; to set down the Number of my Men, and Burthen of my Ships, and what Ordnance every Ship carried; which being known to the Spanish Ambassador, and by him, unto the King of Spain, a dispatch was made, and Letters sent from Madrid, before my departure out of the Thames. For his first Letter sent by a Barque of Advice, was Dated the 19th of March, 1617. at Madrid, which Letter I have here inclosed sent to your Honour; the rest I reserve, not knowing whether they may be Intercepted or not. The second by the King, dated the second of May, sent also by a Colonel of Diego de Polonioque, Governor of Guiana, Elderedo, and Trinidado. The third by the Bishop of Perericho, and delivered to Polonioque, the 15th of July at Trinidado. And the fourth was sent from the Farmer and Secretary of his Customes in the Indies. At the same time by that of the Kings Hand sent by the Bishop, there was also a Commission for the speedy Levying of 300 Souldiers, and ten Pieces of Ordnance, to be sent from Portriche, for the Defence of Guiana. One 150 from Nueno Remo de Grando, under the Command of Captain Anthony Musica; and the other 150 from Portricho, to be Conducted by Captain Francis Landio.

Now Sir, if all that have Traded to the Indies since his Majesties time, knew that the Spaniards have Flayed alive all the Poor Men which they have taken, being but Merchant-Men, what Death and cruel Torment shall we expect, if they Conquer us? Certainly, they have hitherto failed grosly, being set out thence as we were, both for Number, Time, and Place.

Lastly, to make an Apologie for not Working the Mine (though I know his Majesty expected it, whom I am to satisfie as much as my self) having lost my Son and my Estate in the Enterprise; yet it is true, that the Spaniards took more care to defend the Passage leading unto it, than they did the Town, which by the Kings Instructions they might easily do, the Countries being Aspera & Nemorosa.

But

But it is true, that when Captain Kemiſh *found the River low, and that he could not approach the Banks in moſt places near the Myne by a mile, and where he found a Deſcent, a Volley of Muskets came from the Woods upon the Boat, and ſlew two Rowers, and hurt ſix others, and ſhot a valiant Gentleman of Captain* Thornix, *of which Wound he languiſheth to this day. He, to wit, Capt.* Kemiſh, *following his own Advice, though that it was in vain to diſcover the Myne; for he gave me this for an Excuſe at his return, that the Companies of* Engliſh *in the Town of St.* Thome, *were not able to Defend it againſt the daily and nightly Aſſaults of the* Spaniards, *that the Paſſages to the Mynes were thick and unpaſſable Woods, and that the Myne being Diſcovered, they had no Men to work it, did not Diſcover it at all: For it is true, the* Spaniards *having two Gold Mines near the Town, the one poſſeſſed by* Pedro Rodrigo de Paran, *the ſecond by* Harmian Frotinio, *the third of Silver by Captain* Franciſco, *for the want of Negroes to work them; for as the* Indians *cannot be conſtrained, by a Law of* Charles *the* 5th, *ſo the* Spaniards *will not, nor can endure the Labour of thoſe Mines, whatſoever the Bragadocio, the* Spaniſh *Ambaſſador ſaith. I ſhall prove under the Proprieters hands, by the Cuſtom Book, and the Kings Quinto, of which I recovered an Ingot or two: I ſhall alſo make it appear to my Prince, or State, that will undertake it, how eaſily thoſe Mines, and and five or ſix more of them may be Poſſeſſed, and the moſt of them in thoſe Parts, which have never as yet been Attempted by any, nor by any Paſſage to them, nor ever Diſcovered by the* Engliſh, French, *or* Dutch. *But at* Kemiſh's *return from* Orinoque, *when I rejected his counſel and his courſe, and told him that he had undone me, and wounded my Credit with the King paſt Recovery, he ſlew himſelf: For I told him, that ſeeing my Son was ſlain, I cared not if I had loſt* 100 *more in opening the Myne, ſo my Credit had been ſaved. For I proteſt before God, had not Capt.* Whitney *(to whom I gave more countenance, than to all the Captains of my Fleet) run from me at the* Granadoes, *and carried another Ship with him of Capt.* Woolaſtons: *I would have left my Body at St.* Thome, *by my Sons, or have brought with me out of that or other Mynes, ſo much Gold Oar as ſhould have ſatisfied the King. I propounded no vain thing; what ſhall become of me I know not. I am unpardoned in* England, *and my poor Eſtate conſumed, and whether any Prince will give me Bread or no, I know not. I deſire your Honour to hold me in your good Opinion, to remember my Service to my Lord of* Arundel *and* Pembrook, *to take ſome Pity on my poor Wife, to whom I dare not write for renewing her ſorrow for her Son; and I beſeech you to give a Copy of this to my Lord* Carew, *for to a broken Mind, a ſick Body, and weak Eyes, it is a Torment to write many Letters. I have found many things of Importance for Diſcovering the State and Weakneſs of the* Indies, *which, if I live, I ſhall hereafter Impart unto your Honour, to whom I ſhall remain a faithful Servant,*

WALTER RALEIGH.

Whilſt this Action of St. *Thome* was performed, and the Repulſe in the way to the Mine, Sir *Walter* ſtay'd at St. *Pont de Gallo*, the ſpace of nine Weeks, where the unwelcome News was brought him of the Loſs of his Son, and the Defeat they met with in their Deſign upon the Myne. However this ill News could not alter the Reſolutions of Sir *Walter*, of Returning to *England*, though he knew he ſhould meet with ſeveral Enemies there, who had by their Calumnies, rendred the Voyage nothing but a Deſign; and though ſeveral of his Men were for Landing at *New-found-Land*. For if we may believe himſelf at the Hour of his Death, the two Noble Earls, *Thomas* of *Arundel*, and *William* of *Pembrook*, Engaged him to Return; and Sir *Walter* was reſolved, though inevitable Danger threatned him, to keep his Promiſe.

No ſooner had they arrived upon the Coaſts of *Ireland*, but the Taking and Sacking of St. *Thome*, and the Firing of the Town, and putting the *Spaniards* there to the Sword (though in their own Defence) was Noiſed abroad in all Parts, and was by ſpecial Advertiſement, come unto the knowledg of Count *de Gondamor*. Who thereupon deſiring Audience of his Majeſty, ſaid he had but one word to ſay; his Majeſty much wondring what might be delivered in one word: When he came before him, he only Bawled out, *Pyrates, Pyrates, Pyrates.* A very pretty ſhort Speech for an Ambaſſador. Whereupon his Majeſty Publiſhed his Royal Proclamation, for the Diſcovery of the truth of Sir *Walt. Raleigh's* Proceedings, and the Advancement of Juſtice. But after all this Noiſe, Sir *Walter* is not queſtioned for his *Guiana* Action, for it is believed, not without very good Ground, that neither the Tranſgreſſion of his Commiſſion, nor any thing Acted beyond the Line, where the Articles of Peace between the two Crowns did not extend, could have in a Legal Courſe of Trial ſhortned his days.

When Sir *Walter* was arrived at *Plymouth*, Sir *Lewis Steuckley*, Vice-Admiral of the County of *Devon*, ſeized him, being Commiſſioned by his Majeſty to bring him for *London*; which could add no Terror to a Perſon who could expect nothing leſs; and was now forced to make uſe of all the Arts imaginable to appeaſe his Majeſty, and defer his Anger. To which intent, *Mannowry*, a *French* Quack, at *Salisbury* gave him ſeveral Vomits, and an Artificial Compoſition, which made him look Gaſtly and Dreadful, full of Pimples and Bliſters, and put the Cheat upon the very Phyſicians themſelves, who could not tell what to make of his Urine (though often inſpected) being Adulterated with a Drug in the Glaſs, that turned it even in their very hands, into an earthy Humour of a blackiſh Colour, and of a very offenſive ſavour.

While he lay under this Politique Diſguiſe, he Penned his *Declaration* and *Apologie*, which have ſufficiently proved his honourable Deſigns in that Voyage, and anſwered the little Calumnies of his Enemies. When he was brought to *London*, he was permitted the Confinement of his own Houſe, but finding the Court wholly guided by *Gondamor*, he could hope for little Mercy; therefore he wiſely contrived the deſign of an Eſcape into *France*, which Sir *Lewis Steuckley* betrayed. But the fate of Traytors purſued him, and brought him to a contemptible End, to die a poor diſtracted Begger in the Iſle of *Lindey*, having for a Bag of Money falſified his faith, confirmed by the Tie of the Holy Sacrament, (if we may give Credit to Mr. *Howel* who hath given us this Story;) as alſo before the Year came about, to be found Clipping the ſame very Coyn in the Kings own Houſe at *White-Hall*, which he had received for a Reward of his Perfidiouſneſs: For which, being Condemned to be Hanged, he was forced to ſell himſelf to his Shirt, to purchaſe his Pardon of two Knights.

King *James* was willing to Sacrifice the Life of Sir *Walter* to the Advancement of Peace with *Spain*, but not upon ſuch Grounds as the Ambaſſador had deſign'd; for he deſired a Judgment upon the pretended Breach of Peace, that by this Occaſion he might ſlily gain from the *Engliſh* an acknowledgment of his Maſters right in thoſe Places, and hereafter both ſtop their Mouths, and quench their Heat and Valour. Hence upon his old Condemnation (for having had experience upon a former Trial, they cared not to run the hazard of a ſecond) he was Sentenced: The old Judgment being only Averred againſt him; and from *Weſtminſter-Hall* he was carried

ried to the *Gate-House*; and from thence the next Morning to the Parliament-Yard, where he had the favour of the Ax granted him. But all Persons have wondred how that old Sentence, that had lain Dormant sixteen Years and upwards against Sir *Walter*, could have been made use of to take off his Head afterwards: Considering the then Lord Chancellor *Verulam*, told him positively, (as Sir *Walter* was acquainting him with that Proffer of Sir *William* St. *Geon*, for a pecuniary Pardon, which might have been obtained for a less Sum, than his *Guiana* Preparations amounted to) in these words: "Sir, "the Knee Timber of your Voyage is Money, spare your Purse in this par-"ticular, for upon my Life, you have a sufficent Pardon for all that is passed "already, the King having under his Broad Seal made you Admiral of your "Fleet, and given you Power of the Martial Law over the Officers and "Souldiers. It was the Opinion of most Lawyers, that he, who by his Majesties Patent, had power of Life and Death over the Kings Leige People, should be esteemed or judged *Rectus in Curia*, and free from all old Convictions. But Sir *Walter* hath made the best Defence for his *Guiana* Actions, in his Letter to his Majesty, which I have here Inserted.

May it Please your Most Excellent Majesty,

"IF in my Journey Outward bound, I had my Men Murdered at the "Island, and yet spared to take Revenge. If I did discharge some "*Spanish* Barques taken, without Spoil. If I did forbear all parts of "the *Spanish Indies*, wherein I might have taken Twenty of their Towns, on "the Sea-Coasts, and did only follow the Enterprise I undertook for *Guiana*, "where without any Directions from me, a *Spanish* Village was Burnt, which "was new set up within three miles of the Myne; by your Majesties favour, "I find no Reason why the *Spanish* Ambassador should complain of me. If "it were lawful for the *Spaniards* to murder 26 *Englishmen*, binding them "back to back, and then cutting their Throats, when they had Traded with "them a whole Month, and came to them on the Land without so much as "one Sword; and that it may not be lawful for your Majesties Subjects, being "Charged first by them, to repel Force by Force; we may justly say, O "miserable English! If *Parker* and *Metham* took *Campeach* and other Places "in the *Honduraes*, seated in the heart of the *Spanish Indies*, burnt Towns, "killed the *Spaniards*, and had nothing said to them at their Return, and "my self forbore to look into the *Indies* because I would not Offend; I may "justly say, O miserable Sir *Walter Raleigh!* If I spent my poor Estate, lost "my Son, suffered by Sickness, and otherwise a world of Miseries; if I "have Resisted with the manifest hazard of my Life, the Robberies and "Spoyls which my Company would have made; if when I was Poor, I might "have made my self Rich; if when I had gotten my Liberty, which all "Men, and Nature it self do so much prise, I voluntarily lost it; if when "I was sure of my Life, I rendred it again; if I might elsewhere have sold "my Ship and Goods, and put 5 or 6000 Pound in my Pocket, and yet "brought her into *England*. I beseech your Majesty to believe, that all this "I have done, because it should not be said to your Majesty, that your Ma-"jesty had given Liberty and Trust, to a man whose End was but the Re-"covery of his Liberty, and who had betrayed your Majesties Trust. My "Mutineers told me, that if I returned for *England*, I should be undone; but "I believed in your Majesties Goodness more than in all their Arguments.

" Sure, I am, that I am the first that being Free and able to Enrich my self, " have imbraced Poverty and Peril. And as sure I am, that my Example shall " make me the last. But your Majesties Wisdom and Goodness I have made " my Judges, who have ever been, and shall ever be, your Majesties

Most Humble Vassal,

WALTER RALEIGH.

But this Apology, though never so perswasive, could not satisfie *Gondamor*'s Rage, who was resolved to Sacrifice the only Favorite left of Queen *Elizabeth*, to the *Spanish* Interest: and who, as *Osborn* remarks, was the only Person of *Essex*'s Enemies that died lamented, and the only Man left of Note alive, that had helped to Beat the *Spaniard* in the Year 1588.

Upon *Thursday* the 29*th* of *October*, 1618. Sir *Walter Raleigh* was Conveyed by the Sheriffs of *London*, to a Scaffold in the Old Pallace at *VVestminster*, where he was Executed about Nine of the Clock in the Morning of the same Day: Whose Confession and several Speeches there delivered, with his Gesture and Behaviour, were as follows.

His first appearance upon the Scaffold, was with a smiling Countenance, saluting the Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen, with others of his Acquaintance there present; when after a Proclamation of Silence by an Officer appointed, he addressed himself to Speak in this manner.

I desire to be born withal, because this is the third day of my Feaver: And if I shew any weakness, I beseech you to attribute it to my Malady for this is the Hour I look for it.

Then pawsing a while, directing himself towards a Window, where the Lord of *Arundel*, and the Lord of *Doncaster*, with some other Lords and Knights sat, with a loud Voice he said as followeth.

'I thank God of his Infinite Goodness, that he hath sent me to Die in the 'sight of so Honourable an Assembly, and not in Darkness. But by reason the place where they sat, was some distance from the Scaffold, that they could not easily hear him, he said: *I will strain my self, for I would willingly have your Honours hear me.* The Lord of *Arundel* answered, *We will come upon the Scaffold*; where after he had Saluted every one of them severally, he began as followeth.

'As I said, I thank my God heartily, that he hath brought me into the 'Light to Die, and hath not suffered me to Die in the dark Prison of the *Tow*-'*er*, where I have suffered a great deal of Adversity, and a long Sickness; 'and I thank God that my Feaver hath not taken me at this time, as I pray'd 'God it might not.

'There are two main Points of Suspition, that his Majesty hath conceived 'against me, and wherein his Majesty cannot be satisfied, which I desire to 'Clear and Resolve you off:

'One is that his Majesty hath been informed that I have had some Plot 'with *France*, and his Majesty had some Reason to induce him thereunto. 'One Reason that his Majesty had to Conjecture so, was, that when I came 'back from *Guiana* being come to *Plymouth*, I endeavoured to go to *Rochel*; 'which was because I would fain have made my Peace before I came to *Eng*-'*land*. Another Reason was that upon my Flight, I did intend to Flie to *France* 'for saving of my Life, having had some Terror from above. A third 'Reason was the *French* Agent's coming to me, and it was Reported that I had 'Commission from the King of *France*.

But

'But this I ſay, for a Man to call God to Witneſs to a Falſhood at any time 'is a grievous ſin, and what ſhall he hope for at the Tribunal Day of Judg-'ment? But to call God to Witneſs to a Falſhood at the time of Death, is 'far more grievous and impious, and there is no hope for ſuch an one. And 'what ſhould I expect that am now going to render an Account of my Faith? 'I do therefore call the Lord to Witneſs, as I hope to be ſaved, and as I hope 'to ſee Him in his Kingdom, which I hope will be within this quarter of this 'Hour; I never had any Commiſſion from the King of *France*, nor any 'Treaty with the *French* Agent, nor with any from the *French* King; neither 'knew I that there was an Agent, or what he was, till I met him in my Gal-'lery at my Lodging unlooked for. If I ſpeak not true, O Lord, let me 'never come into thy Kingdom.

'The ſecond Suſpition was, that his Majeſty hath been Informed, that I 'ſhould ſpeak Diſhonourably and Diſloyally of him. But my Accuſer was 'a baſe *Frenchman*, a kind of a Chymical Fellow, one whom I knew to be Per-'fidious; for being drawn into this Action at *Wincheſter* in which my Hand was 'toucht, and he being ſworn to ſecrecy over Night, revealed it in the Morning.

'But in this I ſpeak now, What have I to do with Kings? I have nothing 'to do with them, neither do I fear them: I have now to do with God, there-'fore to tell a Lye now to get the Favour of the King, were in vain. There-'fore, as I hope to be ſaved at the laſt Day, I never ſpake Diſhonourably, 'Diſloyally, or Diſhoneſtly of the King; neither to this *Frenchman*, nor to 'any other; neither had I ever in all my Life, a thought of ill of his Maje-'ſty. Therefore I cannot but think it ſtrange, that this *Frenchman* being ſo 'baſe, ſo mean a Fellow, ſhould be ſo far Credited; and ſo much for this 'Point. I have dealt truly, and I hope I ſhall be believed. I confeſs, I did 'attempt to eſcape, and I did diſſemble and fain my ſelf Sick at *Salisbury*, but 'I hope it was no ſin. The Prophet *David* did make himſelf a Fool, and did 'ſuffer Spittle to fall upon his Beard to eſcape the hands of his Enemies, and 'it was not imputed to him as ſin; and I did it to prolong Time till his Ma-'jeſty came, hoping for ſome Commiſeration from him.

'I forgive this *Frenchman*, and Sir *Lewis Steuckley*, and have received the 'Sacrament this Morning of Mr. Dean, and I do alſo forgive all the World. 'But thus much I am bound in Charity to ſpeak of this Man, that all Men may 'take good heed of him: Sir *Lewis Steuckley*, my Kinſman and Keeper, hath 'affirmed, that I ſhould tell him, that I did tell my Lord *Carew*, and my Lord '*Doncaſter*, of my preſent Eſcape; but I proteſt before God, I never told '*Steuckley* any ſuch thing, neither did I tell my Lord *Carew*, or my Lord '*Doncaſter* of my pretended Eſcape. It was not likely that I ſhould acquaint 'two Privy Councellors of my purpoſe; neither would I tell him, for he 'left me 6, 7, 8, 9, or 10 Days to go where I liſted, while he Rode about 'the Country.

'Again he Accuſed me, that I ſhould tell him, that my Lord *Carew*, and 'my Lord *Doncaſter*, would meet me in *France*, which was never my Speech 'or Thought.

'Thirdly, He Accuſed me, that I ſhew'd him a Letter, and that I ſhould 'give him 10000 Pound for my Eſcape; but caſt my Soul into everlaſting 'Fire, if I ever made him offer of 10000 Pounds, or 1000 Pounds, but meer-'ly I ſhew'd him a Letter, that if he would go with me, his Debts ſhould 'be paid when he was gone; neither had I 1000 Pound, for if I had had ſo 'much, I could have done better with it, and made my Peace otherwiſe.

'Fourthly, When I came to Sir *Edward Pelham*, who had been ſometimes a 'follower of mine, who gave me good Entertainment, he gave out that I had 'received ſome Dram of Poyſon in Sir *Edward Pelham's* Houſe; when I an- 'ſwered, that I feared no ſuch thing, for I was well aſſured of them in the 'Houſe. Now God forgive him, for *I* do, and *I* deſire God to forgive him; *I* 'will not only ſay God is the God of Revenge, but *I* deſire God to forgive 'him, as *I* hope to be forgiven.

Then he looked over his Note of Remembrance, 'Well, ſaith he, thus 'far have *I* gone, now a little more, and *I* will have done by and by.

'It was told the King *I* was brought *per* force into *England*, and that *I* did 'not intend to come again, whereas Captain *Charles Parker*, Mr. *Treſham*, 'Mr. *Leak*, and divers others, that knew how *I* was dealt withal, ſhall Wit- 'neſs for me; for the Common Souldiers, which were 150 Mutined, 'and ſent for me to come into the Gun-Room to them, for at that time they 'would not come to me; and there was *I* forced to take an Oath, that *I* 'would not come into *England* till they would have me, or elſe they would 'caſt me into the Sea and Drown me; afterwards they entred my 'Cabbin and ſet themſelves againſt me. After *I* had taken this Oath, with 'Wine and other things *I* drew the chiefeſt of them to deſiſt, and at length '*I* perſwaded them to go into *Ireland*; then would they have gone into the 'North parts of *Ireland*, but I told them they were *Redſhanks*: But at laſt 'with much ado I perſwaded them to go into the South parts; promiſing to 'get their Pardons, but was forced to give them 125 Pound at *Kinſale* to bring 'them Home, otherwiſe I had never got from them.

'There was a Report that I meant not to go to *Guiana* at all, and that I 'knew not of any Myne, nor intended any ſuch matter, but only to get my 'Liberty, which I had not the Wit to keep. But it was my full intent to go 'for Gold, for the Benefit of his Majeſty and thoſe that went with me, with 'the reſt of my Country-Men: But he that knew the Head of the Myne 'would not Diſcover it, when he ſaw that my Son was ſlain, but made himſelf 'away. And then he turned to my Lord of *Arundel*, and ſaid, Being in the 'Gallery in my Ship at my Departure, your Honour took me by the Hand, 'and ſaid you would requeſt me one thing, that was, *That whether I made a 'good Voyage or bad, yet I ſhould return again into* England; when I made you a 'Promiſe and gave you my Faith that I would: *And ſo you did* (anſwered my 'Lord) *it is true, they were the laſt words I ſpake unto you.* Another Opinion 'was, that I carried to Sea with me 1600 Pieces, and that was all the Voy- 'age I intended, only to get Money into my hands, and that I had weighed 'my Voyage before; whereas I proteſt I had but a 100 Pound in all the 'World, whereof I gave 25 Pounds to my Wife: the reaſon of this Speech 'was this; there was entered 20000 Pound, and yet but 4000 Pound in the 'Surveyors Book, now I gave my Bill for the other 16000 Pound for divers 'Adventurers, but I proteſt I had not a Penny of Money more than 100 'Pound, as I hope to be ſaved.

'Another Slander was raiſed, that I would have gone away from them and 'left them at *Guiana*, but there were a great many of worthy Men that Ac- 'companied me always, as my Serjeant Major *George Raleigh*, and divers 'others (which he then named) that knew my intent was nothing ſo. And 'theſe be the Material Points I thought good to ſpeak of; I am now at this 'inſtant to render my Account to God, and I proteſt as I ſhall appear before 'Him, this that I have ſpoken is true.

'I will ſpeak but a word or two more, becauſe I will not trouble Mr. 'Sheriff too long.

'There was a Report ſpread, that I ſhould rejoyce at the death of my 'Lord of *Eſſex*, and that I ſhould take Tobacco in his preſence; when as I 'proteſt I ſhed Tears at his Death, though I was one of the contrary Faction; 'and at the time of his Death I was all the while in the Armory at the further 'end, where I could but ſee him; I was ſorry that I was not with him, for I 'heard he had a deſire to ſee me, and be Reconciled to me. So that I proteſt I 'lamented his Death, and good cauſe had I, for it was the worſe for me as it 'proved, for after he was gone I was little beloved.

'And now I intreat you all to joyn with me in Prayer, that the Great God 'of Heaven, whom I have grievouſly offended, being a Man full of all Va- 'nity, and have lived a ſinful Life, in all ſinful Callings, having been a Soul- 'dier, a Captain, a Sea-Captain, and a Courtier, which are all places of 'Wickedneſs and Vice; that God (I ſay) would forgive me, and caſt away 'my Sins from me, and that he would receive me into everlaſting Life. So 'I take my leave of you all, making my Peace with God.

Then Proclamation being made that all Men ſhould depart the Scaffold, he prepared himſelf for Death, giving away his Hat and wrought Night-cap, and ſome Money to ſuch as he knew that ſtood near him: Taking his leave of the Lords, Knights, and other Gentlemen, and among the reſt taking his leave of the Lord of *Arundel*, he thanked him for his Company, and intreated him to deſire the King, that no Scandalous Writing to Defame him might be Publiſhed after his Death; ſaying further unto him, I have a long Journey to go, and therefore will take my leave.

Then putting off his Gown and Doublet, he called to the Headſman to ſhew him the Ax, which being not preſently ſhew'd him, he ſaid, *I pray thee let me ſee it, Doſt thou think that I am afraid of it?* And having it in his hands, he felt along upon the Edge of it, and ſmiling, ſpake to the Sheriff, ſaying, *This is a ſharp Medicine, but it is a Phyſitian for all Diſeaſes.* Then going to and fro upon the Scaffold, on every ſide he pray'd the Company to pray to God to aſſiſt him and ſtrengthen him.

And ſo being asked which way he would lay himſelf, on which ſide the Block, as he ſtretched himſelf along and laid his Head on the Block, he ſaid, *So the Heart be right, it is no matter which way the Head lieth.* And then Praying after he had forgiven the Headſman, having given him a Sign when he ſhould do his Office, at two blows he loſt both Head and Life, his Body never ſhrinking nor moving. His Head was ſhewed on each ſide of the Scaffold, and then put into a Red-Leather Bag, and his wrought Velvet Gown thrown over it, which was afterwards conveyed away in a Mourning Coach of his Ladies.

The large Effuſion of Blood, which proceeded from his Veins, amaz'd the Spectators, who Conjectured he had ſtock enough left of Nature, to have Surviv'd many Years, though now near Fourſcore Years old. He behav'd himſelf at his Death, with ſo High and ſo Religious a Reſolution, as if a *Chriſtian* had Acted a *Roman*, or rather a *Roman* a *Chriſtian*: And by the Magnanimity, which was then Conſpicuous in him, he abundantly Baffled their Calumnies, who had Accuſed him of Atheiſm. Various were the Reſentments of his Death, and ſeveral *Paſquils* (as it always happens on ſuch Occaſions) were ſcatter'd abroad. Of the Gallantry of his Behaviour on the Scaffold, theſe following Verſes may give a Confirmation, and a Taſte of the *Poetry* of thoſe Times.

Upon Sir Walter Raleigh's *Execution and Death.*

Great Heart, Who taught Thee ſo to Die?
Death yielding Thee the Victory.
Where took'ſt Thou leave of Life? If here,
How could'ſt Thou be ſo far from Fear?
But ſure Thou dyed'ſt, and quitd'ſt the State
Of Fleſh and Blood, before that Fate.
Elſe what a Miracle were wrought
To Triumph both in Fleſh and Thought?
I ſaw in every Stander by
Pale Death, Life only in thy Eye.
The Legacy thou gav'ſt us then,
We'll Sue for, when thou Dieſt again.
Farewel, Truth ſhall this Story ſay,
We Died, Thou only Livd'ſt that Day.

Thus Died that Knight, who was *Spains* Scourge and Terror, and *Gondamor's* Triumph; whom the Whole Nation pittied, and ſeveral Princes interceded for; Queen *Elizabeths* Favourite, and her Succeſſors Sacrifice. A Perſon of ſo much Worth and ſo great Intereſt, that King *James* would not Execute him without an Apology. One of ſuch incomparable Policy, that he was too hard for *Eſſex*, was the Envy of *Leiceſter*, and *Cecils* Rival, who grew jealous of his Excellent Parts, and was afraid of being ſupplanted by Him. His Head was wiſht on the Secretarys ſhoulders, and his Life valued by ſome at a higher Rate than the *Infanta* of *Spain*; though a Lady incomparably excelling in both the Gifts of Mind and Body.

Authors are perplext under what Topick to place him, whether of Stateſman, Seaman, Souldier, Chymiſt, or Chronologer; for in all theſe he did Excel. He could make every thing he Read or Heard, his own, and his own he could eaſily improve to the greateſt Advantage. He ſeem'd to be born to that only which he went about, ſo Dexterous was he in all his Undertakings, in Court, Camp, by Sea, by Land, with Sword, with Pen. Witneſs in laſt, his

History of the World.
History of Guiana.
His Remains.
Judicious and Select Eſſays, and Obſervations on the firſt Invention of Shipping, the Miſery of Invaſive War, the Navy Royal and Sea-Service, with his Apologie for his Sea-Voyage to Guiana.
Wars with Forreign Princes dangerous to our Common-wealth, or Reaſons for Forreign Wars anſwered.
An excellent Manuſcript of the preſent State of Spain, *with a moſt Accurate Account of his Catholique Majeſties Power, and Riches; with the Names and Worth of the moſt conſiderable Perſons in that Kingdom.*

FINIS.

Errata. *For Andrews through the* Trial, *Read Lord Chief Juſtice* Anderſon. Page 16. *put out Edward Littlebury* Gent. *of the Jury.*

THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD.

Intreating of the Beginning and first Ages of the same, from the Creation unto *Abraham*.

The FIRST BOOK.

CHAP. I.

Of the Creation and Preservation of the World.

SECT. I.

That the Invisible God is seen in his Creatures.

GOD, whom the Wisest Men acknowledg to be a Power uneffable, and Vertue infinite, a Light by abundant clarity invisible; an Understanding which it self can only comprehend; an Essence eternal and spiritual, of absolute pureness and simplicity; was, and is pleased to make himself known by the Work of the World: In the wonderful magnitude whereof (all which he imbraceth, filleth, and sustaineth) we behold the Image of that Glory which cannot be measured; and withal, that one, and yet universal Nature, which cannot be defined. In the glorious Lights of Heaven we perceive a shadow of his Divine Countenance; in his merciful Provision for all that live, his manifold Goodness: And lastly, In creating and making existent the World universal, by the absolute Art of his own Word, his Power and Almightiness; which Power, Light, Vertue, Wisdom, and Goodness,

being all but Attributes of one simple Essence, and one God, we in all admire, and in part discern *per speculum creaturarum*, that is, in the disposition, order, and variety of Celestial and Terrestrial Bodies: Terrestrial, in their strange and manifold diversities; Celestial, in their beauty and magnitude; which in their continual and contrary motions, are neither repugnant, intermixt, nor confounded. By these potent Effects, we approach to the knowledg of the omnipotent Cause, and by these motions, their Almighty Maker.

In these more than wonderful Works, God (saith * *Hugo*) speaketh unto Man: And it is true, That these be those Discourses of God, whose Effects, those that live, witness in themselves; the sensible, in their sensible Natures; the reasonable, in their reasonable Souls: For, according to † S. *Gregory*, *Omnis homo eo ipso quod rationalis conditus est, ex ipsa ratione, illum qui se condidit, Deum esse colligere debet*; Every Man, in that he is reasonable, out of the same reason may know, that he which made him, is God. This God all Men behold, (saith *Job*) which is, according to the Fathers, *Dominationem illius conspicere in Creaturis*, *To discern him in his providence by his Creatures.* That God hath been otherwise seen, to wit, with corporal eyes, exceedeth the small proportion of my understanding, grounded on these places of St. *John* and St. *Paul*, *Ye have not heard his Voice at any time, neither have ye seen his Shape.* And again, *Whom never Man saw, nor can see.*

And this I am sure agrees with the nature of God's simplicity; of which St. *Augustine*, *Ipsa enim natura, vel substantia, vel quolibet alio nomine appellandum est, id ipsum quod Deus est, corporaliter videri non potest*; That Nature, or that Substance, or by whatsoever name that is to be called which is God, whatsoever that be, the same cannot be corporally perceived. And of this Opinion were *Origen*, *Cyril*, *Chrysostom*, *Gregory Nazianzen*, *Hierom*, *Augustine*, *Gregory* the Great, *Evaristus*, *Alcuinus*, *Dionysius Areopagita*, *Aquinas*, and all others of Authority. But by his own Word, and by this visible World, is God perceived of Men; which is also the understood Language of the Almighty, vouchsafed to all his Creatures, whose Hieroglyphical Characters are the unnumbred Stars, the Sun, and Moon; written on these large Volumes of the Firmament; written also on the Earth and the Seas, by the Letters of all those living Creatures, and Plants, which inhabit and reside therein. Therefore said that learned *Cusanus*, *Mundus universus nihil aliud est, quàm Deus explicatus*; The World universal is nothing else but God express. And the invisible Things of God (saith St. *Paul*) are seen by the Creation of the World, being considered in his Creatures. Of all which, there was no other Cause preceding than his own Will, no other Matter than his own Power, no other Workman than his own Word, no other Consideration than his own infinite Goodness. The example and pattern of these his Creatures, as he beheld the same in all eternity in the abundance of his own Love; so was it at length in the most wise order, by his unchanged Will moved, by his high Wisdom disposed, and by his Almighty Power perfected, and made visible. And therefore (saith *Mirandula*) we ought to love God, *ex Fide, & ex Effectibus*, (that is) both perswaded by his Word, and by the Effects of the World's Creation: *Neque enim qui causa caret, ex causa & origine sciri, cognoscique potest, sed vel ex rerum, quæ factæ sunt, quæque fiunt & gubernantur, observatione & collatione; vel ex ipsius Dei Verbo*: For he of whom there is no higher Cause, cannot be known by any knowledg of Cause or Beginning, (saith *Montanus*) but either by the observing and conferring of things, which he hath, or doth create and govern; or else by the Word of God himself. *A. Mont. Nat. Hist. fol. 7.*

* Hugo *super Eccles. Homil. 8.*

† Greg. *in Mor. Herm ad fil. Tat. l. 5. Unus verò ingenitus, & non apparens & immanifestus, omnia autem manifestans per omnia apparet, & in omnibus. Apparentia solùm generatorum est; nihil apparitio quàm generatio.* Joh. 5. 3. 1 Tim. 6. 16.

Origen *l. 2 περὶ ἀρχῶν, c. 22. Cyril. & Chrys. in Is. hom. 14 Greg. Naz. l. 2. Theolog. Hier. in Esaiam. Aug. l. 2. de Trin. c. 12. & 13. Greg. Mag l. 18. Mor. Evar. ep. 1. Decret. Alcuin. l. 2 de Trin. c. 16. D. Areop. c. 4. Cæl. Hierar. Thom. p. 2. q. 12. art. 11. & alibi. Deus qui natura invisibilis est, ut à visibilibus posset sciri, opus fecit quod Opificem sui visibiliter manifestaret, ut per certum incertum sciretur, & ille Deus omnium esse crederetur. Amb. in epist. ad Rom. c. 1. Cusan. de genealog. Rom. 1. 20.*

SECT. II.

That the wisest of the Heathen, whose authority is not to be despised, have acknowledged the World to have been created by God.

THis Work and Creation of the World did most of the ancient and learned Philosophers acknowledg, though by divers terms, and in a different manner express; I mean all those who are intitled by St. *Augustine*, *Summi Philosophi*, Philosophers of highest Judgment and Understanding. *Mercurius Trismegistus* calleth God, *Principium Universorum*, The Original of the Universal; to whom he giveth also the Attributes of *Mens*, *Natura*, *Actus*, *Necessitas*, *Finis*, & *Renovatio*. And wherein he truly with St. *Paul*, casteth upon God all Power; confessing also, That the World was made by God's Almighty Word, and not by Hands: *Verbo, non manibus, fabricatus est Mundus.* *Zoroaster* (whom *Heraclitus* followed in Opinion) took the word *Fire* to express God by, (as in *Deuteronomy*, and in St. *Paul* it is used) *Omnia ex uno Igne genita sunt*; *All things* (saith he) *are caused or produced out of one Fire.* *Herm. in Pœmandro, & in sermone sacro.* *Deut 4. 24 Heb. 12. 29.*

So did *Orpheus* plainly teach, That the World had beginning in time, from the Will of the most high God, whose remarkable words are thus converted; *Cum abscondisset omnia Jupiter Summus, deinde in lumen gratum emisit, ex Sacro Corde operans cogitata & mirabilia*: Of which I conceive this sense; *When great Jupiter had hidden all things in himself, working out of the love of his Sacred Heart, he sent thence*, or brought forth, *into grateful light, the admirable Works which he had fore-thought.*

Pindarus the Poet, and one of the wisest, acknowledged also one God, the most High, to be the Father and Creator of all things; *Unus Deus, Pater, Creator Summus.* *Plato* calleth God the Cause and Original, the Nature and Reason of the Universal; *Totius Rerum Natura, Causa, & Origo Deus.* But hereof more at large hereafter. *Vid. cap. 8.*

Now, although the curiosity of some Men have found it superfluous to remember the Opinions of Philosophers in Matters of Divinity (it being true, that the Scripture hath not want of any forreign Testimony): yet as the *Fathers*, with others excellently Learned, are my Examples herein; so Saint *Paul* himself did not despise, but thought it lawful and profitable, to remember whatsoever he found agreeable to the Word of God among the Heathen, that he might thereby take from them all escape, by way of ignorance, God rendring vengeance to them that know him not: as in the Epistle to *Titus* he citeth *Epimenides* against the *Cretians*, and to the *Corinthians*, *Menander*; and in the seventh of the *Acts*, *Aratus*, &c. For, Truth (saith St. *Ambrose*) by whomsoever uttered, is of the Holy Ghost; *Veritas à quocunque dicatur, à Spiritu Sancto est*: And lastly, Let those kind of Men learn this Rule; *Quæ sacris serviunt, prophana non sunt*; *Nothing is prophane, that serveth to the use of Holy Things.*

SECT.

SECT. III.

Of the meaning of In Principio, *Gen.* I. 1.

THis visible World, of which *Moses* writeth, God created in the beginning, or first of all: in which (saith *Tertullian*) things began to be. This word *Beginning* (in which the *Hebrews* seek some hidden Mystery, and which in the *Jews Targum* is converted by the word *Sapientia*) cannot be referred to succession of time, nor to order, as some Men have conceived, both which are subsequent; but only to Creation then. For before that Beginning, there was neither primary Matter to be informed, nor Form to inform, nor any Being, but the Eternal. Nature was not, nor the next Parent of Time begotten, Time properly and naturally taken: For if God had but disposed of Matter already in being, then as the word *Beginning* could not be referred to all things, so must it follow, that the institution of Matter proceeded from a greater Power than that of God. And by what name shall we then call such an One (saith *Lactantius*) as exceedeth God in potency? for it is an act of more excellency to make, than to dispose of things made. Whereupon it may be concluded, that Matter could not be before this Beginning: except we fain a double Creation, or allow of two Powers, and both Infinite; the impossibility whereof scorneth defence. *Nam impossibile est plura esse infinita: quoniam alterum esset in altero finitum*; *There cannot be more Infinities than one; for one of them would limit the other.*

Cusan. de Mente. l. 3.

SECT. IV.

Of the meaning of the words Heaven *and* Earth, *Genes.* 2. 1.

THe Universal Matter of the World (which *Moses* comprehendeth under the names of *Heaven* and *Earth*) is by divers diversly understood; for there are that conceive, that by those words was meant the first Matter, as the Peripateticks understand it; to which St. *Augustine* and *Isidore* seem to adhere, *Feciſti mundum* (saith St. *Augustine*) *de materiâ informi*; *quam feciſti de nullâ re, pene nullam rem*: that is, *Thou hast made the World of a Matter without Form; which matter thou madest of Nothing; and being made, it was little other than nothing.*

But this potential and imaginary *Materia Prima* cannot exist without Form. *Peter Lombard*, the Schoolmen, *Beda*, *Lyranus*, *Comestor*, *Tostatus*, and others affirm, That it pleased God first of all to create the Empyrean Heaven; which at the succeeding instant (saith *Beda* and *Strabo*) he filled with *Angels*. This Empyrean Heaven *Steuchius Eugubynus* calleth *Divine clarity and uncreated*: An Error, for which he is sharply charged by *Pererius*; though (as I conceive) he rather failed in the subsequent, when he made it to be a place, and the Seat of Angels and just Souls, than in the former affirmation; for of the first, That God liveth in Eternal Light, it is written, *My Soul, praise thou the Lord, that covereth himself with Light*: And in the *Revelation*; *And the City hath no need of the Sun, neither of the Moon to shine in it; for the glory of God did light it.* And herein also *John Mercer* upon *Genesis* differeth not in Opinion from *Eugubynus*: for as by Heaven created in the beginning, was not meant the invisible or super-celestial; so in his judgment, because it was in all eternity the glorious Seat of God himself, it was not necessary to be created; *Quem Mundum Super-cœlestem meo judicio creari* (saith *Mercer*) *non erat necesse.*

Beda Hex. Strabo super Gen. Eug. Cos. & de nat. an corp.

Pſ. 103. 12. Christus divina non est lux facta, sed sapientia Dei, non creata, sed nata, Apoc 21. 23. Mercer. in Gen. 7. 7.

But as *Moses* forbare to speak of Angels, and of things invisible and incorporate, for the weakness of their capacities, whom he then cared to inform of those things which were most manifest, (to wit) that God did not only by a strong hand deliver them from the bondage of *Egypt*, according to his promise made to their Forefathers; but also that he created, and was the sole cause of this aspectable, and perceiveable Universal: so on the other side I dare not think, that any superceleſtial Heaven, or whatsoever else (not himself) was increate and eternal; and as for the place of God before the World created, the finite Wisdom of mortal Men hath no perception of it, neither can it limit the Seat of infinite Power, no more than infinite Power it self can be limited; for his place is in himself, whom no magnitude else can contain. *How great is the House of God?* (saith *Baruch*) *how large is the place of his Possession? It is great, and hath no end, it is high and unmeasurable.*

Bar. 3. 24, 25.

But leaving multiplicity of Opinion, it is more probable and allowed, that by the words *Heaven* and *Earth*, was meant the solid Matter and Substance, as well of all the Heavens and Orbs supernal, as of the Globe of the Earth and Waters, which covered it over, (to wit) that very matter of all things, *Materia*, *Chaos*, *possibilitas*, *sive posse fieri*. Which matter (saith *Calvin*) was so called, *quod totius mundi semen fuerit*; *Because it was the Seed of the Universal*: An Opinion of antient Philosophers long before.

Cusan. in Compend. fol. 224. Operis.

Calvin. in Gen.

SECT. V.

That the substance of the Waters, as mixt in the Body of the Earth, is by Moses *understood in the word Earth: and that the Earth, by the Attributes of unformed and void, is described as the Chaos of the antient Heathen.*

Moses first nameth Heaven and Earth (putting Waters but in the third place) as comprehending Waters in the word Earth; but afterwards he nameth them apart, when God by his Spirit began to distinguish the confused Mass, and (as *Basil* saith) *Præparare naturam Aquæ ad fœcunditatem vitalem*; *To prepare the nature of Water to a vital fruitfulness.*

For under the word *Heaven*, was the matter of all Heavenly Bodies and Natures expresst; and by the name of *Earth* and *Waters*, all was meant, whatsoever is under the Moon, and subject to alteration. Corrupt Seeds bring forth corrupt Plants; to which the pure Heavens are not subject, though subject to perishing. *They shall perish*, (saith *David*) *and the Heavens shall vanish away like Smoak*, saith *Esay*. Neither were the Waters the Matter of Earth; for it is written, *Let the Waters under the Heavens be gathered into one place, and let the dry Land appear*: which proveth, that the dry Land was mixt and covered with the Waters, and not yet distinguished; but no way, that the Waters were the Matter or Seed of the Earth, much less of the Universal. *Initio tu, Domine, terram fundâsti*; *Thou, O Lord, in the beginning hast founded the Earth*: And again, *The Earth*

Pſ. 102. 26. Esay 51.

Gen. 1. 9.

Pſ. 104. 6.

was covered with the Deep (meaning with Waters) *as with a Garment*, saith *David*. And if by natural Arguments it may be proved, that Water by condensation may become Earth; the same reason teacheth us also, that Earth rarified may become Water; Water, Air; Air, Fire; and so on the contrary.

Zeno. *Deus Ignis substantiam per Aërem in Aquam convertit; God turneth the substance of Fire by Air into Water.* For the Heavens and the Earth remained in the same state in which they were created, as touching their Substance, though there was afterwards added multiplicity of perfection, in respect of Beauty and Or-

Gul. Paris. 600. nament. *Cœlum verò & terra in statu creationis remanserunt quantum ad substantiam, licet multiplex perfectio decoris & ornatus eis postmodum superaddita est.* And the word which the Hebrews call *Maim*, is not to be understood according to the Latin Translation simply, and as specifical Water; but the same more properly signifieth Liquor. For (according to *Mon-*

A. Mont. de nat. *tanus*) *Est autem Maim Liquor geminus, & hoc nomen propter verborum penuriam, Latina lingua plurali numero Aquas fecit; For Maim* (saith he) *is a double Liquor*, (that is, of divers natures) *and this name or word the Latins, wanting a voice to express it, call it in the Plural*, Aquas, *Waters.*

This Mass, or indigested Matter, or Chaos, created in the beginning, was without Form, that is, without the proper Form, which it afterwards acquired, when the Spirit of God had separated the Earth, and digested it from the Wa-

Gen. 1. 2. ters. *And the Earth was void*, that is, not producing any Creatures, or adorned with any Plants, Fruits, or Flowers. But after *the Spirit of God had moved upon the Waters*, and wrought this indigested Matter into that Form which it now retaineth, then did *the Earth bud forth the Herb, which seedeth Seed, and the fruitful Tree according to his kind, and God saw that it was good*; which Attribute was not given to the Earth, while it was confused; nor to the Heavens, before they had motion and adornment. *God saw that it was good*, that is, made perfect; for Perfection is that to which nothing is wanting. *Et Perfecti Dei perfecta sunt Opera; The Works of the Perfect God are perfect.*

From this lump of imperfect Matter had the antient Poets their invention of *Demogorgon*; *Hesiodus* and *Anaxagoras* the knowledge of that Chaos: Of which *Ovid*;

Ovid. Met. lib. 1.

Ante Mare, & Terras, & (quod tegit omnia) Cœlum,
Unus erat toto naturæ vultus in Orbe,
Quem dixêre Chaos, rudis indigestaque moles.

Before the Sea and Land was made, and Heaven, that all doth hide,
In all the World one only face of Nature did abide:
Which Chaos hight, a huge rude heap.——

SECT. VI.

How it is to be understood, that the Spirit of God moved upon the Waters; and that this is not to be searched curiously.

After the Creation of Heaven and Earth, then void and without Form, the Spirit of God moved upon the Waters. The *Seventy Interpreters* use the word *superferebatur*, moved upon or over: *incubabat* or *fovebat* (saith *Hieronus*) out of *Basil*; and *Basil* out of a Syrian Doctor; *Equidem non meam tibi, sed viri cujusdam Syri sententiam recensebo* (saith *Basil*:) which words *incubare* or *fovere*, importing warmth, hatching, or quickning, have a special likeness. *Verbum translatum est ab avibus pullitiei suæ incubantibus, quamvis spirituali, & planè inenarrabili, non autem corporali modo; The word is taken of Birds hatching their young, not corporally, but in a spiritual and unexpressible manner.*

Basil Hexam. *Junius.*

Some of the Hebrews convert it to this effect, *Spiritus Dei volitabat; The Spirit of God did flutter:* The Chaldean Paraphrast in this sense, *Ventus à conspectu Dei sufflabat:* or, as other understand the Chaldean, *Flabat, pellebat, removebat: The Wind from the Face of God did blow under, drive, or remove, or did blow upon*; according to the 147. Psalm, *He caused his Wind to blow, and the Waters increase: but there was yet no Wind nor Exhalation.* *Arias Montanus* in these words, *Et Spiritus Elohim Maracheset, id est, efficaciter motitans, confovens, ac agitans super faciem gemini liquoris; The Spirit of God effectually and often moving, keeping warm, and cherishing, quickning and stirring upon the face of this double Liquor.* For he maketh four Originals, whereof three are Agents, and the last Passive and Material, to wit, *Causa*, which is the Divine Goodness: *Jehi*, which is, *fiat, sive erit, Let it be*, or, *It shall be.* *Quæ Vox Verbo Dei prima prolata fuit: Which Voice* (saith he) *was the first that was uttered by the Word of God.* The third, *Spiritus Elohim*, the Spirit of God, *id est, Vis quædam divina, agilis ac præsens, per omnia pertingens, omnia complens*; that is, *A certain Divine Power, or strength every where active and extending, and stretching through all, filling and finishing all things.* The fourth he calleth *Maim, id est, Materies ad omnem rem conficiendam habilis; Matter apt to become every thing.* For my self, I am resolved, *(Cum Deus sit super rationale omni ratione; Seeing God is in all reason above reason)* that although the Effects which follow his wonderful ways of working, may in a measure be perceived by Man's Understanding, yet the manner and first operation of his Divine Power, cannot be conceived by any Mind, or Spirit, compassed with a mortal Body. *Animalis homo quæ Dei sunt non percipit: For my thoughts* (saith the Lord in *Esay*) *are not your thoughts, neither are your ways my ways.* And as the World hath not known God himself; so are his Ways (according to St. *Paul*) *past finding out. O Righteous Father, the World hath not known thee*, saith Christ. And therefore, whether that Motion, Vitality, and Operation, were by Incubation or how else, the manner is only known to God. *Quomodo in omnibus sit rebus vel per essentiam, vel per potentiam, intellectus noster non capit; For how God* (saith St. *Augustine*, speaking of his Ubiquity) *is in all things, either by Essence, Presence, or Power, our Understanding cannot comprehend. Nihil inter Deum hominemque distaret, si consilia, & dispositiones illius Majestatis æternæ, cogitatio assequeretur humana: There would be no difference between God and Man, if Man's Understanding could conceive the Counsels and disposings of that Eternal Majesty:* And therefore to be overcurious in searching how the All-powerful Word of God wrought in the Creation of the World, or his All-piercing and operative Spirit distinguishing, gave Form to the Matter of the Universal, is a labour and search like unto his, who not contented with a known and safe Foord, will presume to pass over the greatest River in all parts, where he is ignorant of their Depths: for so doth the one lose his Life, and the other his Understanding. We behold the Sun, and enjoy his Light, as long as we look towards it but tenderly and circumspectly: we warm

Ar. Mont. ut sup. Eugub. in Cos. fol. 13.

Ar. Mont. natura, pag. 145.

Esay 55. 8.

Aug. Tract. 10. in John 17. 25. Lact. in Præfat.

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our ſelves ſafely while we ſtand neer the Fire; but if we ſeek to out-face the one, to enter into the other, we forthwith become blind or burnt.

But to eſchew curioſity; this is true, That the Engliſh word *(moved)* is moſt proper and ſignificant: for of Motion proceedeth all Production, and all whatſoever is effected. And this Omnipotent Spirit of God, which may indeed be truly called, *Principium motus*, and with *Mirandula*, *Vis cauſæ efficientis*, *The force of the efficient Cauſe*, St. *Auguſtine* ſometimes taketh for the Holy Ghoſt; ſometimes for a Wind or Breath; *Sub nomine Spiritus*, *under the name of a Spirit*, which is ſometimes ſo taken: or for *virtualis creatura*, *For a created virtuality*: *Tertullian* and *Theodoret* call it alſo a Breath or Wind: *Mercurius* nameth it, *Spiritum tenuem intelligibilem*, *A pure or thin intelligible Spirit*: Anaxagoras, *Mentem*: Toſtatus, *Voluntatem & Mentem Dei*, *The Will and Mind of God*: which *Mens*, *Plato in Timæo* maketh *Animam Mundi*, *The Soul of the World*: And in his ſixth Book, *de Republica*, he calleth it *the Law of Heaven*; in his Epiſtles, *The Leader of Things to come, and the Preſence of things paſt*. But as *Cyprian* wrote of the Incarnation of Chriſt our Saviour, *Mens deficit, vox ſilet, & non mea tantùm, ſed etiam Angelorum*; *My Mind faileth, my Voice is ſilent, and not mine only, but even the Voice of Angels*: So may all Men elſe ſay in the underſtanding and utterance of the Ways and Works of the Creation; for to him (ſaith *Nazianzenus*) there is not one ſubſtance by which he is, and another, by which he can, *Sed conſubſtantiale illi eſt, quicquid ejus eſt, & quicquid eſt*; *Whatſoever attribute of him there is, and whatſoever he is, it is the very ſame ſubſtance that himſelf is*.

Nazian. *lib.* 2. *Theol.*

But the Spirit of God which moved upon the Waters, cannot be taken for a Breath or Wind, nor for any other Creature, ſeparate from the infinite active Power of God, which then formed and diſtinguiſhed, and which now ſuſtaineth and giveth continuance to the Univerſal. For the Spirit of the Lord filleth all the World; and the ſame is it *which maintaineth all things*, ſaith *Solomon*. *If thou ſend forth thy Spirit* (ſaith *David*) *they are created*. And *Gregory*, *Deus ſuo præſentiali eſſe, dat omnibus rebus eſſe, ita quòd ſi ſe rebus ſubtraheret, ſicut de nihilo facta ſunt omnia, ſic in nihilum defluerent univerſa*; *God giveth being to all things, by being preſent with all things, ſo as if he ſhould withdraw himſelf from them, then as of nothing the World was made, it would again fall away and vaniſh into nothing*. And this working of God's Spirit in all things, *Virgil* hath expreſt excellently.

Wiſd. 1. v. 7.

Virg. Æneid. *lib.* 8. 724.

Principio Cœlum ac Terras, camposque liquentes,
Lucentemq; Globum Lunæ, Titaniaq; aſtra,
Spiritus intus alit: totamq; infuſa per artus,
Mens agitat molem, & magno ſe corpore miſcet.

The Heaven, and Earth, and all the Liquid Mayn,
The Moon's bright Globe, and Stars Titanian,
A Spirit within maintains: and their whole Maſs,
A mind, which through each part infus'd doth paſs,
Faſhions, and Works, and wholly doth tranſpierce
All this great Body of the Univerſe.

And this was the ſame Spirit which moved in the Univerſal, and thereby both diſtinguiſhed and adorned it. *His Spirit hath garniſhed the Heavens*, ſaith *Job*. So God moved upon the Waters, and created in them their ſpirituality, and natural Motion; Motion brought forth Heat; and Heat Rarifaction, and ſubtilty of parts. By this Spirit (which gave heat and motion, and thereby operation to every Nature, while it moved upon the Waters, which were in one indigeſted Lump and Chaos, diſpoſed to all Forms alike) was begotten Air; an Element ſuperior, as lighter than the Waters; through whoſe vaſt, open, ſubtile, Diaphanick, or tranſparent Body, the Light, afterwards created, might eaſily tranſpierce: Light for the excellency thereof being the firſt Creature which God called *good*, whoſe creation immediately followed. The Spirit *Chryſoſtom* calleth a Vital Operation, *Aquis à Deo inſitam, ex qua Aquæ non ſolum motionem, ſed & vim procreandi animalia habuerint*. He calleth it, *A Vital Operation given by God unto the Waters, whereby the Waters had not only Motion, but alſo Power to procreate or bring forth living Creatures*.

Job 26. 13.

Gen. 1. 5.

SECT. VII.

Of the Light created, as the material ſubſtance of the Sun, and of the nature of it, and difficulty of knowledg of it: and of the excellency and uſe of it: and of Motion and Heat annexed unto it.

THeſe Waters were afterwards congregated, and called the Sea: And this Light afterwards (in the fourth day) gathered and united, and called the Sun, the Organ and Inſtrument of Created Light. For this firſt and diſperſed Light did not (as I conceive) diſtinguiſh the Night from the Day, but with a reference to the Sun's Creation, and the uniting of the diſperſed Light therein. This is proved by theſe words, *Let there be Lights in the Firmament, to ſeparate the Day from the Night*: which Lights in the Firmament of Heaven were alſo made for Signs, and for Seaſons, and for Days, and for Years, implying a motion inſtantly to follow, by which Days and Years are diſtinguiſhed; after which ſucceeded Time, or together with which that Time (which was the meaſure of Motion) began. For that ſpace of the firſt three days which preceded the Sun's creation, or formal perfection, when as yet there was not any Motion to be meaſured; and the Day named in the fifth Verſe, was but ſuch a ſpace, as afterwards by the Sun's motion made a civil or natural day. And as Waters were the Matter of Air, of the Firmament, and of the lower and upper Waters, and of the Seas and Creatures therein; Earth, the matter of Beaſts, Plants, Minerals, and Man's Body: So may Light (for expreſſion-ſake) be called the Chaos, or material Subſtance of the Sun, and other Lights of Heaven: Howbeit, neither the Sun, nor any thing ſenſible is that Light it ſelf, *Quæ cauſa eſt lucidorum*, *Which is the cauſe that things are lightſome*, (though it make it ſelf and all things elſe viſible:) but a Body moſt illightned, which illumineth the Moon, by whom the neighbouring Region (which the *Greeks* call *Æther*, the place of the ſuppoſed Element of Fire) is effected and qualified, and by it all Bodies living in this our Air. For this Light *Avicenna* calleth, *Vehiculum & fomentum omnium Cæleſtium virtutum, & impreſſionum*: *The Conducter, and Preſerver and Nouriſher of all Cæleſtial Virtues and Impreſſions*; nothing deſcending of Heavenly Influences, but by the *medium*, or means of Light. *Ariſtotle*

Gen. 1. 14.

Lux dicitur, qua ſe & omnia viſibilia facit. Cuſan. *in Compend. cap.* 7. & *exercit. lib.* 5.

Aristotle calleth Light a quality inherent or cleaving to a Diaphanous Body, *Lumen est qualitas inhærens Diaphano:* But this may be better avouched of the Heat, which it transporteth and bringeth with it, or conducteth: which Heat (say the Platonicks) *Abeunte lumine residet in subjecto; The Light being departed, doth reside in the Subject*; as warmth in the Air, though the same be deprived of light. This Light *Plotinus* and all the *Academicks* make incorporeal; and so doth *Montanus*, *Cui nec duritia resistit, nec spatium; Which neither hardness resisteth, nor space leaveth.*

Ficin. lib. lumine, cap. 11.

Aristotle findeth corporality in the Beams of Light; but it is but by way of repetition of other Mens Opinions, saith *Picolomineus*. *Democritus*, *Leucippus*, and *Epicurus*, give materiality to Light it self, but improperly: for it passeth at an instant from the Heaven to the Earth, nor is it resisted by any hardness, because it passeth through the solid Body of Glass, or other Crystalline Matter; and whereas it is withstood by unclean and unpure earthy substances, less hard, and more easie to invade than the former, the same is, *Quòd obstaculum naturâ terreum atq; sordidum, non capit candidam luminis puritatem; Because an obstacle by nature earthy and foul, doth not receive the pure clearness of Light:* alluding to that most Divine Light, which only shineth on those minds, which are purged from all worldly dross and humane uncleanness.

Pic. de fini.

Plotin.

But of this created Light, there is no agreement in Opinion; neither do I marvel at it, for it cannot be found either in the Fathers, Philosophers, or School-men, or other antient or later Writers, that any of them understood either it or themselves therein: all Men (to cast off ignorance) have disputed thereof, but there is no Man that hath been taught thereby. *Thomas Aquinas*, (not inferior to any in wit) as he hath shewed little strength of Argument in refuting the Opinions of *Beda*, *Hugo*, *Lombard*, *Lyranus*, and others: so is his own judgment herein as weak as any Man's; and most of the School-men were rather curious in the nature of Terms, and more subtile in distinguishing upon the parts of Doctrine already laid down, then discoverers of any thing hidden, either in Philosophy or Divinity: Of whom it may be truly said, *Nihil sapientiæ odiosius acumine nimio; Nothing is more odious to true Wisdom, than too acute sharpness.* Neither hath the length of Time, and the search of many Learned Men, (which the same time hath brought forth and devoured) resolved us, whether this Light be substantial, corporal, or incorporal: Corporal they say it cannot be, because then it could neither pierce the Air, nor those hard, solid, and Diaphanous Bodies, which it doth; and yet every day we see the Air illightned: Incorporal it cannot be, because it sometime affecteth the sight of the Eye with offence, and therefore by most of the Fathers so esteemed. Others say (as *Patricius*) that it cannot be Matter, because no form so excellent as it self to inform it: neither can it be any accident, which is not separable without the destruction of the Subject: For light being taken from the Sun, the Sun is no more the Sun in existence. Secondly, If Light were proceeding from Matter and Form, then either or both must be one of these, * Lucid or Bright, Dark or Opake, Diaphanous or Transparent; but Darkness cannot be parent of Light; and things Diaphanous (being neither Light nor Darkness, but capable of either) cannot be the cause of either, and therefore must the Matter, or Form, or both, be lucid and shining. Lucid and shining obtain their so being of the Light; and therefore if we derive this being of Light from a former, then would the progress go on infinitely and against Nature; and therefore he concludeth, that Light in the Sun hath his being primarily, and immediately of it self, and is therefore the Sun's form, and the form of all lucid and shining Bodies: but what is taught hereby, let others judge.

* *Lucida corpora sunt plena suæ luce alienis tenebris impervia. Opaca sunt plena suis tenebris alieno lumine. Transparentia seu Diaphana carent suis & lumine & tenebris: alienis & lumine & tenebris permeantur. Scal. sub. ex 71.*

But in my understanding, *Lumen* (which may be englished by the word *Shine*) is an intentional Species of that, which may be englished by Light; and so, this shining which proceedeth from the Sun, or other Lights of Heaven, or from any other Light, is an Image, or intentional Species thereof; and an intentional Species may be understood by example of a red or green colour, occasioned by the shining of the Sun through red or green Glass: for then we perceive the same colour cast upon any thing opposite; which redness or other colour, we call the *Intentional Species* of the colour in that Glass. And again, as this Light, touching his simple nature, is no way yet understood: so it is disputed, whether this Light first created be the same which the Sun inholdeth and casteth forth, or whether it had continuance any longer than till the Sun's creation.

But by the most wise and unchanged order, which God observed in the Works of the World, I gather, that the Light, in the first day created, was the substance of the Sun: for *Moses* repeateth twice the main parts of the Universal: First, As they were created in Matter; secondly, as they were adorned with Form: First, Naming the Heavens, the Earth, the Waters, all confused; and afterward, the Waters congregated, the Earth made dry Land, and the Heavens distinguished from both, and beautified. And therefore the Earth, was Earth, before it was uncovered, and before it was called *Arida*, or dry Land; and the Waters were Waters, before they were congregated and called the Sea, though neither of them perfect, or inriched with their virtual Forms: So the Sun, although it had not its formal perfection, his Circle, Beauty, and bounded Magnitude, till the fourth day; yet was the substance thereof in the first day (under the name of Light) created; and this Light formerly dispersed, was in the same fourth day united, and set in the Firmament of Heaven: for, to Light created in the first day God gave no proper place or fixation; and therefore the effects named by *Anticipation* (which was to separate day from night) were precisely performed, after this Light was congregated and had obtained life and Motion. Neither did the wisdom of God find cause why it should move (by which motion days and nights are distinguished) till then: Because there was not yet any Creature produced, to which, by moving, the Sun might give Light, Heat, and Operation.

But after the Earth (distinguished from Waters) began to bud forth the Bud of the Herb, *&c.* God caused the Sun to move, and (by interchange of time) to visit every part of the inferiour World; by his heat to stir up the fire of Generation, and to give activity to the Seeds of all Natures: For, as a King, which commandeth some goodly building to be erected, doth accommodate the same to that use and end, to which it was ordained; so it pleased God (saith *Procopius*) to command the Light to be; which by his all-powerful Word he approved; and approving it, disposed thereof to the use and comfort of his future Creatures.

Quemadmodum Rex aliquis, &c. Procop. in Gen. 1.

But in that it pleased God to ask of *Job*, *By what way is the Light parted? and where is the way where Light dwelleth?* We thereby know, that the nature thereof falleth not under Man's understanding; and

Job 38. 24. 19.

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therefore let it suffice, that by God's Grace we enjoy the Effects thereof. *For this Light is of the Treasure of God* (saith *Esdras*) : *And those which inhabit the Heavens, do only know the Essence thereof. Nihil ignotum in Cœlo, nihil notum in Terra*; *Nothing unknown in Heaven, nothing perfectly known on Earth. Res veræ sunt in Mundo invisibili*; *in Mundo visibile Umbræ rerum*; *Things themselves are in the invisible World*; *in the World visible, but their Shadows.* Surely, if this Light be not spiritual, yet it approacheth nearest unto spirituality; and if it have any corporality, then of all other the most subtile and pure : for howsoever, it is of all things seen, the most beautiful, and of the swiftest motion, of all other the most necessary and beneficial. For it ministreth unto Men, and other Creatures, all Celestial Influences; it dissipateth those sad thoughts and sorrows, which the darkness both begetteth and maintaineth; it discovereth unto us the glorious Works of God, and carrieth up with an Angelical swiftness our Eyes unto Heaven, that by the sight thereof, our Minds being informed of his visible Marvels, may continually travel to surmount these perceived Heavens, and to find out their omnipotent Cause and Creator. *Cognitio non quiescit in rebus creatis*; *Our knowledge doth not quiet it self in things created. Et ipsa lux facit, ut cætera Mundi membra digna sint laudibus, cùm suam bonitatem & decorem omnibus communicet*; *It is the Light* (saith St. *Ambrose*) *that maketh the other parts of the World so worthy of praise, seeing that it self communicateth its goodness and beauty unto all.* Of which, *Ovid* out of *Orpheus* :

Esdras l. 2. c. 6. 40. Herm.

Ficin.

Ille ego sum, qui longum metior annum,
Omnia qui video, per quem videt omnia Mundus,
Mundi Oculus.

Ovid. Met. lib. 1.

The World discerns it self, while I the World behold,
By me the longest years, and other times are told,
I the World's Eye.

Lastly, If we may behold in any Creature any one spark of that Eternal Fire, or any far-off dawning of God's glorious Brightness, the same in the beauty, motion, and virtue of this Light may be perceived. Therefore was God called *Lux Ipsa*; and the Light, by *Hermes*, named *Lux Sancta*; and Christ our Saviour said to be *that Light which lighteth every Man that cometh into the World.* Yet in respect of God's incomprehensible sublimity, and purity, this is also true, that God is neither a Mind, nor a Spirit of the nature of other Spirits; nor a Light, such as can be discerned. *Deus profectò non Mens est, at verò ut sit Mens causa est*; *nec Spiritus, sed causa quâ Spiritus extat*; *nec Lumen, sed causa quâ Lumen existet : God* (saith *Hermes* in *Pœmandro*) *certainly is not a Mind, but the cause that the Mind hath its being*; *nor Spirit, but the cause by which every Spirit is*; *nor Light, but the cause by which the Light existeth.*

Joh. 1. 9. & 14. 46.

So then the *Mass* and *Chaos* being first created void, dark, and unformed, was by the operative Spirit of God pierced and quickned; and the Waters, having now received Spirit and Motion, resolved their thinner parts into Air, which God illightned : the Earth also by being contiguat, and mixt with Waters (participating of the same Divine Virtue) brought forth the Bud of the Herb that seedeth Seed, *&c.* And for a Mean and Organ, by which this operative Virtue might be continued, God appointed the Light to be united, and gave it also Motion and Heat; which Heat caused a continuance of those several *species*, which the Earth (being made fruitful by the Spirit) produced, and with motion begat the time and times succeeding.

Gen. 1. 10.

SECT. VIII.

Of the Firmament, and of the Waters above the Firmament : And whether there be any Crystalline Heaven, or any Primum Mobile.

After that the Spirit of God had moved upon the Waters, and Light was created; God said, *Let there be a Firmament in the midst of the Waters, and let it separate the Waters from the Waters* : that is, those Waters which by rarefaction and evaporation were ascended, and those of the Earth and Sea.

But these Waters separate above this Extension, which the Latin Translation calleth *Firmamentum*, or *Expansum*, (for so *Vatablus*, *Pagninus*, and *Junius* turn it) are not the Crystalline Heavens created in the imaginations of Men; which Opinion *Basilius Magnus* calleth a childish supposition, making in the same place many learned Arguments against this Infancy. For the Waters above the Firmament are the Waters in the Air above us, where the same is more solid and condense, which God separated from the nether Waters by a Firmament, that is, by an extended distance and vast space; the words *Raquia* (which *Montanus* writeth *Rakiagh*) and *Shamajim*, being indifferently taken for the Heaven and for Air, and more properly for the Air and *Æther*, than for the Heavens, as the best Hebricians understand them, *Quo suprema ac tenuia ab infimis crassis diducta, intersectaque distarent*, for that *whereby the supreme and thin Bodies were placed in distance, being severed and cut off from low and gross matters* : and the waters above the Firmament, exprest in the word *Majim*, are in that Tongue taken properly for the Waters above the Air, or in the uppermost Region of the same.

Mon. Nat. hist. fol. 152.

And that the Word Heaven is used for the Air, the Scriptures every where witness; as in the blessings of *Joseph*, and in the 104. *Psalm* : * *By these Springs shall the Fowl of the Heaven dwell*; and *upon Sodom and Gomorrah it rained Brimstone and Fire out of the Heaven* : and in *Isaac*'s Blessing to *Jacob*; *God give thee therefore of the Dew of Heaven* : And in *Deuteronomy* the 11. *But the Land whither you go to possess it, is a Land that drinketh Water of the Rain of Heaven* : And in *Job*, *Who hath ingendred the Frosts of Heaven?* And in St. *Matthew*, *Behold the Fowls of Heaven, for they sow not.* So as in all the Scriptures of the Old Testament throughout is the word *Heaven* very oft used for Air, and taken also hyperbolically for any great Height; as, *Let us build us a Tower, whose top may reach to Heaven*, &c. And in this very place *Basil* avoucheth, that this appellation of Heaven for the Firmament, is but by way of similitude : his own words be these; *Et vocavit Deus Firmamentum Cœlum. Hæc appellatio alii quidem propriè accommodatur, huic autem nunc ad similitudinem*; *And God called the Firmament Heaven : This appellation* (saith *Basil*) *is properly applyed to another*, (that is, to the Starry Heaven); *but to this* (that is, to the Firmament dividing the Waters) *it is imposed by similitude.* And if there were no other proof, that by the Firmament was meant the Air, and not the Heaven, the words of *Moses* in the eighth Verse, conferred with the same word *Firmament* in the twenti-

Gen. 49. 25.

* *Psal. 104. 12.*

Gen. 2. 19, 20. Cap. 27. 28. Deut. 11. 11. Job 38. 29. Mat. 6. 26.

Gen. 11. 4.

twentieth Verse, make it manifest: For in the eighth Verse it is written, That God called the Firmament, which divided Waters from Waters, Heaven; and in the twentieth Verse, he calleth the Firmament of Heaven, Air, in these words, *And let the Fowl flie upon the Earth in the open Firmament of Heaven.* And what use there should be of this Icy, or Crystalline, or Watery Heaven, I conceive not, except it be to moderate and temper the Heat, which the *Primum Mobile* would otherwise gather and increase: though in very truth, instead of this help, it would add an unmeasurable greatness of Circle, whereby the swiftness of that first Moveable would exceed all possibility of belief. *Sed nemo tenetur ad impossibilia; But no Man ought to be held to impossibilities:* And Faith it self (which surmounteth the height of all humane reason) hath for a forcible Conductor the Word of Truth, which also may be called *Lumen omnis Rationis & Intellectus; the Light of all Reason and Understanding.* Now that this supposed first Moveable turneth it self so many hundred thousand miles in an instant, (seeing the Scriptures teach it not) let those that can believe Mens Imagination, apprehend it; for I cannot. But of these many Heavens, let the Reader that desireth satisfaction search *Orontius:* And of this Watery Heaven, *Basilius Magnus*, in his *Hexam. fol.* 40, 41, *&c.* and *Matth. Beroaldus*, in his second Book and sixth Chapter. For my self, I am perswaded, that the Waters, called The Waters above the Heavens, are but the Clouds and Waters engendred in the uppermost Air.

SECT. IX.

A Conclusion, repeating the sum of the Works in the Creation, which are reduced to three heads: The creation of Matter; The forming of it; The finishing of it.

TO conclude; It may be gathered out of the first Chapter of *Genesis*, that this was the order of the most wise God in the beginning, and when there was no other Nature, or Being, but God's incomprehensible Eternity. First, He created the Matter of all things; and in the first three days he distinguished, and gave to every Nature his proper Form; the form of Levity to that which ascended; to that which descended, the form of Gravity: For he separated Light from Darkness, divided Waters from Waters, and gathered the Waters under the Firmament into one place. In the last three days, God adorned, beautified, and replenished the World: He set in the Firmament of Heaven, the Sun, Moon, and Stars; filled the Earth with Beasts, the Air with Fowl, and the Sea with Fish, giving to all that have life, a Power Generative, thereby to continue their Species, and Kinds; to Creatures Vegetative and growing, their Seeds in themselves; for *he created all things, that they might have their Being: and the Generations of the World are preserved.*

Wisd. Sol. cap. 14.

SECT. X.

That Nature is no Principium per se; *nor Form, the giver of Being: And of our Ignorance, how second Causes should have any proportion with their Effects.*

AND for this working-power, which we call Nature, the beginning of Motion and Rest, according to *Aristotle*; the same is nothing else but the Strength and Faculty which God hath infused into every Creature, having no other self-ability than a Clock, after it is wownd up by a Man's hand, hath. Those therefore that attribute unto this Faculty any first or sole Power, have therein no other understanding, than such a one hath, who looking into the Stern of a Ship, and finding it guided by the Helm and Rudder, doth ascribe some absolute virtue to the piece of Wood, without all consideration of the Hand that guides it, or of the Judgment which also directeth and commandeth that Hand: forgetting in this and in all else, That by the virtue of the first Act, all Agents work whatsoever they work: *Virtute primi actus, agunt agentia omnia quicquid agunt:* For as the Mind of Man seeth by the Organ of the Eye, heareth by the Ears, and maketh choice by the Will: and therefore we attribute sight to the Eye, and hearing to the Ears, *&c.* and yet it is the Mind only that giveth Ability, Life, and Motion to all these his Instruments and Organs; so God worketh by Angels, by the Sun, by the Stars, by Nature or infused Properties, and by Men as by several Organs, several Effects; all second Causes whatsoever, being but Instruments, Conduits, and Pipes, which carry and disperse what they have received from the Head and Fountain of the Universal. For as it is God's infinite Power, and everywhere-presence (compassing, embracing, and piercing all things) that giveth to the Sun power to draw up Vapours to be made Clouds; Clouds to contain Rain, and Rain to fall: So all second and instrumental Causes together with Nature it self, without that operative Faculty which God gave them, would become altogether silent, virtueless, and dead: of which excellently *Orpheus*; *Per te virescunt omnia, All things by thee spring forth in youthful green.* I enforce not these things, thereby to annihilate those variable Virtues which God hath given to his Creatures, animate and inanimate, to Heavenly and Earthly Bodies, *&c.* for all his Works in their virtues praise him: But of the manner how God worketh in them, or they in or with each other, which the Heathen Philosophers, and those that follow them, have taken on them to teach: I say, There is not any one among them, nor any one among us, that could ever yet conceive it, or express it, ever enrich his own understanding with any certain Truth, or ever edifie others (not foolish by self-flattery) therein. For (saith *Lactantius*, speaking of the Wisdom of the Philosophers), *Si facultas inveniendæ veritatis huic studio subjaceret, aliquando esset inventa; cùm verò tot temporibus, tot ingeniis in ejus inquisitione contritis, non sit comprehensa, apparet nullam ibi esse sapientiam; If in this study* (saith he) *were means to find out the Truth, it had ere this been found out: But seeing it is not yet comprehended, after that so much time, and so many Wits have been worn out in the inquiry of it, it appeareth, that there is no Wisdom there to be had. Nam si de unâ re præcisa scientia haberetur, omnium rerum scientia necessariò haberetur: If the precise knowledg of any one thing were to be had, it should necessa-*

Natura enim, remota providentia & potestate divina, prorsus nihil est. Lact. de falsa Sapientia. l. 3. c. 28.

Cypr. de mente l. 3.

necessarily follow, that the knowledg of all things were to be had. And as the Philosophers were ignorant in Nature, and the wayes of her working; So were they more curious than knowing in their first Matter and Physical Form. For if their first Matter had any being, it were not then the first Matter: for, as it is the first Matter, it hath only a power of being, which it altogether leaveth, when it doth subsist. And seeing it is neither a substance perfect, nor a substance inchoate, or in the way of perfection, how any other substance should thence take concrescence, it hath not been taught, neither are these forms (saith a learned Author) any thing, *si ex ea exprimatur potentia, quæ nihil est.* Again, how this first matter should be *subjectum formarum*, and passive, which is understood to precede the Form, it is hard to conceive: for to make Form, which is the Cause, to be subsequent to the thing caused, (to wit, to the first Matter) is contrary to all Reason, Divine and Humane: only it may be said, that Originally there is no other difference between Matter and Form, than between Heat and Fire; of which the one cannot subsist without the other, but in a kind of rational consideration. Leaving therefore these Riddles to their Lovers, who by certain Scholastical distinctions wrest and pervert the truth of all things, and by which *Aristotle* hath laboured to prove a false eternity of the World, I think it far safer to affirm with St. *Augustine*, *That all species and kinds are from God, from whom whatsoever is natural proceedeth, of what kind or estimation soever; from whence are the Seeds of all Forms, and the Forms of all Seeds and their Motions; A quo est omnis species, à quo est quicquid naturaliter est, cujuscunq; generis est, cujuscunq; æstimationis est; à quo sunt semina formarum, formæ seminum, motus seminum atq; formarum.* And thus much *Averrois* is forced to confess. *For all Forms* (saith he) *are, in primo motore*; which is also the Opinion of *Aristotle* in the twelfth of his *Metaph.* and of *Albertus* upon *Dionysius*.

12. Metaph.

SECT. XI.

Of Fate; and that the Stars have great influence: And that their Operations may diversly be prevented or furthered.

AND, as of Nature, such is the dispute and contention concerning Fate or Destiny, of which the Opinions of those learned Men that have written thereof, may be safely received, had they not thereunto annexed and fastned an inevitable necessity, and made it more general, and universally powerful than it is, by giving it dominion over the Mind of Man, and over his Will; of which *Ovid* and *Juvenal*:

Juven. Sat. 7. 201.

Ratio fatum vincere nulla valet,
Servis regna dabunt, captivis Fata triumphos.

'Gainst Fate no counsel can prevail.
Kingdoms to Slaves by Destinie,
To Captives triumphs given be.

Basil. Esa. 4. Aug. de heres. 70. c. 35. Tho. cont. Gent. 3. cap. 8. 3. Ficin. in 12. de leg. Cic. de fat.

An Error of the Chaldeans, and after them of the Stoicks, the Pharisees, Priscillianists, the Bardisanists, and others, as * *Basil*, *Augustine*, and *Thomas* have observed: but that Fate is an obedience of second causes to the first, was well conceived of *Hermes*, and *Apuleius* the Platonist. *Plotinus* out of the Astronomers calleth it a disposition from the Acts of Celestial Orbs, unchangeably working in inferiour Bodies, the same being also true enough, in respect of all those things which a rational Mind doth not order nor direct. *Ptolomy*, *Seneca*, *Democritus*, *Epicurus*, *Chrysippus*, *Empedocles*, and the Stoicks, some of them more largely, others more strictly, ascribe to Fate a binding and inevitable necessity; and that it is the same which is spoken and determined by God, (*quod de unoquoq; nostrum fatus est Deus*) and the definite lot of all living. And certainly it cannot be doubted, but the Stars are Instruments of a far greater use, than to give an obscure Light, and for Men to gaze on after Sun-set: it being manifest, that the diversity of Seasons, the Winters and Summers, more hot and cold, are not so uncertained by the Sun and Moon alone, who alway keep one and the same course; but that the Stars have also their working therein.

And if we cannot deny, but that God hath given Virtues to Springs and Fountains, to cold Earth, to Plants and Stones, Minerals, and to the excremental parts of the basest living Creatures, why should we rob the beautiful Stars of their working Powers? For seeing they are many in number, and of eminent beauty and magnitude, we may not think, that in the treasury of his Wisdom, who is infinite, there can be wanting (even for every Star) a peculiar Virtue and Operation; as every Herb, Plant, Fruit, and Flower adorning the face of the Earth, hath the like. For as these were not created to beautifie the Earth alone, and to cover and shadow her dusty Face, but otherwise for the use of Man and Beast, to feed them and cure them; so were not those uncountable glorious Bodies set in the Firmament, to no other end than to adorn it; but for Instruments and Organs of his Divine Providence, so far as it hath pleased his just will to determine. *Origen* upon this place of *Genesis*, *Let there be light in the Firmament*, &c. affirmeth, that the Stars are not Causes, (meaning perchance binding Causes); but are as open Books, wherein are contained and set down all things whatsoever to come; but not to be read by the Eyes of Humane Wisdom: Which latter part I believe well, and this saying of *Syracides* withal; *That there are hid yet greater things than these be, and we have seen but a few of his Works.* And though, for the capacity of Men, we know somewhat, yet in the true and uttermost virtues of Herbs and Plants, which our selves sow and set, and which grow under our feet, we are in effect ignorant; much more in the powers and working of Celestial Bodies. For *hardly* (saith *Solomon*) *can we discern the things that are upon the Earth, and with great labour find we out those things that are before us: Who can then investigate the things that are in Heaven? Multum est de rebus Cœlestibus aliquid cognoscere: It is much to know a little of Heavenly things.* But in this question of Fate, the middle course is to be followed, that as with the Heathen we do not bind God to his Creatures, in this supposed necessity of Destiny; so on the contrary, we do not rob those beautiful Creatures of their Powers and Offices. For had any of these second Causes despoiled God of his Prerogative, or had God himself constrained the Mind and Will of Man to impious Acts by any Celestial inforcements, then sure the impious excuse of some were justifiable; of whom St. *Augustine*, *Impia perversitate in malis factis rectissimè reprehendendis ingerunt accusandum potius Auctorem Syderum, quàm commissorem scelerum; Where we reprehend them of evil deeds, they again with wicked perverseness urge, that rather the Author and Creator of the Stars, than the doer of the evil, is to be accused.*

Gen. 1. 15. Eccles 42. ch. 32. Wisd. 9. 16. Aristotle. Aug. 20. super Gen. ad lit.

But that the Stars and other Celeſtial Bodies incline the Will by mediation of the ſenſitive Appetite, which is alſo ſtirred by the conſtitution and complexion, it cannot be doubted; *Corpora Cœleſtia* (ſaith *Damaſcene*) *conſtituunt in nobis habitus, complexiones, & diſpoſitiones*; *The Heavenly Bodies* (ſaith he) *make in us habits, complexions, and diſpoſitions*: For the Body (though *Galen* inforce it further) hath undoubtedly a kind of drawing after it the affections of the Mind, eſpecially Bodies ſtrong in Humour, and weak in Virtues; for thoſe of cholerick Complexions are ſubject to anger, and the furious effects thereof, by which they ſuffer themſelves to be tranſported; where the Mind hath not reaſon to remember, that Paſſions ought to be her Vaſſals, not her Maſters. And that they wholly direct the reaſonleſs Mind, I am reſolved: For all thoſe which were created mortal, as Birds, Beaſts, and the like, are left to their natural Appetites; over all which, Celeſtial Bodies (as Inſtruments and Executioners of God's Providence) have abſolute dominion. What we ſhould judge of Men, who little differ from Beaſts, I cannot tell: for as he that contendeth againſt thoſe inforcements, may eaſily maſter or reſiſt them; ſo whoſoever ſhall neglect the Remedies by virtue and piety prepared, putteth himſelf altogether under the power of his ſenſual appetite; *Vincitur fatum ſi reſiſtas, vincit ſi contempſeris*; *Fate will be overcome, if thou reſiſt it; if thou neglect, it conquereth.*

Gal. l. tuor. an. ſeq. temp.

Quint.

But that either the Stars or the Sun have any power over the Minds of Men immediately, it is abſurd to think, other than as aforeſaid, as the ſame by the Body's temper may be effected. *Lumen ſolis ad generationem ſenſibilium corporum confert, & ad vitam ipſam movet, & nutrit, & auget, & perficit*; *The Light of the Sun* (ſaith St. *Auguſtine*) *helpeth the generation of the ſenſible Bodies, moveth them to life, and nouriſheth, augmenteth, and perfecteth them:* Yet ſtill as a Miniſter, not as a Maſter: *Bonus quidem eſt Sol, in miniſterio, non imperio*; *The Sun is good to ſerve, not to ſway*, (ſaith St. *Ambroſe*). And St. *Auguſtine*, *Deus regit inferiora corpora per ſuperiora*; *God ruleth the Bodies below by thoſe above*; But he avoucheth not, that ſuperiour Bodies have rule over Mens Minds, which are incorporal.

Aug. de Civit. Dei, lib. 5.

Hex. lib. 4. de term. 3.

But howſoever we are by the Stars inclined at our birth, yet there are many things both in Nature and Art, that encounter the ſame, and weaken their Operation; and *Ariſtotle* himſelf confeſſeth, that the Heavens do not always work their Effects in inferiour Bodies, no more than the ſigns of Rain and Wind do always come to paſs. And it is divers times ſeen, that paternal Virtue and Vice hath his counterworking to theſe Inclinations. *Eſt in Juvencis Patrum virtus*; *In the young Off-ſpring the Father's Virtue is*; and ſo the contrary, *Patrum vitia*: And herein alſo there is often found an enterchange; the Sons of virtuous Men by an ill conſtellation become inclinable to Vice, and of vicious Men to Virtue.

Hor. lib. 4. Od. 30.

Egregia eſt ſoboles ſcelerato nata Parente:

A worthy Son is born of a wicked Father.

But there is nothing (after God's reſerved power) that ſo much ſetteth this Art of Influence out of ſquare and rule, as Education doth: For there are none in the World ſo wickedly inclined, but that a religious inſtruction and bringing up may faſhion anew and reform; nor any ſo well diſpoſed, whom (the Reins being let looſe) the continual fellowſhip and familiarity, and the examples of diſſolute Men, may not corrupt and deform. Veſſels will ever retain a ſavour of their firſt Liquor: it being equally difficult, either to cleanſe the mind once corrupted, or to extinguiſh the ſweet ſavour of virtue firſt received, when the Mind was yet tender, open, and eaſily ſeaſoned; but where a favourable Conſtellation, (allowing that the Stars incline the Will) and a virtuous Education do happily arrive, or the contrary in both; thereby it is that Men are found ſo exceeding virtuous or vicious, Heaven and Earth (as it were) running together and agreeing in one: For as the Seeds of Virtue may by the art and husbandry of Chriſtian Counſel produce better and more beautiful Fruit, than the ſtrength of Self-nature and Kind could have yielded them; ſo the Plants apt to grow wild, and to change themſelves into Weeds, by being ſet in a Soil ſutable, and like themſelves, are made more unſavoury, and filled with Poyſon. It was therefore truly affirmed, *Sapiens adjuvabit opus Aſtrorum, quemadmodum Agricola Terræ naturam*; *A wiſe Man aſſiſteth the work of the Stars, as the Husbandman helpeth the nature of the Soil.* And *Ptolomy* himſelf confeſſeth thus much, *Sapiens, & omina ſapientis Medici, dominabuntur Aſtris*; *A wiſe Man, and the ominous Art of a wiſe Phyſician ſhall prevail againſt the Stars.* Laſtly, We ought all to know, that God created the Stars, as he did the reſt of the Univerſal; whoſe Influences may be called his reſerved and unwritten Laws. But let us conſider how they bind: even as the Laws of Men do; for although the Kings and Princes of the World have by their Laws decreed, That a Thief and a Murderer ſhall ſuffer death; and though their Ordinances are daily by Judges and Magiſtrates (the Stars of Kings) executed accordingly; yet theſe Laws do not deprive Kings of their natural or religious compaſſion, or bind them without prerogative, to ſuch a ſevere execution, as that there ſhould be nothing left of liberty to Judgment, Power, or Conſcience: The Law in its own Nature, being no other than a deaf Tyrant. But ſeeing that it is otherwiſe, and that Princes (who ought to imitate God in all they can) do ſometimes, for cauſes to themſelves known, and by mediation, pardon offences both againſt others and themſelves; it were then impious to take that power and liberty from God himſelf, which his Subſtitutes enjoy; God being Mercy, Goodneſs, and Charity it ſelf. Otherwiſe that Example of Prayer by our Saviour taught; *And let us not be led into temptation, but deliver us from evil*; had been no other but an expence of words and time; but that God (which only knoweth the operation of his own Creatures truly) hath aſſured us, that there is no inclination or temptation ſo forcible, which our humble Prayers and Deſires may not fruſtrate and break aſunder: for were it (as the Stoicks conceive) that Fate or Deſtiny, though depending upon eternal Power, yet being once ordered and diſpoſed, had ſuch a connexion and immutable dependency, that God himſelf ſhould in a kind have ſhut up himſelf therein; *How miſerable then were the condition of Men* (ſaith St. *Auguſtine*) *left altogether without hope.*

Mat. 6. 13.

And if this ſtrength of the Stars were ſo tranſferred, as that God had quitted unto them all dominion over his Creatures; be he Pagan or Chriſtian that ſo believeth, *the only true God* of the one, and the imaginary gods of the other, would thereby be deſpoiled of all Worſhip, Reverence, or Reſpect.

Joh. 17. 4.

And certainly, God which hath promiſed us the reward of well-doing, which Chriſt himſelf claimed at the hands of the Father, (*I have finiſhed the Work which thou gaveſt me to do:*) and the ſame God, who hath threatned unto us the ſorrow and torment of Offences,

Offences, could not, contrary to his merciful nature, be so unjust, as to bind us inevitably to the Destinies or Influences of the Stars, or subject our Souls to any imposed necessity. But it was well said of *Plotinus*, that the Stars were significant, but not efficient, giving them yet something less than their due: and therefore as I do not consent with them, who would make those glorious Creatures of God virtueless: So I think that we derogate from his eternal and absolute Power and Providence, to ascribe to them the same dominion over our immortal Souls, which they have over all bodily Substances, and perishable Natures: for the Souls of Men loving and fearing God, receive influence from that Divine Light it self, whereof the Sun's clarity, and that of the Stars, is by *Plato* called but a Shadow; *Lumen est Umbra Dei, Deus est Lumen Luminis*; *Light is the Shadow of God's brightness, who is the Light of Light*: But to end this Question, because this Destiny, together with Providence, Prescience, and Predestination, are often confounded, I think it not impertinent to touch the difference in a word or two; for every Man hath not observed it, though all learned Men have.

Plat. pol. 6. Ficin in l. 7. pol.

SECT. XII.

Of Prescience.

PRescience, or Fore-knowledg (which the Greeks call *Prognosis*, the Latines *præcognitio*, or *præscientia*) considered in Order and Nature (if we may speak of God after the manner of Men) goeth before Providence: for God fore-knew all things, before he had created them, or before they had being to be cared for; and Prescience is no other than an infallible Fore-knowledg. For whatsoever our selves fore-know, except the same be to succeed accordingly, it cannot be true that we fore-know it. But this Prescience of God (as it is Prescience only) is not the cause of any thing futurely succeeding: Neither doth God's fore-knowledg impose any necessity, or bind. For in that we fore-know that the Sun will Rise and Set; that all Men born in the World shall die again; that after Winter the Spring shall come; after the Spring, Summer and Harvest; and that according to the several Seeds that we sow, we shall reap several sorts of Grain; yet is not our fore-knowledg the cause of this, or any of these: neither doth the knowledg in us bind or constrain the Sun to Rise and Set, or Men to die; for the causes (as Men perswade themselves) are otherwise manifest and known to all. *The eye of Man* (saith *Boetius*) *beholdeth those things subject to sense, as they are; the eye seeth that such a Beast is an Horse; it seeth Men, Trees, and Houses*, &c. *But our seeing of them (as they are) is not the cause of their so being, for such they be in their own Natures.* And again out of the same Author; *Divina providentia rebus generandis non imponit necessitatem, quia si omnia evenirent ex necessitate, præmia bonorum, & pœna malorum periret*; *Divine Providence* (saith he) *imposeth no necessity upon things that are to exist; for if all come to pass of necessity, there should neither be reward of Good, nor punishment of Evil.*

Boetius de consol.

SECT. XIII.

Of Providence.

NOw Providence (which the Greeks call *Pronoia*) is an intellectual knowledg, both fore-seeing, caring for, and ordering all things, and doth not only behold all past, all present, and all to come, but is the cause of their so being, which Prescience (simply taken) is not: and therefore Providence by the Philosophers (saith St. *Augustine*) is divided into Memory, Knowledge, and Care: Memory of the Past; Knowledg of the Present; and Care of the Future: And we our selves account such a Man for provident, as remembring things past, and observing things present, can by judgment, and comparing the one with the other, provide for the future and times succeeding. That such a thing there is as Providence, the Scriptures every where teach us; *Moses* in many places, the Prophets in their Predictions, Christ himself and his Apostles assure us hereof; and besides the Scriptures, *Hermes*, *Orpheus*, *Euripides*, *Pythagoras*, *Plato*, *Plotinus*, and (in effect) all learned Men acknowledg the Providence of God; yea, the *Turks* themselves are so confident therein, as they refuse not to accompany and visit each other in the most pestilent Diseases, nor shun any peril whatsoever, though death therein do manifestly present it self.

The places of Scripture proving Providence are so many, both in general and particular, as I shall need to repeat but a few of them in this place; *Sing unto God* (saith *David*) *which covereth the Heavens with Clouds, and prepareth Rain for the Earth, and maketh the Grass to grow upon the Mountains; which giveth the Beasts their Food, and feedeth the young Raven that cries: All these wait upon thee, that thou mayest give them Food in due season: And thou shalt drink of the River Cherith* (saith God to *Eliah*) *and I have commanded the Ravens to feed thee there. Behold the Fowls of the Air, they sow not, nor reap, and yet your Heavenly Father feedeth them.* Again, *Are not two Sparrows sold for a farthing? And one of them shall not fall on the ground without your Father: Yea, all the hairs of your head are numbred.* And St. *Peter*, *Cast all your care on him, for he careth for you. And his Judgments are written*, saith *David*.

Psal. 147. 1.

Psal. 104. 27, 9. & 145. 15.

1 Reg. 17. 4 Mat. 6. 26.

Luke 12. 6, 7.

1 Per. 5. 7.

Psal. 36. 6.

God therefore, who is every-where present, *who filleth the Heavens and the Earth, whose eyes are upon the Righteous, and his Countenance against them that do evil*, was therefore by *Orpheus* called *Oculus infinitus*, *an infinite Eye*, beholding all things; and cannot therefore be esteemed as an idle looker on, as if he had transferred his Power to any other; for it is contrary to his own Word, *Gloriam meam alteri non dabo*; *I will not give my glory to another*. No Man commandeth in the King's presence, but by the King's direction; but God is every-where present, and King of Kings. The example of God's Universal Providence is seen in his Creatures. The Father provideth for his Children: Beasts and Birds, and all Livings, for their young Ones. If Providence be found in second Fathers, much more in the first and Universal: and if there be a natural loving care in Men and Beasts, much more in God, who hath formed this Nature, and whose Divine Love was the beginning, and is the bond of the Universal: *Amor divinus rerum omnium est principium, & vinculum Universi* (saith *Plato*): *Amor Dei est nodus perpetuus, Mundi copula, partiumque ejus immobile sustentaculum, ac universæ machinæ fundamentum*; *The Love of God is the perpetual Knot, and Link, or*

Jer. 23. 24.

Esay 42. 8.

Chain of the World, and the immovable Pillar of every part thereof, and the Basis and Foundation of the Universal. God therefore who could only be the cause of all, can only provide for all, and sustain all; so, as to absolute Power, to every-where-Presence, to perfect Goodness, to pure and divine Love, this attribute transcendent hability of Providence is only proper and belonging.

1 Joh. 4. 1. God is love.

SECT. XIV.

Of Predestination.

NOw for Predestination, we can difference it no otherwise from Providence and Prescience, than in this, That Prescience only fore-seeth; Providence fore-seeth and careth for, and hath respect to all Creatures, even from the brightest Angels of Heaven, to the unworthiest Worms of the Earth: And Predestination (as it is used specially by Divines) is only of Men: and yet not of all to Men belonging, but of their Salvation properly, in the common use of Divines; or Perdition, as some have used it. Yet *Peter Lombard*, *Thomas*, *Bernensis Theologus*, and others, take the word Predestination more strictly, and for a preparation to felicity. Divers of the Fathers take it more largely sometimes: Among whom St. *Augustine* speaking of two Cities, and two Societies, useth these words, *Quarum est una, quæ prædestinata est in æternum regnare cum Deo, altera æternum supplicium subire cum Diabolo; Whereof one is it, which is predestinated to reign for ever with God; but the other is to undergo everlasting torment with the Devil:* for according to *Nonius Marcellus*, *Destinare, est præparare:* and of the same Opinion are many Protestant Writers, as *Calvin*, *Beza*, *Bucanus*, *Danæus*, and such like. And as for the manifold questions hereof arising, I leave them to the Divines; and why it hath pleased God to create some Vessels of Honour, and some of Dishonour, I will answer with *Gregory*, who saith, *Qui in factis Dei rationem non videt, infirmitatem suam considerans, cur non videat, rationem videt; He that seeth no reason in the Actions of God, by consideration of his own infirmity, perceiveth the reason of his blindness.* And again, with St. *Augustine*, *Occulta esse causa potest, injusta esse non potest; Hidden the cause of his Predestination may be, unjust it cannot be.*

Rom. 8. & 9.

Lomb. l. 1. dist. 39. Thom. part 1. dist. 23. Bern. de Probl. d. p. d. Aug. l. 15. c. 1. de Civit. Dei.

Cal in c. 9. ad Rom. v. 11. Bez. in mag. anot. in cap. 9. ad Rom. Danæus l. 3. de Salut. Greg. Mag. Joh. 9. Aug. ad Polin. ep. 59.

SECT. XV.

Of Fortune: and of the reason of some things that seem to be by Fortune, and against Reason and Providence.

LAstly, seeing Destiny or Necessity is subsequent to God's Providence; and seeing that the Stars have no other Dominion than is before spoken, and that Nature is nothing, but, as *Plato* calleth it, *Dei artem, vel artificiosum Dei Organum; The Art, or artificial Organ of God:* And *Cusanus*, *Divini præcepti Instrumentum; The Instrument of the Divine Precept:* We may then with better reason reject that kind of Idolatry, or God of Fools, called *Fortune* or *Chance*; a Goddess, the most reverenced, and the most reviled of all other, but not ancient: For *Homer* maketh her the Daughter of *Oceanus*, as *Pausanias* witnesseth in his *Messeniacks*. The *Greeks* call her Τυχὼ, signifying a relative being, or betiding, so as before *Homer*'s time this great Lady was scarce heard of: and *Hesiodus*, who hath taught the birth and beginning of all these counterfeit gods, hath not a word of *Fortune*; yet afterward she grew so great and omnipotent, as from Kings and Kingdoms, to Beggars and Cottages, she ordered all things; resisting the wisdom of the wisest, by making the Possessor thereof miserable; valuing the folly of the most foolish, by making the success prosperous: insomuch as the actions of Men were said to be but the sports of Fortune, and the variable accidents happening in Men's lives, but her pastimes: of which *Palladius*, *Vita Hominum ludus Fortunæ est, The life of Man is the play of Fortune:* And because it often falleth out, that Enterprises guided by ill Counsels, have equal success to those by the best judgment conducted, therefore had Fortune the same external figure with Sapience; whereof *Athenæus:*

Sen. ep. 91. Aur. Vict. de Pertinace. Sen. ep. 74. Demetrius Poliorcetes in the great and often changes of his Fortune, is said to have used to cry out upon *Fortune* applying to her a *Verse* of *Æschilus*; *Tu me extulisti eodem meis (sentio) perditum.*

Longissimè à Sapientia Fors dissidet,
Sed multa perficit tamen simillima:

From Wisdom Fortune differs far,
And yet in Works most like they are.

But I will forbear to be curious in that, which (as it is commonly understood) is nothing else but a power imaginary, to which the successes of Humane Actions and Endeavours were for their variety ascribed; for when a manifest Cause could not be given, then was it attributed to Fortune, as if there were no cause of those things of which most Men are ignorant; contrary to this true ground of *Plato*, *Nihil est ortum sub Sole, cujus causa legitima non præcesserit; Nothing ever came to pass under the Sun, of which there was not a just preceding cause.* But *Aquinas* hath herein answered in one distinction, whatsoever may be objected; for many things there are (saith he) which happen *besides the intention of the Inferior, but not besides the intention of the Superior; Præter intentionem Inferioris, sed non præter intentionem Superioris,* (to wit, the Ordinance of God); and therefore (saith *Melancthon*) *Quod Poeta Fortunam, nos Deum appellamus; Whom the Poets call Fortune, we know to be God.* And that this is true, the Scripture in many places teacheth us; as in the Law of Murther, *He that smiteth a Man, and he die, shall die the death; and if a Man hath not laid wait, but God hath offered him into his hands, then I will appoint thee a place whither he shall flee.* Now, where the Scripture hath these words, *God hath offered him into his hands*; we say, If he hurt him by chance: and in *Deuteronomy* the nineteenth, where the slipping of an Ax from the Helve, whereby another is slain, was the Work of God himself; we in our phrase attribute this accident to Chance or Fortune: And in *Proverbs* the sixteenth, *The Lot is cast into the Lap, but the whole disposition thereof is of the Lord:* So as that which seemeth most casual and subject to Fortune, is yet disposed by the Ordinance of God, as all things else; and hereof the wiser sort, and the best learned of the Philosophers were not ignorant, as *Cicero* witnesseth for them, gathering the Opinion of *Aristotle* and his Sectators, with those of *Plato*, and the *Academicks*, to this effect, That the same power which they called *Animam Mundi, The Soul of the World*, was no other than that incomprehensible Wisdom, which we express by the Name of God, governing every Being as well in Heaven as in Earth; to which Wisdom and Power they sometime gave the title of Necessity or Fate, because it bindeth by inevitable Ordinance: sometime the stile of Fortune, because of many Effects there appear unto us no certain Causes. To this effect speaketh St.

Te facimus Fortuna Deam, cæloq; locamus. Sat. 10. 366.

Exod. 21. 12, 13.

Vers. 5.

Vers. 33.

Cic. de quasi, l. 1.

St. *Augustine* in his questions upon *Genesis*, the first Book: the same hath *Seneca* in his fourth of *Benefits*; which was also the Doctrine of the *Stoicks*, of which Sect he was; *For whatsoever* (saith he) *thou callest God, be it Nature, Fate, or Fortune, all are but one and the same, differenced by divers terms, according as he useth, and exerciseth his Power diversly.* *Sen. l. 4. c. 7*

But it may be objected, That if Fortune and Chance were not sometimes the causes of Good and Evil in Men, but an idle Voice, whereby we express success; how comes it then, that so many worthy and wise Men depend upon so many unworthy and empty-headed Fools? That Riches and Honour are given to external Men, and without Kernel; and so many learned, virtuous, and valiant Men wear out their lives in poor and dejected Estates? In a word, there is no other inferiour or apparent cause, beside the partiality of Man's Affection, but the fashioning and not fashioning of our selves according to the nature of the times wherin we live: for whosoever is most able, and best sufficient to discern, and hath withal an honest and open heart, and loving Truth; If Princes, or those that govern, endure no other discourse than their own flatteries; then, I say, such an one, whose Virtue and Courage forbiddeth him to be base and a Dissembler, shall evermore hang under the Wheel: which kind of deserving well, and receiving ill, we always falsly charge Fortune withal. For whosoever shall tell any great Man or Magistrate, that he is not Just; the General of an Army, that he is not Valiant; the great Ladies, that they are not Fair; shall never be made a Counseller, a Captain, or a Courtier. Neither is it sufficient to be Wise with a Wise Prince, Valiant with a Valiant, and Just with him that is Just, for such a one hath no Estate in his prosperity; but he must also change with the Successor, if he be of contrary qualities; Sail with the Tyde of the Time, and alter Form and Condition, as the Estate or the Estate's Master changeth: Otherwise how were it possible that the most base Men, and separate from all imitable Qualities, could so often attain to Honour and Riches, but by such an observant slavish course? These Men having nothing else to value themselves by, but a counterfeit kind of wondering at other Men, and by making them believe that all their Vices are Virtues, and all their dusty Actions Crystalline; have yet in all Ages prospered equally with the most virtuous, if not exceeded them. For, according to *Menander*, *Omnis insipens, arrogantiâ & plausibus capitur*; *Every Fool is won with his own pride, and others flattering applause*: so as whosoever will live altogether out of himself, and study other Mens Humours, and observe them, shall never be unfortunate; and on the contrary, that Man which prizeth Truth and Virtue (except the Season wherein he liveth be of all these, and of all sorts of goodness, fruitful) shall never prosper by the possession or profession thereof. It is also a token of a worldly-wise Man, not to war or contend in vain against the nature of Times wherein he liveth: for such a one is often the Author of his own misery; but best it were to follow the advice, which the Pope gave the Bishop of that Age out of *Ovid*, while the *Arrian* Heresie raged:

Dum Furor in cursu est, currenti cede furori: *Ovid Met. l. 1.*

While Fury gallops on the way,
Let no Man Fury's gallop stay.

And if *Cicero* (than whom that World begat not a Man of more reputed Judgment) had followed the counsel of his Brother *Quintus*; *Potuisset* (saith *Petrarch*) *in lectulo suo mori, potuisset integro cadavere sepeliri*; *He might then have died the death of Nature, and been with an untorn and undissevered Body buried*: for, as *Petrarch* in the same place noteth, *Quid stultius quàm desperantem (præsertim de effectu) litibus perpetuis implicari? What more foolish than for him that despairs (especially of the effect) to be entangled with endless contentions?* Whosoever therefore will set before him *Machiavel's two Marks to shoot at*, (to wit) Riches and Glory, must set on and take off a back of Iron to a weak wooden Bow, that it may fit both the strong and the feeble; for as he who first devised to add Sails to rowing Vessels, did either so proportion them, as being fastened aloft, and towards the head of his Mast, he might abide all Winds and Storms, or else he sometime or other perished by his own Invention: So that Man which prizeth Virtue for it self, and cannot endure to hoise and strike his Sails, as the divers natures of Calms and Storms require, must cut his Sails and his Cloth of mean length and breadth, and content himself with a slow and sure Navigation, (to wit) a mean and free Estate. But of this dispute of Fortune, and the rest, or whatsoever Lords or Gods, imaginary Powers or Causes, the wit (or rather foolishness) of Man hath found out: Let us resolve with St. *Paul*, who hath taught us, that there is *but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him*; there are diversities of Operations, but God is the same which worketh all in all. *1 Cor. 8. 6. & 12 6.*

CHAP. II.

Of Man's Estate in his first Creation, and of God's Rest.

SECT. I.

Of the Image of God, according to which Man was first created.

THe creation of all other Creatures being finished, the Heavens adorned, and the Earth replenished, God said, *Let us make Man in our own Image, according to our likeness.* *Gen. 1. 26.*

Man is the last and most admirable of God's Works to us known: *Ingens Miraculum Homo*; *Man is the greatest wonder*, (saith *Plato* out of *Mercurius*): *Naturæ ardentissimæ artificium*; *The artificial Work of the most ardent or fire-like Nature* (as saith *Zoroaster*); though the same be meant, not for any excellency external, but in respect of his internal form, both in the Nature, Qualities, and other Attributes thereof: *Trif. Asel. 2. & de volunt Dei. Plat. leg. l. 1.*

of: In Nature, becauſe it hath an Eſſence immortal and ſpiritual; in Qualities, becauſe the ſame was by God created Holy and Righteous in Truth; in other Attributes, becauſe Man was made Lord of the World, and of the Creatures therein.

Sanctum, quia pars prior immortalis, anima, quia immortali. Ovid. Met. l. 1. 76.

Sanctius his animal, mentiſq; capacius altæ,
Deerat adhuc, & quod dominari in cætera poſſet:
Natus Homo eſt.

More holy than the reſt, and underſtanding more,
A living Creature wants, to rule all made before:
So Man began to be.

Of this Image and Similitude of God, there is much diſpute among the Fathers, Schoolmen, and late Writers: Some of the Fathers conceive, that Man was made after the Image of God, in reſpect chiefly of Empire and Dominion, as St. *Chryſoſtom*, *Ambroſe*, and ſome others: Which St. *Ambroſe* denieth to the Woman in theſe words, *Ut ſicut Deus unus, ab eo fieret Homo unus; & quomodo ex Deo uno omnia, ita ex uno Homine omne genus eſſet ſuper faciem totius terræ: Unus igitur unum fecit, qui unitatis ejus haberet imaginem: That as God is one, one Man might be made by him; and that in what manner all things are of one God, likewiſe of one Man the whole kind ſhould be upon the face of the whole Earth: Therefore he being one, made one that ſhould have the Image of his Unity.* But whereas it is gathered out of the following words of the ſame Verſe, that Man was after the Image of God in reſpect of Rule and Power; it is written *Dominamini*, in the plural number; *And have dominion over the Fiſh in the Sea, &c.* and therefore cannot the Woman be excluded. Others conceive, that Man is ſaid to be after the Image of God in reſpect of his Immortal Soul only: becauſe as God is inviſible, ſo the Soul of Man is inviſible; as God is immortal and incorporal, ſo is the Soul of Man immortal and incorporal; and as there is but one God which governeth the World, ſo but one Soul which governeth the Body of Man; and as God is wholly in every part of the World, ſo is the Soul of Man wholly in every part of the Body: *Anima eſt tota in toto, & tota in qualibet parte; The Soul is wholly in the whole Body, and wholly in every part thereof*, according to *Ariſtotle*; though *Chalcidius* and other learned Men deny that Doctrine; which that it is otherwiſe than potentially true, all the Ariſtotelians in the World ſhall never prove. Theſe and the like Arguments do the *Jews* make (ſaith *Toſtatus*) and theſe reſemblances, between the infinite God, and the finite Man.

The School-men reſemble the Mind or Soul of Man to God, in this reſpect eſpecially; becauſe that as in the Mind there are three diſtinct Powers, or Faculties, (to wit) Memory, Underſtanding, and Will; and yet all theſe, being of real differences, are but one Mind: ſo in God there are three diſtinct Perſons, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, and yet but one God. They alſo make the Image and Similitude diverſe; and again, they diſtinguiſh between *Imaginem Dei*, and *ad Imaginem Dei*; and ſpin into ſmall threds, with ſubtile diſtinctions, many times the plainneſs and ſincerity of the Scriptures: their Wits being like that ſtrong Water, that eateth thorow and diſſolveth the pureſt Gold. *Victorinus* alſo maketh the Image of God to be ſubſtantial, but not the ſimilitude: *Sed in ſubſtantia nomen qualitatis declarativum; A word declaring quality in the ſubſtance.* Out of which words, and that which followeth, it is inferred, that as the Image and Similitude do greatly differ, ſo the ſinful Soul doth not therefore leave to be the Image of God; but it hath not his Similitude, except it be Holy and Righteous. St. *Auguſtine* alſo againſt *Adimantus* the *Manichee* affirmeth, that by ſin the perfection of this Image is loſt in Man; and in his Retractions maintaineth the ſame Opinion, and alſo affirmeth that the Similitude is more largely taken than the Image.

But howſoever the School-men and others diſtinguiſh, or whatſoever the Fathers conceive; ſure I am, that St. *Paul* maketh the ſame ſenſe of the Image, which *Victorinus* doth of the Similitude, who ſaith; *As we have born the Image of the Earthy, ſo ſhall we bear the Image of the Heavenly*; and it cannot be gathered out of the Scripture, that the words *Image* and *Similitude* were uſed but in one ſenſe, and in this place the better to expreſs each other; whatſoever *Lombard* hath ſaid to the contrary. For God knows what a multitude of meanings the wit of Man imagineth to himſelf in the Scriptures, which neither *Moſes*, the *Prophets*, or *Apoſtles*, ever conceived. Now as St. *Paul* uſeth the word (*Image*) for both; ſo St. *James* uſeth the word (*Similitude*) for both, in theſe words; *Therewith bleſs we God, even the Father, and therewith curſe we Men, which are made after the ſimilitude of God.* Howſoever therefore St. *Auguſtine* ſeemeth, out of a kind of elegancy in Writing, to make ſome difference: as where he writeth, *Confitemur Imaginem in Æternitate, ſimili-tudinem in moribus in veniri; We confeſs that this Image is found in Eternity, but his Similitude in Manners*; that is, in the ſpiritual diſpoſitions and qualities of the Mind: Yet thus he elſewhere ſpeaketh plainly; *Quaſi verò poſſit eſſe Imago aliqua, in qua Similitudo non ſit: ſi enim omnino Similis non eſt, procul dubio nec Imago eſt*; *As if* (ſaith he) *there could be any Image, where the Similitude is not: no, out of doubt, where there is no likeneſs, there is no Image.* The very words of the Text make this moſt manifeſt, as, *Let us make Man in our Image, according to our Likeneſs*: which is, Let us make Man in our Image that he may be like us: And in the next Verſe following, God himſelf maketh it plain; for there he uſeth the word (*Image*) only as thus; *God created the Man in his Image, in the Image of God created he him.* And to take away all diſpute or ambiguity, in the firſt Verſe of the fifth Chapter, the word (*Similitude*) is uſed again by it ſelf, as, *In the day that God created* Adam, *in the likeneſs of God made he him.* And this Similitude St. *Paul*, *Coloſ.* 3. *v.* 10. calleth the Image; *Put on* (ſaith he) *the new Man, which is renewed in knowledg after the Image of him that created him.* And in *Syracides* it is written, *He made them according to his Image.* Now if we may believe St. *Paul* before *Peter Lombard* and other Schoolmen, then it is as manifeſt as words can make it, that the Image and Similitude is but the ſame; for St. *Paul* uſeth both the words directly in one ſenſe. *For they turned the glory of the incorruptible God to the Similitude of the Image of a corruptible Man.*

1 *Cor.* 15. 49.

Jam. 3. 9.

Ut ſupra.

Aug. ut ſupra.

Rom. 1. 23.

Zanchius laboureth to prove, That Man was formed after the Image of God, both in Body and Mind; *Nulla pars in Homine, quæ non fuerit hujuſce Imaginis particeps*; *No part in a Man* (ſaith he) *which was not participating of God's Image*; *for God ſaid, Let us make Man according to our own Image.* But the Soul alone is not Man, but the *Hypoſtaſis* or whole Man compounded of Body and Soul. *The Body of Man* (ſaith he) *is the Image of the World, and called therefore Microcoſmus*; but the *Idea* and exemplar of the World was firſt in God; ſo that Man, according to his Body, muſt needs be the Image of God. Againſt which Opinion of this learned Man, his own Objection ſeemeth to me ſufficient, where he alledgeth that it may be ſaid, That

Zanch. de oper. Dei. l. 3. c. 1.

That *Moses* spake by the figure *Synechdoche*; As when a Man is called a mortal Man, yet is not the whole Man mortal, but the Body only: So when God said, *Let us make Man after our Image*, he meant the Soul of Man, and not the Body of Earth and Dust: *Maledictus qui Deitatem ad hominis lineamenta refert* (saith St. *Augustine*): *Cursed is he that referreth the Deity of God to the lineaments of Man's Body. Deus enim non est humanæ formæ particeps, neque corpus humanum Divinæ* (saith *Philo*); *God is not partaker of humane Form, nor humane Body of the Form Divine.* The *Hebrew* word for *Image*, is *Tselem*, which signifieth a Shadow or obscure resemblance: *In Imagine pertransit Homo*; *Man passeth away in a Shadow.* Let us then know and consider, that God, who is eternal and infinite, hath not any bodily shape or composition; for it is both against his Nature and his Word; an error of the *Anthropomorphitæ*, against the very Essence and Majesty of God.

In Gen.

Surely *Cicero*, who was but a *Heathen*, had yet a more divine understanding than these gross Hereticks: *Ad similitudinem Dei propiùs accedebat humana virtus, quàm figura*; *The virtue which is in Man*, (saith he) *came nearer the Similitude of God than the Figure.* For God is a spiritual Substance, invisible, and most simple; God is a just God; God is Merciful; God is Charity it self; and (in a word) Goodness it self, and none else simply good. And thus much it hath pleased God himself to teach us, and to make us know of himself. What then can be the Shadow of such a Substance, the Image of such a Nature? Or wherein can Man be said to resemble his unexcogitable power and perfectness? Certainly, not in dominion alone; for the Devil is said to be the Prince of this World: and the Kingdom of Christ was not thereof, who was the true and perfect Image of his Father. Neither because Man hath an immortal Soul, and therein the Faculties of Memory, Understanding, and Will; for the Devils are also immortal, and participate those Faculties, being called *Dæmones*, because *scientes* of knowledg and subtilty: Neither because we are reasonable Creatures, by which we are distinguished from Beasts: For who hath rebelled against God? Who have made gods of the vilest Beasts, of Serpents, of Cats, of Owls; yea, even of shameful parts, of Lusts and Pleasures, but reasonable Men? Yet do I not condemn the Opinion of St. *Chrysostome* and *Ambrose*, as touching Dominion, but that, in respect thereof, Man was in some sort after the Image of God; if we take Dominion, such as it ought to be, that is, accompanied with Justice and Piety. For God did not only make Man a Ruler and Governour over the Fishes of the Sea, the Fowls of Heaven, (or of the Air) and over the Beasts of the Field: But God gave unto Man a dominion over Men, he appointed Kings to govern them, and Judges to judge them in equity. Neither do I exclude Reason, as it is the ability of Understanding: For I do not conceive, that *Ireneus* did therefore call Man the Image of God, because he was *Animal rationale* only; but that he understood it better, with *Sybilla*; *Imago mea est Homo, rectam rationem habens*; *Man that is endued with right reason, is said to resemble God*, (*i. e.*) by right reason to know and confess God his Creator, and the same God to serve, love, and obey: And therefore said Saint *Augustine*, (who herein came nearer the Truth) *Fecit Deus Hominem ad Imaginem & Similitudinem suam in mente*; *God made Man in respect of the Intellect after his own Image and Similitude:* And *Reynerius*, *Homo, quòd habet mentem, factus est ad Imaginem Dei*; *Man was made after the Image of God, in Mind*, or, *in that he hath a mind.*

Eph. 6. 12. *Joh. 18. 36*

Plat. in Cratol.

Userius de Succ. lib. 5.

Reyn. de ment.

SECT. II.

Of the Intellectual Mind of Man, in which there is much of the Image of God: and that this Image is much deformed by Sin.

But *Mens* is not taken here for *Anima Physica*, according to *Aristotle*, which is, *Forma vel Natura Hominis*, *The Form or Nature of Man*; but this Faculty or Gift of God, called *Mens*, is taken for *prima vis Animi*, *the principal strength of the Mind*, or Soul; *cujus actus est perpetua veritatis contemplato*; *whose Act*, Exercise, or Office, *is the perpetual contemplation of Truth*; and therefore it is also called *Intellectus Divinus*, *Intellectus Contemplativus*, & *Anima Contemplativa*, *A Divine Understanding, and an Intellect or Mind Contemplative.* *Est autem mens nostra* (saith *Cusanus*) *vis comprehendendi*; & *totum virtuale ex omnibus comprehendendi virtutibus compositum: Our intellectual Mind* (saith he) *is a power of comprehending*; *even the whole, that is in this kind powerful, compounded of all the powers of comprehension:* Unto which *Mercurius* attributeth so much, (if his meaning accompany his words) that he esteemeth it to be the very Essence of God, (which was also the error of the *Manichees*, and others) and no otherwise separate from God (saith he) than the Light from the Sun: for this *Mens* or Understanding, (saith *Mercurius*) *Est Deus in Hominibus*, *Is God in Men*; or rather (and which I take to be his meaning) is the Image of God in Man. For, as the Sun is not of the same Essence or Nature with the Divine Light, but a Body illightned, and an illumination created; so is this *Mens* or Understanding in Men, not of the Essence of God's infinite Understanding, but a power and faculty of our Souls the purest; or, the *lumen animæ rationalis*, by the true and eternal Light illightned. And this *Mens* others call *Animam Animæ*, *The Soul of the Soul*; or, with St. *Augustine*, the Eye of the Soul, or receptacle of Sapience and divine Knowledg, *Quæ amorem sapientiæ tanquam ducem sequitur*, *Which followeth after the love of Sapience as her guide* (saith *Philo*); between which and Reason; between which and the Mind, called *Anima*; between which and that power which the Latins call *Animus*, there is this difference: Reason is that Faculty by which we judge and discourse; *Anima*, by which we live. Hereof it is said, *Anima Corpus animat, id est, vivificat*; or, *The Soul is that which doth animate the Body, that is, giveth it life*; for death is the separation of Body and Soul: And the same strength (saith *Philo*) which God the great Director hath in the World, the same hath this *Anima*, or Mind, or Soul, in Man. *Animus*, is that by which we will and make Election; and to this *Basil* agreeth, which called this *Mens*, or Divine Understanding, *Perspicacem Animæ partem*, *The perceiving part of the Mind*, or, The Light by which the Soul discerneth: *Dormientum Mens, non Anima, sopitur*; & *in furiosis Mens extinguitur*, *Anima manet*; *In Men that sleep it is this* (Mens, *or*) *Understanding, and not the Mind or Soul which resteth*; during which time it is but habitual in wise Men, *and in mad Men this* (Mens) *is extinguished, and not the Soul*; for mad Men do live, though distract.

Pæmand. De mente Idest. l. 3.

Sen. ep. 65. f. & 31. f. Lib. 9. c. 5.

Therefore this word being often used for the Soul giving Life, is attributed abusively to mad Men, when we say that they are of a distract Mind, instead of a broken Understanding: which Word (Mind) we use also for Opinion, as, I am of this Mind, or that Mind: and sometimes for Mens Conditions or Virtues, as, He is of an honest Mind, or, a Man of a just

juſt Mind: ſometimes for Affection, as, I do this for my Mind's ſake: and *Ariſtotle* ſometimes uſeth this word (*Mens*) for the Phantaſie, which is the ſtrength of the Imagination: ſometimes for the knowledg of Principles, which we have without Diſcourſe: Oftentimes for Spirits, Angels, and Intelligences: but as it is uſed in the proper ſignification, including both the Underſtanding agent and poſſible, it is deſcribed to be, a pure, ſimple, ſubſtantial Act, not depending upon Matter, but having relation to that which is intelligible, as to his firſt Object: Or more at large thus, A part or particle of the Soul, whereby it doth underſtand, not depending upon Matter, nor needing any Organ, free from paſſion coming from without, and apt to be diſſevered, as, Eternal from that which is Mortal. Hereof excellently *Mercurius*; *Anima eſt Imago Mentis, Mens Imago Dei; Deus Menti præeſt, Mens Animæ, Anima Corpori*; *The Soul* (meaning that which giveth Life) *is the Image of this Underſtanding*, or *Mens*; *and this Mens*, or *Underſtanding, is the Image of God. God is Preſident or Ruler over this Underſtanding, this Underſtanding over the Soul, and this Soul over the Body.* This diviſion and diſtinction out of the *Platonicks* and *Peripateticks* I leave to the Reader to judg of. That *Mens humana* hath no need of any Organ, *Marcilius Ficinus* in his ninth Book of the Soul's Immortality, laboureth to prove. *Zanchius* doth not differ from *Ficinus* in words; for (ſaith he) *Ad facultatem intelligentem exercendam, non eget Mens Organo, tanquam medio, per quod intelligat: quanquam eget objecto in quod intuatur, & ex quo intellectionem concipiat. Hoc autem objectum ſunt phantaſmata, ſeu rerum à ſenſibus perceptarum ſimulachra ad phantaſiam prolata: To exerciſe the Faculty of Underſtanding, the Mind of Man* (ſaith he) *needeth no Inſtrument, as a mean, by which it may underſtand: but it needeth an Object whereon to look, and whence to conceive the Act of Underſtanding. This Object are the phantaſms, or the reſemblances of things received from the ſenſe, and carried to the phantaſie.* But in effect, his concluſion ſeemeth to carry a contrary ſenſe, when he maketh the Phantaſie, in repreſenting the Object to the Underſtanding, to be a corporal *Organum*; neither can it be underſtood to be an *Organum* of any thing, but of the Underſtanding. And he addeth, that the reſemblance of things in Man's imagination are to his Underſtanding and Mind, as Colours are to the ſight; whence it ſo followeth, that the imagination or phantaſie it ſelf is to the faculty of Underſtanding, as the eye is to the faculty of ſeeing: and as this is an *Organum*, ſo that. Of this queſtion, How the Mind in all her actions maketh uſe of the Body, and hath communion with the Body, I refer the Reader to a moſt grave and learned Diſcourſe, in the laſt Reply of M. D. *Bilſon*, late Biſhop of *Winchester*, unto *Henry Jacob*. Howſoever the Truth be determined, we muſt conclude, that it is neither in reſpect of Reaſon alone, by which we diſcourſe, nor in reſpect of the Mind it ſelf, by which we live, nor in reſpect of our Souls ſimply, by which we are immortal, that we are made after the Image God. But moſt ſafely may we reſemble our ſelves to God *in mente*, and in reſpect of that pure Faculty, which is never ſeparate from the contemplation and love of God. Yet this is not all, for St. *Bernard* maketh a true difference between the nature and faculties of the Mind or Soul, and between the infuſion of Qualities, Endowments, and Gifts of Grace wherewith it is adorned and enriched; which being added to the Nature, Eſſence, and Faculties, maketh it altogether to be after the Image of God: whoſe words are theſe, *Non propterea Imago Dei eſt, quia ſui meminit Mens, ſeque intelligit & diligit*, (which alſo was the Opinion of St. *Auguſtine*) *; ſed quia poteſt meminiſſe, intelligere, ac diligere cum à quo facta eſt*, (that is) *The Mind* (or *Mens*) *was not therefore the Image of God, becauſe it remembreth, underſtandeth, and loveth it ſelf; but becauſe it can remember, underſtand, and love God who created it.* And that this Image may be deformed and made unprofitable, hear *Baſil*; *Homo ad Imaginem & Similitudinem Dei factus eſt; Peccatum verò Imaginis hujus pulchritudinem deformavit, & inutilem reddidit, dum Animam corruptis concupiſcentiæ affectibus immerſit: Man was made after the Image and Similitude of God; but Sin hath deformed the beauty of this Image, and made it unprofitable, by drawing our Minds into corrupt concupiſcence.*

Zanch. de oper. Dei, part. 3. l. 1. ca. 2.

Pag. 185. & ſequent. Ad imaginem Dei creavit illum, id eſt, ſapientiæ, virtutis, ac bonitatis compotem, qui ſeſe intuitus Creatorem agnoſceret ſuum; atq; imitari, pro ingenii, præſq; auctoritatis ſibi conceſſa ratione, ſtuderet. Exam.

It is not therefore (as aforeſaid) by reaſon of Immortality, nor in Reaſon, nor in Dominion, nor in any one of theſe by it ſelf, nor in all theſe joyned, by any of which, or by all which we reſemble, or may be called the Shadow of God, though by Reaſon and Underſtanding, with the other faculties of the Soul, we are made capable of this print; but chiefly, in reſpect of the habit of Original Righteouſneſs, moſt perfectly infuſed by God into the Mind and Soul of Man in his firſt Creation. For it is not by nature, nor by her liberality, that we were printed with the Seal of God's Image, (though Reaſon may be ſaid to be of her Gift, which, joyned to the Soul, is a part of the Eſſential Conſtitution of our proper *Species*) but from the bountiful Grace of the Lord of all goodneſs, who breathed Life into Earth, and contrived within the Trunk of Duſt and Clay the inimitable hability of his own Piety and Righteouſneſs.

So long therefore (for that reſemblance which Dominion hath) do thoſe that are powerful retain the Image of God, as according to his Commandments they exerciſe the Office or Magiſtracy to which they are called, and ſincerely walk in the Ways of God, which in the Scriptures is called, *walking with God*; and all other Men ſo long retain this Image, as they fear, love, and ſerve God truly, that is, for the love of God alone, and do not bruiſe and deface his Seal by the weight of manifold and voluntrary Offences, and obſtinate Sins. For the unjuſt Mind cannot be after the Image of God, ſeeing God is Juſtice it ſelf; The blood-thirſty hath it not, for God is Charity and Mercy it ſelf; Falſhood, cunning Practice, and Ambition, are properties of Satan, and therefore cannot dwell in one Soul together with God: And to be ſhort, there is no likelyhood between pure Light and black Darkneſs, between Beauty and Deformity, or between Righteouſneſs and Reprobation. And though Nature, according to common underſtanding, have made us capable by the power of Reaſon, and apt enough to receive this Image of God's goodneſs, which the ſenſual Souls of Beaſts cannot perceive; yet were that aptitude natural more inclinable to follow and imbrace the falſe and dure-leſs pleaſures of this Stage-play World, than to become the ſhadow of God, by walking after him, had not the exceeding Workmanſhip of God's Wiſdom, and the liberality of his Mercy, formed Eyes to our Souls, as to our Bodies; which piercing through the impurity of our fleſh, behold the higheſt Heavens, and thence bring Knowledg and Object to the Mind and Soul, to contemplate the ever-during Glory, and termleſs Joy, prepared for thoſe which retain the Image and Similitude of their Creator, preſerving undefiled and unrent the Garment of the new Man, which, after the Image of God, is created in Righteouſneſs and Holineſs, as ſaith St. *Paul*. Now whereas it is thought by ſome of the Fathers, as by St. *Auguſtine*, with whom St. *Ambroſe* joyneth, That by Sin the perfection of the

Gen. 5. 22.

2 Cor. 6. 14.

S. Ambroſe

Image

Image is lost, and not the Image it self: both Opinions by this distinction may be well reconciled (to wit) that the Image of God, in Man, may be taken two ways; for, either it is considered according to natural Gifts, and consisteth therein; namely, to have a reasonable and understanding Nature, &c. and in this sense, the Image of God is more lost by sin, than the very reasonable or understanding Nature, &c. is lost, (or sin doth not abolish and take away these natural gifts): or, the Image of God is considered, according to supernatural Gifts, namely, of Divine Grace and Heavenly Glory, which is indeed the perfection and accomplishment of the natural Image; and this manner of Similitude and Image of God is wholly blotted out, and destroyed by Sin.

SECT. III.

Of our base and frail Bodies: and that the care thereof should yield to the immortal Soul.

THe external Man God formed out of the Dust of the Earth, or (according to the signification of the word *Adam*) of *Adamath*, of Red Earth, or *ex limo Terræ*, out of the slime of the Earth, or a mixed matter of Earth and Water. *Non ex qualibet humo, sed ex ghaphar adamath (id est) ex pinguissima & mollissima: Not that God made an Image or Statue of Clay; but out of Clay, Earth, or Dust, God formed and made Flesh, Blood, and Bone, with all parts of Man.* *Arias Mont. de nat. f. 156.*

That Man was formed of Earth and Dust, did *Abraham* acknowledg, when in humble fear he called unto God to save *Sodom: Let not my Lord now be angry, if I speak, I that am but Dust and Ashes:* And, *In these Houses of Clay, whose Foundation is in the Dust,* do our Souls inhabit, according to *Job.* And though our own eyes do every-where behold the sudden and resistless assaults of Death; and Nature assureth us by never-failing Experience, and Reason by infallible Demonstration, that our times upon the Earth have neither certainty nor durability; that our Bodies are but the Anvils of Pain and Diseases, and our Minds the Hives of unnumbred Cares, Sorrows, and Passions: and that (when we are most glorified) we are but those painted Posts against which Envy and Fortune direct their Darts; yet such is the true unhappiness of our Condition, and the dark ignorance which covereth the eyes of our Understanding, that we only prize, pamper, and exalt this Vassal and Slave of Death, and forget altogether (or only remember at our cast-away leisure) the imprisoned immortal Soul, which can neither die with the Reprobate, nor perish with the mortal parts of virtuous Men: seeing God's Justice in the one, and his Goodness in the other, is exercised for ever-more, as the ever-living subjects of his Reward and Punishment. But when is it that we examine this great Account? Never while we have one vanity left us to spend: We plead for Titles, till our Breath fail us; dig for Riches, while our Strength enableth us; exercise Malice, while we can revenge; and then, when time hath beaten from us both Youth, Pleasure, and Health, and that Nature it self hateth the house of old Age, we remember with *Job*, That *we must go the way from whence we shall not return, and that our Bed is made ready for us in the dark*; And then, I say, looking over-late into the bottom of our Conscience, (which Pleasure and Ambition had locked up from us all our lives) we behold therein the fearful Images of our Actions past, and withal this terrible Inscription; *That God will bring every Work into judgment, that Man hath done under the Sun.* *Gen. 18. 27.* *Job 4. 27.* *Job 10. 21. & 17. 13.* *Eccl. 12. 14.*

But what Examples have ever moved us? What Perswasions reformed us? or what Threatnings made us afraid? We behold other Mens Tragedies plaid before us, we hear what is promised and threatned: but the World's bright Glory hath put out the Eyes of our Minds; and these betraying Lights (with which we only see) do neither look up towards termless Joys, nor down towards endless Sorrows, till we neither know, nor can look for any thing else at the World's hands. Of which excellently *Marius Victor:*

Nil hostes, nil dira fames, nil denique morbi
Egerunt, fuimus, qui nunc sumus; iisque perielis
Tentati: nihilo meliores reddimur unquam;
Sub vitiis nullo culparum fine manentes.

Diseases, Famine, Enemies, in us no change have wrought,
What er'st we were, we are; still in the same snare caught:
No time can our corrupted manners mend;
In Vice we dwell, in Sin that hath no end.

But let us not flatter our immortal Souls herein; for to neglect God all our lives, and know that we neglect him; to offend God voluntarily, and know that we offend him, casting our hopes on the Peace which we trust to make at parting, is no other than a rebellious presumption, and (that which is the worst of all) even a contemptuous laughing to scorn, and deriding of God, his Laws and Precepts. *Frustra sperant qui sic de Misericordia Dei sibi blandiuntur; They hope in vain,* (saith *Bernard*) *which in this sort flatter themselves with God's Mercy.* *Bern. in Psal. qui habitat.*

SECT. IV.

Of the Spirit of Life which God breathed into Man in his Creation.

IN this frame and carcass God breathed the Breath of Life; and the Man was a living Soul: (that is) God gave a Body of Earth and of corruptible Matter, a Soul spiritual and incorruptible; not that God had any such bodily Instruments as Men use, but God breathed the Spirit of Life and Immortality into Man, as he breatheth his Grace daily into such as love and fear him. *The Spirit of God* (saith *Elihu in Job*) *hath made me, and the Breath of the Almighty hath given me Life: In qua sententia* (saith *Rabanus*) *vitanda est paupertas sensus carnalis, ne forte putemus Deum, vel manibus corporeis de limo formâsse Corpus Hominis, vel faucibus aut labiis suis inspirâsse in faciem formati, ut vivere posset & spiraculum vitæ habere: Nam & Propheta cum ait, Manus tuæ fecerunt me, &c. tropica hac locutione magis quàm propria, (id est, juxta consuetudinem, qua solent homines operari,) loquutus est: In which sentence* (saith he) *the beggarliness of carnal sense is to be avoided, lest perhaps we should think, either that God with bodily hands made Man's body of slime, or breathed with Jaws or Lips upon his Face (being formed) that he might live, and have the Spirit of Life: For the Prophet also when he saith, Thy hands have made me, spake this Tropically, rather than properly, (that is) according to the custom which Men use in working. Quantum est periculi his, qui Scripturas sensu corporeo legunt, &* *In what danger are they that read the Scriptures in a* *Job 33. 4.*

carnal sense? By this Breath was infused into Man both Life and Soul; and therefore this (Soul) the Philosophers call *Animam, quæ vivificat corpus, & animat*; *Which doth animate and give Life to the Body. The inspiration of the Almighty giveth understanding*, saith *Job*; and this Spirit which God breathed into Man, which is the reasonable Soul of Man, returneth again to God that gave it, as the Body returneth unto the Earth, out of which it was taken, according to *Ecclesiastes*; *And Dust shall return to the Earth, out of which it was taken, and the Spirit shall return to God that gave it.* Neither is this word (Spirit) usually otherwise taken in the Scripture than for the Soul: As when *Stephen* cryed unto God; *Domine suscipe Spiritum meum, Lord Jesus receive my Spirit:* And in St. *John*, *And Jesus bowed his head and gave up the Ghost*, or Spirit; (which was) that his Life and Soul left his Body dead. And that the immortal Soul of Man differeth from the Souls of Beasts, the manner of creation maketh it manifest; for it is written, *Let the Waters bring forth in abundance every creeping thing, and let the Earth bring forth the living thing according to his kind, the Beast of the Earth*, &c. But of Man it is written, *Let us make Man in our own Image*, &c. and further, that *the Lord breathed in his Face the Breath of Life.* Wherefore, as from the Water and Earth were those Creatures brought forth, and thence received Life; so shall they again be dissolved into the same first Matter whence they were taken: but the Life of Breath everlasting, which God breathed into Man, shall, according to *Ecclesiastes*, *return again to God that gave it.*

Eccles. 12. 7. *Act.* 7. 50. *Joh.* 9. 30. *Gen.* 1. 20. 24, 26. *Gen.* 2. 7. *Eccl.* 12. 7.

SECT. V.

That Man is (as it were) a little World: With a digression touching our Mortality.

MAn thus compounded and formed by God, was an Abstract, or Model, or brief Story in the Universal: in whom God concluded the Creation and work of the World, and whom he made the last and most excellent of his Creatures, being internally endued with a Divine Understanding, by which he might contemplate and serve his Creator, after whose Image he was formed, and endued with the Powers and Faculties of Reason and other Abilities, that thereby also he might govern and rule the World, and all other God's Creatures therein. And whereas God created three sorts of living Natures, (to wit) Angelical, Rational, and Brutal; giving to Angels an Intellectual, and to Beasts a sensual Nature, he vouchsafed unto Man both the intellectual of Angels, the sensitive of Beasts, and the proper rational belonging unto Man: and therefore (saith *Gregory Nazianzen*) *Homo est utriusque Naturæ vinculum, Man is the bond and chain which tieth together both Natures:* And because in the little frame of Man's Body there is a representation of the Universal, and (by allusion) a kind of participation of all the parts there; therefore was Man called *Microcosmos*, or the little World. *Deus igitur hominem fecit, velut alterum quendam mundum, in brevi magnum, atque exiguo totum, in Terris statuit*; *God therefore placed in the Earth the Man whom he had made, as it were another World; the great and large World in the small and little World:* for out of the Earth and Dust was formed the Flesh of Man, and therefore heavy and lumpish: the Bones of his Body we may compare to the hard Rocks and Stones, and therefore strong and durable; Of which *Ovid*:

Ar. Phys. l. 8. c. 2. t. 17. f. Gre. Naz. Epist. Omnis in homine creatura, & Cælum & Terra. *Aug. l. qu. 83, 84, 87. retr. l. 1. c. 2.*

Inde genus durum sumus, experiensque laborum,
Et documenta damus qua simus origine nati:

Ovid. Met. l. 1.

From thence our Kind hard-hearted is,
enduring pain and care,
Approving, that our Bodies of
a stony Nature are.

His Blood, which disperseth it self by the Branches of Veins through all the Body, may be resembled to those Waters, which are carried by Brooks and Rivers over all the Earth; his Breath to the Air; his natural heat, to the inclosed warmth which the Earth hath in it self; which, stirred up by the heat of the Sun, assisteth Nature in the speedier procreation of those varieties, which the Earth bringeth forth; Our radical Moisture, Oil, or Balsamum (whereon the natural heat feedeth and is maintained) is resembled to the fat and fertility of the Earth; the Hairs of Man's Body, which adorn or overshadow it, to the Grass, which covereth the upper face and skin of the Earth; our generative Power, to Nature, which produceth all things; our Determinations, to the light, wandring, and unstable Clouds, carried every-where with uncertain Winds; our Eyes to the light of the Sun and Moon; and the beauty of our Youth to the flowers of the Spring, which, either in a very short time, or with the Sun's heat, dry up and wither away, or the fierce puffs of Wind blow them from the Stalks; the thoughts of our Mind, to the motion of Angels; and our pure understanding (formerly called *Mens*, and that which always looketh upwards) to those intellectual Natures, which are always present with God: And lastly, Our immortal Souls (while they are righteous) are by God himself beautified with the Title of his own Image and Similitude. And although, in respect of God, there is no Man just, or good, or righteous, (for, *In Angelis deprehensa est stultitia, Behold, He found folly in his Angels*, saith *Job*); yet, with such a kind of difference, as there is between the Substance and the Shadow, there may be found a goodness in Men: which God being pleased to accept, hath therefore called Man the Image and Similitude of his own Righteousness. In this also is the little World of Man compared, and made more like the Universal, (Man being the measure of all things; *Homo est mensura omnium rerum*, saith *Aristotle* and *Pythagoras:*) That the four Complexions resemble the four Elements, and the seven Ages of Man the seven Planets; Whereof our Infancy is compared to the *Moon*, in which we seem only to live and grow, as Plants; the second Age to *Mercury*, wherein we are taught and instructed; our third Age to *Venus*, the days of Love, Desire, and Vanity; the fourth to the *Sun*, the strong, flourishing, and beautiful Age of Man's Life; the fifth to *Mars*, in which we seek honour and victory, and in which our thoughts travel to ambitious ends; the sixth Age is ascribed to *Jupiter*, in which we begin to take accompt of our times, judge of our selves, and grow to the perfection of our Understanding; the last, and seventh, to *Saturn*, wherein our days are sad and over-cast, and in which we find by dear and lamentable experience, and by the loss which can never be repaired, that of all our vain passions and affections past, the sorrow only abideth: Our attendants are Sicknesses, and variable Infirmities; and by how much the more we are accompanied with plenty, by so much the more greedily is our end desired, whom when *Time* hath made unsociable to others, we become a burthen to our

Job 14. 18. *Arist. 10. Met. c. 1. f.*

our selves being of no other use, than to hold the Riches we have from our Successors. In this time it is, when (as aforesaid) we, for the most part, and never before, prepare for our eternal Habitation, which we pass on unto with many sighs, groans, and sad thoughts, and in the end, by the workmanship of Death, finish the sorrowful business of a wretched life; towards which we always travel both sleeping and waking: Neither have those beloved companions of Honour and Riches any power at all to hold us any one day, by the glorious promise of Entertainments; but by what crooked Path soever we walk, the same leadeth on directly to the House of Death, whose Doors lie open at all hours, and to all Persons. For this Tide of Man's Life, after it once turneth and declineth, ever runneth with a perpetual Ebb and falling Stream, but never floweth again: Our Leaf once fallen, springeth no more; neither doth the Sun or the Summer adorn us again with the Garments of new Leaves and Flowers.

Redditur Arboribus Florens revirentibus Ætas,
Ergo non Homini, quod fuit antè, redit.

To which I give this sense.

The Plants and Trees made poor and old
By Winter envious,
The Spring-time bounteous
Covers again from shame and cold:
But never Man repair'd again
His Youth and Beauty lost,
Though Art, and Care, and Cost,
Do promise Nature's help in vain.

And of which,

CATULLUS, EPIGRAM. 53.

Soles occidere & redire possunt:
Nobis cùm semel occidit brevis lux,
Nox est perpetua una dormienda.

The Sun may set and rise:
But we contrariwise
Sleep after our short light
One everlasting night.

For if there were any baiting-place, or rest, in the course or race of Man's Life, then, according to the Doctrine of the *Academicks*, the same might also perpetually be maintained; but as there is a continuance of motion in natural living things, and as the Sap and Juyce, wherein the Life of Plants is preserved, doth ever-more ascend or descend; so is it with the Life of Man, which is always either increasing towards ripeness and perfection, or declining and decreasing towards rottenness and dissolution.

SECT. VI.

Of the free power which Man had in his first Creation, to dispose of himself.

THese be the Miseries which our first Parents brought on all Mankind, unto whom God in his Creation gave a free and unconstrained will, and on whom he bestowed the liberal choice of all things, with one only prohibition, to try his gratitude and obedience. God set before him a mortal and Immortal Life, a Nature Celestial and Terrene; and (indeed) God gave Man to himself, to be his own Guide, his own Workman, and his own Painter, that he might frame or describe unto himself what he pleased, and make election of his own form. *God made Man in the beginning* (saith *Siracides*) *and left him in the hands of his own counsel.* Such was the liberality of God and Man's felicity: whereas Beasts, and all other Creatures reasonless, brought with them into the World (saith *Lucilius*), and that even when they first fell from the Bodies of their Dams, the Nature which they could not change; and the supernal Spirits or Angels were from the beginning, or soon after, of that condition, in which they remain in perpetual eternity. But (as aforesaid) God gave unto Man all kind of Seeds and Grafts of Life (to wit) the vegetative life of Plants, the sensual of Beasts, the rational of Man, and the intellectual of Angels; whereof which soever he took pleasure to plant and cultivate, the same should futurely grow in him, and bring forth Fruit agreeable to his own choice and plantation. This freedom of the first Man *Adam*, and our first Father, was ænigmatically described by *Asclepius Atheniensis* (saith *Mirandula*) in the Person and Fable of *Proteus*; who was said, as often as he pleased, to change his shape. To the same end were all those celebrated *Metamorphoses* among the Pythagoreans, and ancient Poets, wherein it was fained, that Men were transformed into divers shapes of Beasts, thereby to shew the change of Mens conditions, from Reason to Brutality, from Virtue to Vice, from Meekness to Cruelty, and from Justice to Oppression. For by the lively Image of other Creatures did those *Ancients* represent the variable Passions and Affections of mortal Men; as by Serpents, were signified Deceivers; by Lions, Oppressors, and cruel Men; by Swine, Men given over to Lust and Sensuality; by Wolves, ravening and greedy Men; which also St. *Matthew* resembleth to false Prophets, *which come to you in Sheeps clothing, but inwardly they are ravening Wolves:* By the Images of Stones and Stocks, foolish and ignorant Men; by Vipers, ungrateful Men: Of which St. *John Baptist, O ye Generation of Vipers*, &c.

Eccles. 15. 14.

Mat. 7. 15.

Mat. 3. 7.

SECT. VII.

Of God's ceasing to create any more: and of the cause thereof, because the Universal created was exceeding good.

IN this Work of Man, God finished the Creation; not that God laboured as a Man, and therefore rested: for God commanded, and it was finished, *Cui voluisse est fecisse; with whom, to will is to make*, saith *Beda*. Neither did God so rest, that he left the World made, and the Creatures therein to themselves: for *my Father worketh to this day*, (saith Christ) *and I work*; but God rested (that is) he created no new *species* or kinds of Creatures, but (as aforesaid) gave unto Man a power generative, and so to the rest of living Creatures, to Plants and Flowers, their Seeds in themselves; and commanded Man to multiply and fill the Earth, and the Earth and Sea to bring forth Creatures according to their several kinds: All which being finished, God saw that his Works were good; not that he foreknew not, and comprehended not, the beginning and end be-

Joh. 5. 17.

Gen. 1. 28. 22. 24.

fore they were; for God made every Plant of the Field before it was in the Earth; but he gave to all things which he had created the name of Good; thereby to teach men, that from so good a God there was nothing made, but that which was perfect good, and from whose simple purity, and from so excellent a Cause, there could proceed no impure or imperfect Effect. For Man having a free will and liberal choice, purchased by disobedience his own death and mortality; and for the cruelty of Man's Heart, was the Earth afterward cursed, and all Creatures of the first Age destroyed, but the Righteous Man, *Noah* and his Family, with those Creatures which the Ark contained, reserved by God to replenish the Earth.

CHAP. III.

Of the Place of Paradise.

SECT. I.

That the Seat of Paradise is greatly mistaken: and that it is no marvel that Men should err.

COncerning the first Habitation of Man, we read, that *the Lord God planted a Garden Eastward in* Eden, *and there he put the Man whom he made*, Gen. 2. 6. Of this Seat and place of *Paradise*, all Ages have held dispute; and the Opinions and Judgments have been in effect as divers among those that have written upon this part of *Genesis*, as upon any one place therein seeming most obscure: Some there are, that have conceived the being of the Terrestrial *Paradise*, without all regard of the World's Geography, and without any respect of the East and West, or any consideration of the place where *Moses* wrote, and from whence he directed (by the quarters of the Heavens) the way how to find out and judg, in what Region of the World this Garden was by God planted, wherein he was exceeding respective and precise. Others, by being themselves ignorant in the *Hebrew*, followed the first Interpretation; or, trusting to their own Judgments, understood one place for another; and one Error is so fruitful, as it begetteth a thousand Children, if the licentiousness thereof be not timely restrained. And thirdly, those Writers which gave themselves to follow and imitate others, were in all things so observant Sectators of those Masters, whom they admired and believed in, as they thought it safer to condemn their own understanding, than to examine theirs. For (saith *Vadianus* in his Epistle of *Paradise*) *Magnos Errores, magnorum virorum authoritate persuasi, transmittimus*; *We pass over many gross Errors, by the authority of great Men led and perswaded.* And it is true, that many of the Fathers were far wide from the understanding of this place. I speak it not, that I my self dare presume to censure them, for I reverence both their Learning and their Piety, and yet not bound to follow them any further, than they are guided by Truth: for they were Men; *Et humanum est errare.* And to the end that no Man should be proud of himself, GOD hath distributed unto Men such a proportion of Knowledg, as the wisest may behold in themselves their own weakness: *Nulli unquam dedit omnia Deus*; *God never gave the knowledg of all things to any one.* St. *Paul* confess'd that he knew not, whether he were taken up into the third Heaven in the flesh, or out of the flesh; and Christ himself acknowledgeth thus much, that neither Men nor Angels knew of the latter Day; and therefore, seeing knowledg is infinite, it is God (according to St. *Jude*) who is only wise. *Sapientia ubi invenitur*, (saith *Job*)? *But where is Wisdom found? and where is the place of Understanding? Man knoweth not the price thereof, for it is not found in the Land of the Living.* And therefore seeing God found folly in his Angels, Mens Judgments (which inhabit the Houses of Clay) cannot be without their mistakings: and so the Fathers, and other learned Men, excusable in particulars, especially in those whereupon our Salvation depended not.

2 Cor. 12. 2

Mat. 24. 36.

Jude Ep. v. 2. Job 28. 12, 13. 4. 18.

SECT. II.

A recital of strange Opinions touching Paradise.

NOw touching *Paradise*; first it is to be enquired, Whether there were a *Paradise* or no? or whether *Moses* description were altogether mystical and allegorical? as *Origen*, *Philo*, *Fran. Georgius*, with others have affirmed; and that under the names of those four Rivers, *Pison*, *Gihon*, *Hiddekel*, and *Perath*, *the Tree of Life*, *and the Tree of Knowledg*, there were delivered unto us other Mysteries and Significations; as, that by the four Rivers were meant the four Cardinal Virtues, *Justice*, *Temperance*, *Fortitude*, and *Prudence*; or (by other) *Oil*, *Wine*, *Milk*, and *Honey*. This Allegorical understanding of *Paradise* by *Origen* divulged, was again by *Franciscus Georgius* received (saith *Sixtus Senensis*); whose frivolous imaginations *Sixtus* himself doth fully and learnedly answer, in the 34 Annotation of his fifth Book, *fol.* 338. the last Edition.

Bartas. sem. 2. l. 1. 143.

St. *Ambrose* also leaned wholly to the Allegorical construction, and set *Paradise* in the third Heaven, and in the virtues of the mind, *& in nostro principali*, which is, as I conceive it, *in mente*, or in our Souls: to the particulars whereof he alludeth in this sort. By the place or Garden of *Paradise*, was meant the Soul or Mind; by *Adam*, *Mens*, or, Understanding; by *Eve*, the Sense; by the *Serpent*, Delectation; by the *Tree* of Good and Evil, Sapience; and by the rest of the Trees, the Virtues of the Mind, or in the Mind planted, or from thence springing. Notwithstanding all which, upon the first of the *Corinth. c. 6.* he in direct words alloweth both of a Celestial and Terrestrial *Paradise*; the one into which St. *Paul* was wrapt; the other, into which

Amb. de Parad.

which *Adam* was put by God. *Aug. Chrysamensis* was of Opinion, that a *Paradise* had been; but that there was not now any mark thereof on the Earth; the same being not only defaced, but withal the places now not so much as existing. To which *Luther* seemeth to adhere.

The *Manichees* also understood, that by *Paradise* was meant the whole Earth; to which Opinion *Vadianus* inclineth, as I conceive his words in two several places. First, upon this, *Fill the Earth*, Gen. 10. Of which he gives this judgment. *Hoc ipso etiam quod dixit, Replete terram, dominamini universis animantibus, subjicite terram, clarissimè docet, totam terram extantem, & omnigenis (ut tum erat) fructibus consitam, sedem & hortum illum* Adæ, *& posteritatis futuræ fuisse; These words* (saith he) *in which God said, Bring forth Fruit, and multiply, and fill the Earth, and subdue it, and rule over every Creature, do clearly shew, that the Universal Earth, set or filled with all sorts of Fruits, (as then it was) was the Garden and Seat of* Adam, *and of his future Posterity.* And afterward he acknowledgeth the place, out of *Acts* 17. 26. *Apostolus ex uno sanguine omne genus humanum ideò factum docet, ut habitarent super universam faciem Terræ: tota igitur Terra Paradisus ille erat; The Apostle* (saith he) *teacheth, that God hath made of one Blood all Mankind, to dwell over all the face of the Earth: and therefore all the Earth* (saith he) *was that Paradise.* Which Conjectures I will answer in order. *Goropius Becanus* differeth not much from this Opinion, but yet he acknowledgeth that *Adam* was first planted by God in one certain place, and peculiar Garden; which place *Goropius* findeth near the River of *Acesines*, in the Confines of *India*.

Bart. 16. 126. *Tertullian*, *Bonaventure*, and *Durandus*, make *Paradise* under the Equinoctial; and *Postellus*, quite contrary, under the North Pole: The *Chaldeans* also for the most part, and all their Sectators, followed the Opinion of *Origen*, or rather *Origen* theirs, who would either make *Paradise* a Figure, or Sacrament only, or else would have it seated out of this sensible World, or raised into some high and remote Region of the Air: *Strabus* and *Rabanus* were both sick of this Vanity, with *Origen* and *Philo*: so was our venerable *Beda*, and *Peter Comestor*, and *Moses Bareephas* the *Syrian*, translated by *Masius*. But as *Hopkins* says of *Philo Judæus*, that he wondered, *Quo malo genio afflatus, By what evil Angel he was blown up into this Error*: So can I but greatly marvel at the learned Men, who so grosly and blindly wandred; seeing *Moses*, and after him the Prophets, do so plainly describe this place, by the Region in which it was planted, by the Kingdoms and Provinces bordering it, by the Rivers which watered it, and by the Points of the Compass upon which it lay, in respect of *Judea* or *Canaan*.

Bed. in Gen. Pet. Comest. l. 1. cap. 3. Mos. Barc. de par.

Noviomagus also upon *Beda*, *De natura rerum*, believeth that all the Earth was taken for *Paradise*, and not any one place. For the whole Earth (saith he) hath the same beauty ascribed to *Paradise*. He addeth, that the Ocean was that Fountain from whence the four Rivers, *Pison*, *Gihon*, *Tigris*, and *Euphrates*, had their beginning; for he could not think it possible, that these Rivers, of *Ganges*, *Nilus*, *Tigris*, and *Euphrates*, (whereof the one ran through *India*, the other through *Egypt*, and the other through *Mesopotamia* and *Armenia*) could rise out of one Fountain, were it not out of the Fountain of the Ocean.

SECT. III.

That there was a true local Paradise Eastward, in the Countrey of Eden.

TO the first therefore, that such a place there was upon the Earth, the words of *Moses* make it manifest, where it is written, *And the Lord God planted a Garden eastward in* Eden, *and there he put the Man whom he had made*: And howsoever the vulgar Translation, called *Jerom*'s Translation, hath converted this place thus, *Plantaverit Dominus Deus Paradisum voluptatis à principio, The Lord God planted a Paradise of pleasure from the beginning*; putting the word (*pleasure*) for *Eden*, and (*from the beginning*) for *Eastward*: It is manifest, that in this place *Eden* is the proper name of the Region. For, What sense hath this Translation (saith our *Hopkins* in his Treatise of *Paradise*) that he planted a Garden in Pleasure; or, that a River went out of pleasure to water the Garden? But the Seventy Interpreters call it *Paradisum Edenis*, *The Paradise of Eden*; and so doth the *Chaldean* Paraphrast truly take it for the proper name of a Place, or for a Noun Appellative: which Region, in respect of the fertility of the Soil, of the many beautiful Rivers, and goodly Woods, and that the Trees (as in the *Indies*) do always keep their Leaves, was called *Eden*, which signifieth in the *Hebrew*, Pleasantness, or Delicacy; as the *Spaniards* call the Country, opposite to the Isle of *Cuba*, *Florida*: And this is the mistaking, which may end the Dispute, as touching the double sense of the word, That as *Florida* was a Country, so called, for the flourishing beauty thereof; so was *Eden* a Region, called Pleasure, or Delicacy, for its pleasure or delicacy: And as *Florida* signifieth Flourishing, so *Eden* signifieth Pleasure; and yet both are the proper names of Countries; for *Eden* being the proper name of a Region, (called Pleasure in the *Hebrew*) and *Paradise* being the choise Seat of all that Region, *Paradise* was truly the Garden of *Eden*, and truly the Garden of Pleasure. *Gen. 2.*

Now, for *Eastward*, to translate it, *from the beginning*, it is also contrary to the Translation of the Seventy; to the ancient Greek Fathers, as *Basil*, *Chrysostom*, *Theodoret*, *Gregory*; and to the *Rabbins*, as *Ramban*, *Rabbi Solomon*, *R. Abraham*, and *Chimchi*; and of the Latins, *Severinus*, *Damascenus*, &c. who plainly take *Eden* for the proper name of a Region, and set the word (*Eastward*) for *ab initio*; for *Damascene*'s own words are these, *Paradisus est locus Dei manibus in Eden ad Orientem mirabiliter consitus; Paradise is a place marvellously planted by the hands of God in Eden, toward the East.*

And after all these Fathers, *Guilhelmus Parisiensis*, a great learned Man, and *Sixtus Senensis*, of later times, do both understand these words of *Eden*, and of the *East*, contrary to the vulgar Translation; *Parisiensis*, as indifferent to both, and *Sixtus Senensis* directly against the vulgar: of which these are their own words; *After this I will begin to speak of Paradise Terrestrial, which God planted from the beginning, or Eastward*, &c. *Post hæc incipiam loqui de Paradiso Terrestri, quem plantâsse Deum ab initio vel ad Orientem*, &c. And then *Senensis*; Moses *enim clarissimè prodit, Paradisum à Deo consitum in Regione Terræ Orientalis, quæ dicitur Heden: Heden autem esse proprium nomen, apparet ex quarto Capite Gen. ubi legimus*, Cham *habitâsse ad Orientalem plagam Heden*; For *Moses* (saith he) *doth shew most clearly, that Paradise*

radiſe was planted of God in a Region of the East Country, which is called Heden: but that Heden is a
Verſ. 16. proper Name, it appeareth by the fourth Chapter of Geneſis, where we read, that Cham dwelt on the East border of Heden. Pererius endeavoureth to qualifie this Tranſlation; for this Particle (ſaith he) ab initio, is referred to all the time of the Creation, and not to the very firſt day; alledging this place of Chriſt,
Joh. 8. 44. that although the Devil was ſaid to be a Man-ſlayer from the beginning, yet that was meant but after the ſixth day. But ſurely, as I think (referring my ſelf to better Judgments) the Devil was from the inſtant of his fall a Man-ſlayer in diſpoſition, though he had not whereon to practiſe till Man's Creation. And for concluſion, St. Hierom (if that be his Tranſlation) adviſeth himſelf better in the end of the third Chapter of Geneſis, converting the word (Eden) by (ante) and not (à principio) as, God did ſet a Cherubin before the Garden of Eden; Collocavit Deus ante Paradiſum voluptatis Cherubin; and Pererius himſelf acknowledgeth, that this is the true ſenſe of this place, preciſely taken, according to the Hebrew, Poſuit à parte Orientali horti Heden
Gen. 3. 14. Cherubin; He ſet on the East-ſide of the Garden of Heden a Cherubin: Bacanus affirmeth, that the Hebrew word (Be) ſignifieth (with) as well as (in) and ſo the Text beareth this ſenſe; That God planted a Garden with Pleaſure, (that is to ſay) full of pleaſure. But Bacanus followeth this conſtruction, only to the end to find Paradiſe upon the River of Aſecines; for there he hath heard of the Indian Fig-tree in great abundance, which he ſuppoſeth to be the Tree of Knowledg of Good and Evil, and would therefore draw Paradiſe to the Fig-tree: which Conceit of his I will anſwer hereafter.

Now, becauſe Paradiſe was ſeated by Moſes toward the Eaſt, thence came the cuſtom of praying toward the Eaſt, and not by imitation of the Chaldeans: and therefore all our Churches are built Eaſt and Weſt, as to the Point where the Sun riſeth in March, which is directly over Paradiſe (ſaith Damaſcenus): affirming, That we always pray towards the Eaſt, as looking towards Paradiſe, whence we were caſt out; and yet the Temple of Solomon had their Prieſts and Sacrifices, which turned themſelves in Service and Divine Ceremonies, always towards the Weſt, thereby to avoid the ſuperſtition of the Egyptians and Chaldeans.

But becauſe Eaſt and Weſt are but in reſpect of places; (for although Paradiſe were Eaſt from Judea, yet it was Weſt from Perſia) and the ſerving of God is every-where in the World: The matter is not great which way we turn our faces, ſo our hearts ſtand right, other than this, that we who dwell Weſt from Paradiſe, and pray turning our ſelves towards the Eaſt, may remember thereby to beſeech God, that as by Adam's fall we have loſt the Paradiſe on Earth; ſo by Chriſt's Death and Paſſion we may be made Partakers of the Paradiſe Celeſtial, and the Kingdom of Heaven. To conclude, I conceive, that there was no other myſtery in adding the word (Eaſt) to Eden by Moſes, than to ſhew that the Region of Eden, in which Paradiſe was, lay Eaſtward from Judea and Canaan: for the Scriptures always called the People of thoſe Nations, the Sons of the East which inhabited Arabia, Meſopotamia, Chaldea, and Perſia: Of which Ovid.

Eurus ad Auroram, Nabathæaq; regna receſſit,
Perſidaque, & radiis juga ſubdita matutinis.

The East Wind with *Aurora* hath abiding
Among th' *Arabian* and the *Perſian* Hills,
Whom *Phœbus* firſt ſalutes at his firſt riſing.

And if it be objected, that Jeremy the Prophet, threatning the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, doth often make mention of Northern Nations, it is to be noted, that the North is there named, in reſpect of thoſe Nations that followed Nabuchodonozer, and of whom the greateſt part of his Army was compounded; not that Babylon it ſelf ſtood North from Jeruſalem, though inclining from the East towards the North.

Now to the difference of this Tranſlation, Peter Comeſtor giveth beſt ſatisfaction: for he uſeth the word From the beginning, that is, from the firſt part of the World, (à principio) id eſt, (ſaith he) à prima orbis parte; and afterward he affirmeth, that à principio, and ad Orientem, have the ſame ſignification: From the beginning and Eaſtward is all one; à principio idem eſt quod ad Orientem.

To return to the proof of this place, and that this ſtory of Mankind was not Alegorically, it followeth in the Text of the 2d Chap. and the 9th ver. in theſe words: For out of the ground made the Lord God to grow every Tree pleaſant to the ſight, and good for Meat, &c. So as firſt it appeared that God created Adam elſewhere as in the World at large, and then put him into the Garden: and the end why, is expreſſed, that he might dreſs it and keep it; Paradiſe Verſ. 18. being a Garden, or Orchard, filled with Plants and Trees of the moſt excellent kinds, pleaſant to behold, and (withal) good for Meat: which proveth that Paradiſe was a Terreſtrial Garden, garniſhed with Fruits, delighting both the eye and taſte. And Verſ. 10. to make it more plain, and to take away all opinion of Allegorical conſtruction, he affirmeth that it was watered and beautified with a River; expreſſing alſo the Region out of which this River ſprang, which he calleth Heden; and that Heden is alſo a Country Ezek. 27. near unto Charan in Meſopotamia, Ezekiel witneſ- 23. ſeth.

But to all theſe Cabaliſts, which draw the Truth and Story of the Scriptures into Allegories, Epiphanius anſwereth in theſe words; Si Paradiſus non eſt ſenſibilis, non eſt etiam fons; ſi non eſt fons, non eſt flumen; ſi non eſt flumen, non ſunt quatuor principia, non Piſon, non Gihon, non Tigris, nec Euphrates; non eſt ficus, non folia, non comedit Eva de Arbore, non eſt Adam, non ſunt Homines, ſed veritas jam fabula eſt, & omnia ad Allegorias revocantur; If Paradiſe be not ſenſible, then there was no Fountain, and then no River; if no River, then no ſuch four Heads or Branches, and then not any ſuch River, as Piſon or Gihon, Tigris or Euphrates; no ſuch Fig-tree, or Fruit, or Leaves; Eve then did not eat of the Fruit, neither was there any Adam, or any Man; the truth was but a Fable, and all things eſteemed are called back into Allegories. Words to the ſame effect hath St. Hierome upon Daniel; Conticeſcant eorum deliramenta, qui umbras & imagines in veritate ſequentes, ipſam conantur evertere veritatem, ut Paradiſum & Flumina, & Arbores putent Allegoriæ Legibus ſe debere ſubruere: Let the dotage of them be ſilent, who following Shadows and Images in the Truth, endeavour to ſubvert the Truth it ſelf, and think that they ought to bring Paradiſe, and the Rivers, and the Trees, under the Rules of Allegory.

Furthermore, by the continuation and order of the Story, is the place made more manifeſt. For, God gave Adam free liberty to eat of every Tree of the Garden, (the Tree of Knowledg excepted) which Trees Moſes in the ninth Verſe ſaith that they were good to eat; meaning the Fruit which they bare. Beſides, God left all Beaſts to Adam to be named, which he had formerly made; and theſe Beaſts were neither in the third Heaven, nor near the Circle of the Moon, nor Beaſts in Imagination: for

if

if all these things were Enigmatical or Mystical, the same might also be said of the creation of all things. And *Ezekiel*, speaking of the glory of the Assyrian Kings, useth this speech; *All the Trees of* Eden, *which were in the Garden of God, envied him*; which proveth both *Eden*, and *Paradise* therein seated, to be Terrestrial: for the Prophets made no imaginary comparisons. But *Moses* wrote plainly, and in a simple stile, fit for the capacities of ignorant Men, and he was more large and precise in the description of *Paradise*, than in any other place of Scripture; of purpose to take away all scruple from the incredulity of future Ages, whom he knew (out of the gift of Prophesie) to be apt to fabulous Inventions; and that if he had not described both the Region and the Rivers, and how it stood from *Canaan*, many of the unbelieving *Israelites*, and others after them, would have misconstrued this Story of Mankind. And, is it likely there would have been so often mention made of *Paradise* in the Scriptures, if the same had been an *Utopia?* For we find that the Valley, wherein *Sodom* and *Gomorrah* stood, (sometimes called *Pentapolis*, of the five principal Cities therein) was before the destruction (which their unnatural sin purchased) compared to the *Paradise* of the Lord, and like to the Land of *Egypt* toward *Zoar*: In like manner was *Israel* resembled to the *Paradise* of God, before the *Babylonians* wasted it: which proveth plainly, that *Paradise* it self exceeded in beauty and fertility, and that these places had but a resemblance thereof; being compared to a Seat and Soil of far exceeding excellency.

Ezek. 31. 9

Gen. 13. 10.

Besides, whence had *Homer* his invention of *Alcinous* Gardens, as *Justin Martyr* noteth, but out of *Moses* his description of *Paradise?* Gen. 2. And whence are their praises of the *Elisian* Fields, but out of the Story of *Paradise?* To which also appertain those Verses of the Golden Age in *Ovid:*

Ovid. Met. l. 2.

Ver erat æternum; placidique tepentibus auris,
Mulcebant Zephyri *natos sine semine flores.*

The joyful Spring did ever last,
And *Zephyrus* did breed
Sweet Flowers by his gentle blast,
Without the help of Seed.

And it is manifest, that *Orpheus*, *Linus*, *Pindarus*, *Hesiodus*, and *Homer*; and, after him, *Ovid*, one out of another, and all these together with *Pythagoras* and *Plato*, and their Sectators, did greatly enrich their Inventions, by venting the stoln Treasures of Divine Letters, altered by prophane Additions, and disguised by poetical Conversions, as if they had been conceived out of their own Speculations and Contemplations.

But besides all these Testimonies, if we find what Region *Heden* or *Eden* was; if we prove the River that ran out of it, and that the same afterwards was divided into four Branches; together with the Kingdoms of *Havila* and *Cush*; and that all these are Eastward from *Canaan*, or the Desarts of the *Amorites*, where *Moses* wrote; I then conceive that there is no Man that will doubt, but that such a place there was. And yet I do not exclude the Allegorical sense of the Scripture; for as well in this there were many figures of Christ, as in all the Old Testament throughout; the Story being directly true notwithstanding. And to this purpose, (saith St. *Augustine*) *Tres sunt de Paradiso generales sententiæ: una est eorum, qui tantummodo corporaliter Paradisum intelligi volunt: alia eorum, qui spiritualiter tantùm (id est) Ecclesiam: tertia eorum, qui utroque modo Paradisum accipiunt*; (that is) *There are three Opinions of Paradise; The one of those Men, which will have it altogether Corporal; a second of those, which conceive it altogether Spiritual, and to be a Figure of the Church; the third of those, which take it in both senses:* which third Opinion St. *Augustine* approveth, and of which *Suidas* giveth this allowable Judgment; *Quemadmodum Homo sensibilis, & intelligibilis simul conditus erat: sic & hujus sanctissimum nemus sensibile simul & intelligibile, & duplici specie est præditum*; (that is) *As Man was created at one time, both sensible and intelligible; so was this holy Grove, or Garden, to be taken both ways, and endued with a double form.*

Aug. de Civit. Dei. l. 13. c. 21. Suidas in verbo Paradisus.

SECT. IV.

Why it should be needful to intreat diligently of the place of Paradise.

But it may be objected, that it is needless, and a kind of curiosity to enquire so diligently after this place of *Paradise*, and that the knowledg thereof is of little or no use. To which I answer, That there is nothing written in the Scripture, but for our instruction; and if the truth of the Story be necessary, then by the place proved, the same is also made more apparent. For if we should conceive that *Paradise* were not on the Earth, but lifted up as high as the Moon; or that it were beyond all the *Ocean*, and in no part of the known World; from whence *Adam* was said to wade through the Sea, and thence to have come into *Judea*, (out of doubt) there would be few Men in the World that would give any credit unto it. For what could seem more ridiculous than the report of such a place? And besides, what maketh this Seat of *Paradise* so much disputed and doubted of, but the conceit that *Pishon* should be *Ganges*, which watereth the East *India*; and *Gihon*, *Nilus*, which enricheth *Egypt*: And these two Rivers so far distant, as (except all the World were *Paradise*) these Streams can no way be compriſed therein.

Secondly, If the Birth and Works, and Death of our Saviour, were said to have been in some such Countrey, of which no Man ever heard tell, and that his Miracles had been performed in the Air, or no place certainly known: I assure my self, that the Christian Religion would have taken but a slender root in the minds of Men: for Times and Places are approved witnesses of worldly Actions.

Thirdly, If we should relie, or give place to the judgment of some Writers upon this place of *Genesis*, (though otherwise for their Doctrine in general, they are worthy of honour and reverence) I say that there is no Fable among the *Grecians* or *Egyptians* more ridiculous: for who would believe that there were a piece of the World so set by it self, and separated, as to hang in the Air under the Circle of the Moon? or who so doltish to conceive, that from thence the four Rivers of *Ganges*, *Nilus*, *Euphrates*, and *Tygris*, should fall down and run under all the Ocean, and rise up again in this our habitable World, and in those places where they are now found? Which lest any Man think that I enforce, or strain to the worst, these are *Peter Comestor*'s own words; *Est autem locus amœnissimus, longo terræ & maris tractu à nostra habitabili Zona secretus, adeò elevatus, ut usque ad lunarem globum attingat*, &c. (that is) *It is a most pleasant place, severed from our habitable Zone, by a long*

long tracti of Land and Sea, elevated ſo, that it reacheth to the Globe of the Moon.

Barc. converted by *Maſius.*

And *Moſes Barcephas* upon this place writeth in this manner; *Deinde hoc quoque reſponſum volumus, Paradiſum multò ſublimiore poſſitum eſſe regione, atque hæc noſtra extet terra, eòque fieri ut illinc per præcipitium delabantur fluvii tanto cum impetu, quantum verbis exprimere non poſſis; eòque impetu impulſi preſſique ſub Oceani vado rapiuntur, unde rurſus proſiliant ebulliántque in hoc à nobis culto orbe:* which have this ſenſe; *Furthermore* (ſaith he) *we give this for an anſwer, That Paradiſe is ſet in a Region far raiſed above this part which we inhabit; whereby it comes to paſs, that from thence theſe Rivers fall down with ſuch a headlong violence, as words cannot expreſs; and with that force ſo impulſed and preſt, they are carried under the deep Ocean, and do again riſe and boil up in this our habitable World:* And to this he addeth the Opinion of *Ephram*, which is this; *Ephram dicit, Paradiſum ambire terram, atque ultra Oceanum ita poſitum eſſe, ut totum terrarum orbem ab omni circumdet Regione, non aliter atque Lunæ orbis Lunam cingit;* (which is) *That Paradiſe doth compaſs or embrace the whole Earth, and is ſo ſet beyond the Ocean Sea, as it environeth the whole Orb of the Earth on every ſide, as the Orb of the Moon doth embrace the Moon.* To the end therefore that theſe ridiculous Expoſitions and Opinions do not bring Queſtion unto Truth it ſelf, or make the ſame ſubject to Doubts or Diſputes, it is neceſſary to diſcover the true place of *Paradiſe, which God in his wiſdom* appointed in the very Navel of this our World, and (as *Melanchon* ſays) *in parte Terræ meliore, in the beſt part thereof*, that from thence, as from a Center, the Univerſal might be filled with People and planted; and by knowing this place, we ſhall the better judg of the beginning of Nations, and of the World's inhabitation: For near unto this did the Sons of *Noah* alſo diſperſe themſelves after the Flood, into all other remote remote Regions and Countries. And if it be a generous deſire in Men, to know from whence their own Forefathers have come, and out of what Regions and Nations; it cannot be diſpleaſing to underſtand the place of our firſt Anceſtor, from whence all the Streams and Branches of Mankind have followed and been deduced. If then it do appear by the former, that ſuch a place there was as *Paradiſe*, and that the knowledg of this place cannot be unprofitable, it followeth in order to examine ſeveral Opinions before remembred, by the Truth it ſelf; and to ſee how they agree with the ſenſe of the Scripture, and with common Reaſon; and afterward to prove directly, and to delienate the Region in which God firſt planted this delightful Garden.

SECT. V.

That the Flood hath not utterly defaced the marks of Paradiſe, *nor cauſed Hills in the Earth.*

And firſt, whereas it is ſuppoſed by *Aug. Chyſamenſis*, that the Flood hath altered, deformed, or rather annihilated this place, in ſuch ſort, as no Man can find any mark or memory thereof (of which Opinion there were others alſo, aſcribing to the Flood the cauſe of thoſe high Mountains, which are found on all the Earth over, with many other ſtrange effects): For mine own Opinion, I think neither the one nor the other to be true. For although I cannot deny, but that the Face of *Paradiſe* was after the Flood withered and grown old, in reſpect of the firſt beauty (for both the Ages of Men, and the nature of all things Time hath changed): yet if there had been no ſign of any ſuch place, or if the Soil and Seat had not remained, then would not *Moſes*, who wrote of *Paradiſe* about 850 years after the Flood, have deſcribed it ſo particularly, and the Prophets long after *Moſes*, would not have made ſo often mention thereof. And though the very Garden it ſelf were not then to be found, but that the Flood, and other accidents of Time made it one common Field and Paſture with the Land of *Eden*, yet the place is ſtill the ſame, and the Rivers ſtill remain the ſame Rivers. By two of which (never doubted of) to wit, *Tygris* and *Euphrates*, we are ſure to find in what Longitude *Paradiſe* lay; and learning out one of theſe Rivers, which afterward doth divide it ſelf into four Branches, we are ſure that the Partition is at the very border of the Garden it ſelf. For it is written, that out of *Eden* went a River to water the Garden, and from thence it was divided, and became into four Heads; Now, whether the word in the Latin Tranſlation (*Inde*) *from thence*, be referred to *Eden* it ſelf, or to *Paradiſe*; yet the diviſion, and branching of thoſe Rivers, muſt be in the North or South ſide of the very Garden, (if the Rivers run as they do, North and South) and therefore theſe Rivers yet remaining, and *Eden* manifeſtly known, there could be no ſuch defacing by the Flood, as is ſuppoſed. Furthermore, as there is no likelyhood that the place could be ſo altered, as future Ages knew it not, ſo is there no probability that either theſe Rivers were turned out of their courſes, or new Rivers created by the Flood which were not, or that the Flood (as aforeſaid) by a violent motion, when it began to decreaſe, was the cauſe of high Hills, or deep Valleys. For what deſcent of Waters could there be in a Spherical and round Body, wherein there is nor high nor low? ſeeing that all violent force of Waters is either by the ſtrength of Wind, by deſcent from a higher to a lower, or by the Ebb or Flood of the Sea. But that there was any Wind (whereby the Seas are moſt enraged) it appeareth not, rather the contrary is probable; for it is written, *Therefore God made a Wind to paſs upon the Earth, and the Waters ceaſed.* So as it appeareth not, that, until the Waters ſank, there was any Wind at all, but that God afterward, out of his goodneſs, cauſed the Wind to blow, to dry up the abundant ſlime and mud of the Earth, and make the Land more firm, and to cleanſe the Air of thick Vapours, and unwholſome Miſts: and this we know by experience, that all down-right Rains do evermore diſſever the violence of outragious Winds, and beat down, and level the ſwelling and mountainous Billows of the Sea: for any Ebbs and Floods there could be none, when the Waters were equal, and of one height over all the face of the Earth, and when there were no Indraughts, Bays, or Gulfs to receive a Flood, or any deſcent, or violent falling of Waters in the round form of the Earth and Waters, as aforeſaid: and therefore it ſeemeth moſt agreeable to reaſon, that the Waters rather ſtood in a quiet calm, than that they moved with any raging or overbearing violence. And for a more direct proof that the Flood made no ſuch deſtroying alteration, *Joſephus* avoweth that one of thoſe Pillars erected by *Seth*, the third from *Adam*, was to be ſeen in his days; which Pillars were ſet up above 1426 years before the Flood, counting *Seth* to be an hundred years old at the erection of them; and *Joſeph* himſelf to have lived ſome forty or fifty years after Chriſt: of whom, although there be no cauſe to believe all that he

Gen. 2. 10.

Gen. 8. 1.

he wrote, yet that which he avouched of his own time, cannot (without great derogation) be called in question. And therefore it may be possible, that some foundation or ruine thereof might then be seen. Now, that such pillars were raised by *Seth*, all Antiquity hath avowed. It is also written, that *Berosus* (to whom, although I give little credit, yet I cannot condemn him in all) that the City of *Enoch*, built by *Cain* about the mountains of *Libanus* was not defaced by length of time: yea, the ruines thereof, *Annius* (who commented upon that invented fragment) saith, were to be seen in his days, who lived in the Reign of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* of *Castile*. And if these his words be not true, then was he exceeding impudent: for, speaking of this City of *Enoch*, he concludeth in this sort: *Cujus maximæ & ingentis molis fundamenta visuntur, & vocatur ab incolis regionis, Civitas Cain, ut nostri mercatores, & peregrini referunt; The foundation of which huge mass is now to be seen, and the place is called by the people of that Region, the City of Cain, as both our strangers and Merchants report.* It is also avowed by *Pomponius Mela* (to whom I give more credit in these things) that the City of *Joppa* was built before the Flood, over which *Cepha* was King: whose name, with his Brother *Phineus*, together with the grounds and principles of their Religion, was found graven upon certain Altars of stone. And it is not impossible, that the ruines of this other City, called *Enoch* by *Annius*, might be seen, though founded in the first Age: but it could not be of the first City of the World, built by *Cain*; the place rather than the time denying it.

And to prove directly that the Flood was not the cause of mountains, but that there were mountains
Gen. 4. 17. from the Creation, it is written, that *the waters of the Flood overflowed by fifteen Cubits the highest Mountains.* And *Masius Damascenus*, speaking of the Flood, writeth in this manner: *Est supra Minyadam excelsus Mons in Armenia (qui Baris appellatur) in quo confugientes multos, sermo est, Diluvii tempore liberatos. And upon Minyada there is an high Mountain in Armenia (called Baris) unto which it is said, that many fled in the time of the Deluge, and that they saved themselves thereon.* Now, though it is contrary to Gods Word, that any more were saved than eight persons, (which *Masius* doth not avouch, but by report) yet it is a testimony, that such Mountains were before the Flood, which were afterward, and ever since, known by the same names; and on which Mountains it is generally received, that the Ark rested: but untruly, as I shall prove hereafter. And again it appeareth, that the Mount *Sion* (though by another name) was known before the Flood; on which the Thalmudists report, that many Giants saved themselves also; but, as *Annius* saith, without all Authority, either divine or humane.

Lastly, it appeareth that the Flood did not so turn upside down the face of the earth, as thereby it was made past knowledge, after the waters were decreased, by this, that *when Noah sent out the Dove the second time, she returned with an Olive leaf in her mouth,*
Gen. 8. 11. which she had pluckt, and which (until the Trees were discovered) she found not: for otherwise she might have found them floting on the water; a manifest proof, that the Trees were not torn up by the roots, nor swam upon the waters: for it is written; *folium, Olivæ raptum*, or *decerptum*, *a leaf pluckt*, (which is) to take from a Tree, or to tear off. By this it is apparent, (there being nothing written to the contrary) that the Flood made no such alteration, as was supposed, but that the place of *Paradise* might be seen to succeeding Ages, especially unto *Moses*, by whom it pleased God to teach the truth of the Worlds Creation, and unto the Prophets which succeeded him: both which I take for my warrant, and to guide me in this Discovery.

SECT. VI.

That Paradise was not the whole Earth, as some have thought: making the Ocean to be the fountain of those four Rivers.

THis conceit of *Aug. Chysamensis* being answered, who onely giveth *his opinion* for reason, I will in a few words examine that of the Manichees, of *Noviomagus*, *Vadianus*, *Goropius*, *Becanus*, and all those that understood, that by *Paradise* was meant the whole Earth. But in this I shall not trouble the Reader with many words, because by those places of Scripture formerly remembred, this Universality will appear altogether improper. The places which *Vadianus* alledgeth, *Bring forth fruit and multiply; Fill the* Gen. 1. 28
Earth, and subdue it; Rule over every Creature, &c. with Acts 17.
this of the *Acts*, *And hath made of one blood all mankind,* 26
to dwell on all the face of the Earth; do no way prove such a generality: for the World was made for man, of which he was Lord and Governour, and all things therein were ordained of God for his use. Now, although all men were of one and the same fountain of blood originally; and *Adam*'s Posterity inhabited in process of time over all the face of the Earth: yet it disproveth in nothing the particular Garden, assigned to *Adam*, to dress and cultive, in
which he lived in so blessed an estate before his Gen. 2. 8.
transgression. For if there had been no other choice, but that *Adam* had been left to the Universal; *Moses* would not then have said, *Eastward in* Gen. 3. 24.
Eden, seeing the World hath not East nor West but respectively. And to what end had the Angel of God been set to keep the East-side, and entrance into *Paradise* after *Adam*'s expulsion, if the universal had been *Paradise*? for then must *Adam* have been chased also out of the World. For if all the Earth were *Paradise*, that place can receive no better construction than this, That *Adam* was driven out of the World into the World, and out of *Paradise* into *Paradise*, except we should believe with *Metrodorus*, that there were infinite Worlds. Which to deny, he thinks all one, as to affirm, *That in so large a field, as the Universal, there shoul grow but one Thistle. Noviomagus* upon *Beda*, seemeth to be led by this, that it was impossible for those three Rivers, *Ganges*, *Nilus*, and *Euphrates*, (which water three portions of the World so far distant) to rise out of one Fountain, except the Ocean be taken for the Well, and the World for the Garden.

And it is true, that those four Rivers, being so understod, there could be no conjecture more probable; but it shall plainly appear, that *Pison* was falsly taken for *Ganges*, and *Gehon* falsly for *Nilus*, although *Ganges* be a River by *Havilah* in *India*, and *Nilus* run through *Ethiopia*. The *Seventy* write *Chus* for *Ethiopia*, and thereby the errors of the Manichees, and the mistakings of *Noviomagus*, *Goropius*, and *Vadianus*, with others, are made manifest. Yet was their conjecture far more probable, than that of *Ephrem*, *Cyrillus*, and *Athanasius*, That *Paradise* was seated far beyond the Ocean Sea, and that *Adam* waded through it, and at last came toward the Country in which he was created, and was buried at Mount *Calvary* in *Hierusalem*. And certainly, though all those of the first Age were of great stature, and so continued many years after the Flood, yet *Adam*'s shin-bones must have contained a thousand fathome,

and much more, if he had foorded the Ocean; but this opinion is so ridiculous, as it needs no argument to disprove it.

SECT. VII.

Of their opinion which make Paradise as high as the Moon: and of others which make it higher than the middle Region of the Air.

THirdly, whereas *Beda* saith, and as the School-men affirm, *Paradise* to be a place altogether removed from the knowledge of men, (*locus à cognitione hominum remotissimus*) and *Barcephas* conceived, that *Paradise* was far in the East, but mounted above the Ocean, and all the Earth, and near the Orbe of the Moon (which opinion, though the School-men charge *Beda* withall, yet *Pererius* lays it off from *Beda*, upon *Strabus*, and his Master *Rabanus*) and whereas *Rupertus*, in his Geography of *Paradise*, doth not much differ from the rest, but finds it seated next or nearest Heaven; It may seem, that all these borrowed this doctrine out of *Plato*, and *Plato* out of *Socrates*: but neither of them (as I conceive) well understood; who (undoubtedly) took this place for Heaven it self, into which the Souls of the blessed were carried after death.

Diog. Laert. Soc. True it is, that these Philosophers durst not for fear of the Areopagites (in this, and many other divine apprehensions) set down what they believed in plain terms, especially *Plato*: though *Socrates* in the end suffered death for acknowledging one onely powerful God; and therefore did the Devil himself do him that right, as by an Oracle, to pronounce him the wisest man. *Justine Martyr* affirmeth, that *Plato* had read the Scriptures; and S. *Augustine* gave this judgment of him, as his opinion, that (few things changed) he might be counted a Christian. And it seemeth to me, that both *Tertullian* and *Eusebius* conceive, that *Socrates*, by that place aforesaid, meant the celestial *Paradise*; and not this of *Eden*. *Solinus*, I grant, reporteth, that there is a place exceeding delightful, and healthful, upon the top of Mount *Athos* (called *Acrothonos*) which being above all Clouds of Rain, or other inconvenience, the people (by reason of their so many years) are called *Macrobici* (that is) *Long-liv'd*. A further Argument is used, for proof of the height of this place, because therein was *Enoch* preserved from the violence of the Flood: approved by *Isidore* and *Peter Lombard*: in which place also *Tertullian* conceived, that the blessed Souls were preserved till the last Judgment: which *Irenæus* and *Justin Martyr* also believe. But this opinion was of all *Catholick Divines* reproved, and in the *Florentine Council* damned; of which Saint *Augustine* more modestly gave this Judgment: *Sicut certum est, Enoch & Eliam, nunc vivere: ita ubi nunc sunt, an in Paradiso an alibi, incertum est*; (that is) *As it is certain that Enoch and Elias do now live; so where they live, in Paradise, or elsewhere, it is uncertain.* But *Barcephas* gives a third cause, though of all other the weakest. For (saith he) it was necessary that *Paradise* should be set at such a distance and height, because the four Rivers (had they not fallen so precipitate) could not have had sufficient force to have thrust themselves under the great Ocean, and afterward have forced their passage through the Earth, and have risen again in the far distant Regions of *India*, *Egypt*, and *Armenia*.

Just. Mart. adm. ad Gent. Aug.

These strange fancies and dreams have been answered by divers learned men long since, and lately by *Hopkins*, and *Pererius*, writing upon this subject; of whose arguments I will repeat these few: (for to use long discourse against those things, which are both against Scripture and Reason, might rightly be judged a vanity in the Answerer, not much inferiour to that of the Inventer.)

It is first therefore alledged, that such a place cannot be commodious to live in: for being set so near the Moon, it had been too near the Sun, and other heavenly bodies. Secondly, because it must have been too joynct a Neighbour to the Element of fire. Thirdly, because the Air in that Region is so violently removed, and carried about with such swiftness, as nothing in that place can consist or have abiding. Fourthly, because the space between the Earth and the Moon (according to *Ptolomy* and *Alfraganus*) is seventeen times the *Diameter* of the Earth, which makes in a gross account about one hundred and twenty thousand miles. Hereupon it must follow, that *Paradise*, being raised to this height, must have the compass of the whole Earth for a *Basis* and foundation. But had it been so raised, it could hardly be hidden from the knowledge, or eyes of men, seeing it would deprive us of the Sun's light all the fore-part of the day, being seated in the East, as they suppose. Now, to fortifie the former opinions, *Tostatus* addeth this, that those people which dwell near those falls of waters, are deaf from their infancy, like those that dwell near the *Catadupæ*, or over-fals of *Nilus*. But this I hold as feigned. For I have seen in the *Indies*, far greater water-fals, than those of *Nilus*, and yet the people dwelling near them are not deaf at all. *Tostatus* (the better to strengthen himself) citeth *Basil* and *Ambrose* together: to which *Pererius*, *Sed ego hæc apud* Basilium & Ambrosium *in eorum scriptis, quæ nunc extant, nusquam me legere memini*; *But I do not remember* (saith he) *that I ever read those things either in* Basil *or* Ambrose. *Cicero Somn. Scip.*

But for the bodies of *Enoch* and *Elias*, God hath disposed of them according to his Wisdom. Their taking up might be into the celestial *Paradise*, for ought we know. For although flesh and blood, subject to corruption, cannot inherit the Kingdom of Heaven, and the seed must rot in the ground before it grow, yet we shall not all die (saith Saint *Paul*) *but all shall be changed*: which change in *Enoch* and *Elias*, was easie to him that is Almighty. But for the rest, the Scriptures are manifest, that by the Flood all perished on the Earth, saving eight persons; and therefore in the terrestrial *Paradise* they could not be. *1 Cor. 15. 36. 51.* *1 Pet. 3. 20.*

For *Tostatus* his own opinion, who soared not altogether so high as the rest, but believed that *Paradise* was raised above the middle Region of the Air, and twenty cubits above all Mountains, that the Flood did not therefore reach it (which *Scotus* and other latter School-men also believed; for, say they, there were no sinners in *Paradise*, and therefore no cause to over-whelm it:) this is also contrary to the expres letter of the Scripture, which directly, and without admitting of any distinction, teacheth us, that *the waters over-flowed all the mountains under heaven*. And were it otherwise, then might we as well give credit to *Masius Damascenus*, and the Thalmudists, who affirm, that there were of the Gyants that saved themselves on the Mountain *Baris*, and on *Sion*. But to help this, *Scotus* being (as the rest of the School-men are) full of distinction, saith; That the waters stood at *Paradise*, as they did in the Red Sea, and at Jordan; and as the Flood was not natural, so was *Paradise* saved by Miracle. And *Thomas Aquinas* qualifieth this high conceit with this supposition, That it was not believed, that *Paradise* *Gen. 7. 19.*

was

was so seated, as *Beda* and others seem to affirm in words, but by *Hyperbole* and comparatively, for the delicacy and beauty so resembled. But this I dare avow of all those School-men, that though they were exceeding witty, yet they better teach all their followers to shift, then to resolve, by their distinctions. Wherefore not to stay long in answering this opinion of *Tostatus*, I confess that it is written, that the Mountains of *Olympus*, *Athos*, and *Atlas*, over-reach and surmount all winds and clouds, and that (notwithstanding) there is found on the heads of the Hills both springs and fruits; and the Pagan Priests, sacrificing on these mountain-tops, do not find the Ashes (remaining of their sacrifices) blown thence, nor thence wash'd off by rains, when they return: yet experience hath resolved us, that these reports are fabulous; and *Pliny* himself (who was not sparing in the report of wonders) avoweth the contrary. But were it granted, yet the height of these Mountains is far under the supposed place of *Paradise*; and on these self-Hills the Air is so thin (saith S. *Augustine*, whom herein I mistrust) that it is not sufficient to bear up the body of a bird, having therein no feeling of her wings, or any resistance of Air to mount her self by.

SECT. VIII.

Of their opinion that seat Paradise under the Æquinoctial: and of the pleasant habitation under those Climats.

THose which come nearer unto Reason, find *Paradise* under the *Æquinoctial line*, as *Tertullian*, *Bonaventure*, and *Durandus*: judging that there-under might be found most pleasure, and the greatest fertility of soil: but against it *Thomas Aquinas* objecteth the distemperate heat, which he supposeth to be in all places so directly under the Sun. But this is (*non causa pro causa*,) for although *Paradise* could not be under the Line, because *Eden* is far from it, in which *Paradise* was; and because there is no part of *Euphrates*, *Tygris*, or *Ganges* under it (*Ganges* being one of the four Rivers, as they suppose) yet this conceit of distemper (being but an old opinion) is found to be very untrue, though for the conjecture not to be condemned, considering the age when those Fathers wrote, grounded chiefly on this: that whereas it appeared, that every Country, as it lay by degrees nearer the Tropicks, and so toward the *Æquinoctial*, did so much the more exceed in heat; it was therefore a reasonable conjecture, that those Countreys which were situated directly under it, were of a distemper uninhabitable: but it seemeth that *Tertullian* conceived better, and so did *Avicenne*, for they both thought them habitable enough; and though (perchance) in those days it might be thought a fantasticall opinion (as all are which go against the vulgar) yet we now find, that if there be any place upon earth of that nature, beauty, and delight that *Paradise* had, the same must be found within that supposed uninhabitable burnt Zone, or within the Tropicks, and nearest to the Line it self. For hereof Experience hath informed Reason, and Time hath made those things apparent, which were hidden and could not by any contemplation be discovered. Indeed, it hath so pleased God to provide for all living creatures, wherewith he hath filled the World, that such inconveniences which we contemplate a far off, are found by tryal and the witness of mens travails, to be so qualified, as there is no portion of the earth made in vain, or as a fruitless lump to fashion out the rest. For *God himself* (saith *Esay*) *that formed the earth and made it, he that prepared it, he created it not in vain, he formed it to be inhabited.* Now we find that these hottest Regions of the World, seated under the *Æquinoctial line*, or neer it, are so refreshed with a daily gale of Easterly wind (which the *Spaniards* call the *Brize*) that doth evermore blow strongest in the heat of the day, as the down-right beams of the Sun cannot so much master it, that there is any inconvenience or distemperate heat found thereby. Secondly, the nights are so cold, fresh, and equal, by reason of the intire interposition of the earth, as (for those places which my self have seen, neer the Line and under it) I know no other part of the World of better, or equal temper: Onely there are some Tracts, which by accident of high Mountains are barr'd from this Air and fresh wind, and some few sandy parts without trees, which are not therefore so well inhabited as the rest; and such difference of soils we find also in all other parts of the World. But (for the greatest part) those Regions have so many goodly Rivers, Fountains, and little Brooks, abundance of high Cedars, and other stately trees, casting shade; so many sorts of delicate fruits, ever beating, and at all times beautified with blossom and fruit both green and ripe, as it may of all other parts be best compared to the *Paradise* of *Eden*: the boughs and branches are never uncloathed and left naked, their sap creepeth not under ground into the root, fearing the injury of the frost: neither doth *Pomona* any time despise her withered Husband *Vertumnus*, in his Winter quarters and old age. Therefore are these Countreys called *Terræ vitiosæ*, *Vicious Countreys*: for Nature being liberal to all without labour, necessity imposing no industry or travel, idleness bringeth forth no other fruits than vain thoughts, and licentious pleasures. So that, to conclude this part, *Tertullian* and those of his opinion, were not deceived in the nature of the place: but *Aquinas*, who misliked this opinion, and followed a worse, and (to say the truth) all the School-men were gross in this particular. *Isay.* 45. 1.

SECT. IX.

Of the change of the names of places: and that besides that Eden in Cœlosyria, there is a Country in Babylon, once of this name, as is proved, out of Esa. 37. *and* Ezek. 27.

THese opinions answered, and the Region of *Eden* not found in any of those imaginary worlds, nor under *Torrida Zona*; it followeth that now we discover and find out the seat thereof; for in it was *Paradise* by God planted. The difficulty of which search resteth chiefly in this, That as all Nations have often changed names with their Masters; so are most of these places, by *Moses* remembred, forgotten by those names of all Historians and Geographers, as well Antient as Modern.

Besides, we find that the *Assyrians*, *Babylonians* *Medes* and *Persians* (*Cyrus* only and a few other excepted) sought to extinguish the *Hebrews*. The *Grecians* hated both their Nation and their Religion; and the *Romans* despised, once to remember them in any of their Stories. And as those three Monarchies succeeded each other: so did they transform the names of all those principal Places and Cities in the East: And after them, the *Turk* hath sought (what he could) to extinguish in all things, the antient memory of those people, which he hath subjected and inthralled.

Now besides those notable marks, *Euphrates* and *Tygris*, the better to find the way which leadeth to the Country of *Eden*, we are to take for guides these two Considerations (to wit) That it lay Eastward from *Canaan* and *Judæa*; and, that it was of all other the most beautiful and fertile. First then in respect of situation, the next Country to *Judæa* Eastward was *Arabia Petræa*; but in this Region was *Moses* himself when he wrote: and the next unto it Eastward also was *Arabia* the *Desart*, both which in respect of the infertility could not be *Eden*; neither have any of the *Arabians* any such Rivers, as are express'd to run out of it: So as it followeth that *Eden* must be Eastward, and beyond both *Arabia Petræa*, and *Deserta*. But because *Eden* is by *Moses* named by it self, and by the fertility, and the Rivers only described, we must seek it in other Scriptures, and where it is by the additions of the neighbour-Nations better described. In the Prophet *Isay*, I find it coupled and accompanied with other adjacent Countries, in these words, spoken in the person of *Senacherib* by *Rabsakeh*: *Have the Gods of the Nations delivered them, which my Fathers have destroyed, as* Gosan, *and* Haran, *and* Reseph, *and the Children of* Eden, *which were at Telassar?* And in *Ezechiel*, where he prophecieth against the *Tyrians*: *They of Haran, and Canneh, and Eden, the Merchants of Sheba, Asshur, and Chilmad, were thy Merchants*, &c.

Isai. 37. v. 12.

Cap. 27. v. 23.

But to avoid confusion, we must understand that there were two *Edens*; one of which the Prophet *Amos* remembreth, where he divideth *Syria* into three Provinces, whereof the first maketh *Syria Damascene*, or *Dicapolitan*: the second part is that Valley called *Avenis*, otherwise *Convallis*, or the Tract of *Chamath*, where *Assyria* is joyned to *Arabia* the *Desart*, and where *Ptolemie* placeth the City of *Averia*: and the third is known by the name of *Domus Edenis*, or *Cælo-Syria*, otherwise *Vallis cava*, or *the hollow Valley*, because the Mountains of *Libanus* and *Anti-Libanus*, take all the length of it on both sides, and border it: for *Cæle* in *Greek* is *Cava* in *Latin*. But this is not that *Eden*, which we seek: neither doth this Province lie East from *Canaan*, but North, and so joyneth unto it, as it could not be unknown to the *Hebrews*. Yet, because there is a little City therein called *Paradise*, the *Jews* believed this *Cælo-Syria* to be the same which *Moses* describeth. For the same cause doth *Hopkins* in his Treatise of *Paradise* reprehend *Beroaldus*, in that he confoundeth this *Eden*, with the other *Eden* of *Paradise*, though, to give *Beroaldus* his right, I conceive that he led the way to *Hopkins*, and to all other later Writers, saying, That he failed in distinguishing these two Regions, both called *Eden*: and that he altogether mis-understood two of the four Rivers (to wit) *Pison* and *Gehon*, as shall appear hereafter. Now to find out *Eden*, which as *Moses* teacheth us) lay Eastward from the Desarts, where he wrote, after he had passed the Red-Sea; we must consider where those other Countries are found, which the Prophet *Isaiah* and and *Ezechiel* joyneth with it. For (saith *Isaiah*) *Gosan, Haran, and Reseph, and the children of Eden, which were at Telassar.* Also *Ezechiel* joyneth *Haran* with *Eden*, who together with those of *Sheba*, *Asshur*, and *Chilmad*, were the Merchants that traded with the City of *Tyre*, which was then (saith *Ezechiel*) *The Mart of the people for many Isles.* And it hath ever been the custom, that the *Persians* conveyed their Merchandise to *Babylon*, and to those Cities upon *Euphrates*, and *Tygris*, and from thence transported them into *Syria*, now *Soria*, and to the Port of the *Mediterrane* Sea: as in ancient times to the City of *Tyre*, afterwards to *Tripoly*, and now to *Aleppo*, from whence they imbarque them at the Port of *Alexandretta*, in the *Bay* of *Issicus*, now *Lajazzo*. *Ezechiel* in the description of the magnificence of *Tyre*, and of the exceeding Trade that it had with all the Nations of the East, as the only Mart-Town of that part of the World, reciteth both the People, with whom they Commerce, and also what commodities every Country yielded; and having counted the several People and Countreys, he addeth the particular Trade, which each of them exercised: *They were thy Merchants* (saith the Prophet) *in all sorts of things, in rayments of blue Silk, and of broydered works, fine Linnen, Coral, and Pearl:* And afterwards speaking of the Merchants of *Sheba* and *Raamah*, and what kinds they traded, he hath these words: *The Merchants of Sheba, and Raamah were thy Merchants, they occupied in thy Fairs, with the chief of all Spices, and with all precious Stones, and Gold.* Now, these be indeed the riches which *Persia* and *Arabia Fœlix* yield: and because *Sheba* and *Raamah* are those parts of *Arabia*, which border the Sea, called the *Persian Gulf*, therefore did those Nations both vent such Spice, sweet Gums, and Pearls, as their own Countries yielded: and (withall) having Trade with their Neighbours of *India*, had from them also all sorts of Spices, and plenty of Gold. The better to convey these commodities to that great Mart of *Tyre*, the *Shebans*, or *Arabians* entred by the mouth of *Tygris*, and from the City of *Terredon*, (built or enlarged by *Nebuchodonozor*, now called *Balsara*) thence sent up all these rich Merchandizes by Boat to *Babylon*, from whence by the body of *Euphrates*, as far as it bended Westward, and afterward by a branch thereof, which reached within three days journey of *Aleppo*, and then over Land they past to *Tyre*, as they did afterwards to *Tripoly*, (formerly *Hieropolis*) and thence to *Alexandretta*, as aforesaid. Now, the Merchants of *Canneh*, which *Ezechiel* joyneth with *Eden*, inhabited far up the River, and received this Trade from *Arabia* and *India*, besides those proper commodities which themselves had, and which they received out of *Persia*, which bordered them. Saint *Hierome* understandeth by *Canneh*, *Seleucia*, which is seated upon *Euphrates*, *where it breaketh into four heads*, and which took that name from *Seleucus*, who made thereof a magnificent City. *Hierosolomitanus* thinks it to be *Ctesiphon*: but *Ctesiphon* is seated down low upon *Tygris*, and *Canneh* cannot be on that side. I mean, on the East-side of *Tygris*; for then were it out of the Valley of *Shinar*. *Pliny* placeth the *Schenitæ* upon *Euphrates*, where the same beginneth to be foordable, which is toward the border of *Syria*, after it leaveth to be the bound of *Arabia* the Desart, and where the River of *Euphrates* reflecteth from the Desart of *Palmirena*: for these People of *Canneh* (afterwards *Schenitæ*) inhabited both borders of *Euphrates*, stretching themselves, from their own City of *Canneh* in *Shinar*, Westward along the banks of *Euphrates*, as far as the City of *Thapsacus*, where *Ptolemy* appointed the Foords of *Euphrates*: which also agreeth with the description of the *Schenitæ* by *Strabo*, whose words are these: *Mercatoribus ex Syria Seleuciam, & Babyloniam euntibus iter est per Schenitas; The Merchants which travel from Syria to Seleucia and Babylon, take their way by the Schenites.* Therefore those that take *Canneh* for *Charran*, do much misstake it. For *Charran*, to which *Abraham* came from *Ur* in *Chaldæa* (called by God) standeth also in *Mesopotamia*; not upon *Euphrates* it self, but upon the River of *Chaboras*, which falleth into *Euphrates*: and the Merchants of *Charran* are distinctly named with those of *Canneh* in *Ezechiel* (as) *They of Haran and Canneh, and Eden, the Merchants of Sheba, Asher, and Chilmad, were thy Merchants.* Wherefore *Charran*, which is sometimes called *Charre*, and *Haran*, and *Aran*,

Cap. 1. v. 1.

Strabo.

Ezech. 27. v. 23.

Vers. 24.

Plin. l. 8. c. 26.

Strabo l. 16

Gen. 11. 31.

Aran, is but the same *Charran* of *Mesopotamia*; and when it is written *Aran*, then it is taken for the Region of *Mesopotamia*; or *Aran, fluviorum*, the Greek word (*Mesopotamia*) importing, A Countrey between Rivers: for *Mesos* in Greek, is *medius* in Latine, and *Potamos, fluvius*. And when it is written *Haran* or *Aran*, it is then taken for the City it self, to which *Abraham* came from *Ur* (as aforesaid.) For *Strabo* in his description of *Arabia*, giveth that tract of Land from the borders of *Cœlosyria*, to the edge of *Mesopotamia*, to the *Schenitæ*, who also inhabited on both sides of *Euphrates*, and were in after ages accounted of these *Arabians* which inhabit *Batanea*, and the North part of the Desarts, stretching themselves toward the inhabited solitude of *Palmirena*, which lyeth between *Syria*, and *Arabia* the Desart. So as these of *Canneh* lay in the very high-way from *Babylon* to *Tyre*, and were Neighbours (indifferent) to *Charran*, and to *Eden*: and therefore they are by the Prophet *Ezechiel* coupled together, *They of Haran, and Canneh, and Eden, &c.* But S. *Hierome* made a good interpretation of *Canneh*, or *Chalne*, by *Seleucia*: for *Seleucia* was antiently called *Chalanne* (witness *Appian*) and so *Rabanus Maurus* calleth it in his Commentaries upon *Genesis*; the name by time and mixture of Languages being changed from *Chalne*, or *Canneh*, to *Chalanne*: of which name there are two other Cities, standing in Triangle with *Seleucia*, and almost the next unto it, (as) *Thilbe-Canne*, and *Mann-Canne*, the one a little to the West of *Seleucia*, and the other opposite unto it; where these Rivers of *Tygris* and *Euphrates* are ready to joyn. Therefore, which of these the ancient *Canne* was (being all three within the bound of the Valley *Shinar*) it is uncertain: but it is a note as well of the importance of the place, as of the certain seat thereof, that so many other Cities did retain a part of the name in so many Ages after. Neither is it unlikely, that these additions of *Thelbe* and *Man* to the word *Canne*, were but to make difference between the East and the West, or the greater and the less *Canne*, or between *Canne* the old and the new: which additions to distinguish Cities by, are ordinary in all the Regions of the World.

Now of the other City joyned with *Eden*, as *Haran*, or *Charran*, S. *Hierome* on the *Judges* speaketh thereof in these words: *Cumque reverterentur, pervenerunt ad Charran, quæ est in medio itinere contra Ninevem, undecimo die*; *When they returned they came to* Charran *(which is the mid-way against Nineveh) the eleventh day.* *Judg. 1*

This City is by the Martyr *Stephen*, named *Charran* (speaking to the High-Priest:) *Ye Men, Brethren, and Fathers, hearken: the God of glory appeared to our Father Abraham, while he was in Mesoptamia, before he dwelt in Charran.* But the seat of this City is not doubted of: for it is not only remembred in many Scriptures, but withall exceeding famous for the death and overthrow of *Crassus* the Roman, who for his unsatiable greedines, was called *Gurges avaritiæ*; *The Gulf of Avarice.* Whereof *Lucan*: *Acts 7. 1.*

Lucan. l. 1. 105. *Assyrias Latio maculavit sanguine Carras.*

With Roman bloud th' Assyrian Carre he defil'd.

But this City *Canne*, or *Chalne*, is made manifest by *Moses* himself, where it is written of *Nimrod*; *And the beginning of his Kingdoms was Babel, and Erech, and Acad, and Chalu, in the Land of Sinaar*, or *Shinar*: where *Moses* sheweth the first composition of the *Babylonian* Empire, and what Cities and People were subject unto *Nimrod*; all which lay in the said Valley of *Shinar*, or near it; and this Valley of *Shinar* is that *Gen. 10. 10.* Tract afterwards called *Babylonia* and *Chaldea*, into which also *Eden* stretcheth it self, *Chaldæa, Babylonia, Sinar, idem sunt* (saith *Comestor.*) *Three names of one Countrey*: which Region of *Babylonia*, took name of the Tower *Babel*; and the Tower of the confusion of Tongues. And that *Shinar* was *Babylonia*, it is proved in the eleventh Chapter of *Genesis*, in these words: *And as they went from the East, they found a Plain in the Land of* Shinar, *and there they abode*: in which Plain Babylon was built (as aforesaid.) *Verse 2*

Now *Shinar* being *Babylonia* and *Canneh*, in the first beginning of *Nimrod's* greatness, and before he had subdued any strange, or far-off Nations, being one part of his Dominion, and also named by *Moses* to be in *Shinar*, it proveth that *Canneh* joyneth to *Babylonia*; which also *Ezechiel* coupleth with *Eden*, and (further) affirmeth that those of *Eden* were also the Merchants which traded with the *Tyrians*: and *Isaiah* in the threats of *Senacherib* against *Jerusalem* (with other Nations that *Senacherib* vaunted that his Fathers had destroyed) nameth the children of *Eden* which were at *Telassar*. But before I conclude where *Eden* it self lyeth, it is necessary to describe those other Countreys, which *Ezechiel* joyneth therewith, in the places before remembred, as, those of *Sheba* and *Raamah*. It is written in *Genesis* the tenth: *Moreover the Sons of* Ham *were* Cush, &c. *And the Sons of* Cush *were* Seba, & Havila & Sabtah, & Raamah &c. *And the Sons of* Raamah *were* Sheba, &c. and anon after; *Cush begat Nimrod*: so as *Sheba* was the grand-child of *Cush*, & *Nimrod* the Son of *Cush*, whose elder brother was *Sebah*: though some there are that conceive to the contrary, that *Nimrod* was the elder in valour and understanding, though not in time and precedence of birth; who inhabited that part of *Shinar*, where *Babel* was built, afterwards *Babylonia*. His brother *Raamah* or *Regma* took that part adjoyning to *Shinar*, toward the Sea side and Persian gulf (called afterwards *Raamah* and *Sheba*, by the Father and his Sons, which possessed it.) *For* (saith *Ezechiel*) *the Merchants of* Raamah *and* Sheba, *were thy Merchants, they occupied in thy fairs with the chief of all Spices, and all precious Stones, and Gold.* So as *Sheba* was that Tract of Country, which parteth *Arabia Deserta* from *Arabia Fœlix*, and which joyneth to the Sea where *Tygris* and *Euphrates* fall out, and render themselves to the Ocean. This part, and the confining Countrey, *Strabo* calleth *Catabria*, where the best Myrrh and Frankincense is gathered: which people have an interchange or trade with *Elana*, lying on the East-side of the *Persian* gulf. By this it appeareth who were the *Shebeans*, spoken of by *Ezechiel*, and said to have been the Merchants of *Tyre*, for Gold, Spices, and precious Stones: of which they had not onely plenty of their own, but were also furnished from that part of *India* (called *Elana*, according to *Strabo*) for exchange of their Aromatiques, and other proper commodities. For, as *Strabo* reporteth out of *Eratosthenes*, *In Persicæ oræ initio Insula est, in qua multi & pretiosi uniones gignantur: in aliis verò, clari & perlucidi lapilli. Eratosthenes* (saith *Strabo*) affirmeth, that, *In the beginning of the Persian Gulf, there is an Island, in which there are many precious Pearls bred: and in other, very clear and shining Stones.* Now, the difference between *Sheba* the Son of *Raamah*, and *Seba* the Son of *Cush*, is in this, That *Seba* is written with the Hebrew (*Samech*;) and *Sheba* with (*Schin*:) but whatsoever the difference may be in the Hebrew Orthography, their Countreys and Habitations are divers. For *Sheba* is that which bordereth the *Persian* Sea, and *Saba* (whence the Queen of *Saba*) neighboured the Red-Sea; and so that place of the 72 *Psalm* expounded *Reges Arabum & Sabæ*, hath in the Hebrew this sence: *Reges Shebæ & Sabæ.* *Verse 7.* *Strabo. l. 16.*

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The *Shebans*, *Ezekiel* nameth together with the *Edenites*, becauſe they inhabited upon the Out-let of the ſame River, upon which the *Edenites* were ſeated: and ſo thoſe of *Sheba*, towards the Sea-Coaſt, and upon it, paſt up the Countrey, by *Tygris* and *Euphrates*, being joyned in one main ſtream, and ſo through the Region of *Eden*, which *Tygris* boundeth, thereby the better to convey their Merchandiſe toward *Tyre*. And as the Cities of *Charran*, and *Channeh*, border *Eden* on the Weſt and North-weſt, ſo doth *Sheba* on the South, and *Chilmad* on the North-eaſt: *Chilmad* being a Region of the higher *Media*, as appeareth in the *Chaldean* Paraphraſt; which Countrey, by the Geographers is called *Coromitena*, (*L*) placed by exchange for (*R*) which change the *Hebrews* alſo often uſe.

Thus much of thoſe Countries which border *Eden*, and who altogether traded with the *Tyrians*: of which, the chief were the *Edenites*, inhabiting *Telaſſar*: for theſe *Senacherib* vaunted, that his Fathers had deſtroyed; and this place of *Telaſſar* lay moſt convenient, both to receive the Trade from *Sheba* and *Arabia*, and alſo to convey it over into *Syria*, and to *Tyrus*. Now, to make theſe things the more plain, we muſt remember, that before the death of *Senacherib*, many parts of the *Babylonian* Empire fell from his obedience, and after his death, theſe Monarchies were utterly diſ-joyned.

For it appeareth both in *Eſay* the 37. and in the ſecond of *Kings*, by the Threats of *Rabſache*, the while the Army of *Aſſyria* lay before *Jeruſalem*, that the Cities of *Goſan*, *Haran*, *Reſeph*, and the *Edenites* at *Telaſſar*, had reſiſted the *Aſſyrians*: though by them (in a ſort) maſtered and recovered. *Have the Gods of the Nations delivered them whom my Fathers have deſtroyed, as Goſan, and Haran, Reſeph, and the children of Eden, which were at Telaſſar?* But it appeared manifeſtly after *Senacherib*'s death, that theſe Nations formerly contending, were then freed from the others ſubjection: for *Eſar-haddon* held *Aſſyria*; and *Merodach Baladan*, *Babylonia*. And after that the Army of *Senacherib*, commanded by *Rabſache* which lay before *Jeruſalem* (*Hezekias* then reigning) while *Senacherib* was in *Egypt*, was by the Angel of God deſtroyed; the King of *Babel* ſent to *Hezekias*, both to congratulate the recovery of his health, and his victory obtained over the *Aſſyrians*. After which overthrow, *Senacherib* himſelf was ſlain by his own ſons in the Temple of his Idols, *Eſar-Haddon* ſucceeding him in *Aſſyria*. To the *Babylonian* Ambaſſadours ſent by *Merodach*, *Hezekias* ſhewed all his Treaſures as well proper as conſecrate, which invited the Kings of *Babylon* afterward to undertake their conqueſt and ſubverſion. So as, the ſuſpition of War encreaſing between *Babylon* and *Aſſyria*, the *Edenites* which inhabited the borders of *Shinar* towards the North, and towards *Aſſyria*, were employed to bear off the incurſions of the *Aſſyrians*; and their Garriſon-place was at *Telaſſar*: and the very word (*Telaſſar*) ſaith *Junius*, ſignifying as much as a Bulwork againſt the *Aſſyrians*. This place *Hireoſolymitanus* takes for *Reſem*, others for *Seleucia*: but this *Telaſſar* is the ſame, which *Am. Marcellinus* in the Hiſtory of *Julian* (whom he followed in the enterprize of *Perſia*) calleth *Thilutha* inſtead of *Telaſſar*, who deſcribeth the exceeding ſtrength thereof in his 24 Book: It is ſeated in an Iſland of *Euphrates* upon a ſteep and unaſſaultable Rock, in ſo much as the Emperour *Julian* durſt not attempt it; and therefore it was a convenient place for a Garriſon againſt the *Aſſyrians*, being alſo a paſſage out of *Meſopotamia* into *Babylonia*, and in which the *Edenites* of the Countrey adjoyning were lodged to defend the ſame. This place *Ptolomy* calleth *Teridata*, having *Reſeph* which he calleth *Reſepha*) on the left hand; and *Canneh*, (which he calleth *Thelbe-Canne*) on the right hand; not far from whence, is alſo found the City of *Mann-Canne*, upon *Tygris*; and all theſe ſeated together, as *Iſaiah* and *Ezechiel* have ſorted them. But the underſtanding of theſe places is the more difficult, becauſe *Aſſyria* (which the *Chaldeans* call *Aturia*) and *Meſapotamia*, were ſo often confounded; the one taken for the other by interchanging of Dominion. *Aſſyria & Meſopotamia in Babyloniæ nomen tranſierunt* (ſaith *Niger*,) *Aſſyria and Meſopotamia took the name of Babylonia.* Laſtly, it appeareth by thoſe adjacent Regions by the Prophets named, in what part of the World *Eden* is ſeated, as, by *Charran* or *Haran* in *Meſopotamia*: alſo by *Canneh* and *Reſeph*, according to the opinion of *Vatablus*, who in theſe words tranſlateth this place: *Plantaverat autem JEHOVAH Deus hortum in Eden, ab Oriente*; *the Lord God planted a Garden in Eden Eaſtward*: that is (ſaith he in his Annotations) *Juſſerat naſci arbores in Eden, Regione Orientali, finibus Arabæ & Meſopotamiæ*; *He commanded Trees to grow in Eden, an Eaſtern Region in the borders of Arabia and Meſopotamia.*

Eſay. 37. v. 12.

2 Kings 19. 35. 20. 12.

Eſay 39. 1.

Eſay 37. 38.

Eſay 39. 1.

Aſia Tab.

Coſmog. Aſiæ.

SECT. X.

Of divers other teſtimonies of the Land of Eden; and that this is the Eden of Paradiſe.

AND for a more particular pointing out of this *Eden*, it ſeems by the two Epiſtles of the Neſtorian Chriſtians, that inhabit *Meſopotamia*: which Epiſtles in the year 1552 they ſent to the Pope about confirming their Patriarch, and *Andræas Maſius* hath publiſhed them, tranſlated out of *Syriac* into *Latine*. By theſe Epiſtles (I ſaid) it ſeems we may have ſome farther light for the proof of that, which we have ſaid about the Region of *Eden* in thoſe parts. For in them both, there is mention of the Iſland of *Eden* in the River *Tygris*, or at leaſt, *Tygris* in both theſe Epiſtles is called the River of *Eden*. This Iſland, as *Maſius* in his Preface to theſe Epiſtles ſaith, is commonly called *Gozoria* (as it were, The Iſland, by an eminency) It hath (ſaith he) ten miles in circuit, and was ſometimes walled round about, which name of the Iſland *Eden* may (doubtleſs) remain to this day; though in the reſt of the Region ſo called, this name be ſwallowed up with the fame of thoſe flouriſhing Kingdoms of *Meſopotamia*, *Aſſyria*, *Babylonia*, and *Chaldea*. This Iſland of *Eden* hath up the River, and not far beyond it, the City of *Haſan-Cepha*, otherwiſe *Fortis Petra*: below it, it hath *Moſal* or *Moſel*, from which (as in that which followeth it ſhall appear out of *Maſius*) it is not above twelve miles diſtant. Neither is it to trouble us, That *Moſal* or *Moſel*, by *Marius Niger* is remembred among the Cities higher up *Tygris*, in theſe words, *Juxta autem Tygrim, Civitates ſunt Dorbeta prope Taurum montem, quæ nunc Moſel dicitur*; *magne ſanè*, &c. (that is) By *Tygris are theſe Cities, Dorbeta near unto mount Taurus (which is now called Moſel) which is a great one*, &c. This opinion of *Niger*, diſplacing *Moſel*, and making it to be *Dorbeta* (I ſay) needs not here to trouble us: ſeeing for this matter, the teſtimony of *Maſius*, informed by the Chriſtians that dwelt there (the Seat of whoſe Patriarch it is) ought to be of credit, avowing that this *Moſal* (or *Mozal*) is in the Confines of *Meſopotamia* and *Aſſyria*, ſeated upon *Tygris*, and in the Neighbour-hood of *Nineve*; and that it is the famous *Seleucia Parthorum*. The Neſtorian Chriſtians in their former Epiſtle, call it *Attur* in theſe words:

ut ſupra

Ex

Ex omnibus civitatibus & pagis quæ ſunt circum Civitatem Moſel (hoc eſt) Attur, in vicinia Nineves; Of all the Cities and Townes which are about the City of Moſal (that is) Attur in the Neighbour-hood of Nineve. As alſo *Niger* acknowledgeth *Cteſiphon* a City thereabout to be called *Aſſur*, (which is the ſame as *Attur*, after the Dialect of thoſe Nations, which change *Sh* into *T.*) Neither is it much that he ſhould miſtake *Cteſiphon*, (which is not far off *Seleucia*) for *Seleucia*, to be *Aſſur*. By this then we may come ſomewhat near the end of our purpoſe. For the Iſle of *Eden*, which lieth in the breaſt of *Tygris*, is but twelve miles from *Moſal*, and that antient City, which *Ptolomy* and *Tacitus* call *Ninus*, and the Scriptures *Nineve*; *Philoſtratus*, and *Simeon Sethi*, *Moſula*, and *John Lean*, *Moſal*, others *Moſſe*, (though it be not the ſame with *Moſal*) is ſet but a little higher upon the ſame River of *Tygris*, near *Moſal*: ſo that we are like to find this Iſle of *Eden* hereabout. For the ſame *Andræas Maſius*, which placeth it above *Moſal*, makes it to be below *Haſan-Cepha*, which is upon the ſame River of *Tygris*.

The only difficulty is this, that ſome perhaps may think, that the words of the *Neſtorians*, in both their Epiſtles, ſpeak not of any Iſle in *Tygris*, called the Iſle of *Eden*, but of an Iſle in *Tygris*, a River of *Eden*. But this ſence of their words in my opinion ſeemeth the more unprobable. And yet, if this were the meaning here, we have a teſtimony from the Learned of thoſe parts, that not only *Euphrates*, but alſo *Tygris* was a River of *Eden*, and that the name of *Eden* in thoſe parts is not yet quite worn out, though the Region hath been ſubject to the ſame change, that all other Kingdoms of the World have been, and hath by conqueſt and corruption of other Languages, received new and differing names. For the South part of *Eden*, which ſtretcheth over *Euphrates*, was after the Flood called *Shiner*, and then, of the Tower of *Babel*, *Babylonia*; and the North part of *Eden* is that Tract of *Meſopotamia*, *Aſſyria*, and *Armenia*, which imbraceth both the banks of *Tygris* between Mount *Taurus*, and *Seleucia*. And of this Region of *Eden* that antient *Æthicus* maketh mention, (not that latter *Æthicus*, Diſciple of *Gallinicus*, otherwiſe by *Plutarch* and *Athæneus* called *Iſtri*, who lived in *Egypt* in the Reign of *Philadelphus*; but another of a far higher and remote time) the ſame being made *Latine* out of the *Greek* by Saint *Hierom*. And though by corruption of the antient Copy it be written, in *Æthicus*, *Adonis*, for *Edenis*: yet *Adonis* being a River of *Phœnicia*, cannot be underſtood to be the Region named by *Æthicus*. For *Æthicus* makes it a Countrey, and not a River, and joyneth it with *Meſopotamia* and *Æthiopia*, calling the Land of *Chus Æthiopia*, after the Vulgar, and Septuagint. And laſtly, the River which watereth the Regions (ſaith *Æthicus*) falleth into the Gulf of *Perſia*: which River he called *Armodius* for *Tygris*; *Tygris* being but a name impoſed for the ſwiftneſs thereof. And out of *Armenia*, both *Tygris* and *Euphrates* have their original: for out of *Eden* came a River, or Rivers, to water the Garden; both which Rivers (to wit) *Tygris* and *Euphrates*, come out of *Armenia*, and both of them traverſe *Meſopotamia*, Regions firſt of all known by the name of *Eden*, for their beauty and fertility. And it is very probable, that *Eden* contained alſo ſome part of *Armenia*; and the excellent fertility thereof in divers places is not unworthy the name of *Eden*. For in ſome part thereof (ſaith *Strabo*) the leaves are alway green, and therefore therein a perpetual Spring. Alſo *Stephanus*, *de Urbibus*, mentioneth the City of *Adana* upon *Euphrates*: and the name of *Eden* was in uſe in *Amos*'s time, though he ſpake not of *Eden* in the Eaſt, but of *Eden* in *Celo-Syria*. But to the end I may not burthen the Readers patience with too long a Diſcourſe, it may ſuffice to know, that *Euphrates* and *Tygris* (once joyned together, and afterwards ſeparate) are two of thoſe four heads, into which theſe Rivers which are ſaid to water the Garden of *Paradiſe*, were divided: whoſe courſes being known, *Eden* (out of which they are ſaid to come) cannot be unknown. Now that *Hiddekel* and *Perath*, were *Tygris* and *Euphrates*, it is agreed by all: for the Seventy and all others convert *Perath* and *Euphrates*: *& Hiddekel, Tygrim omnes exponunt*; *And all men underſtand Hiddekel by Tygris* (ſaith *Vatablus.*) And becauſe that which I have ſaid of the Iſle of *Eden* ſhall not be ſubject to the cenſure of ſelf-invention, I have here-under ſet down the words out of the two general Epiſtles of the *Neſtorians*, as *Maſius* (*ad verbum*) hath converted them into *Latine*. The occaſion of thoſe Letters and Supplications to the Pope, were, That the *Neſtorian* Chriſtians, which inhabit *Meſopotamia*, *Aſſyria*, *Perſia*, *Babylonia*, and have to this day (at leaſt in Queen *Marys* time they had) fifteen Churches in one City called *Seleucia Parthorum*, or *Moſel* upon the River of *Tygris*; having no ſufficient Authority to chooſe themſelves a Patriarch (which cannot be done without four or three Metropolitan Biſhops at the leaſt) ſent to the Biſhop of *Rome*, in the year of Chriſt 1552. (as afore-ſaid) a Petition to obtain allowance unto ſuch Election, as themſelves had made: having three hundred years before that, upon the like defect, ſent one *Marius* thither to be confirmed; and in this negotiation they made known to the Biſhop of *Rome* the ſtate of the Chriſtian Church in thoſe parts: for, upon the death of their Patriarch (who of a covetous deſire to enrich himſelf, had forborn to inſtitute Metripolitan Biſhops, when the places fell void) they all aſſembled themſelves together to conſult of the Church-government. And becauſe all the Patriarchs for an hundred years had been of one Houſe and Family to the prejudice of the Church, and that there yet remained one Biſhop of the ſame ſtock and kindred, who aſpired to the ſame dignity which his Predeceſſors had held; the reſt of the profeſſors refuſed to allow him. Upon which occaſion, and for the choice of a Governour more ſufficient, the Teachers in all the Churches aſſembled themſelves. The words of the general Epiſtle to the Pope are theſe, about the middle of the ſaid Epiſtle; *Verùm nos non acceptavimus, neq; proclamavimus ipſum; ſed ſubitò convenimus ex omnibus locis Orientalibus, & ex omnibus Civitatibus & Pagis quæ ſunt circum civitatem Moſel (hoc eſt, Attur) in vicini à Nineves, ex Babyloniâ, ex Charrâ, ex Arbelâ, ex Inſulâ quæ eſt in medio Tygris, fluminis Eden*, &c. i. e. *But we did neither accept of this man, neither pronounced him: but ſuddenly we aſſembled our ſelves out of all parts of the Eaſt, and out of all the Cities and Villages which are about Moſel (or Attur) neighbouring upon Nineve; and out of Babylon, Carrha, Arbella; and out of the Iſland which lyeth in the middle of Tygris, a River of Eden*, or rather *out of the Iſle of Eden, which lyeth in the River Tygris.* And in a ſecond Epiſtle at the ſame time ſent, they uſed theſe words; *Neq; ſuperſunt apud nos Metropolitæ, quorum eſt ordinare Catholicum; ſed ſoli pauci Epiſcopi, Epiſcopus Arbelæ, Epiſcopus Salmaſti, Epiſcopus Adurbeigan; en è veſtigio convenimus in Inſulam, quæ eſt intra Tygrim flumen, Eden; fecimuſq; compactum inter nos*, &c. (which is) *Neither are there remaining among us any Metropolitan Biſhops, to whom it belongs to ordain a Patriarch, but only a few Biſhops, as the Biſhop of Arbela, the Biſhop of Salmaſtius, and the Biſhop of Adurbeigan: but lo, we aſſembled ſpeedily in the Iſland of Eden, which is in Tygris, and agreed between our ſelves*, &c.

Now

Now this Iland of *Eden*, *Masius* describeth with other places; which being well conceived, the *Nestorian* Epistles, and the state of the Church may be in those parts (saith he) the better understood. And after he hath distinguished the four sorts of Christians in those parts of the World, and in the South part of *Africa*, which he calleth *Nestorians*, *Jacobites*, *Maronitæ*, and *Cophti*, he goeth on in these words; *Mox, audita illius morte, concurrisse aiebant tumultuariè in illam quam modo dixi Tygris Insulam, quæ duodecim circiter passuum sio ambitu continet, muris undiq; cincta, & à paucis aliis quàm Christianis hominibus habitata:* which is, *Now hearing of the death of the Patriarch*, (as those that came to *Rome* reported) *they ran tumultuously together into that Iland of Tygris* or *Eden before spoken of, which Iland is situated about twelve miles above Mosal, containing very neer ten miles in compass, and every where invironed with a wall, inhabited by few other men then Christians.* And afterward, he maketh a recapitulation of the Christian Churches; among the rest he addeth the Isle of *Eden* by the name of *Geserta, Insula Tygris; sive Geserta.* Furthermore, describing the City of *Hassn-Ceipha*, or *Fortis Petra*, he placeth it *supra prædictam Tygris Insulam, rupi asperæ impositam; Above the aforesaid Iland of Tygris, being seated on a steep Rock.* Of this Iland of *Geserta*, *Andrew Thevet* maketh mention in his tenth Book of his general Cosmography, in these words: *Geserta ou Gesire est au milieu de la Rivere du Tygre, & pense que c'est une terre des plus fertiles de toute l'Asie; Geserta or Gesire is in the middle of Tygris, the soyle the most fertile of all Asia.*

By this we see that the ancient name of *Eden* liveth; and of that *Eden* which lyeth Eastward from *Arabia Petræa*, and the Desart where *Moses* wrote, and that *Eden* which bordereth *Carran* according to *Ezechiel*, and that *Eden* which is seated according to the assertion of the said Prophet, and joyned with those Nations of *Reseph*, *Canneh*, and *Charran*, and the rest which Traded with the *Tyrians*, and is found at this day in the parting of the two Regions of *Assyria*, and *Babylonia*, where the *Edenites* in *Thelassar* were garrisoned to resist the *Assyrians*, whose displantation *Senacherib* vaunted of (as above written;) And lastly, the same *Eden*, which embraceth *Tygris*, and looketh on *Euphrates*, two of the known Rivers of those four, which are by all men ascribed to *Paradise*.

SECT. XI.

Of the difficulty in the Text, which seemeth to make the four Rivers to rise from one stream.

But it may be objected, that it is written in the Text, *That a River went out of Eden*, and not *Rivers* in the plural: which scruple *Matthew Beroaldus* hath thus answered in his Chronologie: The *Latine* Translation, saith he, hath these words: *Et fluvius egrediebatur de loco voluptatis ad irrigandum Paradisum, qui inde dividebatur in quatuor capita: Quæ verba melius consentient cum rei narratione, & ejusdem explicatione, si ita reddantur; Et fluvius erat egrediens ex Edene (hoc est) fluvii procedebant ex Edene regione ad rigandum pomarium; & inde dividebatur, & erat in quatuor capita:* which is, *And a River went out of the place of pleasure to water Paradise, and thence was divided into four heads*; Which words (saith *Beroaldus*) do better agree with the Narration and Explication of the place, if they be thus translated; *And a River was going forth of Eden*, (that is) *Rivers went forth, and ran out of the Region of Eden to water the Orchard; and from thence it was divided, and they became four heads.* The *Tygurine* differs from the Vulgar or Latine; for it converts it thus, *Et fluvius e rediebatur de loco voluptatis; And a River went out of the place of pleasure*: and so the word (*Place*) may rightly be referred to *Eden*, which was (of all other) a Region most delightful and fertile; and so also the word (*inde*) and *thence*, was divided, hath reference to the Country of *Eden*, and not to the Garden it self.

And for the word (*River*) for *Rivers*, it is usual among the *Hebrews*: for it is written, *Let the Earth bud forth the bud of the Herb that seedeth Seed, the fruitful Tree*, &c. Here the *Hebrew* useth the Singular for the Plural, *Herb and Tree*, for *Herbs and Trees*: And again, *We eat of the fruit of the Tree*, instead of (*Trees*:) And thirdly, *The man and his wife hid themselves from the presence of God*; *In medio ligni Paradisi*; *In the middle of the Tree of the Garden*, for (*Trees.*) And of this opinion is *David Kimchi*, and *Vatablus*, who upon this place of *Genesis* say, that the *Hebrews* do often put the Singular for the Plural, as *illud*, for *unumquodq; illorum*; and he giveth an instance in this question it self, as, *A River*, (for *Rivers*) *went out of Eden.*

And this answer out of divers of the Learned, may, not without good reason, be given to the Objection, That *Moses* speaketh but of one River, from which the heads should divide themselves. Howbeit I deny not, but with as good (and perhaps better) reason, we may expound the four heads, to be four notable passages into famous Countries. And so we may take the word (*River*) Verse the tenth, for one River, (to wit) *Euphrates*, as this name comprehendeth all the branches thereof. For this River (after he is past the place, where we suppose *Paradise* to have been) divides it self, and ere long yieldeth four notable passages into several Countries, though not all the way down stream, (for this is no where in the Text) where it is noted, that following the River downward, there is conveyance into the Countries named in the Text, though part of the way to one of the Countries (to wit, to *Assyria*) were up *Tygris.*

To this end the Text speaking of *Hiddekel*, as it riseth from the River of *Eden*, doth not say, it compasseth or washeth the whole Region of *Assyria* (as it had used this phrase of *Pison* and *Gehon*) but that it runneth towards *Assyria*. The first branch *Pison*, is *Nahar-malcha* (by interpretation) *Basilius*, or *flumen regium*, which runneth into *Tygris* under *Apamia*; whence riseth the name of *Pasi-Tygris*, as it were *Piso-Tygris*. This leadeth to the Land of *Havila* or *Susiana*. The second branch *Gehon*, is that which in Historians is *Nahar-sares* or *Narragas*; for *Nahar-ragas*: both which names signifie *flumen derivatum* (a River derived,) also *Acracanus*, *quasi Ranosus*, by reason of the Froggie Fens which it maketh: This *Gehon* leadeth to the first Seat of *Chus*, about the borders of *Chaldea* and *Arabia*, and it is lost at length in the Lakes of *Chaldea*. The third branch *Hiddekel*, may be expounded the upper stream of *Pison*, or *Basilius*, which runneth into *Hiddekel*, properly so called (that is, into *Tygris*) above *Seleucia*, where it sheweth a passage up *Tygris* into *Assyria*: where, because at length it is called *Hiddekel* or *Tygris*, having before no known proper name, the Text in this place calleth it *Hiddekel* from the beginning. The fourth *Perath*, or *Euphrates*, so called *per excellentiam*, being the body of the River *Euphrates*, which runneth through *Babylon* and *Otris*. But be it a River or Rivers, that come out of *Eden*, seeing that *Tygris* and *Euphrates* are noted in the Text, there can be no doubt, but that *Paradise* was not far from these Rivers: for that *Perath* in *Moses* is *Euphrates*, there can be no question; and (indeed) as plain it is that *Hiddekel* is *Tygris*. For *Hiddekel* goeth (saith *Moses*) Eastward towards *Assur*, as we find, that *Tygris* is the

River

River of *Assyria proprie dicta*; whose chief City was *Nineveh*, as in *Genesis* the Tenth it is written, That out of that Land (to wit) *Babylonia*, *Nimrod* went into *Assur*, and builded *Nineveh*, which was the chief City of *Assur*.

And as for the kind of speech here used in the Text, speaking of four heads; though the heads of Rivers be (properly) their Fountains, yet here are they to be understood, to be spoken of the beginning of their division from the first stream. *Caput aquæ* (saith *Ulpianus*) *illud est, unde aqua noscitur; si ex fonte nascatur, fons; si ex flumine, vel ex lacu, prima initia*, &c. *If the beginning of the water be out of a Fountain, then is the Fountain taken for the head: if out of a Lake, then the Lake*; and if from a main River any branch be separate and divided, then where that branch doth first bound it self with new banks, there is that part of the River, where the branch forsaketh the main stream, called the head of the River.

SECT. XII.

Of the strange fertility and happiness of the Babylonian Soyl, as it is certain that Eden was such.

IT may also be demanded, whether this Region of *Eden*, by us described, be of such fertility and beauty, as *Eden* the seat of *Paradise* was; which, if it be denied, that there was no part of the Earth, that retained that fertility and pleasure, that it had before the Curse: neither can we ascribe the same fruitfulness to any part of the Earth, nor the same virtue to any Plant thereon growing, that they had before the Floud; and therefore this Region of *Eden* may be now no such flourishing Countrey, as it was when it was first created in his perfection. Yet this I find written of it: First, in *Herodotus*, who was an eye-witness, and speaketh of the very place it self; for the Isle of *Eden* is but twelve miles, or thereabout, from *Nineveh*, and so from *Mosal*. *Ex Euphrate exiens in Tygrim, alterum flumen, juxta quod Urbs Nini sita erat. Hæc Regio, omnium quas nos videmus, optima est*, &c. *Where* Euphrates *runneth out into* Tygris, *not far from the place where* Ninus *is seated. This Region, of all that we have seen, is most excellent:* and he addeth afterward; *Cereris autem fructu procreando adeò ferax est, ut nunquam non ferè ducenta reddat*, &c. (that is) *It is so fruitfull in bringing forth Corn, that it yieldeth two hundred fold: The leaves of Wheat and Barley, being almost four fingers broad. As for the height of Millet and Sesame, they are even in length like unto Trees; which although I know to be true, yet I forbear to speak hereof, well knowing, that those things which are reported of this fruitfulness, will seem very incredible to those, which never were in the Countrey of* Babylon. *They have commonly in all the Countrey Palm-Trees growing of their own accord, the most of them bearing fruit, out of which they make both Meats and Wine, and Honey, ordering them as the Fig-Trees.* Thus far *Herodotus*.

Herod. Clia. l. 1.

To this Palm-Tree, so much admired in the *East-India*, *Strabo* and *Niger* add a fourth excellency, which is, that *it yieldeth bread*; *Ex quibus panem, & mel, & vinum, & acetum conficiunt*; *Of which these people make Bread, Wine, Honey, and Vinegar.* But *Antonius* the Eremite findeth a fifth commodity, not inferiour to any of those four, which is, that from this self same Tree, there is drawn a kind of fine Flax, of which people make their garments, and with which in *East-India* they prepare the Cordage for their Ships. And that this is true, *Athanasius* in the life of *Antonius* the Eremite, confesseth, saying: *That he received a garment made there from the* Eremite *himself, which he brought with him out of this Region.* So therefore those Trees which the *East Indies* so highly esteem and so much admire (as indeed the Earth yieldeth no plant comparable to this) those Trees (I say) are in this upper *Babylon*, or Region of *Eden*, as common as any Trees of the Field. *Sunt etiam* (saith *Strabo*) *passim per omnem Regionem palmæ sua sponte nascentes*; *There are of Palms over all the whole Region, growing of their own accord.* Of this place, *Quintus Curtius* maketh this report: *Euntibus à parte læva Arabiæ* (*odorum fertilitate nobilis*) *regio campestris interest, inter Tygrim & Euphratem jacens, tam ubere & pingui solo, ut à pastu repelli pecora dicantur, ne satietas perimat*; (that is) *As you travel on the left hand of* Arabia (*famous for plenty of sweet Odours*) *there lieth a Champain Countrey placed between* Tygris *and* Euphrates, *of so fruitfull and fat a soil, that they are said to drive their Cattel from pasture, lest they should perish by satiety.* *Bis in anno segetes* Babylonii *secant*; *The* Babylonians *cut their Corn twice a year* (saith *Niger*.) And as Countreys generally are more fruitfull to the Southward, than in the Northern parts; so we may judge the excellency of this by that report which *Strabo* maketh of the South parts of *America*, which is the North border of *Eden*, or a part thereof. His words be these in the Latine: *Tota enim hæc regio frugibus & arboribus abundat mansuetis, itemque semper virentibus*; *This Region aboundeth with pleasant fruits, and Trees always green:* which witnesseth a perpetual Spring, not found elsewhere but in the *Indies* onely, by reason of the Sun's neighbour, the life and stirrer up of Nature in a perpetual activity. In brief, so great is the fertility of the ground, that the people are constrained twice to mow down their Corn-fields, and a third time to eat them up with Sheep: which husbandry the *Spaniards* wanting in the Valley of *Mexico*, for the first fourty years, could not make our kind of Wheat bear seed, but it grew up as high as the Trees, and was fruitless. Besides, those fields are altogether without weeds (saith *Pliny*) who addeth this singularity to that soil, That the second year, the very stubble (or rather falling down of the seeds again) yieldeth them a harvest of Corn without any further labour: his words are these, *Ubertatis tantæ sunt, ut sequenti anno sponte restibilis fiat seges.*

Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 18. c. 17.

SECT. XIII.

Of the River Pison, and the Land of Havilah.

AFter the discovery of *Eden*, and the testimonies of the fertility thereof, it resteth to prove that *Pison* and *Gehon* are branches of *Tygris* and *Euphrates*: For, that the knowledge and certainty of these two Rivers should trouble so many wise men, it is strange to me; seeing necessity it self (*Tygris* and *Euphrates* being known) findeth them out: for *Euphrates*, or *Tygris*; or both, be that River or Rivers of *Eden*, which water *Paradise*; which River or Rivers, *Moses* witnesseth afterward divided into four heads, whereof the one is called *Pison*, the other *Gehon*, &c. Could there be a stranger fancy in the World, than when we find both these (namely) *Tygris* and *Euphrates* in *Assyria* and *Mesopotamia*, to seek the other two in *India* and *Egypt*, making the one *Ganges*, and the other *Nilus*? Two Rivers as far distant as any of same known or discovered in the World: the

Scriptures making it so plain, that these Rivers were divided into four branches; and with the Scriptures, Nature, Reason, and Experience bearing witness. There is no errour which hath not some slippery and bad foundation, or some appearance of probability, resembling truth, which when men (who study to be singular) find out (straining Reason according to their fancies) they then publish to the World matter of contention and jangling; not doubting, but in the variable deformity of mens minds, to find some partakers or sectators, the better by their help to nurse and cherish such weak Babes, as their own inventions have begotten.

But this mistaking (and first for the River of *Pison*) seemeth to have grown out of the not-distinguishing of that Region in *India*, called *Havilah*, from *Havilah* which adjoyneth to *Babylonia*, afterward known by the name of *Susiana*. For *Havilah* upon *Tygris*, took name from *Havilah* the Son of *Cush*; and *Havilah* in *India*, from *Havilah* the Son of *Joctan*; the one remembred by *Moses* in the discription of *Paradise*, the other where *Moses* setteth down the generations of *Noah*, and his Sons after the Floud. For the
Gen. 10. 7. Sons of *Cush* were *Seba*, *Havilah*, *Sabtah* and *Raamah*; and the Sons of *Joctan* were *Ophir*, and *Havilah*, &c. of which latter (to wit) of *Ophir* and *Havilah* the Sons of *Joctan*, that Island of *Ophir*, (whence *Solomon* had Gold) and *Havilah* adjoyning, had their names. Now, because *Ganges* is a great and a famous River
Gen. 10. 29. of the East *India*, and *Havilah* a Country of the same, and is situated upon *Ganges*, hence it came that *Ganges* was taken for *Pison*, which River is said by *Moses*,
Gen. 2. 11. to water the Land of *Havilah*. Or perhaps, it was supposed, that those four Rivers named by *Moses*, must of necessity be four of the greatest in the World; whence (supposing that *Ganges* was the next great and famous River after *Tygris* and *Euphrates*) they chose out this River to make one of the four. And yet certainly there is another River, whom in these respects they should rather have chosen than *Ganges*: for the River *Indus* on this side *India*, for beauty, for nearness, and for ability, giveth no way place to *Ganges*, but exceedeth it in all. And how can any reasonable man conceive, that *Ganges* can be of the four heads, seeing *Indus* cometh between it and *Tygris*? and between *Tygris* and *Indus* is all that large Empire of *Persia*, consisting of many Kingdoms. And again, farther towards the East, and beyond *Indus*, are all those ample Dominions of *India intra Gangem*, which lie between those two proud Rivers of *Indus* and *Ganges*, now called the Kingdom of *Mogor*. So as if *Indus* be not accounted for any of the four, because it is removed from *Tygris* by all the breadth of *Persia*, then how much less *Ganges*, which falleth into the Ocean, little less than fourty degrees to the Eastward of *Indus*? Surely, whosoever readeth the Story of *Alexander*, shall find that there is no River in *Asia*, that can exceed *Indus*. For *Hydaspis* was of that breadth and depth, as *Alexander* thereon in great *Gallies* transported himself, and the greatest part of his Army, and in sailing down that branch of *Indus*, found it so large and deep, and by reason thereof so great a billow, as it endangered his whole Fleet, which was ready to be swallowed up therein: *Hydaspis* (as aforesaid) being but one of many branches of *Indus*, comparable to it, and as great as it, having besides this, the Rivers of *Coas*, of *Suastus*, *Acesines*, *Adris* (otherwise *Hirotis*,) *Hispalis*, and *Zaradui*, all which make but one *Indus*, and by it are swallowed up with all their children and companions, which being all incorporated and made one stream, it crosseth athwart *Asia*, and then at *Cambaia* visiteth the Ocean Sea.

But because *Pison*, which compasseth *Havilah*, as also *Gehon*, which watereth *Cush*, must somewhere be *Gen.* 2. 13. joyned with the rest in one body, or at least be found to proceed out of the same Country of *Eden*, out of which the other two heads do proceed; out of doubt they cannot either the one or the other be *Ganges*, or *Nilus*: For *Nilus* riseth in the uttermost of the South, and runneth Northward into the *Mediterrane* Sea, and the River *Ganges* riseth out of the Mountain *Imaus*, or (as others will have it) *Caucasus*, which divides the Northern *Scythia* from *India*, and runneth from North to South into the *Indean Ocean*. And as for *Perath* and *Hiddekel* (that is, *Euphrates* and *Tygris*) the one of them is begotten in *Armenia*, near *Georgiana* or *Iberia*, the other is not far off in the same *Armenia*, by the *Georgian* Mountains; so as *Ganges*, who only travaileth in her own *India*, and *Nilus* through *Ethiopia* and *Egypt*, never saw the land of *Eden*, or joyned themselves in one channel, either with themselves, or with either of the other; and therefore could not at any time from thence be separated, or divided into four heads or branches, according to *Moses*.

Therefore the River *Pison*, which inricheth *Havilah*, is the same which by joyning it self with *Tygris*, was therefore called *Pisi-Tygris* or *Piso-Tygris*, of *Pison* and *Tygris*, which River watereth that *Havilah*, *Gen.* 2. 9. 12. which *Havilah* the son of *Cush* gave name unto, and not *Havilah* of *India*, so called of *Havilah* the Son of *Joctan*, who inhabited with his brother *Ophir* in the East. And this *Havilah* of the *Cushites* had also Gold, Bdellium, and the Onyx stone. This Bdellium is a Tree of the bigness of an Olive, whereof *Arabia* hath great plenty, which yieldeth a certain Gum sweet to smell to, but bitter in taste, called also Bdellium. The *Hebrews* take the Loadstone for Bdellium. *Beroaldus* affirmeth, that *Bdela* in *Hebrew* signifieth Pearl: so doth *Eugubinus*; and *Hierom* calls it *Oleaster*: be it what it will, a Tree bearing Gum or Pearl, *Havilah* or *Susiana* hath plenty of both. Now this Country of *Susiana* or *Havilah*, stretcheth it self towards the North as far as the Altars of *Hercules*, and from thence imbraceth all the Tract of Land Southward, as far as the *Persian Gulfe*, on the East side thereof: from which East side had the *Shebans* (which traded with the City of *Tyre* according to *Ezekiel*) their great plenty of Gold; which *Strabo* also witnesseth, as was shewed before.

The *Greeks* had a conceit, that *Pison* was *Danubius*: *Strab.* the *Rabbins* take it for *Nilus*. *Aben-Ezra* (saith *Hopkins*) out of *Rabbi Saadia*, translateth *Pison* into *Nilus*: *Hopk. de Par.* But *Nilus* findeth the same impossibility that *Ganges* doth: and *Danubius* hath the Sea of *Hellespont*, and all *Asia* the less between it and *Tygris*. Now *Pison*, which runneth through *Havilah* or *Susiana*, doth to this day retain some signe of this name, for where it and *Tygris* embraceth each other under the City of *Apamia*, there do they agree of a joynt and compounded name, and are called *Piso-Tygris*. And it is strange unto me, that from so great antiquity there should be found remaining any resembling sound of the first name: for *Babylon* it self, which dwelleth so near these *Polit. Cosmog.* Rivers, is by some writers known by the name of *Banmag-das*, as, by *Postellus*: by *Castaldus*, of *Balduch*: by *Barius*, of *Bagdad*; and of *Bonghedar*, by *Andrew Thevet*; *Thevet.* and yet all those that have lately seen it, call it *Bag-* *Cosmog.* *det*. To this River of *Pison* *Ptolemy* indeed with many *Asiæ tab.* 4 others give the name of *Basilius* or *Regius*, and *Gehon* they term *Maharsares*, and *Marsias*, and *Baarsares*. So *Plin. lib.* is *Euphrates*, near the Spring and Fountain, by *Strabo* 5. c. 24. and *Pliny* called *Pixirates*: by *Junius*, *Puck-perah*, out of the *Hebrew* (that is) The profusion, or coming forth of *Euphrates*: where it breaketh through the Mountain *Taurus*, it takes the name of *Omyra*. *Plutarch* calls

it

it *Medus* and *Zaranda*: the *Hebrews Parath* (saith *Ar. Montanus:*) *Pagninus*, *Perath*: *Josephus*, *Phorah*; *Eusebius*, *Zosimus*: *Ammianus*, *Chalymicus*: *Gistilianus* and *Colinutius*, term it *Cobar*: which *Ezechiel* calleth *Chebar*; but this is but a branch of *Euphrates*. The *Assyrians* know it by the name of *Armalchar*, or *Nahor Malcha*: but now commonly it is called *Frat*.

The same confusion of names hath *Tygris*, as *Diglito* and *Diglath*, *Seilax* and *Sollax*: of the *Hebrews* it was called *Hiddekel*: now of the inhabitants, *Tegil*.

But *Mercer* upon *Genesis* conceiveth rightly of these Rivers: for *Euphrates* and *Tygris* (saith he) stream into four branches; two of which keep their antient names, and the other two are called *Pison* and *Gehon*. The reason why these two Rivers, joyned in one (below *Apamia*,) lose their names and are called *Pisi-Tygris*, and the memory of *Euphrates* extinguished, is, because the best part of *Euphrates* running through the channel of *Gehon*, sinketh into the Lakes of *Chaldea*, not far from *Ur*, the City of *Abraham*, and fall not entirely into the *Persian* Sea, as *Tygris*, accompanied with *Pison*, doth.

This errour, That *Pison* was *Ganges*, was first broached by *Josephus*, (whose fields, though they be fertile, yet are they exceeding full of weeds) and other men (who take his authourity to be sufficient in matter of description, whereupon depended no other important consequence) were not curious in the examination thereof. For, *Epiphanius*, *Augustine*, and *Hierom*, take this for currant; whereof it followed, that as *Pison* was transported into the *East India* to find out *Havilah*: so was *Gehon* drawn into *Africa* to compass *Æthiopia*. But if *Havilah*, whereof *Moses* speaketh in the description of *Paradise*, be found to be a Region, adjoyning to *Babylon* on the one side, and *Cush* (which is falsly interpreted *Æthiopia*) fastned to it on the other side, we shall not need then to work wonders (that is) to impose upon men the transportation of Rivers, from one end of the World to the other, which (among other uses) were made to transport men. Now it was in the Valley of *Shinar*, where *Cush* the Son of *Ham* first sate down with his Sons *Sheba*, *Havilah*, *Sabtah*, *Raamah*, *Nimrod*, &c. And of *Havilah*, the Son of *Cush* did that Region take name, which *Pison* compasseth; and the Land (called *Cush*) which *Gehon* watereth, took name of *Cush* himself. For as the Sons of *Jectan*, *Ophir*, and *Havilah*, seated themselves as near together as they could in *India*, so did the Sons of *Cush* in *Shinar*, or *Babylonia*, where *Nimrod* built *Babel*: for *Havilah*, or *Chavilah*, was first *Chusea*, of *Cush*; then *Chusa*, *Susa*, and *Susiana*.

From this *Havilah* unto the Desarts of *Sur*, did the *Israelites* and *Amalekites* possess all the interjacent Countries: for *Saul* smote the *Amalekites* from *Havilah* to *Sur*: which *Sur*, the *Chaldean* Paraphrast converteth *Hagra*, and *Hagra* bordereth the Red-Sea. 1 *Sam.* 15. 7. But this was not meant from *Sur* upon the Red-Sea, to *Havilah* in the *East India*, for *Saul* was no such Travailer or Conquerour, and therefore *Havilah* must be found nearer home, where the Sons of *Ismael* inhabited, and which Country *Saul* wasted: for *Amalek* and the *Amalekites* possess'd that neck of Country, between the *Persian* Sea, and the Red Sea, *Havilah* being the extream of the one, towards the East, and *Sur* of the other, towards *Egypt* and the West, leaving that great body of *Arabia felix* towards the South, and they spread themselves with the *Midianites* and *Edumæans*, from the East-part, or backside of the Holy Land, to the banks of *Euphrates*, comprising the best part of *Arabia Petræa*, and *Deserta*.

SECT. XIV.

Of the River Gehon, and the Land of Cush, and of the ill translating of Ethiopia for Cush, 2. Chron. 21. 16.

NOw as *Havilah* in the *East India* drew *Pison* so far out of his way thither, so I say did *Cush* (being by the Seventy translated *Ethiopia*) force *Gehon* into *Africa*. For *Cush* being taken for *Ethiopia* by the *Grecks*, whom the *Latines* followed, *Gehon* consequently was esteemed for *Nilus*. But *Ethiopians* are, as much as *black or burntfaces*, whose proper Country called *Thebaides*, lyeth to the Southward of all *Egypt*. And although there be many other Regions of *Ethiopians*, and far South in *Africa*; yet those of *Thebaides* are those so often remembred in the *Egyptian* stories, and out of which Nation they had many times their Kings of *Egypt*: all which *Ethiopians* are very near, or else directly under the *Equinoctial line*, which is very far from this Land inhabited by the *Chusites*, who are neither black of colour, nor in any sort neighbouring *Torrida Zona*. But this translation of the Septuagint, *Pererius* doth qualifie in this manner: There are (saith he) two *Ethiopia*'s, the East, and West: and this division he findeth in *Strabo*, out of *Homer*. Now because there is no colour to make *Chus Ethiopia* in *Africa*, *Pererius* will make *Chush* and the land of the *Chusites* (which is *Arabia Petræa*, and part of *Arabia the Happy*, with the Region of *Madian*) to be the East *Ethiopia*. See more of this point c. 7. Sect. 10.

Now, if it be granted, that *Chush*, and the Land of the *Chushites* be that Tract from *Sur* to *Havilah*, according to the Scriptures: *Habitavit Ismael ab Havilah usque Sur, quæ respicit Ægyptum introeuntibus Assyrios*, Ismael *dwelt from* Havilah *unto* Sur, *that is, towards* Egypt, *as thou goest toward* Assyria. The same sufficeth to prove that *Gehon* cannot be *Nilus*, but a River that Watereth *Cush*, and not *Æthiopia*. But this place of Scripture, *Habitavit Ismael*, &c. hath this sense: *Ismael* dwelt from *Havilah*, which is the way of *Assyria*, or the Country bordering *Assyria*; and *Sur*, which lieth toward *Egypt*, which is as much to say, as, The issues of *Ishmael* (where there were twelve Princes) whom God had promised to make a great people, inhabited all those Regions between the border of *Egypt* and *Assyria*. And that they were (according to the Word of God) so increased and multiplied, it well appeared, when *Zerah* the *Chusite*, which others call *Tharantha*, brought an Armie of ten Hundred thousand against *Asa* King of *Juda*. Which Army came not out of *Æthiopia* beyond *Egypt*; for that had been a strange progress for such a multitude, as ten Hundred thousand, having so mighty a King as the King of *Egypt*, between *Palestina* and *Æthiopia*. But these were the *Chusites*, *Amalekites*, *Madianites*, *Ismaelites*, and *Arabians*. For it is written, that after *Asa* (strengthened by God) had defeated this World of an Armie, he in following his Victory took some of the Cities of King *Zerah* round about, as *Gerar*. Now, that *Gerar* is a City of the *Æthiopians*, it cannot be suspected: for these be the words of the Scripture disproving it: *And Abraham departed thence, toward the South Countrey, and dwelt between* Kadesh *and sojourned in* Gerar: Now *Sur* is that part upon which *Moses* and the *Israelites* first set their feet after they passed the Red-Sea, where the *Amalekites* in *Rephidim* set on them, supposing that they had been weary, and unable to resist. Again, in the Story of *Isaac* it is written: *Wherefore* Isaac *went to* Abimelech, *and the* Philistines *unto* Gerar: and I am sure *Abimelech* and

Gen. 25. 18

Vers. 16.

2 *Chron.* 14. 9.

Gen. 10. *v.* 11. *Exod.* 17. 8

Exod. 10. 19.

and the *Philiſtines* were no *Æthiopians*. And laſtly, *Moſes* himſelf, where he deſcribeth the bounds of *Canaan*, hath theſe words; *Then the border of the* Canaanites *was from* Sydon, *as thou comeſt to* Gerar: for *Sydon* was the frontier of *Canaan* towards the North, and *Gerar* by *Gaza* towards the South. But indeed, howſoever *Pererius* doth, with an honeſt excuſe, ſalve this Tranſlation of *Chus* for *Æthiopia*; yet it appeareth plainly, that the *Septuagint* and *Joſephus* did altogether miſ-underſtand this place. And firſt, for *Homer*'s Eaſt and Weſt *Æthiopia*, they are both found elſewhere: For *Pliny* in his fifth Book, and eighth Chapter, citeth *Homer* for an Authour of theſe two *Æthiopia*'s. But the Eaſt *Æthiopia* is that which compaſſeth *Nilus* to the South of *Egypt*, and is the South border thereof; now a part of the Empire of the *Abiſſines* under *Preſter John*; And the Weſt *Æthiopia* is that which joyneth it ſelf with the River *Niger*, which we call *Senega* and *Gambra*: for thereabouts are theſe *Æthiopians* called *Perorſi*, *Dararites*, with divers other names, which *Pliny* numbreth. But all theſe are in *Africa*, and beyond the Deſarts thereof, ſaith *Pliny* out of *Homer*, *Agrippa* and *Juba*; which Regions indeed (I mean that of *Niger*, and that of *Preſter John*, and the *Troglodites*) lie due Eaſt and Weſt. But as for *Cuſh*, and the Region of the *Iſmaelites*, &c. they are extended directly North from that *Æthiopia*, which is beyond *Egypt*. Now, that *Joſephus* was exceeding groſs herein, it appeareth by that fiction which he hath of *Moſes* when he ſerved *Pharaoh*, in the Wars againſt the *Æthiopians*: for in that (to make *Chus*, *Æthiopia*) he tranſporteth *Madian* by miracle over the Red-Sea, and beyond all *Egypt*, and ſetteth it in *Æthiopia*, as ſhall be ſhewed more at large in the Chapter of the World's Plantation. Again, that *Gehon* was improperly tranſlated *Nilus*, *Pererius* confeſſeth, and layeth it rather to the corruption of the *Greek* Copy, than otherwiſe. And whereas the *Septuagint* have converted this place of the Prophet *Hieremie*; *And what haſt thou now to do in the way of* Egypt, *to drink the water of* Nilus? *Quid tibi vis in via* Egypti, *ut bibas aquam* Gehon? To this ſaith *Pererius*, *profectò* Hebraicè *ibi non eſt vox* Gehon, *ſed* Sichor, *quæ ſignificat Nigrum & turbidum*: *Truly* (ſaith *Pererius*) *the word* Gehon *in this place, is not found in the* Hebrew, *but* Sichor; *which ſignifieth black and troubled water.*

Plin. l. 5. c. 8.

C. 2. v. 18.

Furthermore, this is a manifeſt and unanſwerable Argument, That *Chus* was ill taken for *Æthiopia*. *Moſes* married the Daughter of *Jethro*, Prince and Prieſt of *Madian*, whom both the *Greek* and *Latine* call a *Madianite*, and not *Æthiopiſſan*, as (with *Joſephus*) the *Geneva* converts it, though it help it a little with a Marginal Note. Now it is without diſpute, that *Zipporah* was of the Countrey of *Madian*, which is that part of *Arabia Petræa*, bordering the Red Sea; for it is written in the ſecond of *Exodus*, that *Moſes fled from* Pharaoh *into the Land of* Midian, *and ſate down by a Well*, &c. And again, in the third of *Exodus*; *When* Moſes *kept the Sheep of* Jethro, *his Father-in-law, Prieſt of* Madian, &c. Indeed, theſe four Nations are every where mixt in the Scriptures, becauſe they dwell confuſedly together (to wit) the *Madianites*, the *Iſmaelites*, the *Amalekites*, and the *Chuſites*, which were all, in one general word, *Arabians*; and in the Scriptures ſometimes called by one of theſe names, and ſometimes by another; as in *Gen.* 37. *v.* 25, 27, 28. that *Joſeph* was ſold to the *Iſmaelites*; and in the ſame Chapter, *v.* 36. it is written, that the *Madianites* ſold *Joſeph* to *Potiphar*, *Pharaoh*'s Steward. The *Genevians*, in a Marginal Note (to avoid this confounding of the Nations) ſay, that *Moſes* wrote according to their opinion, who took the *Madianites* and *Iſmaelites* to be all one. But *Moſes* wrote not after any man's opinion, he wrote the truth; and theſe were all *Arabians*: and ſo in this very place it appeareth by their Merchandiſe, which they brought with them, when they bought *Joſeph*: for their Camels were loaden with Spicerie, and Balm, and Myrrhe, which are the Trades of *Arabia Fœlix*: from whence chiefly, and from the *Eaſt India*, all the World is ſerved with Myrrhe and Frankincenſe; and their Spices they received from the Eaſt ſide of the *Arabian* Gulf, as aforeſaid. And in the 39. Chapter, it is ſaid, That *Potiphar* bought *Joſeph* of the *Iſmaelites*, which the *Chaldean Paraphraſt* in the ſame place calleth *Arabians*. Now to make this the more manifeſt, it is written, *Judg.* 6. That when *Iſrael* had ſown, then came up the *Madianites*, and the *Amalekites*, and they of the Eaſt, and came upon them: They of the Eaſt were *Arabians* of the Deſart; ſo as where before in the buying of *Joſeph*, the *Madianites* and the *Iſmaelites* were confuſed, here the *Madianites* and the *Amalekites* are made one Nation. For in the proſecution of the Story of *Gedeon*, the *Madianites* onely are named, as comprehending both Nations; and in the Eighth Chapter, *verſ.* 24. theſe Nations are called *Iſmaelites*, and neither *Madianites*, nor *Amalekites*. As when *Gedeon* deſired that every man would give him the golden Ear-Rings, which they had taken after the Victory againſt *Zeba* and *Zalmunna*, Kings of *Arabia*, amounting to 1700 ſhekels of Gold, it is written; *For they had golden Ear-Rings, becauſe they were* Iſmaelites. And theſe *Iſmaelites* were a great and valiant Nation, and ever in action of War. *Manus ejus contra omnes, & manus omnium contra eum*; *His hand* (ſaith God, of *Iſmael*) *ſhall be againſt all men, and every man's hand againſt him.* Of theſe *Iſmaelites* come the *Mahometan Arabians*, though ſome Writers think *Mahomet* to be of the *Schenitæ*. And theſe *Iſmaelites*, which inhabit chiefly in *Cedar*, and the Deſarts of *Sur* and *Pharan* (ſaith *Joſephus*) uſe poyſon upon their Arrows, as the *Indians* do. Toward the South-Eaſt are the *Madianites*, and *Chuſites*: and beyond them towards the Deſarts of *Arabia*, the *Amalekites*, and all are one Nation, and all *Arabians*.

Exod. 2. 21. & 3. 1. *Numb.* 12. 1.

Verſe 15. *Verſe* 1.

Verſe 10.

Verſe 3.

Chap. 7. *C.* 8. *v.* 24.

Gen. 16. 12.

Laſtly, The ill Tranſlation of *Æthiopia* for *Chus*, is, among other places, made moſt apparent in the ſecond of *Chronicles*, in theſe words: *So the Lord ſtirred up againſt* Jehoram *the ſpirit of the* Philiſtines, *and the* Arabians, *which confine the* Æthiopians; ſo *Hierome* reads it: The *Geneva* Tranſlation hath it, *Which were beſides the* Æthiopians. Now, how far it is off between the *Philiſtines* and the *Negro*'s, or the *Æthiopians*, every man that looketh in a Map may judge. For the *Philiſtines* and *Arabians* do mix and joyn with the Land of the *Chuſites*, and are diſtant from *Æthiopia* about 32. or 33. degrees; and therefore not their next neighbours; but all *Egypt*, and the Deſart of *Sur* and *Pharan* are between them. So as this place of the ſecond of *Chronicles*, ſhould have been tranſlated in theſe words; *So the Lord ſtirred up againſt* Jehoram, *the ſpirits of the* Philiſtines, *and the* Arabians, *which confine and border upon the* Chuſites, who indeed are their next Neighbours. * *Nulla ſupereſt dubitatio quin* Æthiopia *in ſacris literis ſit* Arabia *propinqua*; *There remaineth no doubt* (ſaith *Steuchius*) *but* Æthiopia *in the Scriptures, is taken for that Countrey which joyneth to* Arabia.

2 Chro. 21. 16.

* *Steuch. Eugub. in Gen. c.* 2.

Now, may we think, is it probable, or poſſible, that *Moſes* could be ignorant of *Nilus*? No, he knew it, no living man ſo well, and therefore would never have named *Gehon* for *Nilus*, or *Nilus* for *Gehon*. Surely, if *Moſes* had meant *Nilus*, when he named *Gehon*, he would have called the River (into which he was caſt upon Reeds, and preſerved by God, working compaſſion in the Daughter of *Pharaoh*) a River of *Egypt*, wherein

Exod. 2.

wherein he was born and bred, and wrought so many miracles. Besides, the River of *Nilus* is often named in the Scriptures, but never by the name of *Gehon*. And if *Moses* had told the *Israelites*, that *Nilus* had been a River of *Paradise*, they might justly have thought, that he had derided them: for they had lived there all days of their lives, and found no such *Paradise* at all, nor any memory, or speech thereof, except we shall believe the *Paradise* of *Hesperides*, where (saith *Pliny*) there was nothing found in his time, but wilde Olives instead of golden Apples. But *Nilus* is twice called *Sichor*, once in *Isaiah*, and once in the Prophet *Jeremy*; and yet in those places it is not said to be a River of *Æthiopia*, but of *Egypt*. For in a word, the *Israelites* had never any communion or affairs with the *Æthiopians*, nor any intelligence or trade beyond *Egypt*, to the South; but the enemies which they had on the South, and East parts, were these Nations of the *Chusites*, *Philistines*, *Ismaelites*, *Amalekites*, and *Madianites*: who being often governed by many little Kings, or *Reguli*, were distinguished in names, according to the Fathers or Heads of those Nations; but in one general name were all *Arabians*. On the North side of *Canaan*, they were afflicted with the *Cœlo-Syrians*, with the *Magogians*, *Tubalites*, and others their adherents. And thirdly, within themselves, the Nations which remained of the ancient *Canaanites*, held the strongest Cities upon the Sea-Coast, as *Tyre*, *Sidon*, *Acon*, *Gaza*, and many others; yea, *Jerusalem* it self was with-held from *Israel*, from the days of *Moses*, even unto the time of *David*, by the *Jebusites*.

Plin. l. 5. c. 1. c. 23. v. 3. c. 2. v. 18.

That which now remaineth of most difficulty, is, that it doth not appear that any part of *Gehon* watereth that part of *Arabia* the Stony, which the *Chusites* inhabited in the times of the Kings of *Israel*: and in this *Desart* it was, that *Matt. Beroaldus* lost himself in seeking out *Paradise*: for he was driven (to my understanding) to create two Rivers, and call them *Gehon* and *Pison*; to the end that the one might water *Chus*, and the other *Havilah*; for I find none such *In rerum Natura*, as he hath described: by which Rivers he also includeth within *Paradise*, even *Arabia* the Desart.

And as he well proved that *Pison* was not *Ganges*, nor *Gehon Nilus*; so where to find them elsewhere, it seemeth he knew not. Certainly, this River of *Gehon*, which he maketh to fall into the *Mediterrane* at *Gaza*, and whose Springs he findeth far East in *Arabia*, is but imaginary; for the Current by *Gaza*, is but a small stream, rising between it and the Red-Sea, whose head from *Gaza* it self is little more than twenty *English* miles, as shall appear hereafter. But questionless, hence it comes that many were mistaken. They all considered of the habitations of the *Chusites*, as they were planted when the state of *Israel* stood, and when it flourished, being then their near Neighbours, and never looked back to the first seats and Plantation of *Chus*. For after the Flood, *Chus* and his Children never rested, till they found the Valley of *Shinar*, in which, and near which himself, with his Sons, first inhabited. *Havilah* took the River-side of *Tygris* chiefly on the East, which after his own name he called *Havilah*, (now *Susiana*:) *Raamah*, and *Sheba* farther down the River, in the entrance of *Arabia Felix*. *Nimrod* seated himself in the best of the Valley, where he built *Babel*, whereof that Region had afterwards the name of *Babylonia*. *Chus* himself and his brother *Mizraim* first kept upon *Gehon*, which falleth in the Lakes of *Chaldæa*; and in process of time, and as their People increased, they drew themselves more Westerly towards the *Red* or *Arabian* Sea: from whence *Mizraim* past over into *Egypt*, in which Tract the *Chusites* remained for many years after. Now, because there could be no such River found in *Arabia* the Stony, which they might entitle *Gehon*, they translated *Chus*, *Æthiopia*; and *Gehon*, *Nilus*. And if we do examine this mistaking by example, we shall the better perceive it as it was. For let us suppose, that *Brute*, or whosoever else that first peopled this Island, had arrived upon the River of *Thames*, and called the Island after his name *Britannia*, it might be said that *Thames* or *Tems* was a River that watered *Britannia*: and when afterwards, in process of time, the same *Brute* had also discovered and conquered *Scotland*, which he also entituled by the same name of *Britannia*, after-Ages might conclude that *Scotland* was no part thereof, because the River of *Tems* is not found therein. Or let us suppose that *Europa*, the Daughter of the King of *Tyre* in *Phœnicia*, gave the name to *Europe*, according to *Herodotus*, and that the first discoverers thereof arrived in the mouth of the River of *Thrace*, which then watered as much of *Europe*, as he first discovered; shall we in like sort resolve that *France*, *Spain*, *Italy*, &c. are no parts of *Europe*, because that River is not found in them, or any of them? In like manner was it said by *Moses* in his description of *Gehon*, that it watered the whole Land of *Chus*; but not the whole Land which the *Chusites* should, or might in future time conquer, people, and inhabit; seeing in after-ages they became Lords of many Nations, and they might (perchance) have been Masters in time, (as the *Saracens*, which came of them, were) of a great part of the World. For, though the *Babylonian* Empire which took beginning in *Nimrod* the Son of *Chus*, consisted at the first but of four Cities, (to wit) *Babel*, *Erech*, *Acad*, and *Chalne*; yet we find, that his Successours within a few years after, commanded all the whole World in effect: and the fame of *Babel* consumed the memory of *Chusea*. For of this *Tower of Confusion* did all that Land take the name of *Babylonia*: and the greatness of that Empire founded by *Nimrod* a younger Son, obscured the name and Nation of his Father *Cush* in those parts, until they crept farther off, and in places not yet entituled, and farther from the *Babylonian* Empire, where the *Chusites* retained their names, which also they fastned to the Soil and Territory, by themselvess afterward inhabited and held. And we may not think, that *Chus*, or any of his, could in hast creep through those desart Regions, which the length of 130. years after the Flood had (as it were) fortified with Thickets, and permitted every Bush and Bryar, Reed and Tree, to joyn themselves (as it were) into one main Body and Forrest. For if we look with judgment and reason into the Worlds Plantation, we shall find, that every Family seated themselves as near together as possibly they could; and though necessity enforced them, after they grew full of People, to spread themselves, and creep out of *Shinar*, or *Babylonia*; yet did they it with this advice, as that they might at all times resort and succour one another by River, the Fields being then (without all doubt) impassible. So *Nimrod*, who out of wit and strength usurped dominion over the rest, sate down in the very confluence of all those Rivers, which watered *Paradise*: for thither it was, to which the greatest troops of *Noah*'s Children repaired; and from the same place whence Mankind had his beginning, from thence had they again their increase. The first Father of men, *Adam*, had therein his former habitation: The second Father of Mankind, *Noah*, began from thence his dispersion.

Herod. l. 1. and 4.

Now as *Nimrod* the youngest, yet strongest, made his choyce of *Babel* (as aforesaid) which both *Tygris* and *Euphrates* cleansed and enriched; so did *Havilah*

place

place himself upon *Piso-Tygris*; *Raamah* and his Son *Sheba* farther down upon the same River, on the Sea-coast of *Arabia*: *Chush* himself upon *Gehon*, the fairest branch of *Euphrates*. And when they began to spread themselves farther off, yet they alwayes fastened themselves to the Rivers sides: for *Ninive*, *Charran*, *Reseph*, *Canneh*, *Ur* in *Chaldea*, and the other first-peopled Cities were all founded upon these Navigable Rivers, or their branches; by which the one might give succour and assistance to the other, as is already often remembred.

SECT. XV.

A conclusion, by way of repetition of something spoken of before.

But now to conclude this Dispute; It appeareth to me by the testimonies of the Scripture, that *Paradise* was a place created by God, and a part of this our Earth and habitable World, seated in the lower part of the Region of *Eden*, afterward called *Aram juviorum*, or *Mesopotamia*, which taketh into it also a portion of *Shinar* and *Armenia*: this Region standing in the most excellent temper of all other (to wit) 35. degrees from the *Æquinoctial*, and 55. from the North-pole: in which Climate, the most excellent Wines, Fruits, Oyl, Grain of all sorts, are to this day found in abundance. And there is nothing that better proveth the excellency of this said soil and temper, than the abundant growing of the Palm-Trees, without the care and labour of man. For wherein soever the Earth, Nature, and the Sun can most vaunt that they have excelled; yet shall this Plant be the greatest wonder of all their works: This Tree alone giveth unto man whatsoever his life beggeth at Nature's hand. And though it may be said, that these Trees are found both in the East and West-*Indies*, which Countries are also blessed with a perpetual Spring and Summer; yet, lay down by those pleasures and benefits, the fearful and dangerous Thunders and Lightnings, the horrible and frequent Earth-quakes, the dangerous diseases, the multitude of venomous Beasts and Worms, with other inconveniences; and then there will be found no comparison between one and the other.

What other excellencies this Garden of *Paradise* had, before God (for man's ingratitude and cruelty) cursed the Earth, we cannot judge; but I may safely think, that by how much *Adam* exceeded all living men in perfection, by being the immediate workmanship of God, by so much did that chosen and particular Garden exceed all parts of the Universal World, in which God had planted (that is) made to grow the Trees of Life, and of Knowledge; Plants only proper and becoming the *Paradise*, and Garden of so grand a Lord.

The sum of all this is; That whereas the eyes of men in this Scripture have been dim-sighted (some of them finding *Paradise* beyond our known World: some, above the middle Region of the Air: some, elevated near the Moon: others, as far South as the Line, or as far North as the Pole, &c.) I hope that the Reader will be sufficiently satisfied, that these were but like Castles in the Air, and in mens fancies vainly imagined. For it was Eastward in *Eden* (saith *Moses*;) Eastward in respect of *Judea*, that God planted this Garden; which *Eden* we find in the Prophets where it was, and whereof the name (in some part) remaineth to this day. A River went out of *Eden* to water this Garden, and from thence divided it self into four branches; and we find that both *Tygris* and *Euphrates* swimming through *Eden* do joyn in one, and afterward taking wayes apart, do water *Chus* and *Havilah*, according to *Moses*, the true seats of *Chus* and his sons being then in the Valley of *Shinar*, in which *Nimrod* built *Babel*. That *Pison* was *Ganges*, the Scripture, reason, and experience teach the contrary: for that which was never joyned, cannot be divided; *Ganges*, which inhabiteth *India*, cannot be a branch of the Rivers of *Eden*; That *Gehon* was *Nilus*, the same distance maketh the same impossibility; and this River is a greater stranger to *Tygris* and *Euphrates*, then *Ganges* is: for although there are between *Tygris* and *Ganges* above four thousand miles, yet they both rise in the same quarter of the World; but *Nilus* is begotten in the Mountains of the Moon, almost as far off as the *Cape of Good hope*, and falleth into the *Mediterrane* Sea: and *Euphrates* distilleth out of the Mountains of *Armenia*, and falleth into the *Gulf of Persia*: the one riseth in the South, and travaileth North; the other riseth in the North, and runneth South, threescore and three degrees the one from the other. In this leaf following, I have added a *Chorographical* description of this Terrestrial *Paradise*, that the Reader may thereby the better conceive the preceding Discourse; and this is the reward I look for, that my labour may but receive an allowance suspended, until such time as this description of mine be reproved by a better.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Of the two chief Trees in the Garden of Paradise.

SECT. I.

That the Tree of Life was a material Tree; and in what sense it is to be taken, that Man by his eating the forbidden Fruit, is made subject to death.

FOr eating the forbidden fruit of the Tree of Knowledge, was *Adam* driven out of *Paradise*, *In exilium vitæ temporalis, Into the banishment of temporal life*, saith *Beda*. That these Trees of Life and Knowledge were material Trees (though Figures of the Law and of the Gospel) it is not doubted by the most religious and learned Writers: although the wits of men, which are so volatile as nothing can fix them, and so slippery as nothing can fasten them, have in this also delivered to the World, an imaginary doctrine.

The Tree of Life (say the *Hebrews*) hath a Plural construction, and is to be understood, *Lignum vitarum*, *The Tree of lives*, because the fruit thereof had a property, to preserve both the growing, sensitive, and rational life of man; and not only (but for *Adam*'s transgression) had prolonged his own dayes, but also given a dureful continuance to all his posterity; and that, so long, as a body compounded of Elements could last.

Som. Sept. 2. li. 174.

And although it is hard to think, that flesh and blood could be immortal, but that it must once perish and rot, by the unchanged Law of God imposed on his Creatures; Man (notwithstanding) should have enjoyed thereby a long, beautiful, and ungrieved life: after which (according to the opinion of most Divines) he should have been translated, as *Enoch* was. And, as before the Flood the dayes of men had the long measure of eight hundred or nine hundred years; and soon after the Flood of two hundred years and upwards, even to five hundred: so if *Adam* had not disobeyed God's first and easie Commandment, the lives of men on Earth might have continued double, treble, or quadruple to any of the longest times of the first Age, as many learned men have conceived. *Chrysostom*, *Rupertus*, *Tostatus*, and others were of belief, that (but for *Adam*'s fall and transgression) *Adam* and his Posterity had been immortal. But such is the infinite Wisdom of God, as he foresaw that the Earth could not have contained Mankind; or else, that millions of Souls must have been ungenerated, and have had no being, if the first number wherewith the Earth was replenished, had abode thereon for ever: And therefore that of *Chrysostom* must be understood of immortality of bodies, which should have been translated and glorified.

But of what kind or *Species* this Tree of Life was, no man hath taken on him to teach: in which respect many have conceived, that the same was not material, but a meer *Allegorie*; taking their strength out of *Solomon*, where Wisdom is compared to the Tree of Life, and from other places, where also *Christ* is called the Tree of Life; as out of the *Apocalypse*, *I will give to him that overcometh, to eat of the Tree of life which is in the Paradise of God.* But to this place Saint *Augustine*'s answer may suffice, (which is) That the one doth not exclude the other, but that, as there was a Terrestrial *Paradise*, so there was a Celestial. For although *Agar* and *Sarah* were Figures of the *Old* and *New Testament*; yet to think that they were not Women, and the Maid and Wife of *Abraham*, were meer foolishness. And so in this place, the sense of the Scripture is manifest; For *God brought out of the Earth every Tree fair to the sight, and sweet to the taste; the Tree also of Life in the midst of the Garden:* Which sheweth, that among the Trees, which the Earth by God's commandment produced, the Tree of Life was one, and that the fruit thereof was also to be eaten. The report of this Tree was also brought to the ancient Poets: for as from the indigested matter or *Chaos*, *Hesiod*, *Homer*, *Ovid*, and others, steal the invention of the created World; so from the Garden of *Paradise* they took the Platform of the Orchard of *Alcinous*, and another of the *Hesperides*: and from the Tree of *Life*, their *Nectar* and *Ambrosia*; for *Nectar*, according to *Suidas*, signifieth *making young*; and *Ambrosia*, *immortality*; and therefore said to be the meat and drink of the gods.

Apocal. 2. 7.

SECT. II.

Of Becanus *his Opinion, That the Tree of Knowledge was* Ficus Indica.

NOw, for the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, some men have presumed farther, especially *Goropius Becanus*, who giveth himself the honour to have found out the kind of this Tree, which none of the Writers of former times could ever guess at, whereat *Goropius* much marvelled. But as he had an inventive brain, so there never lived any man, that believed better thereof, and of himself. Surely, howsoever his opinion may be valued, yet he usurpeth the praise due to others, at least if the invention be at that price at which he setteth it. For *Moses Bar-Cephas* fastened on this conjecture above six hundred years before *Becanus* was born: and *Bar-Cephas* himself referreth the invention to an antiquity more remote, citing for his Author *Philoxenus Mabugensis*, and others, whose very words *Goropius* useth, both concerning the Tree, and the reasons wherewith he would induce other men to that belief. For *Moses Bar-Cephas* in his Treatise of *Paradise* (the first Part, and *fol.* 48. saith, That the Tree of Knowledge was *Ficus Indica*, *The Indian Fig-tree*; of which the greatest plenty (saith *Becanus*) are found upon the banks of *Acesines*, one of the Rivers which falleth into *Indus*, where *Alexander* built his Fleet of Gallies, in or near the Kingdom of *Porus*.

This

This Tree beareth a fruit of the bigneſs of a great Peaze, or (as *Pliny* reporteth) ſomewhat bigger; and that it is a Tree, *Se ſemper ſerens*, *Alwayes planting it ſelf*; that it ſpreadeth it ſelf ſo far abroad, as that a troop of Horſe-men may hide themſelves under it. *Strabo* ſaith, that it hath branches bending downwards, and leaves no leſs than a ſhield. *Ariſtobulus* affirmeth, that fifty Horſe-men may ſhadow themſelves under one of theſe Trees. *Oneſicritus* raiſeth this number to four hundred. This Tree (ſaith *Theophraſtus*) exceeded all other in bigneſs, which alſo *Pliny* and *Oneſicritus* confirm: to the trunk of which, theſe Authors give ſuch a magnitude, as I ſhame to repeat. But it may be, they all ſpeak by an ill-underſtood report. For this *Indian* Fig-tree is not ſo rare a Plant as *Becanus* conceiveth, who, becauſe he found it no where elſe, would needs draw the Garden of *Paradiſe* to the Tree, and ſet it by the River *Aceſines*. But many parts of the World have them, and I my ſelf have ſeen twenty thouſand of them in one Valley, not far from *Paria* in *America*. They grow in moiſt grounds, and in this manner: After they are firſt ſhot up ſome twenty or thirty foot in length (ſome more, ſome leſs, according to the ſoil) they ſpread a very large top, having no bough nor twig in the trunk or ſtem: for from the utmoſt end of the head-branches, there iſſueth out a Gummy juyce which hangeth downward like a cord or ſinew, and within a few moneths reacheth the ground; which it no ſooner toucheth, but it taketh root, and then being filled both from the top-boughs, and from his own proper root, this cord maketh it ſelf a Tree exceeding haſtily. From the utmoſt boughs of theſe young Trees, there fall again the like cords, which in one year and leſs (in that World of a perpetual Spring) become alſo Trees of the bigneſs of the neather part of a Lance, and as ſtreight as Art or Nature can make any thing, caſting ſuch a ſhade, and making ſuch a kind of Grove, as no other Tree in the World can do. Now, one of theſe Trees conſidered, with all his young ones, may (indeed) ſhroud four hundred or four thouſand Horſe-men, if they pleaſe; for they cover whole Valleys of ground where theſe Trees grow near the Sea-bank, as they do by thouſands in the parts of *Trinidado*. The cords which fall down over the banks into the Sea, ſhooting alway downward to find root under water, are, in thoſe Seas of the *Indies* where Oyſters breed, intangled in their beds, ſo as by pulling up one of theſe cords out of the Sea, I have ſeen five hundred Oyſters hanging in a heap thereon; whereof the report came, That Oyſters grew on Trees in *India*. But that they bear any ſuch huge leaves, or any ſuch delicate fruit, I could never find, and yet I have travelled a dozen miles together under them. But to return to *Goropius Becanus*: This Tree (ſaith he) was good for meat, and pleaſing to the ſight, as the Tree of Knowledge of good and evil is deſcribed to be.

Plin. l. 11. *c.* 3.

Lib. 1. *cap.* 2.

Secondly, This Tree having ſo huge a trunk (as the former Authors report, and *Becanus* believeth) it was in this Tree that *Adam* and *Eve* hid themſelves from the preſence of God; for no other Tree (ſaith he) could contain them. But firſt it is certain, that this Tree hath no extraordinary magnitude, as touching the trunk or ſtem: for among ten thouſand of them, it is hard to find any one bigger than the reſt, and theſe are all of a mean ſize. Secondly, the words of *Moſes* tranſlated, *In medio ligni*, are by all the Interpreters underſtood in the plural number (that is) *in the midſt of the Trees*. But his third argument (or rather the argument of *Moſes Bar-Cephas*) word for word, is, That when *Adam* and *Eve* found themſelves naked, they made them breeches of Fig-leaves; which proveth (indeed) that either the Tree it ſelf was a Fig-tree, or that a Fig-tree grew near it: becauſe *Adam* being poſſeſs'd with ſhame, did not run up and down the Garden to ſeek out leaves to cover him, but found them in the place it ſelf; and theſe leaves of all other were the moſt commodious, by reaſon of their largeneſs; which *Pliny* avoweth in theſe words; *Latitudo foliorum peltæ effigiem Amazoniæ habet*; *The breadth of the leaves hath the ſhape of an Amazonian ſhield*: which alſo *Theophraſt* confirmeth; the form of which Targets *Virgil* toucheth:

Gen. 3. 7.

Plin. l. 12. *c.* 5.

Ducit Amazonium *lunatis agmina peltis*
Penthesilæa *furens*.

Virg. Æn. l. 1. 494.

The *Amazons* with Creſcent-formed ſhield
Penthesilæa leads into the field.

Here *Becanus* deſireth to be believed, or rather threatneth us all that read him, to give credit to this his borrowed diſcovery, uſing this confident (or rather cholerick) ſpeech: *Quis erit tam impudenter obſtinatus, ſi hæc à nobis, de ficu hac, ex antiquis ſcriptoribus cum* Moiſis *narratione comparet, ut audeat dicere, Aliam arborem inveniri poſſe, quæ cum illa magis quadret? Who will be ſo impudently obſtinate, if he compare theſe things which we have reported of this Fig-tree, and out of ancient Writers delivered, with the narration of* Moſes, *as to dare to avow, That any other Tree can be found, which doth more properly anſwer, or agree therewith?* But for my ſelf, becauſe I neither find this Tree, ſorting in body, in largeneſs of leaves, nor in fruit to this report; I rather encline to the opinion of *Philo*, That the Earth never brought forth any of theſe Trees, neither before nor after. But I leave every man to his own belief, for the matter is of no great weight as touching his kind; onely thereby, and by the eaſie Commandment by God given to *Adam*, to forbear to feed thereon, it pleaſed God to make trial of his obedience: *Prohibita non propter aliud quam ad commendandum puræ ac ſimplicis obedientiæ bonum; Being forbidden, not for any other reſpect, than thereby to commend the goodneſs of pure and ſimple Obedience.*

Auguſt. de Civit. Dei, l. 13. *c.* 20.

SECT. III.

Of Becanus *his not-unwitty allegorizing of the Story of his* Ficus Indica.

But in this I muſt do *Becanus* right, that he hath very wittily allegorized this Tree, allowing his ſuppoſition of the Tree it ſelf to be true. The effects whereof, becauſe his diſcourſes are exceeding ample, I have gathered in theſe few words. As this Tree (ſaith he) ſo did Man grow ſtraight and upright towards God, until ſuch time as he had tranſgreſſed and broken the Commandment of his Creatour; and then like unto the boughs of this Tree, he began to bend downward, and ſtooped toward the Earth, which all the reſt of *Adam's* Poſterity after him have done, rooting themſelves therein, and faſtning themſelves to this corrupt World. The exceeding umbragiouſneſs of this Tree, he compareth to the dark and ſhadowed life of man, through which the Sun of Juſtice being not able to pierce, we have all remained in the ſhadow of death, till it pleaſed *Chriſt* to climb the Tree of the Croſs for our enlightning and redemption. The little fruit which it beareth,

beareth, and which is hard to find among so many large leaves, may be compared (saith he) to the little virtue, and unperceived Knowledge among so large vanities, which obscure and shadow it over. And as this fruit is exceeding sweet, and delicate to the taste and palate: so are the delights and pleasures of the World most pleasing, while they dure. But as all those things which are most mellifluous, are soonest changed into choler and bitterness: so are our vanities and pleasures converted into the bittrest sorrows and repentances. That the leaves are so exceeding large, the fruit (for such leaves) exceeding little; in this, by comparison we behold (saith he) the many cares and great labours of worldly men, their sollicitude, their outward shews, and publick ostentation, their apparent pride and large vanities; and if we seek for the fruit, which ought to be their virtuous and pious actions, we find it of the bigness of the smallest peaze; glory, to all the World apparent; goodness, to all the World invisible. And furthermore, as the leaves, body and boughs of this Tree, by so much exceed all other Plants, as the greatest men of power and worldly ability surpass the meanest: so is the little fruit of such Men, and such Trees, rather fitting and becoming the unworthiest Shrub, and humblest Bryar, or poorest and basest Man, then such a flourishing stately ness, and magnitude. Lastly, whereas *Adam*, after he had disobeyed God, and beheld his own nakedness and shame, sought for leaves to cover himself withal: this may serve to put us in mind of his and our sins, as often as we put on our garments, to cover and adorn our rotten and mortal bodies: to pamper and maintain which, we use so many uncharitable and cruel practices in this world.

SECT. IV.

Of the names of the Tree of Knowledg of Good and Evil: with some other Notes touching the Story of Adam's *sin.*

NOw, as touching the sense of this Tree of Knowledge of good and evil, and what operation the first fruit thereof had, and as touching the property of the Tree it self, *Moses Bar-Cephas*, an ancient *Syrian*-Doctor (translated by *Masius*) giveth this judgment: That the fruit of this Tree had no such virtue or quality, as that by the tasting thereof, there was any such knowledge created in *Adam*, as if he had been ignorant before; but as *Junius* also noteth: *Arbor scientiæ boni & mali (id est) experientiæ boni & mali ab eventu. The Tree of Knowledge of good and evil (that is) the experience of good and evil by the event.* For thus much we may conceive, that *Adam* being made (according to the *Hebrew* phrase) by the workmanship of God's own hand, in greater perfection than ever any man was produced by generation, being (as it were) the created Plant, out of whose seed all men living have grown up; and having received immortality from the breath or Spirit of God; he could not (for these respects) be ignorant, that the disobeying of God's Commandment was the fearfullest Evil, and the observation of his Precepts the happiest Good. But as men in perfect health do (notwithstanding) conceive, that sickness is grievous, and yet in no such degree of torment, as by the suffering and experience in themselves they afterwards witness: so was it with *Adam*, who could not be ignorant of the punishments, due to neglect and disobedience; and yet felt by the proof thereof in himself another terrour than he had fore-thought, or could imagine. For looking into the glass of his own guilty soul, he beheld therein the horrour of God's Judgments; so as he then knew, (he feelingly knew) and had trial of the late good, which could not be prized, and of the new purchased evil, which could not be express'd. He then saw himself naked both in Body and mind, that is, deprived of God's grace and former felicity: and therefore was this Tree called the Tree of Knowledge, and not because the fruit thereof had any such operation by any self quality or effect: for the same Phrase is used in many places of the Scriptures, and names are given to Signs and Sacraments, as to acts performed, and things done. In such sort, as this Tree was called the Tree of Knowledge, because of the event, as is aforesaid: so was the Well of contention therefore called *Esek*, and the Well of hatred *Sitnath*, because the Heardsmen of *Isaac* and *Gerar* contended for them: and the heap of Stones called the *Heap of witness*, between *Jacob* and *Laban*; not that the Stones bare witness, but for a memory of the Covenant. So *Jacob* called the House of God *Bethel*; and *Hagar*, the Well in the Desart, *Viventis, & videntis.* *Num.* 20. 13 *Gen.* 26. 20, 21. *Cap.* 31. 48. *Cap.* 28. 19. *Cap.* 16. 14.

But *Adam* being both betrayed and mastered by his affection, ambitious of a farther knowledge then he had perceived in himself, and looking but slightly (as all his issue do) into the miseries and sorrows incident; and greatly affecting the supposed glory which he might obtain by tasting the fruit forbidden: he was transported and blown forward, by the gentle wind of pleasing perswasions, unawares; his progression being strengthened by the subtile arguments of Sathan, who laboured to poyson mankind in the very root, which he moistened with the liquor of the same ambition, by which himself perished for ever.

But what means did the Devil find out, or what instruments did his own subtilty present him, as fittest and aptest to work this mischief by? even the unquiet vanity of the Woman; so as by *Adam*'s hearkning to the voice of his Wife, contrary to the express Commandement of the living God, Mankind by that her incantation became the subject of labour, sorrow, and death: the woman being to man for a comfort and companion, but not for a counsellor. *But because thou hast obeyed the voice of thy wife*, &c. (said God himself) *Cursed is the Earth for thy sake, in sorrow shalt thou eat of it all thy life.* It is also to be noted, by whom the woman was tempted; even by the most ugly and unworthy of all beasts into whom the Devil entred and perswaded. *Ben. Sim.* 2. l. 2. *Gen.* 3. 17.

Secondly, what was the motive of her disobedience? even a desire to know what was most unfitting for her knowledg; an affection which hath ever since remained in all the posterity of her Sex. Thirdly, what was it that moved the man to yield to her perswasions? Even the same cause which hath moved all men since to the like consent; namely, an unwillingness to grieve her and make her sad, lest she should pine and be overcome with sorrow. But if *Adam* in the state of perfection, and *Solomon* the Son of *David*, God's chosen servant, and himself a man endued with the greatest wisdom, did both of them disobey their Creator, by the perswasion and for the love they bare to a woman, it is not so wonderful as lamentable, that other men in succeeding Ages have been allured to so many inconvenient and wicked practices by the perswasions of their Wives, or other beloved darlings, who cover over and shadow many malicious purposes with a counterfeit passion of dissimulate sorrow and unquietness.

CHAP. V.

Of divers memorable things, between the Fall of Adam, *and the Flood of* Noah.

SECT. I.

Of the cause and the revenge of Cain's *sin: and of his going out from God.*

THe same Pride and Ambition which began in Angels, and afterward possess'd *Adam*, *Cain* also inherited: for *Cain* (envious of the acceptation of his Brothers Prayer and Sacrifice) slew him, making himself the first Manslayer, and his Brother the first Martyr: the revenge of which unnatural murther, although it pleased God to mitigate, when *Cain* cried out that his punishment was greater then he could bear; For the same offence chiefly (wherewith the Sons of *Adam*, as it were, urged and provoked God) he destroyed all Mankind, but *Noah* and his Family: for it is written, *The Earth also was corrupt before God*: of which in the same place, *Moses* giveth a reason: for saith he, *The Earth was filled with cruelty*: and anon after, God himself made the cause known unto *Noah*, saying; *An end of all flesh is come before me, for the Earth is filled with cruelty through them, and behold, I will destroy them with the Earth, or from the Earth.* Neither was this cruelty meant to have been in taking away the lives of men onely, but in all sorts of Injustice and Oppression. After this Murther of *Abel*, Cain *went out from the presence of the Lord, and dwelt in the Land of Nod, towards the East-side of Eden:* in which words, The going out of *Cain* from the presence of the Lord, is not to be understood after the literal sense, God being wholly in all parts of the World: *Totus in cœlo est, totus in terra, non alternis temporibus, sed utrumque simul*; God (saith S. *Augustine*) *is wholly in Heaven, and wholly in Earth, not by enterchanged times, but all at once*; And that this is true, *David* witnesseth: *If I be in Heaven* (saith *David*) *thou art there*; *if in Hell, thou art there also.* But what is meant thereby? *Exiit à facie Dei* (saith *Chrysostom*) Cain *went out from the presence of the Lord*; (that is) *he was left of God, disfavoured and bereaved of his protection.*

Gen. 6. v. 11, 13.

Gen. 4. 16.

Aug. de civit. Dei. l. 12. c. 19. Psal. 139. 81.

Chryloſt. in Gen. Hom. 2.

SECT. II.

Of Cains *dwelling in the Land of* Nod: *and of his City* Enoch.

THis word *Nod* or *Naid*, S. *Hierom* and many others understand to signifie wandring, or uncertain habitation: vexation or agitation, saith *Junius*; but the Seventy convert it otherwise, and take *Nod* for the proper name of a Countrey, and so doth *Josephus*. But it seemeth to me, that *Cain* was rather a Vagabond or Wanderer in his cogitations, than any thing else; and that his thoughts and conscience had no quiet or rest, in regard of the Murther committed, justly fearing (by his own words) the like violence: *And whosoever findeth me* (saith *Cain*) *shall slay me.* Now, that *Nod* or *Naid* was a Region wherein *Cain* inhabited, appeareth by the word (*dwelt*) for *dwelling* signifieth an Abiding: and we call those people Wanderers and Vagabonds that have no dwelling place. And to make this dwelling and abiding more manifest, *Moses* teacheth in what part of the earth this his habitation was, which he affirmeth towards the East-side of *Eden*. Secondly, it is said by *Moses*, that after *Cain* departed from the presence or favour of God, he built a City, and called it by the first-born, *Enoch*; which sheweth that he feared to wander, and rather sought to fortify himself against revenge. *Cyrillus* saith, that *Cain* and *Abel* were figures of *Christ*, and of the *Jews*; and that as *Cain* after that he had slain *Abel* unjustly, had thence-forth no certain abiding in the World: so the *Jews*, after they had crucified the Son of God, became Runnagates: and it is true, that the *Jews* had never since any certain Estate, Common-weal, or Prince of their own upon the Earth. Now, this Land of *Nod*, *Junius* taketh to be in *Arabia Deserta*, a Region of the *Nomades*; but *Arabia* the Desart is not Eastward, or on the East part of *Eden*, neither are these *Nomades* any particular People or Nation. For all these, in what part of the World soever, which in old time lived by Pastorage, and fed (as we call it in *Ireland*) upon white meat, without tilling of the ground, are called by the *Greeks Nomades*, and by the *Latines*, *Pastores vagi*, as the Northern *Tartarians*, the *Getulians*, and *Numidians* in *Africa*, the ancient *Britains*, and the Northern *Irish*: yea, such were the Inhabitants of *Italy* it self, till such time as *Italus* (who gave them that name) taught them the husbandry of Tillage, used at this day. But the Region Eastward from *Eden* is that part of *Assyria*, called by *Ptolemy*, *Calena*; which also might be derived of *Carena*, the Countrey of *Cain*. And that *Cain* inhabited in those parts, it may be gathered by the first possession of his Father *Adam*; for thus it is written, *Genes. 3. Therefore the Lord God sent him forth from the Garden of Eden to till the Earth whence he was taken:* and in the Verse following: *Thus he cast out man*, &c. *and at the East-side of the Garden of Eden he set the Cherubims:* which sheweth that the entry into *Paradise* was from the East, by which entrance *Adam* was cast out, and therefore inhabiting on that side of *Paradise* which was Eastward, according to the Text. *Cain* also in the same Region sought his dwelling place. Now, if the word *Nod*, or *Naid*, do signifie *profugus*, that is, a Fugitive, we can give no longer time to this uncertain habitation of *Cain*, then till he built the City of *Enoch*, the first of the World, which he enclosed, either for his own defence, or (as *Josephus* writeth) to oppress others thereby. So as, for mine own opinion, I am resolved with the *Septuagint*, that *Nod* was the proper name of a Region; and for the word Vagabond) which *Cain* useth himself, it seemeth by the perclose of

Hier. vad. Heb.

Jos. l. 1. cap. 3.

Gen. 4. 14.

Gen. 4. 16.

Gen. 4. 17.

Verse 23.

of the same Verse, that (Vagabond) is therein understood for such an one as travelleth in fear of revengement: *For whosoever findeth me* (saith *Cain*) *shall slay me*; or else (Vagabond) is taken for a man without protection, and cast out from the favour of God.

And because these *Henochians*, so called of the City of *Henoch*; were the first society and civil assembly of all other, it is likely that the fame of these People (either for cruelty, strength, or other actions) lived in memory of *Noah* and his Sons: so that after the Flood (as there were of all sorts of natures, some vertuously, some impiously disposed, and every active mind setting before it whom to follow or imitate) those People, which delighted in cruelty and oppression, took on them their names whose natures they most liked and allowed; of whom these *Henochians* were not the least. Perchance the place it self, where *Henoch* stood before the Flood, and whereof Monuments might remain (as the Pillars or foundation of *Joppe* did) gave occasion to the Planters of that place, to call themselves by the same name: for of those *Henochians* there were many Nations in the borders of *Pontus*, and *Colchis* in *Iberia*, *Sogdiana*, and *Bactria*; of the same name many Mountains, as those which are otherwise call'd *Coraxici*. And seeing that it is hard to find out the truth of these things, which the most aged Time hath covered over, or defaced, we may (according to the counsel of *Plato*) exceedingly rejoyce, and therewith satisfie our selves, if of so great, and almost worn-out Antiquity, of the eldest Peoples names and nations, there remain any Print or foot-steps to Posterity.

Quotidiè aliquid in hoc magno orbe mutatur: nova urbium fundamenta jaciuntur, nova Gentium nomina (extinctis nominibus prioribus) oriuntur. Senec. ad Albinum.

In * *Pliny*, *P. Mela*, *Strabo*, *Valerius Flaccus*, *Lucan*, *Stephanus*, we find those *Henochei*, described, though diversly written: as in *Pliny*, sometimes *Henochii*; in *Mela*, *Enochii*; in *Flaccus*, *Heniochi*; in *Lucan*, *Eniochi*: All which inhabit upon the Sea *Euxinus*, but yet none of these are on the East side of *Eden*, or (according to *Moses* words) Eastward from *Eden*. For *Moses*, in all places where he describeth any Region, was so exceeding precise, as sometimes he useth the word East or South without borrowing or addition; at other times with a borrowing, as Eastward, or Southward, or towards the East or South. In the place of *Genesis* the eleventh, he writeth the word (East) simply and directly. *And as they went from the East, they found a Plain in the Land of Shinar*; but in this of *Cain*, he addeth the word (towards) as, *in the land of Nod, towards the East side of Eden*; which may be taken, as inclining some one point or two, either to the North, or to the South of the East.

* *Plin. l. 6. c. 9, 11 & 16. Mel. l. 1. c. 8. Strab. l. 11. Val. Flacc. l. 6. Lucan l. 3. v. 37.*

Verse 2.

But, as we may conjecture that these Nations took name of *Henoch* the City of *Cain*; or of the Region wherein it stood, when the same was re-peopled after the Flood: so it is probable that these *Henochii* of *Colchis*, and other parts adjoyning, were not the first of that name after the Sons of *Noah* began to fill the World again: because, had this *Henoch* the City of *Cain* stood in any of these parts, it had then been seated North, and not East or Eastward from *Eden*. But as *Pliny* findeth their habitation towards *Pontus*, so afterwards he goeth on Eastward, till he track them or trace them out to their original. For he calleth these of *Colchis* (now *Mengrelia*) *Sanni Heniochi*; *Ptolomy*, *Zani*; beyond which an hundred and fifty mile Eastward, he findeth another Nation of them about *Iberia* and *Albania*; and beyond these he again discovereth a third Nation, from whence all the rest took beginning, which inhabited on the West side of the mountains of *Paro-panisus*; between them and the great River of *Oxus*, which bordereth *Bactria* on the North side; and these *Henochii* are due East from the Region of *Eden*, and Eastward from the very Garden it self.

Plin. l. 6. c. 4, 5. Ptol. tab. Asiæ. 3.

And although we cannot be assured that these *Henochii* took name from the memory of the City of *Enoch* directly; yet because they inhabited due East from *Paradise*, and afterwards spread themselves Westward (as all *Noah*'s Sons did that came into *Shinar*) the conjecture is far more probable than that of *Annius* the Frier, who sets *Henoch* in *Phœnicia*, quite contrary to *Moses* word: *Phœnicia* from all parts of *Eden*, being directly West.

And besides these several Nations of the *Henochii*, *Stephanus* findeth a Region called *Henochia*, and the same also in the East, with divers mountains about *Bactria* and *Sogdiana*, of the same name. Onely the Grecians (according to their fabulous inventions of all things else) out of the word (*Heniochi*) which which signifieth Cart or Coach-men, make these Nations to have sprung from the Waggoners of *Castor* and *Pollux* (to wit) *Amphites* and *Telchius*, who attended them in the interprize of *Jason*; into *Colchis*. And though I do not deny, but that *Jason*, with other *Greeks*, ranged the coasts of *Asia* the less, in an open Boat or kind of small Gally, * of whom I shall speak in his own time: yet no man doubted but that the tale of the golden Fleece was for the most part Poetical; and withal, that in such an open Boat, which could hardly carry their own Rowers, being fifty four, there was no place, and less use, of Coach-horses or Waggoners.

Steph. de urb. Nat. Comes calleth them Rhedæ. Nat. com. l. 8. c. 9. Strab. l. 11.

* In the second Book of this first part, *Cap.* 13. *Sect.* 5.

SECT. III.

Of Moses *his omitting sundry things concerning* Cain's *Generation.*

But of the remembrance and testimonies of the name of the City of *Henoch* in prophane Story, thus much may suffice: Now it followeth to answer some few Objections against certain particulars in the 4 and 5 Chapter of *Genesis*: against which, for the first, it is demanded, How it was possible for *Cain* (having no other assistance than his Son *Henoch*) to to perform such a Work as the building of a City, seeing there is thereto required so many hands, and so great a mass of all sorts of materials? To which it is answered, that we are first to consider, That of *Cain* (because he was the Parent of an impious Race) *Moses* useth no ample declaration; and so it best agreeth with his divine Reason, seeing that he containeth the whole Story of the first Race, which lasted, by the least account, 1656. years, in five short Chapters: Yet thus much may every man borrow of his own weakest Reason, That seeing it pleased God to bestow on the first generation of mens lives so long a measure as 800. and 900. years, that in such a space *Cain* had not want of leisure and means to build many such Cities as *Henoch*, be the capacity answering to what other of the World soever: for in what Age of *Cain*'s life he built it, the Scriptures are silent: as of whose times, and the times of his Issues, *Moses* had the least care. And as it is said of *Cain*, that he built a City: so it was said of *Noah*, that his three Sons peopled all the World; but in both, the process of time required, is to be understood: which advice, seeing *Moses* useth where the space less requireth it, as knowing that he writ the Scriptures to reasonable men, we may easily understand, that such was his meaning also in all reports of like nature. For in making but a difference between the birth of *Abel*, and the oblation of *Cain*, he spake it in this sort, *Fuit autem post dies multos*, or *à fine dierum*, (that is) in process of time, *it came to pass that Cain brought an oblation.* And therefore it is in like sort to be understood of *Cain*, that many years foregone, and when

his people were increaſed, he built the City of *Enoch* or *Henoch*.

And where it is written, as of *Cain*, that he built *Enoch*, ſo of *Solomon*, that he built the Temple of *Jeruſalem*; yet it is well known of *Solomon*, that he imployed in that Work 150000. labourers: for this
2 *King.*16. phraſe or ſpeech is common with our ſelves to ſay, the King invaded, when he cauſed an invaſion to be made: and he built, when he commanded ſuch a building. And therefore ſeeing that we find that *Moſes* had no regard to the Ages, Birth or Death of *Cain*'s Iſſues, it is not to be marvelled at, why he alſo paſſeth over in a word the building of *Enoch*, without addition of any circumſtance: for of *Cain*,
*Gen.*4.17. *Moſes* writeth in this manner; *Cain alſo knew his Wife, who conceived and bare Henoch, and he built a*
18. *City, and called the name of the City after the name of his Son Henoch. And to Henoch was born Irad, and Irad begat Mehujael, and Mehujael begat Methuſael, and Methuſael Lamech.*

Now, of *Seth*, *Moſes* writeth far otherwiſe, and in this manner: *And Seth lived an hundred and five years, and begat Enoch, and Seth lived after he begat*
C. 5. *v.*5. *Enoch eight hundred and ſeven years, and begat Sons and Daughters: ſo as all the dayes of Seth were Nine hundred and twelve years, and he dyed:* As for the years and times of the wicked, they were not numbred in *Libro viventium*, ſaith *Cyril*. But in *Seth* was the Church of God eſtabliſhed; from whom Chriſt deſcended, as touching his Manhood: and therefore this way and work *Moſes* walked in, and finiſhed it with care, paſſing over the reprobate Generation, (as aforeſaid.) Of the Line of *Adam* by *Cain*, *Moſes* remembreth but Eight Generations, reckoning *Adam* for one; and of the Line of *Adam* by *Seth*, ten, counting *Adam* alſo therein, as followeth.

I. ADAM.

2 *Cain.*	7 *Lamech*, who by *Adah* had
3 *Henoch.*	8 *Jubal*, and *Tubal*; and by *Silla*, *Tubal-Cain* and *Noema.*
4 *Irad.*	
5 *Mehujael.*	
6 *Methuſael.*	

I. ADAM.

2 *Seth.*	7 *Henoch.*
3 *Enoſh.*	8 *Methuſalem.*
4 *Cainan.*	9 *Lamech*, and
5 *Mahaleel.*	10 *Noah.*
6 *Jared.*	

Theſe be the Generations of *Adam* by *Cain*, which the Scriptures mention: but *Joſephus* giveth unto *Lamech* Threeſcore and ſeventeen Sons and Daughters, by his two Wives, *Ada* and *Sylla*: and to theſe three Sons of *Lamech*, *Moſes* aſcribeth the invention of Paſtorage, of Muſick, and the working in Metal; for it ſeemeth that *Jubal* firſt gathered together, and made familiar thoſe beaſts which formerly were untamed, and brought them into Herds and Droves:
*Gen.*4.20, 21, 22. *Tubal* invented Muſick, and *Tubal-Cain* the working in Braſs and Iron: the one being addicted to Huſbandry, the other was Mechanical, the third given to idleneſs and pleaſure. In whom began theſe three meaner degrees, of Shepherds, Handy-crafts-men, and Muſicians. And in the iſſues of *Seth* began the Services of God, Divinity, Prophecy, and Aſtronomy: the Children of the one beheld the Heavens, the other the Earth.

SECT. IV.

Of the diverſities in the Ages of the Patriarchs when they begat their Children.

A Second ſcruple hath been made, How it came to paſs that the Patriarchs begat their Children at ſo divers Ages, as *Cainan* or *Cenan* at ſeventy years, *Mahaleel* and *Enoch* at Threeſcore and five years, whereas *Jared* begat not any of his untill he was 162 years old: *Methuſalem* begat at 187; *Lamech* at 182, and *Noah* at 500 years. Now this difference hath been the more enforced, becauſe it cannot be conjectured, that either *Jared*, *Methuſalem*, or *Lamech* abſtained from Marriage out of the Religion of Abſtinence, ſeeing that *Enoch* who was Tranſlated by God for his ſingular Sanctity, begat Children before he was Threeſcore and ten years old.

The apparent difference hereof ariſeth in this, that *Moſes* did not number the Generations before the Floud preciſely, according to the firſt-begotten and eldeſt Sons of the Patriarchs, but he drew down the Line of *Noah* from *Seth*, and afterward from *Noah* to *Abraham*, by their true Anceſtours, were they elder or younger, as he found them: for it is likely that *Henoch* was not the eldeſt of *Jared*, nor *Lamech* the firſt-born of *Methuſalem*, nor *Noah* of *Lamech*; neither is there any thing known to the contrary, but that *Noah* might have had many Sons before *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*, though theſe three were onely named, and ſurviving, and which by God were reſerved to be the Fathers of Mankind after the Floud; and therefore when we find *Mahaleel* to be begotten by *Kenan* at Threeſcore and ten years, who was the firſt Son of *Kenan*, and then reckon that *Methuſalem* begat *Lamech* in the One hundred and eighty ſeventh year of his life, the difference ſeemeth ſtrange, where *Lamech* is taken for the eldeſt. But *Moſes* rejecteth all the other Sons of *Methuſalem* but *Lamech* onely, becauſe he was the Father of *Noah*, as aforeſaid. Of this Saint *Auguſtine* hath ſomewhat elſe in his twentieth, and one and twentieth Chapters, *De Civitate Dei*.

But as *Moſes* counted the Generations of the firſt Age, and ſo to *Abraham*, and the children of the promiſe after him; ſo doth St. *Matthew* recite the Genealogy of Chriſt, not by the eldeſt Sons, but from thoſe whom God had choſen and bleſſed, without reſpect of the firſt-born, who have hereby the prerogative in Eſtates, worldly and tranſitory only; and therefore the Evangeliſt nameth *Iſaac*, and not *Iſmael*, *Mat.* 1. 2. though *Iſmael* were firſt in time: ſo doth he take *Jacob* the younger, and not *Eſau* the elder; neither is Chriſt derived from any of the three eldeſt Patriarchs, *Reuben*, *Simeon*, or *Levi*, but from *Juda* a fourth Brother, and ſo from *David* a younger Son of *Jeſſai*; and laſtly, we find, that the Kingdom it ſelf of *Juda* was not given to the Heir in Nature, but to the Heir of Grace, namely *Solomon*. 1 *Kings* 2.

SECT. V.

Of the long lives of the Patriarchs, and ſome of late memory.

THe third Objection is, that the great difference of years between thoſe of the firſt Age, whereof ſome of them had well neer ſeen a thouſand years, makes it diſputable, whether the account of times were of the ſame meaſure as in after-Ages, ſeeing that

that soon after the Flood, men lived not a third part of that time; and in succeeding Ages, and to this day, not the tenth.

Sol. Pol. hist. c. 3. Macrob. Satur. lib. 1. cap. 8. Plin. l. 7. c. 48.

They that have hereon resolved that those years were but Lunary years (to wit) of a month or thereabouts, or *Egyptian* years, are easily confuted. For whereas *Seth* begat *Enosh* in the year of his life an hundred and five, if those years be taken but for moneths, then had *Seth* lived but eight years and one moneth when he begat *Enosh*: and if the time of *Enosh* have the same allowance when he begat *Kenan*, then could *Enosh* at that time have been but six years and fourty eight weeks old; and so it may be gathered of the rest, excepting only *Adam*, who was created perfect in his kind, as were the Trees in their kind, bearing Fruit and Seed. But this were too ridiculous to imagine. For to give an ability of generation at six, seven, or eight years, agreeth with the short lives of the *Pigmies*, and not with the constitutions of our first Fathers, who being descended from *Adam*, the Workmanship of God's hands, and begotten and born in the strong youth of the World, had length of daies, and ability of body agreeable. Again, if we allow this idle conceit of the Lunary years, then there would follow this extremity, that those which lived longest, and upwards of Nine hundred years, had by that account but the time of Fourscore and ten and odd years; which were not only less by far then the Patriarchs lived after the Floud, but short of many mens lives in this decrepit Age of the World, wherein many exceed fourscore, and some an hundred years. Further (if need be) to disprove this reckoning, whereas it is written, *Gen.* 25. That *Abraham* died in a good Age, an old man, and of great years: all which (if the former accompt were of Lunary years) makes but seventeen and an half of our years.

And if we seek for a cause of this long life in Nature, then is it reasonable, that the first man, created in highest perfection, should also beget children of equal strength, or little differing: for of the first and purest seed there must of necessity spring up the fairest and fruitfullest plants. Secondly, the Earth it self was then much less corrupt; which yielded her increase, and brought forth fruit and food for man, without any such mixture of harmful quality, as since that time the curse of God, for the cruelty of man's heart, brought on it and mankind: Neither had the waters of the Floud infused such an impurity, as thereby the natural and powerful operation of all Plants, Herbs, and Fruits upon the Earth received a qualification and harmful change. And as all things under the Sun have one time of strength, and another of weakness, a youth and beauty, and then age and deformity: so Time it self (under the deathful shade of whose wings all things decay and wither) hath wasted and worn out that lively virtue of Nature in Man, and Beasts, and Plants; yea the Heavens themselves, being of a most pure and cleansed matter, shall wax old as a garment; and then much more the power generative in inferiour Creatures, who by the Ordinance of God receive operative Virtue from the superiour.

Psal. 102. v. 26.

But besides the old Age of the World, how far doth our education and simplicity of living differ from that old time? The tender bringing up of Children, first fed and nourished with the Milk of a strange Dugge; an unnatural curiosity having taught all Women (but the Beggar) to find out Nurses, which necessity only ought to commend unto them: The hasty Marriages in tender years, wherein, Nature being but yet green and growing, we rent from her and replant her branches, while her self hath not yet any root sufficient to maintain her own top; and such half-ripe seeds (for the most part) in their growing up wither in the bud, and wax old even in their infancy. But above all things, the exceeding luxuriousness of this gluttonous Age, wherein we press Nature with over-weighty burthens, and finding her strength defective, we take the work out of her hands, and commit it to the artificial help of strong Waters, hot Spices, and provoking Sawces; of which *Lucan* hath these Elegant Verses:

Pharsal. 4.

——*O Prodiga rerum*
Luxuries, nunquam parvo contenta paratu;
Et quæsitorum terra pelagoque ciborum
Ambitiosa fames, & lautæ gloria mensæ,
Discite quàm parvo liceat producere vitam:
Et quantum natura petat.
Non auro myrrhâque bibunt: sed gurgite puro
Vita redit: satis est populis, fluviusque, Cereque.

O wastful Riot never well content
With low-priz'd fare; hunger ambitious
Of Cates by Land and Sea far fetcht and sent;
Vain-glory of a Table sumptuous,
Learn with how little life may be preserved.
In Gold and Myrrh they need not to carouse,
But with the Brook the peoples thirst is served;
Who fed with Bread and Water are not sterved.

Pier. Hieroglyph. l. 2.

The Egyptians affirm, that the longest time of man's life is an hundred years, because the heart in a perfect body waxeth and groweth to strength fifty years, and afterwards by the same degree decayeth and withereth. *Epigenes* findeth in his Philosophy, that the life of man may reach to the period of an hundred and twenty years, and *Berosus* to an hundred and seventeen years. These opinions *Pliny* repeateth and reproveth, producing many examples to the contrary. In the last taxation, number, and review of the eighth Region of *Italy*, there were found in the Roll (saith *Pliny*) four and fifty persons of an hundred years of age: seven and fifty of an hundred and ten: two of an hundred and five and twenty: four of an hundred and thirty: as many that were an hundred and five and thirty, or an hundred and seven and thirty years old: and last of all, three men of an hundred and fourty: and this search was made in the times of *Vespatian* the Father, and the Son.

Plin. l. 7. c. 29.

The simple diet and temperate life of the *Essæans*, gave them long account of many years: so did it to the Secretaries of *Egyptian* Ceremonies, to the *Persian* Magicians, and *Indian* Brachmans. The *Greeks* affirm out of *Homer*, that *Nestor* lived three Ages, and *Tiresias* six, *Sybilla* three hundred years, *Endymion* of the less *Asia*, little less: Also *Masanissa* of *Numidia* lived very long, and *Dando* of *Illyria*. Among the Kings of *Arcadia* many lived three hundred years (saith *Ephorus*.) *Hellanicus* affirmeth of the *Epeians*, that some of them lived full two hundred years; and so doth *Diodorus Siculus* of the *Egyptians*: and that these reports are not fabulous, *Josephus* bringeth many witnesses with himself; as *Marethon*, *Berosus*, *Mochus*, *Estius*, *Hieronymus*, *Egyptius Hecatæus*, *Ephorus*, and others. And *Anthony Fume*, an Historian of good reputation reporteth, that in the year 1570. there was an *Indian* presented to *Solyman*, General of the *Turks* Army, who had out-lived three hundred years. I my self knew the old Countess of *Desmond* of *Inchiquin* in *Munster*, who lived in the year 1589. and many years since, who was married in *Edward* the fourth's time, and held her Joynture from all the Earls of *Desmond* since then; and that this is true, all the Noblemen and Gentlemen of *Munster* can witness:

Joseph. ant. l. 13. c. 8. Plin. l. 7. c. 48.

Stroz-

Strozzius Sicogna, out of *Torquemada*, *Maffeus*, and the like Authors, telleth of ſome that have not onely far exceeded the term preſcribed by *Epigenes*; but been repaired from the withered eſtate of decrepit age to freſh youth. But for length of life, if we note but the difference between the ability of men in thoſe days wherein *Galen* the Phyſitian lived, it may eaſily prove unto us, what Reeds we are in reſpect of thoſe Cedars of the firſt Age. For *Galen* did ordinarily let Blood ſix pound weight, whereas we (for the moſt part) ſtop at ſix ounces. But to conclude this part, there are three things (not counting Conſtellations) which are the natural cauſes of a long and healthful life; (to wit) ſtrong Parents, a pure and thin Air, and temperate uſe of diet, pleaſure, and reſt: for thoſe which are built of rotten timber, or mouldring ſtone, cannot ſtand long upright; on Air we feed always and in every inſtant, and on meats but at times: and yet the heavy load of abundance, wherewith we oppreſs and overcharge Nature, maketh her to ſink unawares in the mid-way; and therefore with a good conſtitution, a pure Air, and a temperate uſe of thoſe things which Nature wanteth, are the only friends and companions of a long life.

SECT. VI.

Of the Patriarchs delivering their knowledge by Tradition: and that Enoch *Writ before the Flood.*

A Fourth ſcruple hath been made, How the certain knowledge of the Creation came to *Moſes*, ſeeing there was no Story thereof written; and if any ſuch had been, yet it is conceived, that all memory of Antiquity periſhed in the Univerſal Flood.

But if we conſider the curioſity and policy of elder Ages, we ſhall find, that knowledge was the greateſt treaſure that men ſought for, and which they alſo covered and hid from the vulgar ſort, as Jewels of inеſtimable price, fearing the irreverent conſtruction of the ignorant and irreligious: ſo as whatſoever was attained unto concerning God, and his working in Nature, the ſame was not left to publick diſpute, but delivered over by heart and tradition from wiſe men to a poſterity equally Zealous; *Ex animo in animum ſine literis, medio intercedente verbo: From mind to mind without Letters, by way of Tradition or word of mouth.* *Dion. Arcop.* And it was thought by *Eſdras*, *Origen*, and *Hilarius* (as *Mirandula* conceiveth) that *Moſes* did not only upon the Mount receive the Law from God, but withal, *ſecretiorem & veram leges enarrationem; a more ſecret and true explanation of the Law*; which (ſaith he, out of the ſame Authors,) he delivered by mouth to *Joſhua*, and *Joſhua* to the Elders: for, to teach theſe myſteries, which he called *ſecretiora*, to the rude multitude, were no other *quàm dare ſanctum canibus, & inter porcos ſpargere Margaritas*; *then to give holy things to Dogs, and to caſt Pearls before Swine.* *Fol. 18.* In ſucceeding times this underſtanding and wiſdom began to be written in Ciphers and Characters, and letters bearing the form of Beaſts, Birds, and other creatures; and to be taught only to ſuch as ſerved in their Temples, and to their Kings and Prieſts. Of the firſt the *Cabala* of the *Jews* was an imitation: the invention of the other is aſcribed to *Zoroaſter*, *Mercurius*, *Cadmus*, and others; but falſely.

Cabala eſt ſcientia Theologiæ non revelata. P. M. 83. Miran. 110. ſol. This *Cabala* importeth a Law, received by tradition and unwritten. *Cabala* in Hebrew is *Receptio* in Latine, and a *Receiving* in Engliſh. And this cuſtome was alſo held by the *Druids* and *Bards* of our antient *Brittains*, and of latter times by the *Iriſh* Chroniclers called Rimers. If then ſuch as would ſeem wiſeſt in the uſe of reaſon, will not acknowledge, that the ſtory of the Creation or beginning of all things, was written by inſpiration, the Holy-Ghoſt guiding the hand of *Moſes*; yet it is manifeſt, that the knowledge thereof might by Tradition (then uſed) be delivered unto him by a more certain preſumption, than any or all the teſtimonies which prophane antiquity had preſerved and left to their ſucceſſors: which their wiſe men (as they term them) did lay up and defend from the injury of the time and other hazards. For, leaving to remember that *Adam* inſtructed *Seth*, and *Seth his* Children and Succeſſors, which cannot be doubted of, it is manifeſt, that *Methuſalem* lived together with *Adam* himſelf two hundred forty and three years, and *Noah* with *Methuſalem* no leſs than five hundred years: and before *Noah* died, *Abraham* was fifty and eight years old: from whence this knowledge by an eaſie and ordinary way might come to *Iſrael*, and ſo to *Moſes*.

But beſides this Tradition, it is queſtionleſs, that the uſe of Letters was found out in the very infancy of the world, proved by thoſe Prophecies written on Pillars of Stone and Brick by *Enoch*: of which *Joſephus* affirmeth, that one of them remained even in his time (meaning belike ſome ruine or foundation thereof) which Pillars by others are aſcribed to *Seth*. But of theſe Prophecies of *Enoch*, St. *Jude* teſtifieth; and ſome part of his Books (which contained the courſe of the Stars, their names and motions) were afterward found in *Arabia fœlix*, in the Dominion of the Queen of *Saba* (ſaith *Origen*) of which *Tertullian* affirmeth, that he had ſeen, and read ſome whole Pages. It is not therefore ſtrange, that *Moſes* came to the knowledge of the Creation, and ſtory of the firſt Age, ſeeing he might receive it both by Tradition and Letter, had not the ſpirit of God inſtructed and inſpired him as it did: which alſo his many and ſtrange Miracles (performed before he wrote the Scriptures) make more manifeſt.

Joſ. l. 1. *Jude Ep. v. 14.* *Origen Homil. 1. in Numb.*

Now for the Books of *Enoch*, howſoever ſome men make mention of them, ſure I am that *Tertullian*, *Origen*, *Auguſtine*, *Beda*, *Procopius*, *Gazeus*, (with others) cite them in their writings: although *Medina*, for an argument to prove them unwritten Traditions, alledgeth that Pope *Gelaſius* among other the Apocryphal Scriptures (which he rejecteth) named not theſe of *Enoch*; but that whatſoever was remembred out of them, the ſame was delivered by Tradition from the *Jews*. But I rather think with *Pererius*, that ſuch a Book there was, and that the ſame was corrupted after the death of the Apoſtles, and many things added thereunto by Hereticks, who took occaſion upon the antiquity thereof, and out of that place of *Michael* contending with the Devil about the body of *Moſes*, to frame and add thereunto many inventions of their own. One of the greateſt arguments againſt theſe Books, is, that neither *Philo* nor *Joſephus* (the moſt diligent ſearchers of Antiquity) make mention thereof. But againſt it I will ſet this opinion of St. *Auguſtine*, *Scripſiſſe quidem nonnulla divina* Enoch, *illum ſeptimum ab* Adam, *negare non poſſumus*: *That* Enoch *the ſeventh from* Adam, *did write divers divine things, we cannot deny.* Now his writings which came afterwards to light, were ſuſpected becauſe of the antiquity, and of fables of Giants, ſuppoſed to be begotten of Angels, and others; and by ſo much the more, becauſe no ſuch Book was found amongſt thoſe Canonical Scriptures, kept by the diligence of the Hebrew Prieſts in *Armario Judaico* (ſaith *Tertullian*) who yet affirmeth, that this Book might be preſerved by *Noah*. Surely, that *Enoch* wrote the Propheſies

Origen. Hom. 28. in Num. & comment. in Evang. Johan. *Gelaſ. diſt. 15.* *Tert. de habit. mulierum.*

Propheſies remembred by *Jude*, no man can deny; how they were delivered to poſterity, I know not; whether by the *Jews Cabala*, or by what other means, the ſame is but mans conjecture. And (certainly) by the knowledge aſcribed to *Noah* of the motions of the Heavens, and of the natures and conjunctions of the Stars; and afterwards to ſome of his Sons, to *Zoroaſter*, and then to *Abraham*, it is very probable that *Noah* had ſeen and might preſerve this book. For it is not likely, that ſo exquiſite knowledge therein (as theſe men had) was ſuddenly invented and found out, but left by *Seth* to *Enoch*, and by *Enoch* to *Noah*, as hath been ſaid before. And therefore if Letters and Arts were known from the time of *Seth* to *Enoch*, and that *Noah* lived with *Methuſalem*, who lived with *Adam*, and *Abraham* lived with *Noah*; it is not ſtrange (I ſay) to conceive how *Moſes* came to the knowledge of the firſt Age, be it by Letters, or by *Cabala* and Tradition, had the undoubted Word of God need of any other proof then ſelf-authority.

Heb. 11. 15.

SECT. VII.

Of the men of renown before the Floud.

NOw let us conſider the relation of *Moſes*, who nameth ſeven deſcents of *Cains* children: and of *Adam* by *Seth*, ten; *Seth* being given by God in ſtead of *Abel*: And of *Seth* was *Enoſh* begotten, in whoſe time men began to profeſs Religion, and to offer ſacrifice in publick. For although *Adam* inſtructed his Children in the knowledge of God their Creator, as appeared by the Sacrifice offered by *Cain* and *Abel*; yet it ſeemeth that after the death of *Enoſh*, men began publickly to call on the Name of the Lord, that is, they ſerved and praiſed God by Communion and in publick manner, or calling upon the Name of the Lord; and thereby were the Sons of God, or the Godly, diſtinguiſhed from the wicked. From the birth of *Enoſh* the Son of *Seth*, to the time of *Henoch* the Son of *Jared*, there is nothing remembred by *Moſes*, but their own births, the birth of their Sons, the length of their lives, and deaths. But of *Henoch* it is written: *That he walked with God, and he was no more ſeen*: for God took him away. By that, *that he walked before God*, was meant, that he was a juſt and upright man, and that he feared, loved, and obeyed God. For the ſame phraſe *Moſes* uſeth of *Noah*; Noah *was a juſt and upright man in his time*, and Noah *walked with God*. The Seventy convert it, *Enoch, placuit Deo*; Enoch *pleaſed God*. And although *Aben-Ezra*, and others, underſtand this place, (*tulit eum Deus*) *ſcilicet, mortuus eſt*; *God took him away*, (*that is*) *he dyed*, which (indeed) agreeth both with the phraſe of the Scripture, and with our manner of ſpeech to this day to ſay, God took him away when he died; yet the difference which *Moſes* maketh between the piety of *Henoch*, and the reſt of the Patriarchs, and by omitting the word (death) which he uſeth to all elſe, makes it manifeſt, that *Henoch* was not diſſolved as the reſt. For to all the reſt of the Patriarchs, *Moſes* uſeth theſe words, *And he dyed*; but of *Henoch* he ſpake otherwiſe, ſaying only, *He was miſſing*, or, *he was not ſeen*. *Et non inveniebatur* (ſaith the Apoſtle to the *Hebrews*) *quia Deus eum tranſtulit*; *And he was not found, for the Lord took him away*. In the ſame place it is expreſly added, *that he ſaw not death*.

Gen. 5. 24.

V. 7.

But whether this taking away of *Henoch* were not with the ſame kind of changing which St. *Paul* promiſeth, when he ſaith, that, *when the end the end ſhall come, we ſhall not all die, but all ſhall be changed*, I leave it to the learned Divines.

1 Cor. 15. 51.

After *Enoch*, *Moſes* paſſeth over to *Methuſalem* and *Lamech*, remembring (as of the reſt) the times of their birth and death: ſaving that *Lamech* propheſied of his Son *Noah*, ſaying, *This ſame ſhall comfort us concerning our work, and ſorrow of our hands, as touching the earth which the Lord hath curſed*. Of *Noah*, *Moſes* writeth more amply than of any of the reſt of *Adams* children by *Seth*, being the laſt of the ten generations of the firſt Age, whom God (with his Family) preſerved, becauſe he was an upright man in his time, and feared God.

Gen. 5. 29.

Gen. 6. 9.

But of the War, Peace, Government, and policy of thoſe ſtrong and mighty men, ſo able both in body and wit, there is no memory remaining: whoſe ſtories, if they had been preſerved, and what elſe was then performed in that newneſs of the World, there could nothing of more delight have been left to Poſterity. For the exceeding long lives of men (who to their ſtrength of body and natural wits, had the expeperience added of 800. and 900. years) how much of neceſſity muſt the ſame add of wiſdom and undertakings? Likely it is, that their works excelled all whatſoever can be told of after-times, eſpecially in reſpect of this old age of the world, when we no ſooner begin to know, but we begin to die; according to *Hippocrates*: *Vita brevis, ars longa, tempus præceps*; (which is) *Life is ſhort, art is long, time is headlong*. And that thoſe people of the firſt Age performed many things worthy admiration, it may be gathered out of theſe words of *Moſes*; *Theſe were mighty men, which in old time were men of renown*. But theſe men of renown (whom the Scripture afterwards calleth Giants, both for ſtrength of body, and cruelty of mind) truſted ſo much to their own abilities, as they forgat altogether the piety of *Seth*, and the ways wherein *Henoch* walked: *for all the imaginations of their hearts were evil, onely evil and continually evil*. And this wickedneſs was not onely found in the iſſues of *Cain*, but it was then univerſal, when the children and Sons of God (or of the godly) were corrupted and miſ-led by their Idolatrous Wives, the Daughters of *Cain*, or of thoſe other men, loving themſelves and the World onely.

Aphor. 1.

Gen. 6. 4.

Verſe 5.

Gen. 6. 5.

That theſe *Sons of God* were Angels, which being taken with the beauty of Women, and begat Giants, ſome of the Fathers ſuppoſed; namely, *Lactantius*, and *Euſebius*, miſ-led by *Joſephus*: of whom I cannot doubt, but that they afterward changed their former opinions. And of this miſtaking many Writers have taken great advantage, and have troubled themſelves with large anſwers, and very needleſs: the queſtion being uncapable of diſpute, eſpecially ſince S. *Chryſoſtom* and S. *Auguſtine* have anſwered it largely long ago. For, that good and godly men were honoured with the title of Gods children, it doth every where appear in Scripture: and on the contrary, to think that Angels, who (as Chriſt witneſſeth) behold the face of God, (that is) always attend his commandments, ſhould after a ſeparation from the reſt which fell with *Lucifer*, forſake the glorious preſence of their Creatour, and become *Incubi*, or *Succubi*, contrary both to Nature and Grace, were more than madneſs to imagine.

SECT.

SECT. VIII.

That the Giants, by Moſes *ſo called, were indeed men of huge bodies: as alſo, divers in later times.*

OF theſe Giants which *Moſes* calleth mighty men, *Goropius Becanus* an *Antueripian* (who thought his own wit more Gigantical than the bodies of *Nimrod*, or *Hercules*) hath written a large Diſcourſe, intituled, *Gigantomachia*; and ſtrained his brains to prove, that there were never any ſuch men: his reaſons (whoſoever deſires to loſe time) he may find them in the Treatiſes before named. It is true, that *Cyrillus* reproves the *Grecian* Poets for their monſtrous fictions: who affirm ſhameleſsly, That the Giants have in elder times, not only caſt up Mountains upon Mountains, but removed Iſlands out of the Sea, with like fooleries. And for that invention of caſting up Hills, and making War with the gods, no doubt but that the ſame was borrowed out of the Story of *Nimrod*, as before remembred; and even out of this Scripture. That *the Sons of God ſaw the Daughters of Men*, of whom the firſt Giants were begotten, was that conceit taken from *Orpheus* and *Heſiodus*, That Giants were the Sons of the Heaven and the Earth, meaning by the Heavens the *Sons of God*, and by the Earth, the *Daughters of Men*: which verſes of *Orpheus* are by *John Caſſam* (who hath written a very witty Diſcourſe of this Subject) thus changed into Latine:

Nomine cœleſtes illos dixère Gigantes,
Orti quòd terrâ fuerint & ſanguine cœli.

From th' Earth, and from thy bloud, O heaven, they came,
Whom thereupon the gods did Giants name.

But what will not Opiniators, and ſelf-believing men diſpute of, and make doubt of, if they cannot conceive that there were in the firſt Age ſuch kind of men; and of which there have been in all times ſince; ſeeing the Scriptures avow the one manifeſtly, and common experience the other?

And for that ſuperlative ſtraining of words, and the meaning of them, that the name of Giants was given to Oppreſſors and Tyrants, and not to ſtrength of body, and eminent ſtature: ſuch men might with better reaſon call them Oppreſſors, becauſe they were Giants; and therefore had ability to oppreſs, than ſay, That they were called Giants onely, becauſe Oppreſſors. For firſt, *Moſes* himſelf calleth them mighty men; which ſheweth a ſtrength ſurpaſſing others: and afterwards men of renown (that is) of great undertaking and adventurous actions. And if the ſame ſtature of body, and ability, had not been found among divers Nations after the general Flood, then might this place of *Moſes* have more willingly hearkened to a diſpute, and yielded to interpretation.

But beſides all theſe famous Giants found in prophane Hiſtories (which I will reſerve to accompany the Giants of *Albion*, in the Story of *Britany*) the Scriptures do clearly, and without all Allegorical conſtruction, avow, That beſides *Nimrod*, there were found of theſe Giants in the time of *Abraham*, of *Moſes*, of *Joſuah*, and of *David*; namely, the *Rephaims* in *Aſteroth*; the *Zuzæi*, or *Zanzummims* in *Ham*, and the *Emims* which dwelt anciently in the Land of *Moab*; whom *Moſes* (for ſtature) compareth with the *Anakims* which dwelt in *Hebron*; for they alſo were taken for Giants as the *Anakims*. Likewiſe where *Moſes* ſpeaketh of the Land of *Ammon*, he uſeth theſe words: *That alſo was taken for a Land of Giants, for Giants dwelt therein afore-times: and, whom the* Ammonites *call* Zanzummims; *a people that was great, and many, and tall as the* Anakims. And theſe Giants called *Rephaims* in *Aſteroth* and *Karnaim*, and the *Zuzæi* or *Zanzummims*, *Chederlaomer*, King of *Elam*, overthrew, aſſiſted by other Kings his aſſociates. Alſo the Prophet *Amos* found among the *Ammonites*, men of Giant-like ſtature, whom he compareth to the Cedar, and whoſe ſtrength to the Oaks: and the Prophet *Baruch*, *Theſe were the Giants famous from the beginning, that were of ſo great ſtature, and ſo expert in warr.* Particularly, it is written of *Og* King of *Baſan*, that his bed of Iron was nine Cubits long, and four Cubits broad: for onely *Og* King of *Baſan* remained of the remnant of the Giants who commanded the Kingdom of *Baſan* four hundred years after the Expedition of *Chedorlaomer*. Moreover, thoſe Diſcoverers and Searchers of the Land of Promiſe (ſent by *Moſes* from *Cadesbarne* in *Paran*) made report at their return of the great ſtature of thoſe people in general, and eſpecially of the Sons of *Anak*, in theſe words: *All people which we ſaw in it, are men of great ſtature: for there we ſaw Giants, the Sons of* Anak, *which come of the Giants, ſo that they ſeemed in our ſight, like Graſhoppers, and ſo we were in their ſight*, (that is) the Searchers found in their own judgments a marvellous difference between the *Anakims* and themſelves: inſomuch that the *Iſraëlites* were ſo ſtricken with fear, as they rather ſought, and deſired, to return again into *Egypt*, and were more willing to endure their former ſlavery, than to fall by the ſtrokes of thoſe fearfull Nations. Furthermore, the Scriptures put us out of doubt, that *Goliah* the *Philiſtine* of *Gath*, was a Giant of ſix Cubits and a ſpan long: the Armour which he wore, weighed five thouſand ſhekels of Braſs: the ſhaft of his ſpear was like a Weavers beam, and his ſpear head weighed ſix hundred ſhekels of Iron. Alſo in *Samuel* there is mention of another *Goliah*, ſurnamed *Getheus*, becauſe he was of *Gath*, and of there other Giants; of which the firſt was ſlain by *Jonathan*, *David*'s Nephew, who had twelve fingers, and as many toes: a man of great ſtature, and his fingers were by ſixes, even four and twenty.

Alſo that *Sampſon* was of ſurpaſſing ſtrength, no man doubteth, who tore a Lion as it had been a Kid, and after ſlew thirty of the *Philiſtines*, and (after that) a thouſand more of them with a Jaw-bone of an Aſs: And laſtly, he took the Gates of *Azzah*, and the two poſts, and lifted them away with the barrs, and put them upon his ſhoulders, and carried them to the top of the Mountain before *Ebron*. If then it be approved by every judgment, that both Nature, and the Heavens wax old, and that the great age of Time hath (with it ſelf) infeebled and almoſt worn out the virtue of all things, then I ſay, That as in all other kinds the Earth (before that Sin had increaſed the curſe and corruption) brought forth her young ones more ſtrong and beautifull, than it did in after ages: ſo alſo thoſe Giants, thoſe mighty men, and men of renown, as far exceeded the proportion, nature, and ſtrength of thoſe Giants, remembred by *Moſes* of his own time, and after him their ſucceſſors, as the ordinary proportion of men in general, ſoon after the Floud, and in times far off, exceeded the bulks and bodies of men which are now born, in the withered quarter and Winter of the World. If therefore Giants were common in the third and fourth Age, much more in the firſt flouriſhing youth and newneſs of the World.

But the wickedneſs (eſpecially in cruelty and oppreſſion) of theſe men was ſuch, as God therefore by

Gen. 14. 5. *Numb.* 15. 34. *Deut.* 2. *v.* 19, 20. *Amos* 1. *Bar.* 3. *v.* 26. *Deut.* *v.* 11 *Numb.* 13 *v.* 33 *Cap.* 14 1 *Sam.* 17 *v.* 4. 2 *Sam.* 21 *v.* 19. 1 *Chron.* 20. 7. *Jud.* 14 14. 19. 16. 3. *Verſ.* 21.

by the Flood, gave end to all flesh, but to the just *Noah* and his Family. *And God repented him that he had made man*: which Saint *Augustine* thus expoundeth; *Neque enim sicut hominem, ita Deum facti sui pœnitet, cujus est de omnibus omnino rebus tam fixa sententia, quam certa præscientia. Sed si non utatur Scriptura talibus verbis, non se quodammodo familiarius insinuabit omni generi hominum, quibus vult esse consultum: ut & perterreat superbientes, & excitet negligentes, & exerceat quærentes, & alat intelligentes; God* (saith he) *doth not repent him of any thing which he hath done (as men use to do) but if the Scripture did not use those words, or the like, it should not (in a sort) insinuate it self familiarly to all sorts of men, for whom it would provide: that it might terrifie the proud, stir up the negligent, exercise the searchers of the truth, and nourish those that understand.*

Gen. 6. 6. De Civit. Dei. l. 15. c. 15.

CHAP. VI.

Of Idolatrous corruptions, quickly rising, and hardly at length vanishing in the World; and of the Reliques of Truth touching these ancient Times, obscurely appearing in Fables and old Legends.

SECT. I.

That in old Corruptions, we may find some signs of more antient Truth.

HEre, before we proceed any further, the occasion offereth it self for us to consider how the *Greeks*, and other more ancient Nations, by fabulous inventions, and by breaking into parts the Story of the Creation, and by delivering it over in a mystical sence, wrapping it up mixed with other their own trumpery, have sought to obscure the truth thereof; and have hoped, that after-ages, being thereby brought into many doubts, might receive those inter-mixed Discourses of God and Nature, for the inventions of Poets and Philosophers, and not as any thing borrowed or stoln out of the Books of God. But as a skilful and learned Chymist can as well by separation of visible elements draw helpful Medicines out of poison, as poison out of the most healthful Herbs and Plants (all things having in themselves both life and death) so, contrary to the purposes and hopes of the Heathen, may those that seek after God and Truth, find out every where, and in all the ancient Poets and Philosophers, the Story of the first Age, with all the works and marvels thereof, amply and lively expresst.

SECT. II.

That the Corruptions themselves were very ancient, as in the Family of Noah, *and in the old* Egyptians.

BUT this defection and falling away from God, which was first found in Angels, and afterwards in men (the one having erred but once, the other ever) as concerning Man-kind, it took such effect, that thereby (the liberal Grace of God being withdrawn) all the posterity of our first Parents were afterwards born and bred in a world, suffering a perpetual Eclipse of spiritual light. Hence it was that it produced Plants of such imperfection and harmful quality, as the waters of the general Flood could not so wash out or depure, but that the same defection hath had continuance in the very generation and nature of man-kind. Yea, even among the few Sons of *Noah*, there were found strong effects of the former poyson. For as the Children of *Shem* did inherit the Virtues of *Seth*, *Enoch*, and *Noah*; so the Son of *Cham* did possess the vices of the Sons of *Cain* and of those wicked Giants of the first Age. Whence the *Chaldæans* began, soon after the Floud, to ascribe Divine power and honour to the Creature, which was onely due to the Creator. First, they worshipped the Sun, and then the Fire. So the *Egyptians* and *Phœnicians* did not onely learn to leave the true God, but created twelve several Gods, and divine powers, whom they worshipped, and unto whom they built Altars and Temples. For *Herodotus* saith, *Duodecim Deorum nomina primos Ægyptios in usu habuisse, atque Græcos ab illis cepisse mutuatos, eosque prius Aras, & Imagines, & Templa Diis, sibi erexisse*; *The Egyptians* (saith he) *first devised the names of the twelve gods, which the* Greeks *received from them, who first erected unto themselves Altars, Images, and Temples, for the gods.*

Herod. in Euterpe.

SECT. III.

That in process of time, these lesser errours drew on greater: as appeareth in the gross Superstitions of the Egyptians.

BUT as men once fallen away from undoubted truth, do then after wander for evermore in vices unknown, and daily travel towards their eternal perdition: so did these gross and Blind Idolaters, every Age after other, descend lower and lower, and shrink and slide downwards from the knowledge of one true and very God; and did not thereby erre in worshipping mortal men onely, but they gave divine reverence, and had the same respect to Beasts, Birds, Fishes, Fowls, Winds, Earth, Water, Ayr, Fire, to the Morning, to the Evening, to Plants, Trees, and Roots, to Passions and Affections of the Mind, to Paleness, Sickness, Sorrows, yea, to the most unworthy and basest of all these. Which barbarous blasphemy, *Rhodius Anaxandrides* derideth in this manner:

Nat. Com. l. 1. c. 7.

Bovem colis, ego Deis macto bovem.
Tu maximum Anguillam Deum putas: ego
Obsoniorum credidi suavissimum.
Carnes suillas tu caves, at gaudeo
His maximè: canem colis, quim verbero
Edentem ubi deprehendo forte obsonium.

I sacrifice to God the Beef which you adore.
I broyl th'*Egyptian* Eeles, which you (as god) implore:
You fear to eat the flesh of Swine; I find it sweet.
You worship Dogs; to beat them I think meet,
When they my store devour.

And in this manner *Juvenal.*

Porrum, aut cæpe, nefas violare aut frangere morsu:
O sanctas gentes, quibus hæc nascuntur in hortis
Numina!

The *Egyptians* think it sin to root up, or to bite
Their Leeks or Onyons, which they serve with holy rite:
O happy Nations, which of their own sowing
Have store of gods in every Garden growing!

SECT. IV.

That from the Relicks of ancient Records among the Egyptians *and others, the first Idols and Fables were invented: and the first* Jupiter *was* Cain, Vulcan, Tubal-Cain, *&c.*

But in so great a confusion of Vanities, where among the Heathens themselves there is no agreement or certainty, it were hard to find out from what example the beginnings of these Inventions were borrowed, or after what ancient Pattern they erected their Building; were it not certain that the *Egyptians* had knowledge of the first Age, and of whatsoever was done therein, partly from some Inscriptions upon Stone or Metal remaining after the Flood; and partly from *Mizraim* the Son of *Cham*, who had learned the same of *Cham*, and *Cham* of his Father *Noah*: For, all that the *Egyptians* write of their antient Kings, and date of times, cannot be fained: and though other Nations after them had by imitation their *Jupiters* also, their *Saturns*, *Vulcans*, and *Mercuries*, with the rest, which St. *Augustine* out of *Varro*, *Eusebius* out of many prophane Histories; *Cicero*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Arnobius*, & many more have observed, to wit, the *Phœnicians*, *Phrygians*, *Cretians*, *Greeks*, and other Nations, yet was *Cain*, the Son of *Adam*, (as some very Learned men conceive) called and reputed for the first and ancient *Jupiter*; and *Adam* for the first *Saturn*: for *Jupiter* was said to have invented the founding of Cities, and the first City of the World was built by *Cain*, which he called *Enoch*, of whom were the *Henochii*, before remembred. And so much may be gathered out of *Plato* in *Protagoras*, which also *Hyginus* in his 275 Chapter confirmeth. For besides that many Cities were founded by divers men: *Tamen primam latissimam à primo & antiquissimo* Jove *ædificatam*: *yet the first and largest was built by the first and most ancient* Jupiter, seated in the East parts, or in *India*, according to that of *Moses*: *And* Cain *dwelt towards the East-side of* Eden, *&c.* where also the *Henochii* were found after the Flood. And therefore was *Jupiter* by the *Athenians* called *Polieus*, a Founder of Cities, and *Herceios*, an Incloser or Strengthener of Cities) say *Phornutus* and *Pausanias*;) and that to *Jupiter Herceios*, there were in very many places Altars and Temples erected. And, that there were Cities built before the Flood, *Plato* also witnesseth, as may be gathered in this his affirming, that, soon after Mankind began to increase, they built many Cities; which, as his meaning, he delivereth in plain terms in his third Book of Laws: for he saith, That Cities were built an exceeding space of time before the destruction by the great Flood.

Aug l. 19. *c.*22. *de Civit. Dei. Eusb. l.*1. *de Præp. Evang. c.*7. *& l.* 2. *c.*23. *Cic. l.* 2. *de nat. Deorum. Arnob.* 4. *contra Gent.*

Phornut. de Natur. Deum. Pausan. l. 5. *&* 10. *in Prot.*

Gen. 4. 16.

This first *Jupiter* of the *Ethnicks* was then the same *Cain*, the Son of *Adam*, who marrying his own Sister (as also *Jupiter* is said to have done) inhabited the East, where *Stephanus de Urbibus* placeth the City *Henochia*. And besides this City of *Henoch*, *Philo Judæus* conceiveth that *Cain* built six others, as *Maich*, *Jared*, *Tebe*, *Jesca*, *Selet*, and *Gebat*: but where *Philo* had this, I know not. Now, as *Cain* was the first *Jupiter*, & from whom also the *Ethnicks* had the invention of Sacrifice: so were *Jubal*, *Tubal*, and *Tubal-Cain* (Inventors of Pastorage, Smith-craft, and Musick) the same which were called by the Ancient prophane Writers, *Mercurius*, *Vulcan*, and *Apollo*. And as there is a likelihood of name between *Tubalcain* and *Vulcan*: so doth *Augustine* expound the name of *Noema*, or *Naamath*, the Sister of *TubalCain*, to signifie *Venusta*, or beautiful, *Voluptas*, or pleasure; as the Wife of *Vulcan* is said to be *Venus* the Lady of pleasure & beauty. And as *Adam* was the ancient and first *Saturn*; *Cain*, the eldest *Jupiter*; *Eva*, *Rhea*, and *Noema*, or *Naamath*, the first *Venus*: So did the Fable of the dividing of the World between the three Brethren, the Sons of *Saturn*, arise from the true Story of the dividing of the Earth between the three Brethren, the Sons of *Noah*; So also was the fiction of those golden Apples kept by a Dragon, taken from the Serpent which tempted *Evah*: So was *Paradise* it self transported out of *Asia* into *Africa*, and made the Garden of the *Hesperides*: the Propheses, that *Christ* should break the Serpents head, and conquer the power of Hell, occasioned the Fables of *Hercules* killing the Serpent of *Hesperides*, and descending into Hell, and captivating *Cerberus*: So out of the taking up of *Henoch* by God, was borrowed the conversion of their *Heroes* (the Inventors of Religion, and such Arts as the life of man had profit by) into Stars and heavenly Signes, and (withal) that leaving of the World, and ascension of *Astræa*: of which *Ovid*;

Lact. l. 4. *c.*27.

Ultima cœlestum terras Astræa reliquit.

Ovid. Met. l. 1.

Astræa last of heavenly Wights the Earth did leave.

For although thereby the *Ethnicks* would understand Justice it self to have failed, as it is a virtue abstract, and may be considered without a person; yet as it is usual among the ancient Poets to describe Virtues and Vices by the persons of men and women, as Desire by *Cupid*, Valour by *Mars*, Beauty or Lust by *Venus*; so do they also the persons of men by like Virtues and Vices: and therefore by Justice and *Astræa*, *Enoch*; the Justice and Piety of *Enoch*, being in the same manner expres'd, as that of *Noah* was by *Moses*: for *Noah* was said to be a just man; *And Noah walked with God.* And of *Enoch* it is written, *That he walked with God, and he was no more seen: for God took him away.*

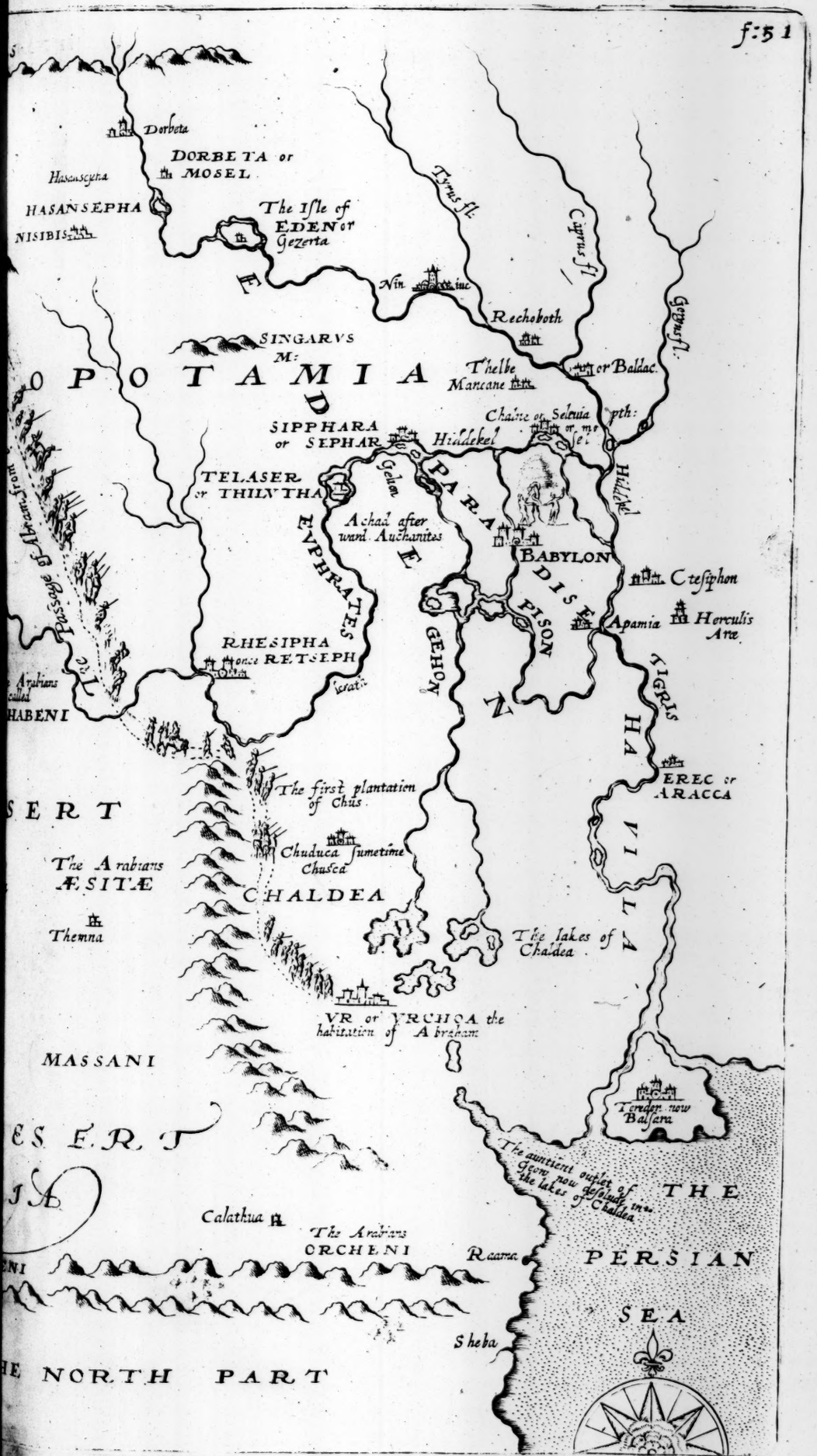
*Nat. Com. l.*2. *c.*3.

Gen. 7.

Gen. 5. 22. 24.

From this Story also of the first Age, and from that part where *Moses* remembreth the Giants begotten by the Sons of good men upon the Daughters of the

CAPADOCIÆ PARS
ARMENIA
CILICIÆ PARS
Edessa
Tarsus
Adana
Mallus
Mara
CYRRESTICA
Issus
Sinus Issicus or Alexandretta
Alexandretta
Aleppo or Hierapolis
CYPRVS
Anticchia
CHALCIDICI
THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Laodicia
Apamia
Adada
Aradus
Antaradus
Tripolis
Botrys
Byblus
Berytus
Archis
CATANY
Palmyra
PALMYRENA
Sidon
Libanus
COELESYRIA
Tyre
Antelibanum
Damascus
Alsadamus
THE DESERT PALMERINA
Cæsaria philippi
Beratki
Machati
Syria Soba
Saue or Saba
pto Acon
Gesuri
BATANEA
SACCEA
ARABIA
AGREI
Bassan
Cæsaria p
Sichem
Amorites
Ammonites
Beitel
Hai
Ioppe
MARTENI
Aurana
IERVSALEM
Moabites
AGVBENI
Ascalon
ARABIA
Midianites
Idumites
PETREA
Pharan desart
Petra deserti
Amalekites
Ismalites
THE RED SEA
ARABIA THE HAPPIE


Dorbeta
DORBETA or MOSEL
Hasansepha
HASANSEPHA
NISIBIS
The Isle of EDEN or Gezerta
Tygris fl.
Euphrates fl.
Nin. inc.
Rechoboth
Gozan fl.
SINGARVS M:
MESOPOTAMIA
Thelbe Mancane
or Baldac.
Chaire or Seleuia or mo Sel.
pth:
SIPPHARA or SEPHAR
Hiddekel
TELASER or THILVTHA
Gehon
PARADISE
Achad after vand. Auchanites
BABYLON
Ctesiphon
Apamia
Herculis Arx
EVPHRATES
PISON
GEHON
RHESIPHA once RETSEPH
Seraii
Passage of Abraham from
Arabians called
HABENI
SERT
The first plantation of Chus
EREC or ARACCA
Chuduca sumetime Chusea
The Arabians ÆSITÆ
CHALDEA
Themna
The lakes of Chaldea
VR or VRCHOA the habitation of Abraham
MASSANI
Teredon now Balsera
The auntient outlet of Geon now dryed vp into the lakes of Chaldea
THE PERSIAN SEA
Calathua
The Arabians ORCHENI
Racma
Sheba
THE NORTH PART

the wicked (whom *Moſes* calleth mighty men, and men of renown) did they ſteal thoſe wondrous great acts of their ancient Kings, and powerful Giants; and again, their Warr undertaken againſt the gods, from the building of the Tower of *Babel* by the Giant *Nimrod*, as S. *Auguſtine* termeth him. Which War of their Giants, *Cornelius Severus* thus deſcribeth: *Lib. de Civit. Dei.*

Tentavere (neſas) olim detrudere mundo
Sydera, captivique Jovis *transferre Gigantes*
Imperium, & victo leges imponere cœlo.

The Giants did advance their wicked hand
Againſt the Stars, to thruſt them headlong down;
And robbing *Jove* of his Imperial Crown,
On conquer'd Heavens to lay their proud command.

Whereby was meant that *Nimrod* purpoſed to raiſe the building of *Babel* to that height, as God neither by drawing waters from the deep, nor by any conjunction of the Stars, ſhould bury them under the moiſture of a ſecond Floud, but that by this building (if they had been herein victorious) they would have given the Law to Heaven it ſelf. Alſo the making of Leagues, Peace and Covenants among Heathen Nations and Kings, confirmed by Sacrifice, whereof *Virgil* both in the eighth and twelfth of his *Æneids* hath a touch, was (as it ſeemeth) borrowed from *Moſes*, *Exod.* 24. who, when he read the Book of the Covenant, ſprinkled the people with bloud. *Joſeph. l. 1. contra Appian.*

We find alſo many remembrances of *Seth*, the paternal Anceſtor of *Henoch* and *Noah*: for *Amenophis*, the ſame King of *Egypt* which reigned at ſuch time as *Moſes* carried thence the Children of *Iſrael* (as of late ſome learned men, miſtaking his time, ſuppoſed) called his Son and Succeſſour *Setho*, of *Seth*: and of *Seth* (as many men of good judgment have granted) were the Princes of *Thrace*, called *Scuthes*, whereof there were many very famous. But herein was the memory of *Seth* moſt manifeſtly preſerved, that the *Egyptians* worſhipped *Seth*, as their moſt antient Parent, and of the firſt Tradition: in honour of whom they called a principal Province *Sethoitica*. We alſo find in *Bithynia* the City of *Sethia*, and others of the ſame name elſewhere. And ſure, from the *Egyptians* did the Grecians borrow this kind of Theologie, though they ſcorned to acknowledg any antiquity preceding their own: and that they might not ſeem to learn elſewhere, they gave the ſame names to their own Idols, which the *Egyptians* did to theirs. *Plut. in Iſid.* *Strab. l. 17.*

SECT. V.

Of the three chiefeſt Jupiters, *and the ſtrange Story of the third.*

BUT of all thoſe Armies of *Jupiters*, remembred by the Antients, *Cicero* maketh but three, becauſe thoſe were of moſt fame: which other Writers have alſo done, who ſought out, and laboured in their originals.

The firſt was *Jupiter*, the Son of *Aether* and *Dies*, ſo called, becauſe the one had reference to his Celeſtial conditions (for *æther* is as much as *ſhining* or pure *fire*:) the other diſcovered his natural virtues, which days and times make more perfect, and are the witneſſes of mens actions.

The ſecond was ſaid to be the Son of *Cœlum* or Heaven, for the ſame former reſpect; and this *Jupiter* was an *Arcadian*, and King of *Athens*.

The third, of whom all the *Grecian* Fables were deviſed, was of *Crete* (now *Candie*,) the Son of *Saturn* and *Ops*. The name derived from the Latine is taken out of *Juvans pater*, from the Greek word *Zeus*; it ſignifieth life, but ſomewhat ſtrained. *Boccas* in his Genealogy of the Gods, conceiveth, that his name was borrowed from *Jupiter* the Planet; but whether that Star had ſuch a name before the ſame was given to men, I know not. *Jupiter* is hot and moiſt, temperate, modeſt, honeſt, adventurous, liberal, merciful, loving and faithful, (that is) giving theſe inclinations. And therefore thoſe antient Kings beautified with theſe conditions, might be called thereafter *Jupiter*: but howſoever they were, or were not with thoſe virtues inriched, yet by imitation, all Kings in the eldeſt times aſſumed thoſe Titles and Sirnames: great Princes affecting as high Titles of honour and reputation in the world (howſoever deſerved) as the worthieſt that ever were, acquired by their well-deſervings. *Joves omnes Reges vocârunt antiqui*, *The Antients called all Kings* Jupiters, as *Tzetzes* in his *varia hiſtoria* confirmeth; *Reges olim* Joves *vocârunt omnes*; *In old times all Nations call'd their Kings Jupiters.* But where this laſt and moſt remembred *Jupiter* was born, it is uncertain. Some there are, that make him of *Crete*: others, that he was but ſent thither by his Mother *Ops*, or *Opis*, to be ſoſtered and hidden from the fury of *Titan* his Uncle: becauſe it was conditioned between *Saturn* and *Titan*, that *Saturn* being a younger Brother, and reigning (for his own life) by *Titan*'s permiſſion, he ſhould put to death all his male Children, leſt the *Titans* might be interrupted by any one of them in their ſucceſſion; which agreement, becauſe *Saturn* performed in his firſt-born, it is feigned that *Saturn* devoured his own children. Hereof *Lycophron*, thus turned into Latine: *Nat. Com. l. 1. c. 7.*

Haud ſit pinguior,
Crudis ſepulchrum quòd ſit ipſe filiis.

Saturn to be the father is not known,
By being the grave and burial of his own.

This compoſition between *Titan* and *Saturn*, *Sybilla* alſo witneſſeth in theſe words;

Conceptis verbis, Titan *jurare coëgit*
Saturnum, *de ſe natum ne nutriat ullum,*
Quò poſſint regnare, ſenis poſt fata, Nepotes.

Things thus agreed; *Titan* made *Saturn* ſwear
No Son to nouriſh, which by reigning might
Uſurp the right of *Titan*'s lawful heir.

But *Opis* the Mother of *Jupiter*, being delivered at once both of *Jupiter* and *Juno*, conveyed *Jupiter* (firſt called *Lyſanias*) into *Crete*, as ſhe did afterwards his two Brothers, *Neptune* and *Pluto*: where he was brought up in *Gnoſſus*, the chief City of that Iſland, by *Creſta* the King, or by the *Curetes*, a People and Nation thereof. *Euſeb. in Temp.*

Others challenge him to be of *Thebes* and a *Thebane*: others call him an *Arcadian*; others make him of *Meſſena*. The like contention is found among the Greeks touching his education and firſt foſtering. Some affirm that he was fed by Hony-bees: in recompence whereof he changed their black coats and skins into yellow; a reward well fitting ſuch a God; others, that he was nouriſhed by Bears: others, by Goats: and of all theſe the idle Greeks have many

pretty tales. But in the end, when *Titan* had knowledg that *Saturn* had broken his faith, he set on him, and took him and his wife prisoners, whom *Jupiter* again rescued and delivered.

But lastly, the Father and the Son equally ambitious, the one doubted the other. *Saturn* being the less powerful, fled into *Italy*, and left his Kingdom in *Greece* to his Son. And although this Prince at the first purchased great honour, and for his many virtues, the name of *Jupiter* was given him: yet after he was once setled, and became potent, he gave himself over wholly to palliardize and adultery, without all respect of Honour, Law, or Religion. And it is reported by such as do ascribe the actions of many to one *Jupiter*, that not therewith satisfied, he was afterwards known to offend in the sin of *Sodom* with *Ganimedes* and others: and did not only begin with incest, marrying his own Sister *Juno*, but he ravished, betrayed, stole away, and took by strong hand all the beautiful women born in his time, within the limits of his own Kingdoms, or bordering them. Among whom these hereafter written were of greatest fame; *Niobe*, *Laodamia*, and *Alcmena*, the Wife of *Amphytrion*, by whom he had *Pelasgus*, *Sarpedon*, *Argus*, and *Hercules*: by *Taygete* he had *Taygetus*, of whom the Mountain *Taygetus* took name; with another Son called *Saon*, of whom *Savonas*; by *Antiope* he had *Amphion* and *Zetus*: by *Læda*, *Castor* and *Pollux*, *Hellen* and *Clytemnestra*: by *Danae*, *Perseus*; by *Jordana*, *Deucalion*: by *Charme* (the daughter of *Eubulus*) *Britomartis*: by *Protogenia*, he had *Athlius* the Father of *Endymion*: and by *jö* (the daughter of *Inachus*) *Epaphus*, the founder of *Memphis in* Egypt: which *Epaphus*, married *Lybia*, of whom that Country took name, for so the Greeks afterward called *Africa*. He ravished *Aegina* the Daughter of *Aesopus*, and carried her into the Island *Oenopia* or *Oenotria*, afterward called *Aegina*, on whom he begat *Aeacus*: by *Torrhebia* he had *Archesilaus* and *Carbius*: by *Ora*, *Colaxes*: he had also *Dardanus* by *Electra*, who built *Dardanium*, afterward *Ilium* or *Troy*. He begat the Brothers *Talici*, on *Thalia*; and on *Garamantis*, *Hearbas*. He had besides these (if they bely not their chief god) *Phileus* and *Pilumnus*, inventers of the Bakers craft; and I know not how many more; but I know well that he could not be Father to all these, who were born in Ages so far differing. And of these his several ravishments, betrayings, stealing away of mens Wives, Daughters, and Sons, buying of Virgins, and the like, came in all those antient fables of his transformations into showers of Gold, Eagles, Bulls, Birds, and Beasts; and of him, and by him (in effect) all that rabble of *Grecian* forgeries. And yet did not the *Greeks* and *Romans* fear to entitle this Monster *Optimus Maximus*, though *Cicero* in his second Book *de natura Deorum*, affirm, that he deserved nothing less; and in his Oration, *pro domo sua*, reprocheth *Clodius* for his incest, by the name of *Jupiter*. His burial was in *Crete* (saith *Lucian.*) *Cretenses non solùm natum apud se, & sepultum Jovem testantur, sed etiam sepulchrum ejus ostendunt*; *The Cretians, or Candians, do not only avow that Jupiter was born and buried among them, but they shew his Grave and Sepulchre:* which *Epiphanius* also confirmeth; for in his time there remained the Monuments of his Tomb in the Mountain *Jasius*. This, *Callimachus* in his Hymns also witnesseth; but, as offended thereat, saith thus:

Luc. in Sacrif.

> The *Cretians* ever lyars were, they care not what they say:
> For they a Tomb have built for thee, O King, that liv'st alway.

Diodorus Siculus tells by way of report from the *Lybian* Fables, confirmed (as he saith) by some *Greek* Writers, that the original of these gods was from the Western parts of *Africa*. For there among the *Atlantidæ* reigned one *Uranus* (which signifieth Heaven) called so, for his great skill in *Astrology*; and for his knowledg, and benefits to the people, honoured by them as a God after his death. He had by many Wives Fourty five Sons; but by his principal Wife *Titea*, he had Seventeen Sons and two Daughters, all which were called after their Mothers name, the *Titanes*. Of *Titea*, likewise it is said, that she for her goodness was Canonized as a Goddess, being dead, and called the Earth, as her Husband was styled Heaven. But of all the Children of *Titea*, her Daughter *Basilea* (which name sounding as Queen in *English*, she is by the *Latine* Translator of *Diodorus* called *Regina*) excelling the rest as far in virtue as in years, was by general consent of her Brethren, and of the People, appointed to rule as Queen after her Father's death, being as yet a Virgin. She took to husband her Brother *Hyperion*, to whom she bare a Son and a Daughter, called *Sun* and *Moon*. The beauty and towardliness of these children moved her Brethren to envy, and bred in them a fear of being excluded from the succession: wherefore they took the Boy and drowned him in the River *Eridanus*, now called *Poe*. The loss of this child, caused his sister to break her own neck; and the loss of both her children, made the Mother to play many mad prancks, dancing with Cymbals, after a wild fashion, in sight of all the people, before whom she is said to have vanished away. E're she died, her Son (as the Fable hath it) signified unto her in a Dream, that he and his sister, by the providence of God, should become immortal; that also the *Sun* and *Moon* should be called by their names, and that their death should be revenged upon the Murtherers. According to which it is said, that the people did so call those two Planets, and withal held her self as a goddess; and tearmed her the great Mother, which name they had formerly given to her, for her motherly care in cherishing her brethren whilest they were young. *Hyperion* and his Race being extinguished, the other Sons of *Uranus* divided the Kingdom. Of these, *Atlas* and *Saturn* were chief. *Atlas* reigned over the Countries lying about the Mountains, which afterward bare his name; a Just and Wise Prince, deeply skilful in *Astrology*: and, for invention of the *Sphere*, said to have supported Heaven. He had many Sons; but the principal of them called *Hesperus*, being of his Fathers qualities and studies, was said to have been carried away by the Wind, from the top of an high Hill, in the middest of his contemplations; and his name, in honour of him, imposed by the people upon the morning Star. The seven Daughters of *Atlas* were also said to have been excellent Ladies, who accompanying such as came to be Deified, or registred among the Worthies, brought forth children, answerable in quality to those that begat them. Of these it is held, that the Seven Stars called *Pleiades*, took name. *Saturn*, the brother of *Atlas*, reigned in *Sicilia*, part of *Africk* and *Italy*. *Jupiter*, another of the Sons of *Uranus*, reigned in *Crete*; who had ten Sons, which he called *Curetes*: he called that *Island* after his Wives name, *Idea*; in which Isle he died, and was buried. But this *Jupiter* must not have been that great one, but Uncle to the great *Jupiter*, if these Fables of the *Lybians* were true. *Saturn* (as these *Lybians* tell the tale) was a great Tyrant, and fortified strong places, the better to keep his people in subjection. His sister *Rhea* was married to *Hammon*, who reigned in some part of *Africk*. *Hammon* loving others as well as his Wife, or better, got a Daughter called *Minerva*, near

Diod. l. 2. c. 5.

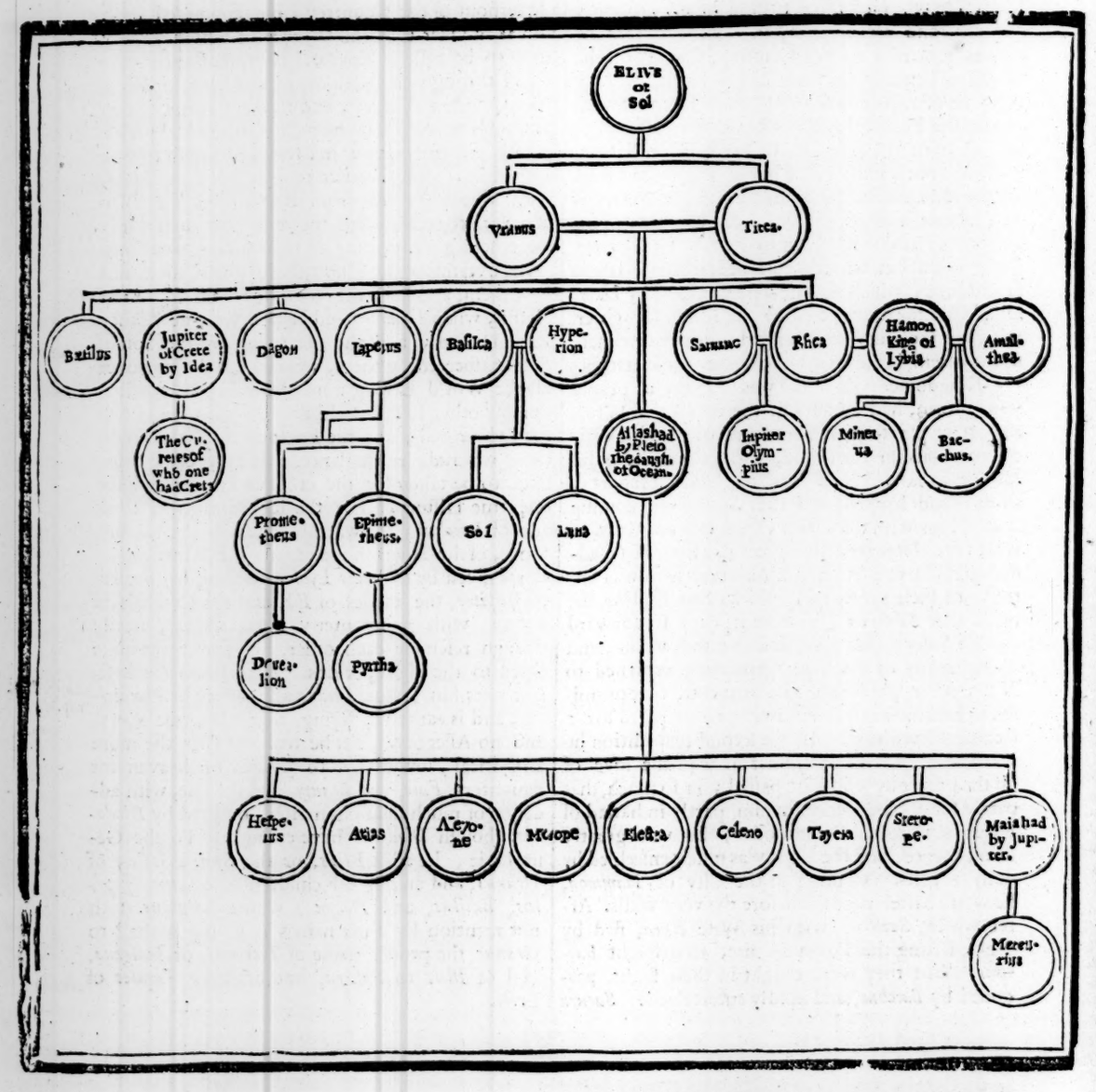
to

to the River *Triton*, who thereupon was called *Tritonis*. He also begat on *Amalthea*, a Son, called *Bacchus*, whom he caused secretly, for fear of his life, to be brought up at *Nysa*, and Island in the River *Triton*, under the tuition of his Daughter *Minerva*, and certain *Nimphs*. To *Amalthea* he gave in reward a goodly Country, that lay on the Sea-coast, bending in form like a Horn, whence grew the tale of *Amalthea*'s plentifull Horn, famous among the Poets. When *Rhea* heard these news, she fled from her Husband to her brother *Saturn*, who, not onely entertained her as a sister, but took her to Wife, and at her instigation, made warr upon *Hammon*, vanquished him by the assistance of the *Titans*, and made him flee into *Crete*. The *Curetes*, *Jupiter*'s children before mentioned, held the Island at that time; which was new named *Crete* by *Hammon*, after the name of *Creta* the Kings Daughter, whom he took to Wife, and had with her (women, as may seem, being very gracious in those names) the Kingdome. *Bacchus* was grown a proper young man, had found out the making of Wine, the art of planting of Trees, and many things else commodious for man-kind, before the flight of his Mother-in-law. Now therefore, hearing report of all that had hapned, and that *Saturn* was coming against him with the *Titans*; he levied an Army, to which the *Amazons*, living not farr from *Nysa*, added great forces, in love of *Minerva*, who was entred into their profession. So *Bacchus* leading the men, and *Minerva* the women, they set forward against *Saturn*, met him, and overthrew him, and taking many of the *Titans* prisoners, returned to *Nysa*; where pardoning the prisoners, that promised to become his true followers, he prepared for a second Expedition. In the second Expedition he behaved himself so well, that he wan the love of all the people by whom he passed; in so much, that partly for good affection to him, partly in hatred of *Saturn*'s rigorous Government, he was greatly strengthened, and the Enemy as much enfeebled by daily revolts. Coming to the City of *Hammon*, he wan a battel of *Saturn* before the very walls. After which, *Saturn*, with his Wife *Rhea*, fled by night, setting the Town on fire, to despight *Bacchus*. But they were caught in their flight, pardoned by *Bacchus*, and kindly entertained. *Saturn* had a young Son by *Rhea*, called *Jupiter*. This child *Bacchus* took with him in a great Expedition that he made into the East-Countreys: and coming into *Egypt*, he left this *Jupiter*, being then a Boy, Governour of the Countrey; but appointed unto him as an Over-seer, one *Olympus*, of whom *Jupiter* grew to be called *Olympus*. Whilest *Bacchus* travelled through all Nations, as farr as into *India*, doing good in all places, and teaching many things profitable to the life of man; the *Titans* had found out his father *Hammon* in *Crete*, and began to war upon him. But *Bacchus* returned out of *India*, with whom *Jupiter* from *Egypt*, and his sister *Minerva*, together with the rest, that afterwards were held gods, joyning all their forces, went into *Crete*, overthrew the *Titans*, chased them, took and slew them, and freed the World of them all. After all this, when *Hammon* and *Bacchus* were dead, they were Deified; and the great *Jupiter*, the Son of *Saturn*, succeeding them, reigned Lord alone over all the World, having none of the *Titans* left alive, nor any other to disturb him. Between the tale of the *Lybian* gods, and the *Egyptian* Fables of *Osiris*, there is a rude resemblance, that may cause them both to be taken for the crooked Images of some one true History. For the Expeditions of *Osiris* and of *Bacchus*; the warrs of the Giants in the one Story, of the *Titans* in the other; the Kingdom of *Egypt* given by *Hercules Lybicus* to *Orus*, by *Bacchus* to *Jupiter*, the rattles of *Isis*, and the Cymbals of *Basilea*, with many pretty circumstances, neerly enough resemble each other, howsoever not alike fitted to the right persons. *Sanchoniato* (as *Eusebius* cites him) would have all these to be *Phœnicians*, and is earnest in saying, that it is a true Story, and no Allegory. Yet he makes it seem the more allegorical, by giving to *Uranus* or heaven for daughters, *Fate*, and *Beauty*, and the like, with addition of much fabulous matter, omitted by *Diodorus*, though *Diodorus* have enough. To the Genealogie, he adds *Elius*, or the *Sun*, as father of *Uranus*, and among the children of *Uranus*, *Japetus*, *Betilus*, and *Dagon* (whom *Diodorus* doth not mention by their names) giving withall to *Uranus*, the proper name of *Terrenus*, or *Indigena*, and of *Illus* to *Saturn*, but omitting *Jupiter* of *Crete*.

Euseb. l. 1. cap. 7.

The

The Pedigree of them is this:



SECT. VI.

Of Cham, *and other wicked ones; whereof some gat, some affected, the name of God.*

OF *Jupiter Belus*, the Son of *Saturnus Babylonicus*, otherwise *Nimrod*, it seemeth that *Cicero* had not heard, (at least by that name;) who was more ancient than any of the former three, by him remembred: for long after these times were the *Greeks* but Salvages, if they seek no farther off for their gods.

But the *Egyptians*, even after the Floud, began (somewhat before this *Chaldean Jupiter*) to entitle *Cham*, the Parent of their own *Mizraim*, *Jupiter Chammon*, or *Hammon*. For the Etymologie of this word (*Hammon*) which the *Greeks* deduce *ab arenis, from the sands*, is ridiculous (saith *Peucer*;) neither yet is his own much better, who brings it from *Hammath*, which signifieth Heat: because the Temple of *Jupiter Hammon* was seated in *Libya*, where the ayr is exceeding hot and scorching. And as for the Antiquity of the latter *Jupiter* (among the *Greeks* and *Romans* the most renowned) it is certain that he was born not long before the War of *Troy*, as by many of his Sons is made manifest; namely, *Castor*, *Pollux*, *Hercules*, *Sarpedon*, and others, which lived in that Age of *Priamus*, under whom, and with whom, *Troy* was destroyed.

Peucer de Oraculo.

Now seeing that mortal men, and the most wicked, were esteemed immortal among the *Heathen*; it was not to be wondred at, that *Alexander Macedon*, *Tyberius Nero*, *Caligula*, and others, sought to be numbred among them, who were as deformed Monsters as the rest: for by what reason could the same *Deity* be denied unto *Laurentia* and *Flora*, which was given to *Venus*? seeing they were as notorious and famous Harlots, as she was.

SECT.

SECT. VII.

That the wiser of the antient Heathen had far better opinions of God.

BUT that ever *Pythagoras* or *Plato*, or *Orpheus*, with many other ancient and excellently learned, believed in any of these fooleries, it cannot be suspected, though some of them (over-busily) have mixed their own inventions with the Scriptures: for, in punishment for their fictions, did *Pythagoras* hang both *Homer* and *Hesiod* in Hell, where he fained that they were perpetually stung and pinched with Serpents. Yet it cannot be doubted, but that *Homer* had read over all the Books of *Moses*, as by places stoln thence, almost word for word, may appear; of which *Justine Martyr* remembreth many in that Treatise converted by *Mirandula*. As for *Plato*, though he dissembled in some things for fear of the Inquisition of the *Areopagites*, yet S. *Augustine* hath already answered for him (as before remembred) *Et mirificè iis delectatus est, quæ de uno Deo tradita fuerant*; *And he was greatly delighted in the doctrine of one God*, saith *Justine Martyr*. Now, howsoever *Lactantius* pleased to reprehend *Plato*, because (saith he) *Plato sought knowledge*, from the *Egyptians*, and the *Chaldeans*, neglecting the *Jews*, and Books of *Moses*; * *Eusebius*, *Cyrillus*, and *Origen*, find reason to believe the contrary, thinking that from thence he took the grounds of all by him written of God, or savouring of Divinity: and the same opinion had S. *Ambrose* of *Pythagoras*.

* *Eusebius Præp. Evang. l.* 11. *Cyril. cont. Julian. Origen. contra Celsum. Ambr. ad Iren. Ep.* 6. *lib.* 1.

Areopagus or *domus seu mons Martis*, *Mars* his hill: a house wherein capital matters are tried: so called at first, because *Mars* therein first pleaded his cause for the murther of *Hulirrhothos*, *Pausan in Attic. Nat. Com. l.* 2. 6, 7. *Just. Mart. ad in. Gen. fol.* 8. 14. *ut sup. Exod.* 3. 14.

But whether it were out of the same vanity, which possessed all those learned Philosophers and Poets, that *Plato* also published (not under the right Authours names) those things which he had read in the Scriptures; or fearing the severity of the *Areopagites*, and the example of his Master *Socrates*, by them put to death by poyson; I cannot judge. *Justine Martyr* (as it seemeth) ascribeth it wholly to *Plato*'s fear, whose words among many other of the same effect, are these; Plato, Mosis *mentionem facere, ob id, quod unum solumque Deum docuerat, sibi apud Athenienses tutum non putavit, veritus Areopagum*; Plato, *fearing the Areopagites thought it not safe for him among the Athenians, to make mention of* Moses, *that he taught there is but one God*. But for that Divinity which he hath written in *Timæo*, *Id ipsum de Deo disseruit quod & Moses*; *He discoursed and taught the same of God* (saith *Justine Martyr*) *which Moses did*. For, where it pleased God by his Angel to answer *Moses*, *Ego sum existens*, (which is) *I Am*; and, *Existens misit me ad vos*; *I Am hath sent me unto you*; herein did *Plato* (saith *Justine Martyr*) no otherwise differ than that *Moses* used the word (*qui*) and *Plato* the word *quod*: Moses *enim qui existit* (*inquit*;) Plato, *quod existit*; *for* Moses saith, *He who is*; Plato, *That which is*. Now, of Gods incomprehensible nature, and of the difficulty either to conceive, or express the same, he giveth this testimony: *Genitorem Universitatis tam difficile est invenire, quam inventum impossibile digne profari*; *It is as hard to find out the Creator of the Universal, as it is impossible, if he were found, to speak of him worthily*. And what can be more agreeable to the Majesty of Gods Nature, than this property by *Plato* acknowledged? *Deus bonus, & quidem Deus causa bonorum: malorum autem omnium non causa*; *God is absolutely good, and so* (*assuredly*) *the cause of all that is good: but of any thing that is evil, he is no cause at all*. And again, *Charitas Dei fuit causa factionis mundi, & originis omnium rerum*; *The love of God was the cause of the Worlds creating, and the original of all things*. *Apuleius* the Platonist; *Summus Deus infirnitus est, non solum loci exclusione, sed etiam naturæ dignitate: & nihil est Deo similius & gratius, quam vir animo perfecto bonus*; *The most high God is also an infinite God, not onely by exclusion of place, but by the dignity of nature: neither is there any thing more like, or more acceptable to God, than a Man of a perfect heart*. *Thales* affirmeth, that God comprehended all things, and that God was of all things the most ancient: *Quia nunquam esse cœpit*; *because he never had any beginning*. *Zeno*, that God beheld even the thoughts of men; *Athenodorus*, that therefore all men ought to be carefull in the actions of their life, because God was every where present, and beheld all done. But what can be more agreeable to *Moses* story of the Creation, than this opinion and description of the Worlds beginning in *Euripides*, Scholar of *Anaxagoras*.

In Timæo.

De legib. l. 10.

Laertius.

Cœlum terraque unius formæ fuit:
Sed cum fuissent abjunctæ amplexu mutuo,
Emersit omnis in lucem res progenita:
Arbores, aves, feræ, quasque affert mare,
Genusque mortalium.

Heaven and Earth one form did bear:
But when dis-joyned once they were
From mutual embraces,
All things to light appeared then;
Of trees, birds, beasts, fishes, and men
The still-remaining races.

And as in *Pythagoras*, in *Socrates*, and in *Plato*; so we find the same excellent understanding in *Orpheus*, who every where expressed the infinite and sole power of one God; though he use the name of *Jupiter*, thereby to avoid the envie and danger of the time: but that he could attribute those things to the Sons of men, and mortal creature, which he doth to this *Jupiter*, there is no man, who hath ever heard of God, that can imagine.

Nomina Deorum (saith *Mirandula*) *quos* Orpheus *canit, non decipientium Dæmonum, à quibus malum & non bonum provenit*; *sed naturalium virtutum divinarumque sunt nomina*; *The names of those gods whom* Orpheus *doth sing, are not of deceiving Devils, from whom evil comes, and not goodness, but they are the names of natural and divine Virtues*. Yea, that he reacheth higher, and speaketh of God himself, this his instruction to *Musæus*, and the *Hymn* following, teach us: *Respiciens verò ad divinum hunc sermonem, ei diligenter animum adverte, intendens cordis rationis capax conceptaculum: rectam autem ascende viam, & solum aspice mundi regem. Unus est ex se genitus, ex eo omnia nata sunt: ipse vero in illis versatur, nec quisquam eum intueri potest mortalium, sed ipse nihilominus omnes intuetur.*

Then marking this my sacred speech, but truly lend
Thy heart, that's reason, sphere, and the right way ascend,
And see the Worlds sole King: First, he is simply one,
Begotten of himself, from whom is born alone
All else; in which he's still: nor could it e're befall
A mortall eye to see him once, yet he sees all.

And

And again the same Author,

Jupiter *omnipotens, et primus, et ultimus idem*;
Jupiter *est caput & medium:* Jovis *omnia munus.*
Jupiter *est fundamen humi, & stellantis Olympi.*
Jupiter *& mas est, & fœmina nescia mortis.*
Spiritus est cunctis, validi vis Jupiter *ignis.*
Et pelagi radix, Sol, Luna *est* Jupiter *ipse.*
Rex & origo simul rerum est, & terminus idem.
Nam prius occuluit; magno post numine sacrum
Cor referans, bonus in dulcem dedit omnia lucem.

The first of all is God, and the same last is he;
God is the head and midst, yea from him all things be,
God is the base of Earth, and of the starred Skie,
He is the Male and Female too, shall never die.
The Spirit of all is God, the Sun and Moon, and what is higher.
The King th' original of all, of all the end.
For close in holy breast he did all comprehend,
Whence all the blessed light, his wondrous power did send.

Now (besides these former testimonies) that all the Learned men of antient times were not so stupid and ignorant, as the *Egyptians*, *Grecians*, and other Nations by them infected were, I will only repeat two or three other opinions, and leave the Readers to those large and learned Collections of *Justine Martyr*, *Clemens*, *Lactantius*, *Eusebius*, *Eugubinus*, *Peucer*, *Plessis*, *Daneus*, and others. For *Cleanthes* the *Stoick*, being demanded of what nature God was, described him by these Attributes and Properties; *Bonus, justus, sanctus, seipsum possidens, utilis, speciosus, optimus, severus, liber, semper commodus, tutus, gloriosus, charitas, &c.* *Good, just, holy, possessing himself, profitable, beautiful, best, severe, free, alwaies doing good, safe without fear, glorious, and self-charity.* *Epicharmus* affirmed, That God who beheld all things, and pierced every Nature, was only and every where powerful: agreeing with *Democritus*; *Rex omnium ipse solus*; *He is the only King of kings:* And with *Pindarus* the Poet, *Deus unus, Pater, creator summus atque optimus artifex, qui progressus singulis diversos secundum merita præbet*; *One God, the Father, the most high Creator, and best Artificer, who giveth to every thing divers proceedings according to their deserts.* *This God* (saith *Antisthenes*) *cannot be resembled to any thing, and therefore not elsewhere known*; *Nisi in patria illa perenni, cujus imaginem nullam habes*; *Save only in that everlasting Country, whose image thou hast none at all.* Hereof also *Xenophanes Colophonius*: *Unus Deus inter deos & homines maximus, nec corpore nec mente mortalibus similibus*; *There is one God among gods and men most powerful, neither corporally nor mentally like unto mortals.* And *Xenophon*, *Deus qui omnia quatit, & omnia quiescere facit, magnus potensque, quod omnibus patet: qualis autem forma sit, nemini patet, nisi ipsi soli, qui luce sua omnia perlustrat*; *God who shaketh all things, and setteth all things at rest, is great and mighty; as is manifest to all: but of what Form he is, it is manifest to none, save onely to himself, who illuminateth all things with his own light.* Finally, *Plato* saith, *Totius rerum naturæ causa, & ratio, & origo Deus, summus animi genitor, æternus animantium sospitator, assiduus mundi sui opifex, sine propagatione genitor, neque loco, neque tempore ullo comprehensus, eoque paucis cogitabilis, nemini effabilis*; *God is the cause, ground, and original of the whole nature of things, the most high Father of the Soul, the eternal preserver of living Creatures, the continual framer of his world, a begetter without any propagation, comprehended neither in any place, nor time; therefore few can conceive him in thought, none can express what he is.* Therefore was it said by Saint *Hierom*, *Si enim cunctos Philosophorum revolvas libros, necesse est ut in eis reperias aliquam partem vasorum Dei: ut, apud* Platonem, *fabricatorem mundi Deum: apud* Zenonem, *Stoicorum Principem, inferos & immortales animas, &c.* *If thou consider all the Books of the Philosophers, thou canst not but find in them some part of the Vessels of God, as, in* Plato, *God the Creator of the World: in* Zeno, *Prince of the Stoicks, Hell and immortal Souls, &c.* And this is certain, that if we look into the wisdom of all Ages, we shall find that there never was man of solid understanding or excellent judgment; never any man whose mind the Art of Education hath not bended; whose eyes a foolish superstition hath not afterward blinded; whose apprehensions are sober, and by a pensive inspection advised; but that he hath found by an unresistable necessity, one true God, and everlasting Being, all for ever causing, and all for ever sustaining; which no man among the Heathen hath with more reverence acknowledged, or more learnedly express'd, than that *Egyptian* Hermes, howsoever it failed afterward in his posterity: all being at length by devilish policy of the *Egyptian* Priests purposely obscured; who invented new gods, and those innumerable, best sorting (as the Devil perswaded them) with vulgar capacities, and fittest to keep in aw and order their common people.

Hieron. in Com. in Dan. in princip.

SECT. VIII.

That Heathenism and Judaism, after many wounds, were at length about the same time under Julian *miraculously confounded.*

BUT these are again vanished: for the inventions of mortal men are no less mortal then themselves. The Fire, which the *Chaldeans* worshipped for a god, is crept into every man's chimny, which the lack of Fuel starveth, Water quencheth, and want of Ayr suffocateth: *Jupiter* is no more vexed with *Juno*'s Jealousies; *Death* hath perswaded him to chastity, and her to patience; and that time which hath devoured it self, hath also eaten up both the Bodies and Images of him and his: yea their stately Temples of Stone and dureful Marble. The houses and sumptuous buildings erected to *Baal*, can no where be found upon the Earth, nor any Monument of that glorious Temple consecrated to *Dianа*. There are none now in *Phœnicia* that lament the death of *Adonis*; nor any in *Lybia*, *Creta*, *Thessalia*, or elsewhere, that can ask counsel or help from *Jupiter*. The great god *Pan* hath broken his Pipes, *Apollo*'s Priests are become speechless; and the trade of riddles in Oracles, with the Devils telling men's fortunes therein, is taken up by counterfeit *Egyptians*, and couzening *Astrologers*.

But it was long ere the Devil gave way to these his over-throws and dishonours: for after the Temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos* (one of his chief Mansions) was many times robbed, burnt, and destroyed; yet by his diligence the same was often enriched, repaired, and re-edified again, till by the hand of God himself it received the last and utter subversion. For it was first robbed of all the Idols and Ornaments therein by the *Eulæan* Pyrates: Secondly,

condly, by the *Phlegians* utterly ſack'd: Thirdly, by *Pyrrhus* the Son of *Achilles*: Fourthly, by the Army of *Xerxes*: Fifthly, by the Captains of the *Phocenſes*: Sixthly, by *Nero*: who carried thence five hundred brazen Images: all which were new made, and therein again ſet up at the common charge. But whatſoever was gathered between the time of *Nero* and *Conſtantine*, the Chriſtian Army made ſpoil of, defacing as much as the time permitted them: notwithſtanding all this, it was again glorioufly re-built, and ſo remained till ſuch time as *Julian* the *Apoſtata* ſent thither to know the ſucceſs of his *Parthian* enterpriſe, at which time it was utterly burnt and conſumed with fire from Heaven, and the Image of *Apollo* himſelf, and all the reſt of the Idols therein, molten down, and loſt in the Earth.

The like ſucceſs had the *Jews* in the ſame *Julian*'s time, when by his permiſſion they aſſembled themſelves to rebuild the Temple of *Jeruſalem*: for while they were buſied to lay the foundations, their buildings were overthrown by an Earthquake, and many Thouſands of the *Jews* were overwhelmed with the Ruines, and others ſlain and ſcattered by Tempeſt and Thunder: though *Am. Marcellinus* report it more favourably for the *Jews*, aſcribing this to the nature of that Element. For, ſaith he, *Allypius* and the Ruler of the Province of *Judea*, being by *Julian* buſied in the re-edifying of this Temple, flaming Balls of fire iſſuing near the foundation, and oft conſuming the Workmen, made the Enterprize fruſtrate.

Am. Mar. l. 13. c. 1.

SECT. IX.

Of the laſt refuges of the Devil to maintain his Kingdom.

NOw the Devil, becauſe he cannot play upon the open ſtage of this World, (as in thoſe daies) and being ſtill as induſtrious as ever, finds it more for his advantage to creep into the minds of men; and inhabiting in the Temples of their hearts, works them to a more effectual adoration of himſelf than ever. For whereas he firſt taught them to ſacrifice to Monſters, to dead Stones cut into faces of Beaſts, Birds, and other mixt Natures; he now ſets before them the high and ſhining Idol of glory, the All-commanding Image of bright Gold. He tells them that Truth is the Goddeſs of dangers and oppreſſions, that chaſtity is the enemy of Nature, and laſtly, that as all virtue (in general) is without taſte; ſo pleaſure ſatisfieth and delighteth every ſenſe: for true wiſdom (ſaith he) is exerciſed in nothing elſe, than in the obtaining of power to oppreſs, and of riches to maintain plentifully our worldly delights. And if this *Arch-Polititian* find in his Pupils any remorſe, any feeling or fear of God's future judgments, he perſwades them that God hath ſo great need of men's Souls, that he will accept them at any time, and upon any condition: interrupting by his vigilant endeavours all offer of timeful return towards God, by laying thoſe great blocks of rugged poverty and deſpiſed contempt in the narrow paſſage leading to his divine preſence. But as the mind of man hath two Ports, the one alwaies frequented by the entrance of manifold vanities; the other deſolate and over-grown with graſs, by which enter our charitable thoughts and divine contemplations: ſo hath that of Death a double and twofold opening, worldly miſery paſſing by the one, worldly proſperity by the other: at the entrance of the one we find our ſufferings and patience to attend us: (all which have gone before us to prepare our joys) at the other our cruelties, covetouſneſs, licentiouſneſs, injuſtice and oppreſſions (the harbingers of moſt fearful and terrible ſorrow) ſtaying for us. And as the Devil our moſt induſtrious Enemy was ever moſt diligent; ſo is he now more laborious than ever: the long day of Mankind drawing faſt towards an evening, and the Worlds Tragedy and Time near at an end.

CHAP. VII.

Of Noah's *Floud.*

SECT. I.

Of God's fore-warning: and ſome humane Teſtimonies: and ſome doubting touchng the truth of Noah's *Floud.*

OF this deſtruction it pleaſed God to give warning unto *Noah*: who (ſaith *Joſephus*) fearing to periſh among the reſt, *Decedens cum ſuis in aliam regionem migravit: He departed with his children, and travelled into another Region.* And of theſe Giants from whom *Noah* withdrew himſelf, *Beroſus* writeth in this manner; *That they exceeded in all ſorts of inhumane and unnatural wickedneſs*, and that they were *contemptores & religionis & deorum; contemners of Religion and of the gods*: Among which mighty men (ſaith *Beroſus*) *unus erat qui deorum verentior, & prudentior tunctis, &c. huic nomen erat* Noah; *There was one more wiſe and reverencing the Gods than the reſt, whoſe name was* Noah: who with his three Sons, *Sem*, *Japhetus*, and *Cham*, and with their Wives, and the wife of *Noah*, (namely *Titea* the Great, *Pandora*, *Noela*, and *Noegla*) preſerved themſelves in the *Arke*. This *Arke* God commanded *Noah* to prepare: *And God ſaid unto* Noah, *Make thee an Ark of Pine-Trees: thou ſhalt make cabins in the Ark, and ſhalt pitch it within and without with pitch.* For God made *Noah* to know, that an end of all fleſh was at hand, and that the graves of the rebellious and cruel Generations were already faſhioned in the Clouds, which ſoon after ſhould ſwallow up and

Joſeph. l. 1. c. 4.

Gen. 6. 14. V. 13.

cover all living Creatures which breathed in the Air, *Noah* and his Family excepted.

But this universal grave of Waters, and general Deluge hath not been received by all: for divine testimones do not perswade all natural men to those things to which their own reason cannot reach: *Dum obvoluta in obscuro veritas latet: Whilest the truth lieth wrapt in obscurity.* Many there are who have disputed against the universality of this Overflowing, and have judged that this Flood of *Noah* fell but in some particular places and Kingdoms: moved so to think, because in elder Ages there have been many other Floods (as they suppose) of that nature. Hereof *Nicolas Damascenus* writeth in this manner, as his words are cited by *Josephus*. *Est super Minyadam excelsus Mons in Armenia, qui Baris appellatur, in quo multos confugientes sermo est diluvii tempore liberatos, & quendam simul in Arca devectum in hujus vertice hæsisse, lignorumque reliquias multo tempore conservatas, qui fortasse is fuit de quo etiam* Moses *Judæorum legislator scribit:* thus far this Author. *There is* (saith he) *above Minyada* (or the Country of *Minyæ*) *an exceeding high Mountain in Armenia, called Baris: on which it is reported, that many having fled thither, were saved in the time of the Deluge; and that one was carried in an Ark, and rested upon the top of the Mountain, whereon there remained a long time after certain pieces thereof; and this might be the same of which* Moses *the Law-giver of the Jews makes mention.* And of this opinion were the *Thalmudists* (saith *Annius*) that many Giants saved themselves upon Mount *Sion*.

Lact. impræs. de falsa relig.

Jos. Ant. l.1. c.4. Euseb. de præp. l. 9. c. 4.

But *Berosus* (who, after *Moses*, was one of the most ancient, howsoever he hath been since deformed and corrupted) doth in the substance of all agree with *Moses* as touching the general Flood, taking from thence the beginning of his History in these words: *Ante aquarum cladem famosam, qua universus periit Orbis, &c. Before that famous destruction of Waters, by which the World universal perished*; witnessing withal, that *Noah* with his Wife *Titea*, and his three Sons with their Wives (in all eight persons) were only saved.

SECT. II.

Of the Flood in the time of Ogyges: *and that this was not* Noahs *Flood.*

But from the vanity of the *Greeks*, the Corrupters of all truth (saith *Lactantius*,) who without all ground of certainty vaunt their Antiquity, came the errour first of all: who therein flattering themselves also, sought to perswade the World that there was no Flood preceded the Flood of *Ogyges*, King of the *Thebans* in *Bœotia*, or rather of *Attica*; and therefore (saith *Rhodiginus*) *Ogygium id appellant Poetæ, tanquam pervetus dixeris ab Ogyge vetustissimo: The Poets gave the name of* Ogygia *to things exceeding ancient, as of* Ogyges *the most ancient.*

Rho. l.15. c. 33.

But let *Ogyges* be as ancient as those men can make him, yet it is manifest that he lived but in *Jacobs* time (though *Eusebius* makes him later, and in *Moses* time) and was born 67. years after him. There is also an opinion, that *Ogyges* was *Cadmus* (and then was he far later) as *Rhodiginus* in the ninth Book of his Antiquites remembreth: *Sunt tamen qui in* Ægypto *regnasse autumant hunc; unde sit* Cadmus, *qui in* Græciam *profectus* Thebas *condidit, à Bove jugulato sic nuncupatas; quoniam* Syrorum *lingua Bos dicitur* Thebe. *There are* (saith he) *who think that this* Ogyges *did reign in* Egypt, *whereby he should be* Cadmus, *who travelling into* Greece, *built* Thebes, *so named of a Beef slain: because in the* Syrian *Language, a Beef is called* Thebe.

Euseb. de Præp. Evang. l.10. c. 3. Ca. 22.

But this Flood of *Ogyges* fell in the year of the World, 3440. according to *Eusebius*, who followed the account of the *Septuagint*: and the Flood of *Noah* in the year 2242. after the same account: and so there came 1200. between these Floods, wanting but two, though herein *Eusebius* was much mistaken, and corrected this opinion in his *Chronologie*. Now, although the very year and time of this overflowing in *Achaia*, or rather *Attica*, be not precisely set down, but that there is a great difference among Writers; yet whosoever makes it most ancient, finds above 500. years difference between that and the general Flood.

For, *Paulus Orosius*, affirms that this tempest fell upon the *Athenians*, but 1040. years before *Rome* was built. *Bucholzerus* saith, it was 1043. elder than *Rome*, which was founded (according to the same *Bucholzerus*) in the Worlds year, 3219 though after the account which I follow (and whereof I will give my reasons in the Story of *Abraham*) it was built in the Worlds year, 3280. Now, the general Flood preceded the building of *Rome* (saith *Bucholzerus*) 1563 years: and the Flood of *Ogyges*, (as before) 1043. Hence it followeth by easie calculation, that (if he place *Ogyges* in his true age) the difference between these two Floods must be 520 years, to which we (allowing 60 more) find 580. And that this of *Ogyges* was not the same of *Noah* (except we call *Noah*, *Ogyges Priscus*, as some do) it appears by this, that the Flood of *Ogyges* then King of *Attica*, or *Ogygia*, did not extend it self any farther then the banks of *Archi-pelago*, or the *Ægæan* Sea. For, whereas *Mela*, *Pliny*, and *Solinus* witness, that the City of *Joppe* in *Judæa* was founded before the Flood; and that (notwithstanding the height of Waters) there remained on certain Altars of Stone, the Title of the King, and of his Brother *Phineus*, with many of the grounds of their Religion: sure it is no where found among prophane Historians, nor in the Scriptures, that ever the Flood of *Ogyges* spred it self over any part of *Syria*, much less over all the Earth. But that it drowned both the Regions of *Attica* about *Athens*, and that of *Achaia* in *Peloponnesus*, it is very probable. For it seemeth that at that time it was, when *Helice* and *Bura* were swallowed up (Cities seated on the North part of *Peloponnesus*): of which *Ovid*.

Lib. 1. cap.7.

Xenophon annianus.

Mela. l.3. Plin. l. 5. Sol. ca.47. Joppe oppidum antiquissimum orbe toto, utpote ante inundationem terrarum conditum. Sol. ibid.

Si quæras Helicen, *&* Buran, *Achaidos urbes,*
Invenies sub aquis.

Ovid. Met. l.15. 303.

Bura and *Helice*, on *Achaian* ground,
Are sought in vain, but under Sea are found.

Of this Floud of *Ogyges*, was invented the Fable of *Apollo* and *Diana*. For *Latona*, the Daughter of *Cœus*, the Son of *Titan*, being beloved, and forced by *Jupiter*, and by him gotten with child, *Juno* thereat enraged, permitted her (as they say) no part of the Earth to be delivered on; and withal, caused the monstrous Serpent *Python*, to follow and affright her, whersoever she travelled; till at length arriving at the Isle of *Ortygia*, she was there received; in which she was delivered, first of *Diana*, and then of *Apollo*, being Twins; whereof *Barlaam* makes this Exposition; That at such time as the Deluge

Nat. Com. l.1. c.6.

Deluge (which happened in *Ogyges* his reign) ceased, out of the abundant moisture of the Earth (heat by putrefaction being thereto mixed) there were exhaled such thick mists and fogs, that in *Attica*, and along the coasts of the *Ægean* Sea, neither the beams of the Sun by day, nor of the Moon by night, could pierce the ayr, or be perceived by the inhabitants: so as when at length (the Earth being dried, and these vapours dissipated) the ayr began to be clear, the people of *Ortygia* espied the light of the Moon somewhat before day, and in the same morning the Sun also appeared: fabulously (because *Diana* represented the Moon, and *Apollo* the Sun) they were reported to be born in the Isle of *Ortygia*, thereof afterwards called *Delos*; which signifieth Manifestation.

Plin. l. 4. c. 11.

And surely it is not improbable, that the Floud of *Ogyges*, being so great, as Histories have reported it, was accompanied with much alteration of the ayr, sensibly discerned in those parts, and some unusual face of the Skies. *Varro* in his Books, *de gente populi Romani* (as he is cited by S. *Augustine*) reports out of *Castor*, that so great a miracle hapned in the Star of *Venus*, as never was seen before, nor in after-times: For the colour, the greatness, the figure, and the course of it, were changed. This fell out, as *Adrastus Cyzicenus*, and *Dion Neapolites*, famous Mathematicians affirmed, in the time of *Ogyges*.

Aug. de Civit. Dei. l. 21. c. 8.

Now, concerning the course of that, or any other Planet, I do not remember, that I have any where read of so good Astrologers, flourishing among the *Greeks* or elsewhere in those days, as were likely to make any calculation of the revolutions of the Planets, so exact, that it should need no reformation: Of the colour and magnitudes I see no reason, why the difference found in the Star of *Venus*, should be held miraculous; considering, that lesser mists and foggs than those which covered *Greece* with so long darkness, do familiarly present our senses with as great alterations in the Sun and Moon. That the figure should vary, questionless it was very strange: yet I cannot hold it any prodigie: for it stands well with good reason, that the side of *Venus* which the Sun beholds, being enlightned by him, the opposite half should remain shadowed; whereby that Planet would, unto our eyes, descrying only that part whereon the light falleth, appear to be horned, as the Moon doth seem; if distance (as in other things) did not hinder the apprehension of our senses.

A worthy Astrologer now living, who by the help of perspective Glasses, hath found in the Stars many things unknown to the Ancients, affirmeth so much to have been discovered in *Venus*, by his late Observations. Whether some watry disposition of the ayr might represent as much to them that lived with *Ogyges*, as *Galilæus* hath seen through his instrument; I cannot tell: sure I am, that the discovery of a truth formerly unknown, doth rather convince Man of ignorance, than Nature of errour. One thing herein is worthy to be noted, that this great, but particular Floud of *Ogyges*, was (as appeareth by this of S. *Augustine*) accompanied with such unusual (and therefore the more dreadfull, though natural) signs, testifying the concurrence of causes with effects in that inundation; whereas the Floud of *Noah*, which was general, and altogether miraculous, may seem to have had no other token, or fore-shewing, than the long preaching of *Noah* himself, which was not regarded: for they were eating and drinking, when the Floud came suddenly, and took them all away.

Luke 17. v. 27.

SECT. III.

Of Deucalions *Floud: and that this was not* Noahs *Floud: nor the Umbri in* Italy, *a remnant of any universal Floud.*

A Second Floud of great fame, and of which the time is more certain, was that of *Deucalion* in *Thessalia*; of which S. *Augustine* out of *Varro*: *His temporibus (ut* Varro *scribit) regnante Athenis* Cranao, *successore* Cecropis *(ut autem nostri,* Eusebius *&* Hieronymus*) adhuc eodem* Cecrope *permanente, Diluvium fuit, quod appellatum est* Deucalionis: (that is) *In these times, (as* Varro *reporteth)* Cranous *the successor of* Cecrops *governed the* Athenians, *or, (as our* Eusebius *and* Hierome *say)* Cecrops *yet living, that Floud (called* Deucalions*) happened.*

And in the beginning of the 11. Chapter of the said 18. Book, he useth these words: *Eduxit ergo* Moses *ex* Ægypto *populum Dei novissimo tempore* Cecropis Athenienſium *Regis, cum apud* Assyrios *regnaret* Ascatades, *apud* Sicyonios Marathus, *apud* Argivos Triopas: Moses *led the people of God out of* Egypt *about the latter time of* Cecrops, *King of the* Athenians, Ascatades *reigning over the* Assyrians, *over the* Sicyonians Marathus, *and over the* Argives Triopas. So as leaving the curiosity of a few years, more or less, it appeareth, that this Floud of *Deucalion* was either at the egression of the children of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, or near it: and then after *Noah* 753. years, according to *Functius*, who makes *Cecrops* to live in the year of the World, 2409. or if we follow *Mercator*, then 739. years after *Noah*, and in the year of the World 2395. But if *Deucalion* were born in the age of the World 2356. according to *Codoman*: then giving unto *Deucalion* 40. years of age when this Floud happened, it falleth within one year of *Mercators* account. But *Deucalion*, by all approved Historians, is said to have been 82. years old at that time. Now, *Clemens Alexandrinus* dates the time of this Floud of *Deucalion*, and the conflagration and burning in *Phaeton*'s time, by the Reign of *Crotopus*, King of the *Argives*; but *Crotopus* lived King of the *Argives* six years after *Israel* departed *Egypt*, which makes twenty years difference, according to *Functius*, who will have this Floud and Burning to have fallen 14. years before *Moses* left *Egypt*: for he gave the Worlds years to the Floud and Burning, the year 2440. and to *Moses* egression the year 2454. And yet *Cedrenus* thinks that *Moses* was more ancient, and lived with *Inachus*; but that cannot be true: for then had the Flood of *Deucalion*, and the Burning of *Phaëton* preceded the Floud of *Ogyges*, which is denied by all: for that of *Thessaly* (called *Deucalions*) followed that of *Attica* (called *Ogygia*) at least 250. years, or thereabouts. *Eusebius* in his Chronologie, makes it 230. and so doth *P. Orosius*: *Eusebius* about the 50. year of *Moses* life, and *Cyrillus* about the 67. and both after *Noahs* Floud 770. years: for these be *Clemens Alexandrinus* his words: *Fuit autem Græcia tempore quidem* Phornei, *qui fuit post* Inachum, *inundatio quæ fuit tempore* Ogygis: *There happened in* Greece, *in the time of* Phorneus, *who lived after* Inachus, *the Floud of* Ogyges. Now, if the Floud of *Ogyges* in *Attica* were 1020. or 1016. years before the first *Olympiad*, according to *Eusebius* and *Orosius* (as before;) then it is manifest, that taking 763. out of this number of 1020. it falls out, that *Ogyges* Floud

Cedren. l. 3. fol. 34.

Clem. Alex. l. 1. Strom. ex Cteſ.

pened before the *Hebrews* left *Egypt* 250. years, or 260. years, according to the difference between the opinions of *Euſebius* and *Oroſius*. And for my ſelf (who rather follow thoſe Chronologers, which give 60. years more to *Abraham* after the Floud, than the reſt) I reckon the times which come between theſe Flouds in this ſort. The general Floud was in the year of the World 1656. *Jacob* was born in the year of the World 2169. ſo as from the beginning of the Floud to *Jacobs* birth, there were conſumed 513. years. *Ogyges* Floud happened 100. years after *Jacob* was born; and therefore after the general Floud 613. years. Now, *Deucalion* was born in the year of the World 2356. and had lived 82. years, when his kingdom of *Theſſaly* was overwhelmed; (which added to 2356. make 2438.) his floud was after *Noah*'s Floud ended, 782. years. And hereto *Annius* his *Xenophon* agreeth, who makes 700. years between the general Floud and *Deucalion*'s birth; to which add 82. years of his Age (as before) and then the floud of *Theſſaly* followed the general 782. years. The words of that *Xenophon* are theſe: *Ab inundatione terrarum ad ortum* Deucalionis, *ſecundo anno* Sphæri, *ſeptingenti ſupputantur anni, qui natus annos duos & octoginta* Theſſaliam *vidit inundatam: From the drowning of the World to the birth of* Deucalion, *in the ſecond year of* Sphærus, *are numbred* 700. *years, and when* Deucalion *was* 82. *years old, he ſaw* Theſſaly *drowned*. This Floud hapned in the Winter time about *Parnaſſus*: witneſs *Ariſtotle*, in the firſt of his *Meteors*. And *Varro* (whom S. *Auguſtine* ſo often citeth for his excellent Learning, eſpecially in Antiquities) findeth this floud of *Deucalion* to have hapned in the time of *Cranaus*, who ſucceeded *Cecrops*: *Oroſius* thinks it ſomewhat later, *Amphytrion* reigning in *Athens*, the third from *Cecrops*: Onely this of *Deucalion* was very great, and reached not onely over *Theſſaly* it ſelf, and the Regions adjoyning Weſtward, but it covered the greateſt part of *Italy*: and either the ſame, or ſome other particular floud then happening, oppreſt *Egypt*, ſaith *Euſebius*. And therefore did the *Greeks* either think it, or feign it to be univerſal; and *Deucalion* the King, ſaving himſelf, and ſome others on the Mountain of *Theſſaly* (of all other the higheſt, ſaith *Solinus*) was by reaſon thereof (as *Strabo* witneſſeth) ſaid to be the preſerver of man-kind. That this floud covered a great part of *Italy*, *Pliny*, and *Solinus* make it probable, who affirm, that the people then inhabiting *Italy*, were therefore called Ὄμβριοι: *quia ab imbribus deluvii ſuperfuiſſent*; and therefore alſo were they eſteemed the moſt ancient Nation, as *Strabo* confirmeth in his firſt Book, and *Trezenius* in his ſecond: which *Umbri* theſe Authours make the Parents of the *Sabines*, and the *Sabines* to be the Parents of the *Samnites*, *Piceni*, *Lucani*, *Brucii*, and all other inhabiting anciently the banks of the *Mediterrane* Sea. But that theſe *Umbri* were not the Inhabiters of *Italy* before the Floud of *Noah*, and ſo took name by ſaving themſelves upon the *Appenine* Mountains, the Scriptures teach us; ſhewing who, and who only then were preſerved, which is ſufficient. Report hath adventured further, telling us, that the firſt people which after the general Floud inhabited *Italy*, were the *Cameſenes*; (ſo named from *Cameſe*, whom *Cato in Originibus*, another of *Annius* his Authours, names for a conſort of *Janus*) which people lived altogether a ſavage life; till ſuch time as *Saturn* arriving on thoſe Coaſts, deviſed Laws to govern them by: the memory of whoſe Acts in that Region, *Diodore* and *Thallus* among the *Greeks*; *Nepos*, *Caſſius*, and *Varro* among the *Latines*, have preſerved; and of whom *Virgil*:

Euſeb. in Chron.

Solin. l. 14. Strab. l. 9. Plin. l. 3. c. 14. Sol. c. 7. Plin. ibid.

Athenæus dipnoſoph. l. 15. out of Draco, Coreyræus, ſaith, that Cameſe was the wife and ſiſter of Janus, Lact. l. 1. c. 13.

Æn. l. 8. 319.

Primus ab æthereo venit Saturnus *Olympo,*
Arma Jovis *fugiens, & regnis exul ademptis.*
Is genus indocile, ac diſperſum montibus altis
Compoſuit, legeſque dedit; Latiumque vocari
Maluit.

Saturn deſcending from the heavens high
Fearing the Arms of *Jupiter* his Son,
His Kingdome loſt, and baniſht thence, doth fly,
Rude people on the Mountain tops he won
To live together, and by Laws: which done,
He choſe to call it *Latium*.

And afterwards in the Verſes following he ſpeaketh of the *Auſones*; and after them, of the *Sicani*: Nations, which again ſought to diſplant the ancient Inhabiters:

Virg. l. 8. Æn.

Tum manus Auſonia, *& gentes venêre* Sicani.

Then came th' *Auſoniam* Bands, and the *Sicanian* Tribes.

Of theſe *Sicani* (which left *Spain*, and ſate down in *Italy*) *Thucydides* and *Pliny* give teſtimony: who were again expelled by the *Ligii*, ſaith *Thucydides*. After all theſe Plantations and re-plantations, came the *Umbri*, deſcended of the *Gauls* (ſaith *Annius*) not of thoſe *Gauls* of *France*, but of thoſe of *Scythia*, who commanded a great part of *Italy*, even all *Hetruria* and *Campania*; as *Herodotus*, *Pliny*, and *Dionyſius* have aſſured us: and therefore this Floud of *Deucalion*, was long after that of *Noah*. For all thoſe Nations were planted in *Italy*, and diſpoſſeſs'd of *Italy* again, before the *Umbri* were ever heard of, or had being. So that Kingdom was firſt called *Cameſene*, then *Latium* or *Saturnia*, then *Auſonia*, then *Sicania*; before the *Umbri* (in whoſe time *Deucalion*'s Floud happened) poſſeſs'd the ſame, about 306. years before the War of *Troy*; *Lycaon* then governing *Arcadia*: who being the Father of two and twenty Sons, the youngeſt called *Oenotrius* invaded *Italy*, who gave it the name of *Oenotria*. This name it held until *Italus* of the ſame Nation changed it into *Italy*, after his own name, about 250. years before the fall of *Troy*. After theſe, came the *Pelaſgi*, of whom *Pliny* in his third Book and fifth Chapter, and *Strabo* in his fifth, *Thucydides* in his ſixth, ſpeak at large: and after them the *Lydi*, under *Tyrrhenus* their Captain, that gave name to the *Tyrrheni*, who caſting thence the *Umbri*, took from them three hundred Caſtles, and built therein twelve Cities; to which (after they had poſſeſs'd and paſt over the *Appenine* Mountains) they added divers others, whereof *Telſina* (afterward *Bononia*) was one.

Thucyd. l. 6. Plin. l. 3. c. 5.

Annius ex Samuele Thalmudiſta. Herod. l. 1. Plin. l. 3. c. 5. Dion. l. 1. & 2.

Pauſan. Arcad. l. 8.

Ariſt. Pol. 7. c. 10.

Herod. l. 2. Plin. l. 3. c. 4.

Now that there was not anciently ſuch a Nation as theſe *Umbri* in thoſe parts, I do not affirm; having reſpect to the teſtimonies before repeated. And *Stephanus* thinks, that the name was derived from the *Greek* word *Ombros*; but that theſe *Umbri* of *Italy* were deſcended of the Nation of *Scythians* (called *Galli*) it ſhall be ſhewed hereafter.

SECT.

c. 1.

SECT. IV.

Of some other Records testifying the Universal Floud: and of two antient Deluges in Egypt: and of some elsewhere.

SAint *Augustine* out of *Varro* affirmeth, that the *Greeks* and *Latines* made not any mention of the Universal Floud, because they had nothing of Antiquity foregoing that of *Ogyges*; and therefore (according to *Rhodoginus*, before remembred) were all things among the *Greeks* (which antiquity had worn out of knowledge) called *Ogygia*, which we in *English* commonly call (wormeaten, or) of defaced date. But as all the parts of the Earth were successively planted and peopled; and as all Nations had their proper times, and not their beginning at once and at the instant: so did every Family, which afterward became a great people, with whom the knowledge of divine Letters was not received, find no Parent of more antiquity, than such as they had themselves, nor allow of any before their own; and as the *Grecians*, so did others vaunt themselves to be *Indigenæ*, and growing out of the Earth, or invent some other prophane or ridiculous beginning. But the *Chaldeans* had certain knowledge of *Noah*'s Floud, as *Berosus* witnesseth; and *Nicolaus Damascenus* maketh particular mention thereof (as is aforesaid) though he also affirm by hearsay, that some Giants saved themselves upon the Mountain *Baris* in *Armenia*, but speaketh not thereof as from any authority approved: using the word *Sermo est*; *That such a speech there was.* And *Eusebius* remembreth a place out of the ancient Historian *Abydenus*: who writeth that *Sisithrus*, to preserve himself from a Floud, fore-told him by *Saturnus*, fled to the Hills of *Armenia* by ship, *ad Armeniam navigio confugiebat*: who the third day (after the waters were fallen) sent forth Birds, that finding no Land to rest on, returned again; which he also did a second time; but at the third return, the Birds feet were covered with mud and slime. To this effect are *Eusebius*'s words out of *Abydenus*, which may seem a true description (though in other terms) of *Noah*'s Floud.

Euſ. de præp. Evang. l. 9. c. 4.

Cyrillus also affirmeth, that *Alex. Polyhistor* maketh mention of this general Floud. And *Plato* in *Timæo* produceth an *Egyptian* Priest, who re-counted to *Solon* out of the holy Books of *Egypt* the story of the Floud universal, which (saith he) happened long before the *Grecian* Inundations. Frier *Annius* his *Xenophon* remembreth a third Floud, which also *Diodorus Siculus* confirmeth, somewhat more ancient than that of *Ogyges* in *Attica*. For he named the general Floud for the first, which happened (saith he) under the old *Ogyges*; *sub prisco Ogyge*, which was *Noah*. He called the second, *Niliaca*; *Hercules* and *Prometheus* then living, 44. years before that of *Attica*, in the 34. year of *Belochus* King of the *Assyrians*, though I do not believe him as touching the time. But this Floud covered a great part of the nether *Egypt*, especially all the Region subject to *Prometheus*; and hereof came the fable of the *Vulture* on *Prometheus* his Liver, afterward slain by *Hercules* of *Egypt*: which fiction *Diod. Siculus* delivereth in these words: *Fluvium propter cursus velocitatem, profunditatemque aquarum, Aquilam tunc appellatum*, Herculem *tum consilii magnitudine, tum virtute, volunt è vestigio compressisse, & aquarum impetum ad priorem cursum convertisse: Unde & Græci quidam Poetæ, rem gestam in fabulam vertentes*, Herculem *tradunt Aquilam* Promethei *jecur depascentem occidisse: This Floud* (meaning of *Nilus*) *for the swiftness of his course, as also for the depth, was in those dayes called the Eagle: but* Hercules *by his great judgment and virtue did again compress and straiten this River, so far extended and over-spread, turning it into the old channel: Whence certain Greek Poets (converting this labour and work of* Hercules *into a fable) devised, that* Hercules *slew the Eagle which fed on* Prometheu's *liver*; meaning that he delivered *Prometheus* of that sorrow and torment, which for the loss of his people and Country (by the Waters destroyed and covered over) he suffered.

Diod. l. 1.

Nat. com. l. 4. c. 6.

A fourth Floud chanced about *Pharus* in *Egypt*, where *Alexander Macedon* built *Alexandria*, as *Annius* conceiveth out of his *Xenophon*, who in this brief sort writeth of all these Inundations: *Inundationes plures fuere: prima novimestris Inundatio terrarum sub prisco* Ogyge: *secunda Niliaca, &c. There were many Inundations* (saith the same *Xenophon*:) *the first, which was universal, of nine moneths; and this happened under the first* Ogyges: *the second was Niliaca*, and of one moneths continuance, in the time of *Hercules* and *Prometheus*, *Egyptians*: a third of two moneths, under *Ogyges Atticus*: the fourth of three moneths, in *Thessalia* under *Deucalion*: and a fifth of the like continuance, (called *Pharonica*) under *Proteus* of *Egypt*, about the time of *Helen*'s rape. *Diodorus*, in his fifth Book and eleventh Chapter, taking the *Samothraces* for his Authors, remembreth a Floud in *Asia* the less, and else where, of no less destruction then any of the other particular Inundations, saying, that the same happened before that of *Deucalion*; the Sea of *Pontus* and *Hellespont* breaking in over the Land.

Xenop. de æquin. Comm. per Annium, fol. 37.

But there have been many Flouds in divers times and Ages, not inferiour to any of these two last remembred, *Niliaca* and *Pharonica* in *Egypt*: as in the year of our Redemption 590. when in *October* of the same year, *Gregory* then being Bishop of *Rome*, there happened a marvellous Overflowing in *Italy*, and especially in the *Venetian* Territory, and in *Liguria*; accompanied with a most fearful storm of Thunder and Lightning: after which followed the great Plague at *Rome*, by reason of the many dead Serpents cast up and left upon the land after the Waters decreased and returned. And in the year 1446, there perished 100000. people, by the breaking in of the Sea at *Dordroch* in *Holland*: of which kind I take that Floud to be of *Achaia* or *Attica*. Before that, in the year 1238. *Trithemius* speaketh of an Earthquake, which swallowed many thousands: and after that of a Floud in *Friseland*, in which there perished 100000. persons. *Strozius Sigog*, in his *Magia omnifaria*, telleth of an Inundation in *Italy*, in the time of Pope *Damasus*, in which also many Cities of *Sicil* were swallowed: another in the Papacie of *Alexander* the sixth: also in the year 1515. *Maximilian* being Emperour. He also remembereth a perilous over-flowing in *Polonia*, about *Cracovia*, by which many people perished. Likewise *Viginier*, a *French* Historian, speaketh of a great Floud in the South part of *Languedoc*, which fell in *Anno Domini* 1557. with so dreadful a tempest, as all the people attended therein the very end of the World, and Judgment-day; saying, That by the violent descent of the Waters from the Mountain, about *Nismes*, there were removed divers old heaps and mountures of ground, and many other places torn up and rent; by which accident there was found both coyn of Silver and Gold, divers pieces of Plate and Vessels of other Mettal, supposed to be hidden at such time

Munſter.

Eclipſis, & terræ motus continui, multa hominum millia oppreſſerunt. Friſia quoque per maritimos fluctus tota pene ſubmerſa fuit, & peritrunt plus quam 100000.

as

as the *Goths* invaded that Province, in the year 1156.

SECT. V.

That the Floud of Noah *was ſupernatural; though ſome ſay it might have been foreſeen by the Stars.*

NOw, howſoever all theſe Flouds, and many other, which have covered at ſeveral times, ſeveral Regions, not only in theſe parts of the World, but in *America* alſo, (as I have learned of ſome ancient Southſayers among them) may be aſcribed to natural cauſes and accidents; yet that univerſal Floud (in the time of *Noah*) was poured over the whole face of the Earth by a power above Nature, and by the eſpecial commandment of God himſelf; who at that time gave ſtrength of influence to the Stars, and abundance to the Fountains of the deep: whereby the irruption of Waters was made more forcible than any ability of nature could effect, or any ſecond cauſes by whatſoever union, could perform, without receiving from the Fountain of all power, ſtrength and faculties ſupernatural. *Henricus Mechlinienſis*, a Scholar of *Albertus Magnus*, in his Commentaries upon the great conjunctions of *Albu Maſar*, obſerveth, that before the Floud of *Noah*, the like Conjunction of *Jupiter* and *Saturn* happened in the laſt degree of *Cancer*, againſt that conſtellation, ſince called the *Ship of Argos*; by which the Floud of *Noah* might be foretold, becauſe *Cancer* is both a watry Sign, and the Houſe of the Moon, which is the Lady of the Sea, and of moiſture, according to the rules of *Aſtronomy*, and common experience. And this opinion *Petrus de Aliaco* upon *Geneſis* confirmeth, affirming, That although *Noah* did well know this Floud by divine revelation, (yet this conjunction being notorious) he could not be ignorant of the ſecond cauſes thereof: for thoſe were not only ſigns, but alſo working cauſes, by ſtrength receiv'd from the firſt cauſe, which is God himſelf: And further, that by * *Catarractæ cæli*, *Engliſhed* the Windows of Heaven *Moſes* meant this great and watry Conjunction; the word *Catarractæ*, ſignifying flowing down, or coming down. Now (ſaith *P. de Aliaco*) it pleaſed God to ordain by the courſe of the Heavens ſuch a Conſtellation, by which all men might behold therein their deſtruction towards, and thereby forſake thoſe wicked ways wherein they walked, and call unto God for mercy.

Alſo *de Concordia Tholog. & Aſtrolog. Gen.* 7. 11.

*The word καταῤῥακτος properly ſignifieth any place of ſtoppage, againſt which the force of the water being naturally carried downwards, daſheth and breaketh; of ἀῤῥάσσω, *auido*, or *frango*. Hence, becauſe Windows do not only open, but alſo ſhut, the word hath been expounded (*Windows*) for Bars or Floud-gates.

Of this judgment was *Gul. Pariſienſis*, who underſtood, that the words *Catarractæ Cæli*, or Windows of Heaven, were to be taken for the former Conjunction, or for thoſe watry ſigns, *Cancer*, *Piſces*, *Pleiades*, *Hyades* and *Orion*; and of the Planets, *Mars*, *Venus*, and the *Moon*: which are the forcible cauſes of the greateſt Inundations. His own words are theſe; *Nondum intelligo Prophetam Hebræorum Catarractas Cæli vocâſſe, niſi partes illas cæli, quæ generativæ ſunt fluviarum & inundationum Aquarum, quales ſunt ſigna aquatica, ut Cancer*, &c. as aforeſaid. *As yet* (ſaith he) *I perceive not what the Prophet of the* Hebrews *meaneth by thoſe words* (*Catarractæ Cæli*, or Windows of Heaven) *unleſs he thereby underſtandeth thoſe celeſtial powers, by whoſe influences are ingendred the rain and inundations of waters, ſuch as are the watry ſigns of* Cancer, &c.

But, in a word, as it might pleaſe God, that in the courſe of his unſearchable wiſdom this Conjunction ſhould at ſuch time be: ſo did he (as aforeſaid) add vigour and faculty, and gave to every operation increaſe of virtues, violent eruptions to Springs and Fountains, commanding them to caſt out the whole treaſure and heap of their waters; taking retention from the clouds, and condenſing ayr into water by the miniſtery of his Angels, or whoſoever elſe beſt pleaſed his All-powerfulneſs.

SECT. VI.

That there was no need of any new Creation of matter to make the univerſal Floud: And what are Catarractæ Cæli, Gen. 7. *v.* 11.

NOw, if it be objected, That God doth not create any thing of new; (for God reſted the ſeventh day, that is, he did not then after create any new *ſpecies*) which granted, it may ſeem that then all the Earth and Ayr had not waters ſufficient to cover the habitable World fifteen Cubits above the higheſt Mountains. Of this Propoſition, whether God had ſo reſtrained himſelf, or no, I will not diſpute; but for the conſequent, (which is) that the World had want of Water to overcover the higheſt Mountains, I take that conceit to be unlearned and fooliſh; for it is written, *That the Fountains of the great deep were broken up*, (that is) the waters forſook the very bowels of the Earth, and all whatſoever was diſperſed therein, pierced, and brake through the face thereof. Then let us conſider, that the Earth had above one and twenty thouſand miles, the *Diameter* of the Earth, according to that circle, ſeven thouſand miles, and then from the *Superficies* to the *Center*, ſome three thouſand five hundred miles. Take then the higheſt mountain of the World, *Caucaſus*, *Taurus*, *Olympus*, or *Atlas*, the mountains of *Armenia*, or *Scythia*, or that (of all other the higheſt) in *Tennerif*, and I do not find, that he that looketh higheſt, ſtretcheth above thirty miles upright. It is not then impoſſible, anſwering reaſon with reaſon, that all thoſe waters mixed within the Earth three thouſand five hundred miles deep, ſhould not well help to cover the ſpace of thirty miles in height; this thirty miles upright being found in the depths of the Earth one hundred and ſixteen times: for, *the Fountains of the great deep were broken up*, and the waters drawn out of the bowels of the Earth. Secondly, if we conſider what proportion the Earth beareth to the extenſion of the Ayr over and above it, we ſhall find the difference exceeding great. If then it pleaſed God to condenſe but ſo much of this Ayr, as every where compaſſeth and embraceth the Earth, which condenſation is a converſion of Ayr into Water, a change familiar in thoſe Elements; it will not ſeem ſtrange to men of judgment, yea, but of ordinary underſtanding, that the Earth (God ſo pleaſing) was covered over with Waters, without any new Creation.

Laſtly; For the opinions of *Gulielmus Pariſienſis*, and *Aliacenſis*, to which I may adde *Beroſus*, and others, That ſuch a conjunction there was, fore-ſhewing that deſtruction by Waters which followed; and that by the word *Catarractæ Cæli*, or Windows of Heaven, was meant this conjunction; there needs no other anſwer than that obſervation of *Ludovicus Vives*, who affirmeth, That by the graveſt *Aſtrologian* it was obſerved, that in the year 1524. there ſhould happen the like conjunction as at *Noah*'s Floud; than which (ſaith he) there was never

never a more fair, dry, and seasonable year: The like destruction was prophesied, of the year 1588. But *Picus* of of *Mirandula* proveth, that there could not be any such conjunction at that time.

To conclude, I find no other mysterie in the word *Catarractæ Cœli*, than that the clouds were meant thereby: *Moses* using the word *Windows of Heaven* (if that be the sence of the word) to express the violence of the Rains, and pouring down of Waters. For whosoever hath seen those fallings of Water, which sometimes happen in the *Indies*, which are called the Spouts, (where clouds do not break into drops, but fall with a resistless violence in one body) may properly use that manner of speech which *Moses* did; That the Windows, or Floud-gates of Heaven opened: (which is) That Waters fell contrary to custom, and that order which we call natural. God then loosened the power retentive in the uppermost air, and the Waters fell in abundance: *Behold* (says *Job*) *he withholdeth the Waters, and they dry up* (or better in Latine, *Et omnia siccantur*; *And all things are dried up*) *but when he sendeth them out, they destroy the Earth*: And in the 26 Chapter: *He bindeth the waters in the clouds.* But these Bonds God loosed at that time of the general Floud, and called up the Waters which slept in the great Deep; and these joyning together, covered the Earth, till they performed the work of his will: which done, he then commanded them to return into their dark and vast Caves; and the rest (by a Wind) rarified again into air, formerly condensed into drops.

Job 12. v. 15.

Gen. 8. 1.

SECT. VII.

Of some remainder of the memory of Noah *among the Heathen.*

Noah, commanded by God, before the fall of those Waters, entred the Ark which he had built, with his own Wife, and his Sons, and his Sons Wives, taking with them of every Creature which took life by generation, seven of the clean, and of the unclean, two. *Noah*, according to *Philo*, signifieth Quietness: after others, and according to the Propheeie of his Father *Lamech*, Cessation; to whom aftertimes gave many Names, answering his Antiquity, Zeal, Virtue, and other qualities: as, *The first Ogyges*, because in the time of the *Grecian Ogyges*, there was also a great Floud of *Achaia*; *Saturn* they called him, because he was the Father of Nations: Others gave him the Name of *Prometheus*, who was said to steal away *Jupiters* fire; Fire in that place being taken and understood for the knowledge of God and heavenly things. Others think, that he was so called for his excellent wisdom and foresight. He had also the Name of *Janus* (*id est*) *Vinosius*, because *Jain* signifieth Wine in the *Hebrew*. And so *Tertullian* finds him written *in libris Ritualibus, in the Books of Ceremonies*, preceding both *Saturn*, *Uranus*, and *Jove*: which three enjoyed an elder time than all the other ancienteſt feigned gods. And this Name *Jain* is taken from the *Hebrew* and *Syrian*, and not from the *Latine* Nation, or any Kingdome by that Name known. Of the antiquity of *Janus*, *Fabius Pictor* giveth this testimony: *Jani ætate nulla erat Monarchia, quia mortalibus pectoribus nondum hæserat ulla regnandi cupiditas*, &c. *Vinum & Far primus populos docuit* Janus *ad sacrificia: primus enim Aras & Pomœria & Sacra docuit*; *In the time* of Janus (saith he) *there was no Monarchy: for the desire of rule had not then folded it self about the hearts of men.* Janus *first taught the people to sacrifice Wine and Meal: he first set up Altars, instituted Gardens, and solitary Groves, wherein they used to pray; with other holy Rites and Ceremonies.* A greater testimony than this there cannot be found among all the *Heathen*, which in all agrees so well with the Scriptures. For first, whilest *Noah* flourished, there was not any King, or Monarch; *Nimrod* being the first that took on him soveraign Authority. Secondly, *Noah*, after the Flood, was the first that planted the Vine, and became an Husband-man; and therefore offered the first-fruits of both (to wit) Wine and Meal. Thirdly, he was the first that raised an Altar, and offered sacrifice to God a thanksgiving for his merciful goodness toward him. *Noah* was also signified in the Name of *Bifrons* (which was given to *Janus*) because he beheld the times both before and after the Floud. *Quia præterita noverit, & futura prospexerit*, saith *Arnobius*: *Because he knew what was past, and provided for what was to come.* He was also in the person of *Janus* shadowed by the Name of *Chaos*, and *Semen Orbis*, *The seed of the World*: because, as out of that confused Heap was drawn all the kinds of Beasts and Plants; so from *Noah* came all Mankind. Whereof *Ovid* in the person of *Janus*:

Gen. 9. 20.

Gen. 8. 20.

Arn. cont. Gent. l. 6.

Me Chaos antiqui (nam sum res prisca) vocabant:
Aspice quà longi temporis acta cano!

Ovid. de Fastis. l. 1.

The Antients call'd me *Chaos*: my great years
By those old times, of which I sing, appears.

He was also intituled *Cælum* and *Sol*, *Heaven* and *the Sun*, for his excellent knowledg in Astronomy: *Vertumnus*, *Bacchus*, and *Liber Pater*; not that latter, which *Diod. Siculus* and *Alex. Aphrodiseus* so call, because he was the restorer of the *Greeks* to their former liberty, but in respect of the Floud. For the *Greeks* called *Liber* γῆ, and his Nurses *Hyades*, of Rain, because *Noah* entred the Ark when the Sun joyned with the Stars *Hyades*, a constellation in the Brow or Neck of *Taurus*, & ever after a Monument of *Noah*'s Floud. He was also by others surnamed *Triton*, a Marine god, the Son of *Neptune*; because he lived in safety on the Waters. So was he known by the name of *Dionysius*, *quasi* Διονύσων, *mentem pungens*, *Bite-brain*, or *Wit-stinger*; though *Diodorus* conceive otherwise, and derive that name *à Patre & Loco*; *Of his Father and the place of his Birth*, (to wit) of *Jove*, and *Nisa*, a Town of *Arabia fœlix*, saith *Suidas*, out of *Orpheus*. He had also the by-name of *Taurus*, or *Taurophagus*; because he first yoaked Oxen, and Tilled the ground: according to that of *Moses*; *and* Noah *became an Husbandman.* Now howsoever the *Grecians* vaunt of their *Theban Bacchus*, (otherwise *Dionysus*) it is certain, that the Name was borrowed, and the Invention stollen from *Noah*. But this name of *Bacchus*, more antiently *Boacus*, was taken (saith *Gul. Stuckius*, and out of him *Danæus*) from *Noachus*, (*N*) being changed into (*B*); and it is the more probable, because it cannot be doubted but that *Noah* was the first planter of the Vine after the Floud: and of *Noah* (the first and antient *Bacchus*) were all those fables devised, of which *Diodorus* complaineth in his fourth Book and fifth Chapter. This first *Bacchus* (to wit) *Noah*, was surnamed *Nysius*, of the Mountain *Nysa* in *India*; where the *Grecian Bacchus* never came, whatsoever themselves feign of his enterprises: and these Mountains of *Nysa* joyn with those of *Paropanisus*, and those other *Eastern*

Moun-

Nat. com. l. 5. *c.* 13.

Calius.

Gen. 9. 20.

Stuck. in libris convivalibus, & Danæus de prima mundi ætate.

Mountains, on which the Ark of *Noah* rested after the Floud.

Furthermore, to the end that the memory of this second Parent of Mankind might the better be preserved, there were founded by his Issues many great Cities, which bear his Name, with many Rivers and Mountains; which oftentimes forgat that it was done in his regard, because the many Names given him, brought the same confusion to places as to himself. Notwithstanding all which, we find the City of *Noah* upon the banks of the red Sea, and elsewhere: the River of *Noas* in *Thrace*, which *Strabo* calleth *Noarus*; *Ptolemy*, *Danus*; dividing *Ilyria* from *Panonia*. Thus much for the Name.

Plin. l. 6. Steph. de urb. Herod. l. 4. Strabo l. 7.

SECT. VIII.

Of sundry particulars touching the Ark: as the place where it was made, the matter, fashion, and name.

NOw in what part of the World *Noah* built the *Ark*, it doth not appear in the Scriptures, neither do I find any approved Author that hath written thereof; only *Goropius Becanus* in his *Indo-Scythia* conceiveth that *Noah* built his *Ark* neer the Mountains of *Caucasus*, because on those hills are found the goodliest Cedars: for when *Alex. Macedon* made the war among the people, called *Nysæi*, inhabiting the other side of *Caucasus*, he found all their Burials and Sepulchres wrought over with Cedar. To this place (saith *Becanus*) *Noah* repaired, both to separate himself from the reprobate Giants, who rebelled against God and Nature, as also because he would not be interrupted in the building of the *Ark*; to which also he addeth the conveniency of Rivers, to transport the Timber which he used, without troubling any other Carriages.

Only this we are sure of, that the Ark was built in some part of the Eastern World; and to my understanding, not far from the place where it rested after the Floud. For *Noah* did not use any Mast or Sayle (as in other Ships) and therefore did the *Ark* no otherwise move, than the Hulk or body of a Ship doth in a calm Sea. Also, because it is not probable, that during these continual and downright Rains, there were any Winds at all, therefore was the *Ark* little moved from the place where it was fashioned and set together: for it is written, *Gen. 8. 1.* *God made a Wind to pass upon the Earth, and the Waters ceased.* And therefore it may be gathered, that during the fall of the Waters, there was not any Storm or forcible wind at all, which could drive the *Ark* any great distance from the place where it was first by the Waters lifted up. This is also the more probable, if that ancient opinion be true, as it is very likely, that the *Ark* had *fundum planum*, *A flat bottom*, and not raysed in form of a Ship, with a sharpness forward, to cut the Waves for the better speed.

This kind of Vessel the *Hebrews* call *Thebet*, and the *Greeks Larnax*, for so they termed *Deucalions* Ship: and some say, that the Hill *Parnassus*, to which in eight days he arrived, was first called *Larnassus*, and by the changing of (*L*) into (*P*) *Parnassus*; but *Pausanias* thinks that it took name of a Son of the Nymph *Cleodora*, called *Parnassus*, the Inventor of *Augmration*. *Steph de urb. fol. 227.*

Peucerus finds the word (*Parnassus*) to have no affinitie with the *Greek*, but thinks it derived from the *Hebrew* word *Nahas*, which signifieth *Augmration* and *Divination*; or from *Har* or *Parai*, as in his Chapter of Oracles, in the Leaf before cited. *De Oracul. fol. 94.*

Josephus calls the *Ark*, *Machina*, by the general name of a huge Frame; and *Epiphanius* out of the *Hebrew*, *Aron*: but herein lieth the difference between *Aron* and *Thebet*, That *Aron* signifieth properly the *Ark* of the *Sanctuary*, but *Thebet* such a Vessel, as swimmeth, and beareth it self upon the Waters. *Epiph. in Ancor.*

Lastly, this *Ark* of *Noah* differed from the fashion of a Ship, in this, that it had a Cover and Roof, with a Crest in the middest thereof, and the sides declining like the Roof of an House; to the end, both to cast off the Waters, and that thereunder *Noah* himself and his children might shelter, and separate themselves from the noysomness of the many Beasts, which filled the other rooms and parts of the *Ark*. *Gen. 6. 4.*

Of what Wood the *Ark* was built, it is uncertain. The *Hebrew* word *Gopher* once, and in this place only used, is diversly understood: and though the matter be of little importance, yet this difference there is, That the *Geneva* Translation calls it Pine-tree; the *Rabbine*, Cedar; the *Seventy*, square Timber; the *Latine*, smooth Timber. Others will have it Cypress Trees, as dedicated to the dead, because Cypress is worn at Funerals. But out of doubt, if the word *Gopher* signifie any special kind of Timber, *Noah* obeyed the voice of God therein; If not, he was not then curious as touching the kind or nature of the wood, having the promise of God, and his Grace and mercy for his defence: For with *Noah* God promised *to establish his covenant.* *V. 18.* *Plinie* affirmeth, that in *Egypt* it was the use to build Ships of Cedar, which the worms eat not; and he avoweth, that he saw in *Utica*, in the Temple of *Apollo*, Cedar beams, laid in the time of the foundation of the City, and that they were still found in his time, which was about 1188. years after: proving thereby, that this kind of wood was not subject to putrifying or mouldring in a very long time. But in that it is easie to cut, light to carry, and of a sweet savour, lasting also better than any other wood, and because near the place where the *Ark* rested, there are found great store of these Cedar trees, as also in all the Mountains of the East, besides those of *Libanus*; it is probable enough that the *Ark* might be of that wood: which hath, beside the other commodities, the greatest length of Timber, and therefore fittest to build Ships withall. *Pererius* conceiveth, that the *Ark* had divers sorts of Timber, and that the bottom had one sort, the deck and partition of another; all which may be true or false, if *Gopher* may be taken for Timber in general. True it is, that Cedar will serve for all parts of a Ship, as well for the Body, as for Masts and Yards. But *Noah* had most respect to the direction received from God: to the length, breadth, and height, and to the partitions of the *Ark*; and to pitch it, and to divide it into Cabins; thereby to sever the clean Beasts from the unclean, and to preserve their several sorts of Food; and that it might be capable of all kind of living creatures, according to the numbers by God appointed. All which when *Noah* had gathered together, he cast his confidence wholly on God; who by his Angels steered this Ship without a Rudder, and directed it without the help of a Compass or the North star. The Pitch which *Noah* used, is by some supposed to have been a kind of *Bitumen*, whereof there is great quantity about the Valley of *Sodom* *Plin. l. 16. 6. 80.*

and

Pererius. and *Gomorrah*, now the dead Sea, or *Asphaltes*, and in the Region of *Babylon*, and in the West *India*: and herein it exceedeth other Pitch, that it melts not with the Sun, but by the Fire only, after the manner of hard Wax.

SECT. IX.

That the Ark was of sufficient capacity.

THe *Ark*, according to God's commandement, had of length Three hundred Cubits, fifty of breadth, and thirty deep or high: by which proportion, it had six parts of length to one of breadth, and ten times in length to one of depth; of which S. *Augustine*; *Proculdubio figura est peregrinantis in hoc seculo Civitatis Dei, (hoc est) Ecclesiæ quæ sit salva per lignum, in quo pependit Mediator Dei & hominum, homo Jesus Christus: nam & mensura ipsa longitudinis, altitudinis, latitudinisque ejus significat corpus humanum, in cujus veritate ad homines prænunciatus est venturus, & venit,&c. Without doubt* (saith he) *it is a Figure of the City of God travelling in this world as a stranger,(that is) of the Church, saved by the Tree, whereupon the Mediator between God and Man, the Man Jesus Christ did hang: for even the very measure of the length, heighth and breadth, answereth the shape of Man's body in the truth whereof the coming of Christ was fore-told and performed.* *De Civit. Dei. l. 15. c. 26.*

By what kind of Cubit the Ark was measured, it hath been a disputed question among the Fathers, and others; and the differences are in effect these: The first kind of Cubit (called the common) containeth one foot and a half, measured from the sharp of the elbow, to the point of the little finger. The second (the Palm-Cubit) which taketh one handful more than the common. The third is called *Regius Cubitus*, or the *Persian* Cubit, which exceedeth the common Cubit three inches. The fourth is the sacred Cubit, which containeth the common or vulgar Cubit double, wanting but a quarter or fourth part. Lastly, there is a fifth Cubit, called Geometrical, which containeth six common Cubits. But of all these sorts, which were commonly measured by the vulgar Cubit, the alteration and diminution of mens statures hath made the difference. For as there is now a less proportion of bodies, so is the common Cubit from the sharp of the elbow to the point of the middle finger, of less length than it was in elder times.

Saint *Augustine*, considering the many sorts of Beasts and Birds which the Ark held, with their food and water, was sometime of opinion, that the *Ark* had proportion after the Geometrical Cubit, which containeth almost six of the common: For, measuring the *Ark* by the vulgar Cubit, it did not exceed the capacity of that Vessel built by *Hiero* of *Syracuse*, or the Ship of *Ptolemy Philo-pater*. But S. *Augustine* (who at the first was led by *Origen*) changed his judgment as touching the Geometrical Cubit; and found, upon better consideration, that there needed not so huge a body to preserve all sorts of Creatures, by God appointed to be reserved. For it was not needful to take any kinds of Fishes into the *Ark*, because they were kept living (saith S. *Augustine*) in their own Element: *Non fuit necesse conservare in Arca quæ possent in aquis vivere, non solùm mersa sicut Pisces, verùm super-natantia, sicut multæ alites; It was not needful to conserve those Creatures in the Ark, which could live in the Waters; and not only Fishes which can live under water, but also those Fowls which sit and swim on them.* And again, *Terra, non aqua maledicta; quia* Adam *non hujus, sed illius fructum vetitum comedit: It was the Earth, and not the Water which God cursed; for of the forbidden fruit of the Earth and not of the Sea, did* Adam *eat.* So, as S. *Augustine* gathereth hereupon (as aforesaid) that so huge a Frame needed not. *Athen. dipnosp. l. 4. Plutarch. in vita Demetrij.* *Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. 5. c. 27.*

And if we look with the eyes of judgment hereunto, we shall find nothing monstrous therein; although the imaginations of men, who (for the most part) have more of mischief and of ignorance, than of any reverend reason, found many impossibilities in this work of God. But it is manifest, and undoubtedly true, that many of the *Species*, which now seem differing, and of several kinds, were not then *in rerum natura*. For those Beasts which are of mixt natures, either they were not in that age, or else it was not needful to preserve them, seeing they might be generated again by others: as the Mules, the *Hyæna*'s, and the like; the one begotten by Asses and Mares, and the other by Foxes and Wolves. And whereas by discovering of strange Lands, wherein there are found divers Beasts and Birds, differing in colour or stature from those of these Northern parts; it may be supposed by a superficial consideration, that all those which were red and pied skins, or feathers, are differing from those that are less painted, and wear plain Russet or Black; they are much mistaken that so think. And for mine own opinion, I find no difference, but only in magnitude, between the Cat of *Europe*, and the Ounce of *India*; and, even those Dogs which are become wild in *Hispaniola*, with which the *Spaniards* used to devour the naked *Indians*, are now changed to Wolves, and begin to destroy the breed of their Cattel, and do also oftentimes tear asunder their own Children. The common Crow and Rook of *India* is full of red feathers in the drowned and low Islands of *Caribana*; and the Black-bird and Thrush hath his feathers mixt with black and carnation in the North parts of *Virginia*. The Dog-fish of *England* is the Shark of the South Ocean: For if colour or magnitude made a difference of *Species*, then were the *Nigro*'s, which we call the *Black-Moors*, *non animalia rationalia*, not Men, but some kind of strange Beasts: and so the Giants of the South *America* should be of another kind, than the people of this part of the World. We also see it daily, that the natures of Fruits are changed by transplantation, some to better, some to worse, especially with the change of Climate. Crabs may be made good Fruit by often grafting; and the best Melons will change in a year or two to common Cowcumers, by being set in a barren soyl. Therefore, taking the kinds precisely of all Creatures, as they were by God created, or out of the Earth by his Ordinance produced; the Ark after the measure of the common Cubit, was sufficiently capacious to contain of all, according to the number by God appointed: For if we add but half a foot of measure to the common Cubit, which had a foot and a half of Giantly stature, (and less allowance we cannot give to the difference between them and us) then did the Ark contain 600 foot in length, and 100 foot in breadth, and 60 foot in depth. *Acost. hist. India.*

But first of all, to make it manifest that the Geometrical Cubit is not used in the Scripture, the stature of the Giants therein named may suffice. For if the Bed of *Og*, King of *Basan*, had been nine Geometrical Cubits long, it had taken 54 Cubits of the common, which make 80 foot: and *Goliah* who had the length of six Cubits and an handful which makes nine foot and a handful (a proportion cre- *Deut. 3. 11.* *1 Sam. 17. 4.*

dible) if these Cubits had been Geometrical, then had been 54 foot in height, and upwards, which were monstrous and most incredible: for (according to this proportion) had the head of *Goliah* been nine foot long, and far weightier and bigger than all *David*'s body, who carried it away.

Again, if the Geometrical Cubit had been used for a Measure in the Scripture, as many Commenters have observed, then had the Altar (appointed to contain five Cubits of length, five of breadth, and three of height) reached the length of 27 foot upright, and so must their Priests have ascended by steps or Ladders to have performed their Sacrifices thereon, which was contrary to God's Commandment, given in these words: *Exod.* 20. 26. *Thou shalt not go up with steps unto mine Altar, that thy shame be not discovered thereon*; and therefore was the Altar but three common Cubits high, which make four foot, that their Priests standing thereby might execute their Office. Wherefore I may conclude, that the Cubit mentioned in the Scriptures was not the Geometrical, but the Ordinary Cubit of one foot and an half, according to the measure of Giantly stature; which measure (doubtless) might give much the more capacity to the Ark; although it be also probable, that as the men were, so were the Horses whereon they rode, and all other Creatures of a correspondent size. And yet, (as I take it) though by this means there were not any whit the more room in the Ark, it were not hard to conceive, how all the distinct *Species* of Animals, whose lives cannot be preserved in the Waters, might according to their present quantities be contained in a Vessel of those dimensions which the Ark had; allowing to the Cubit one foot and a half of our now usual measure: whence it followeth of necessity, that those large bodies which were in the dayes of *Noah*, might have room sufficient in the Ark, which was measured by a Cubit of length proportionable.

How the appointed number of Creatures to be saved, (that is, seven of the clean, two of the unclean, with necessary food) might have place in the Ark, *Butæo* hath very learnedly declared: the brief summ of whose discourse to that purpose, is this; *The length of the Ark was three hundred Cubits, which multiplyed by the breadth, namely fifty Cubits, and the product by the height of thirty Cubits, sheweth the whole Concavity to have been* 450000. Now, whereas the posts, walls, and other partitions of Lodgings may seem to have taken up a great part of the hollow: the height of the roof, which (the perpendicular being one Cubit) contained 7500 cubical Cubes was a sufficient recompence: If therefore in a Ship of such greatness we seek room for 89 distinct *Species* of Beasts, or (lest any should be omitted) for 100 several kinds, we shall easily find place both for them, and for the Birds, which in bigness are no way answerable to them; and for meat to sustain them all. For there are three sorts of Beasts, whose bodies are of a quantity best known; the Beef, the Sheep, and the Wolf: to which the rest may be reduced, by saying, (according to *Aristotle*) that one Elephant is answerable to four Beeves, one Lion to two Wolves, and so of the rest. Of Beasts, some feed on vegetables, others on flesh. There are one and thirty kinds of the greater sort, feeding on vegetables: of which number onely three are clean, according to the Law of *Moses*, whereof seven of a kind entred into the *Ark*, namely, three couples for breed, and one odd one for sacrifice: the other eight and twenty kinds were taken by two of each kind, so that in all there were in the *Ark* one and twenty great Beasts clean, and six and fifty unclean, estimable for largeness as ninety one Beeves; yet for a supplement (lest perhaps any *Species* be omitted) let them be valued as an hundred and twenty Beeves. Of the lesser sort feeding on vegetables, were in the *Ark* six and twenty kinds, estimable, with good allowance for supply, as fourscore Sheep. Of those which devour flesh were two and thirty kinds, answerable to threescore and four Wolves. All these two hundred and eighty Beasts might be kept in one story or room of the *Ark*, in their several Cabins; their meat in a second: the Birds and their provision in a third, with place to spare for *Noah* and his Family, and all their necessaries.

SECT. X.

That the Ark rested upon part of the Hill Taurus (*or* Caucasus) *between the* East-Indies, *and* Scythia.

‖ I.

A Præterition of some Questions less material: with a Note of the use of this Question to find out the Metropolis of Nations.

WHat time *Noah* took to build the *Ark*, I leave to others to dispute: but he received the Commandment from God an hundred years before the Waters fell; and had therefore choice of time, and leisure sufficient. As for the number of Decks and Partitions, which *Origen* divides into four, Saint *Augustine* into three, I will not trouble the Reader with the controversie: or, whether those Creatures which sometimes rest on the Land, other times in the Waters, as the Crocodiles (now called *Alegartos*) the Sea-Cows, or Sea-Horses, were kept in the *Ark*, or no, I think it a needless curiosity; and yet to this saith *Pererius*, and others before him, that a Fish-Pool might be made as well within the *Ark*, as in *Hiero* his Ship of *Syracuse*. Lastly, to consider or labour to disprove the foolery of the *Hebrews*, who suppose that the *Ark* was lightened by a Carbuncle, or had Windows of Crystal to receive in Light, and keep out Water, were but to revive the buried vanities of former times. But that which I seek most to satisfie my self and others in, is, In what part of the World the *Ark* rested after the Floud: because the true understanding of some of these places (as the Seat of the Terrestrial *Paradise*, and the resting of the *Ark*) do onely and truly teach the World's Plantation, and the beginning of Nations, before and after the Floud; and all Story, as well general as particular, thereby may be the better understood.

‖. II.

A Proposal of the common opinion, that the Ark rested upon some of the Hills of Armenia.

AND first, for the true place where the *Ark* rested after the Floud, and from what part of the World the Children of *Noah* travelled to their first

first settlement and plantation, I am resolved (without any presumption) that therein the most Writers were utterly mistaken. And I am not led so to think out of any Humour, or newness of opinion, or singularity; but do herein ground my self on the original and first truth, which is the Word of God, and after that upon reason, and the most probable circumstances thereon depending. For whereas it is written, *That the Ark stayed upon one of the Mountains of* Ararat, which the *Chaldean Paraphrast* hath converted *Kardu*, meaning the Hills *Gordæi*, or *Gordiæi*, in *Armenia* the greater, (as the words *Gordæi*, and *Kardu*, seem to be one and the same) of which opinion also the most of our Interpreters are: I find neither Scripture nor Reason which teacheth any such thing (to wit) that it rested on that part of *Ararat*, which is in the greater *Armenia*. *Nicolaus* Gen. 8. 4. *Damascenus* calls this Mountain of *Ararat*, *Baris*; being the same which the *Chaldean* nameth *Kardu*, to which Mountain the Friar *Annius* (citing this place out of *Josephus*) makes him find another adjoyning, called *Ocila*, and to say that the *Ark* (of which *Moses* the Law-giver of the *Hebrews* wrote) did first take ground on this *Ocila*. But I do not find any such Mountain in being, as this *Ocila*, neither is there any mention of it in the place of *Josephus*. *Strabo* remembreth a Promontory in *Arabia Fœlix* of that name; and *Pliny* finds a Mart-Town so called in the same, which *Ptolemy* calls *Ocilis*, *Pinetus Acyla*, and *Niger Zidon*. But this *Ocila* of *Damascenus*, or rather of *Annius*, seemeth to be one and a part of the *Armenian* Mountains. *Berosus* calleth those Mountains of *Armenia*, *Gordiæi*; and Hiero. 51. 27. *Curtius*, *Cordæi*; *Ptolemy*, *Gordæi* and *Gordiæi*: of which the Countrey next adjoyning is, by this *Nicolaus Damascenus*, called *Nyniada*, perhaps (as *Becanus* conjectures) for *Milyada*, or rather *Minni*: which word is used for *Armenia Minor*. And the very word of *Armenia* seems to be compounded of this word *Minni* and *Aram*: as if we should say Nat. Hist. l. 5. c. 12. *Minni* of *Syria*; for that *Armenia* also was a part of *Syria*, *Pliny* witnesseth. *Epiphanius* placeth the *Carydes* about these Mountains, whom others call *Gordieni* or *Gordeni*. The Mountains are seated apart from all other to the North of that Ledge of the Mountains called *Taurus*, or *Niphates*, in the Plains of *Armenia* the great, near the Lake *Thospitis*: whence the River of *Tygris* floweth in 75. degrees of longitude, and 41 & 52 degrees of latitude. One of the Mountains, *Gordiæi*, (that which surmounteth the rest) *Epiphanius* calls *Lubar*, which in the *Armenian* signifieth a place of descent: but this out of *Josephus*. Which name (saith *Junius*) was of the event, because of *Noah*'s coming down with his children. But this also I take to be a supposed event; seeing any Hill from whence on every side we must descend, may thus be called: as *Junius* Joseph. de Antiq. l. 1. cap. 4. corrects the place in *Josephus* Λούβαεις (*Kubaris.*) That the place is thus to be read, he conjectureth, because *Joseph. l.* 1. *c.* 4. sayes, the place is called Ἀκβατήριον, (as it were the descent or coming down) and *Epiphanius lib.* 1. *contr. Hæres.* calls it Λόφας, which word in the *Armenian* and *Egyptian* Tongue signifieth Descent, of *Lubar*, which is to descend; whence also *Lubra* is a *Synagogue*, because it was commonly built on some high place: whereof also the *Latine Delubrum* may seem to be derived; and *Acts 6. 9.* they that belonged to the *Synagogue* of the *Egyptians* are called *Libertini*, for *Lubra tenu*. Yet this opinion hath been embraced from Age to Age, receiving a habit of strength by time, and allowance without any further examination; although the name of *Lubar* might otherwise rightly be given, especially to that Mountain, by reason that the passage was more fair, up and down unto it, than to any of the rest adjoyning.

§. III.

The first Argument against the common opinion. They that came to build Babel, *would have come sooner, had they come from so near a place as* Armenia.

But there are many Arguments to perswade me, that the *Ark* of *Noah* did not rest it self in any part of *Armenia*, and that the Mountain *Ararat* was not *Baris*, nor any one of the *Gordiæan* Mountains.

For the first: It is agreed by all who follow *Berosus*, Beros. l. 1. that it was in the year 130, or in the year 131. after the Floud, when *Nimrod* came into the Valley of *Shinar*, which Valley was afterward call'd *Babylonia*, *Chush*, and *Chaldea*. If then the *Ark* had first found Land in *Armenia*, it is very unprobable, that the Children of *Noah*, which came into that Valley, could have spent so many years in so short a passage: seeing the Region of *Mesopotamia* was onely interjacent, which might by easie Journeys have been past over in twenty dayes; and to hasten and help which passage, the Navigable River of *Tygris* offered it self, which is every where transpassible by Boats of great burthen; so as where the Desart on the one side resisted their expedition, the River on the contrary side served to advance it; the River rising out of the same Ledge of Mountains, or at the foot of them, where the *Ark* of *Noah* was first supposed to settle it self: Then, if the Nations which followed *Nimrod* still doubted the surprise of a second Floud (according to the opinions of the ancient *Hebrews*) it soundeth ill to the ear of reason, that they would have spent many years in that low and over-flown Valley of *Mesopotamia*, so called of the many Rivers which imbroider or compass it: for the effects witnessed their affections; and the works which they undertook, their unbelief; being no sooner arrived in *Shinar*, but they began to provide themselves of a defence (by erecting *Babel*) against any future or feared Inundation. Now, at *Babel* it was, that *Nimrod* began his Kingdom, the first known City of the World, founded after the Floud, about 131. years, or (as others suppose) ten years later: though (for my self) I rather think that they undertook that work in two respects; First, to make themselves famous, *To get us a name* (saith the Text:) Gen. 10. 10. Beros. l. 1. Secondly, thereby to usurp Dominion over the rest.

§. IV.

The second Argument; That the Eastern People were most ancient in populosity, and in all humane glory.

For a second Argument: The civility, magnificence, and multitude of people (wherein the East parts of the World first abounded) hath more weight than any thing which hath been, or can be said for *Armenia*, and for *Noah*'s taking Land there. And that this is true, the use of Printing, and Artillery (among many other things which the

East had) may easily perswade us, that those Sunrising Nations were the most ancient. The certainty of this report, that the East *Indians* (time out of mind) have had Guns and Ordinance of battery, confirmed by the *Portugals* and others, make us now to understand, That the place of *Philostratus in vita Apollonii Tianæi, l. 2. c. 14.* is no fable, though expressed in fabulous words: when he saith, that the wise men, which dwell between *Hyphasis* and *Ganges*, use not themselves to go forth into Battel: but that they drive away their Enemies with Thunder and Lightning sent from *Jupiter*. By which means there it is said, that *Hercules Ægyptius* and *Bacchus*, joyning their forces, were defeated there; and that this *Hercules* there cast away his golden Shield. For the invention of Letters was ignorantly ascribed to *Cadmus*, because he brought them first into *Greece*: of which the people (then rude and savage) had reason to give him the honour, from whom they received the benefit. But it is true, that Letters are no less antient than *Seth* or *Henoch* were: for they are said to have written on Pillars of Stone (as before remembred) long before the Floud. But from the Eastern World it was that *John Guttenburgh* a *Germane*, brought the device of Printing: by whom *Conradus* being instructed, brought the practice thereof to *Rome*; and after that *Nicolaus Gerson* a *Frenchman*, bettered both the Letters and Invention. And notwithstanding that this Mystery was then supposed to be but newly born, the *Chinois* had Letters long before either the *Egyptians* or *Phœnicians*; and also the Art of Printing, when as the *Greeks* had neither any civil knowledg, or any Letters among them.

And, that this is true, both the *Portugals* and *Spaniards* have witnessed, who about an hundred years since discovered those Kingdoms, and do now enjoy their rich trades therein: for the *Chinois* account all other nations but salvages in respect of themselves.

And to add strength to this argument, the conquest and story of *Alex. Macedon* may justly be called to witness, who found more Cities and sumptuosity in that little Kingdome of *Porus*, which lay side by side to the East *India*, than in all his other travails and undertakings. For in *Alexander*'s time, learning and greatness had not travailed so far to the West as *Rome*. *Alexander* esteeming of *Italy* but as a barbarous Country, and of *Rome* as of a Village, But it was *Babylon* that stood in his eye, and the fame of the East pierced his ears. And if we look as far as the Sun-rising, and hear *Paulus Venetus* what he reporteth of the uttermost Angle and *Island* thereof, we shall find that those Nations have sent out, and not borrowed it from the West. For the farther East (to this day) the more civil; the farther West, the more Salvage. And of the Isle of *Japan* (now *Zipingari*) *Venetus* maketh this report: *Incolæ religioni, literis, & sapientiæ sunt addictissimi, & veritatis indagatores acerrimi; nihil illis frequentius oratione, quam (more nostro) sacris in delubris exercent: unum cognoscunt Principem, unum Deum adorant: The Islanders are exceedingly addicted to religion, letters, and philosophy, and most diligent searchers out of truth: there is nothing among them more frequent than prayer, which they use in their Churches, after the manner of Christians: They acknowledg one King, and worship one God.* The antiquity, magnificence, civility, riches, sumptuous buildings, and policie in government, is reported to be such by those who have been employed in those parts, as it seemeth to exceed (in those formerly named, and divers other particulars) all other Kingdoms of the World.

‖. V.

The third Argument, from the wonderful resistance which Semiramis *found in the East Indies,*

But for a third argument, and also of a treble strength to the rest, I lay the invasion of *Semiramis* before the indifferent and advised Reader: who may consider in what Age she lived, and how soon after the Worlds new birth she gathered her Army (as *Diodorus Siculus* out of *Ctesias* reporteth) of more than three millions to invade *India*, to which he adjoyned also 500000. Horse; and 100000. Waggons: whereof if we believe but a third part, it shall suffice to prove that *India* was the first planted and peopled Country after the Floud. Now as touching the time wherein she lived: All Historians consent that she was the Wife of *Ninus*, and the most approved Writers agree, that *Ninus* was the Son of *Belus*, and *Belus* of *Nimrod*, that *Nimrod* was the Son of *Chush*, *Cush* of *Cham*, and *Cham* of *Noah*. And at such time as *Nimrod* came to *Shinaar*, he was then a great Nation, as by the building of the City and Tower of *Babel* may appear; and being then so multiplied and increased, the two descents cast between *Nimrod* and *Semiramis*, brought forth in that time those multitudes, whereof her Army was composed. Let us then see with whom she encountred in that War with this her powerful Army: even with a multitude, rather exceeding, than equalling her own, conducted by *Staurobates* King of *India* beyond *Indus*: of whose multitudes this is the witness of *Diod. Siculus*; Staurobates *coactis majoribus, quàm quæ erant* Semiramidis, *copiis*: Staurobates *gathering together greater Troops than those of* Semiramis. If then these numbers of *Indians* had been increased but by a *Colonie* sent out from *Shinaar* (and that also after *Babel* was built, which no doubt took some time in the performance) this increase in the East, and this Army of *Staurobates* must have been made of stone, or somewhat else by miracle. For as the numbers which *Semirrmis* gathered might easily grow up in that time, from so great a Troop as *Nimrod* brought with him into *Babylonia* (as shall be demonstrated hereafter in the Story of *Israel*) so could not any such time, by any multiplication natural, produce so many bodies of men as were in the *Indian* Army Victorious over *Semeramis*, if the *Colonies* sent thither had been so late as *Babel*, overturned, and the confusion of Languages. For if we allow 65. years time after the Floud, before *Nimrod* was born: of which, thirty years to *Cush* ere he begat *Seba*, after whom he had *Havilah*, *Sabtah*, *Raamah*, and *Sabtecha*: and then thirty years to *Raamah*, ere he begat *Sheba* and *Dedan*, both which were born before *Nimrod*: and five years to his five elder Brothers, which make sixty five, and then twice thirty years for two Generations more, as for *Nimrod*, *Sheba*, and *Dedan* with others, to beget their Sons; and that a third Generation might grow up, which makes in all an hundred twenty five years; there will then remain six years to have been spent in travelling from the East, ere they arrived in *Shinaar*, in the year after the Floud 131. And so the followers of *Nimrod* might be of sufficient multitude. But as for those which *Gen.* 10. 7.

which make him to have arrived at *Shinaar* in the year 101. and the Confusion to have been at *Pelegs* birth, these men do all by miracle: they beget whole Nations without the help of time; and build *Nimrods* Tower in the Ayr; and not on those low and marish grounds (which require sound foundations) in the Plains of *Shinaar*. For except that huge Tower were built in a day, there could be no confusion in that year 101. or at *Pelegs* birth. And therefore it is far more probable, that *Nimrod* usurped Regal authority in the 131. year after the Floud (according to *Berosus*) and that the Work of *Babel* lasted fourty years (according to *Glycas*) *Hominibus in ea perficienda totis* 40. *annis incassum laborantibus*; *Men labouring in vain* 40. *years to finish it*. By which account it falls out that it was 170. years after the Floud, ere a *Colonie* was sent into *East India*; which granted, (the one being the main Body, and the other but a Troop taken thence) it can hardly be believed that *Staurobates* could have exceeded *Semiramis* in numbers: who being then Empress of all that part of the World gathered the most of Nations into one body.

Glyc. in Gen. & de Turris extructione fol. 173.

‖. VI.

The fourth Argument from divers considerations in the person of Noah.

FOurthly, it is no way probable, that *Noah*, who knew the World before the Flood, and had lived therein the long time of 600. years, was all that space 130. years after the Floud without any certain habitation: No, it will fall out, and better agree with reason, that *Nimrod* was but the conductor of those people, by *Noah* destined and appointed to fill and inhabit that middle part of the earth and the Western World; (which Travails *Noah* put over to young and able bodies) and that *Noah* himself, then covered with many years, planted himself in the same place which God had assigned him; which was, where he first came down out of the Ark from the waters: for it is written, that after *Noah* came down out of the Ark, he planted a Vineyard, and became a Husbandman, whose business was to dress and manure the Earth; and not to range over so many parts of the World, as from *Armenia* into *Arabia fœlix*, where he should (if the Tradition be sound) have left certain *Colonies*: thence into *Africa* towards *Triton*: then into *Spain* where they say he settled other companies, and built Cities after the names of *Noela* and *Noegla* his Sons Wives: from thence into *Italy*, where they say he found his Son *Cham* the *Saturn* of *Egypt*, who had corrupted the people and subjects of *Gomer* in his absence: with whom *Noah* (as they make the story) had patience for three years; but finding no amendment, they say he banish'd him out of *Italy*. These be but the fancies of *Berosus Annianus*, a plain imitation of the *Grecian* fables. For let every reasonable man conceive, what it was to travail far in such a Forrest as the World was, when after so great a rotting of the Earth by the Floud; the same lay wast and over-grown for 130. or 140. years, and wherein there could hardly be found either part or passage through which men were able to creep for Woods, Bushes, and Bryars, that in those years were grown up.

And there are so many reasons, proving that *Noah* never came into the Valley of *Shinaar*, as we need not suspect his passage into *Italy* or *Spain*: For *Noah* who was Father of all those Nations, a man reverenced both for his Authority, Knowledg, Experience and Piety, would never have permitted his children and issues to have undertaken that unbelieving presumptuous work of *Babel*. Rather by his presence and prevalent perswasions he woud have bound their hands from so vain labours, and by the authority which he received even from God himself, he would have held them in that awfull subjection, as, whatsoever they had vainly conceived or feared, yet they durst not have disobeyed the personal commandment of him, who in the beginning had a kind of Regal authority over his children and people. Certainly, *Noah* knew right well, that the former destruction of man-kind was by themselves purchased through cruelty and disobedience; and that to distrust God, and to raise up buildings again his Almighty power, was as much as in them lay, a provocation of God to lay upon them the same, if not a more sharp affliction. Wherefore, there is no probability, that ever he came so far West as *Babylonia*; but rather, that he sent those numbers which came into *Shinaar* (being the greatest part of the World to plant) under *Nimrod*, or those upon whom he usurped. *Nauclerus*, and *Cœlestinus*, take the testimony of *Methodius* Bishop of *Tyre* for currant, that there were three Leaders of the people after their increase (to wit) *Nimrod*, *Suphene*, and *Joctan*, of which *Nimrod* commanded the issues of *Cham*, *Joctan* of *Sem*, and *Suphene* of *Japhet*. This opinion I cannot judge of, although I will not doubt, but that so great a work as the Worlds Plantation, could not be effected without order and conduction.

Of the Sons of *Sem*: *Joctan*, *Havilah*, and *Ophir*, are especially noted to have dwelt in the *East-India*. The rest of *Sem*'s issues had also the Regions of *Persia*, and the other adjoyning to *Indus*, and held also a part of *Chaldea* for a time: for *Abraham* inhabited *Ur*, till he was thence called by God; and whether they were of the Sons of *Joctan*, or of all the rest a certain number (*Cham* and his issue onely excepted) that *Noah* kept with himself, it cannot be known. Of which Plantation I shall speak at large in the Chapter following.

Now, another reason which moves me to believe that *Noah* stayed in the East far away from all those that came into *Shinaar*, is, that *Moses* doth not in any word make mention of *Noah* in all the Story of the *Hebrews*, or among any of those Nations which contended with them. And *Noah* being the Father of all man-kind, and the chosen servant of God, was too principal a Person, to be either forgotten or neglected, had he not (in respect of his age and wearisome experience of the World) withdrawn himself, and rested a-part with his best Beloved, giving himself to the service and contemplation of God and heavenly things, after he had directed his children to their destined portions. For he landed in a warm and fertile soile, where he planted his Vineyard, and drest the Earth; after which, and his thanksgiving to God by sacrifice, he is not remembred in the Scriptures, because he was so farr away from those Nations of which *Moses* wrote: which were the *Hebrews* chiefly, and their enemies and borderers.

SECT. VII.

Of the ſenſleſs opinion of Annius *the Commentor upon* Beroſus: *who finds divers places where the Ark reſted; as the* Caſpian *and* Gordiæan *Hills, which are three hundred miles aſunder; and alſo ſome places of* Scythia.

IT remaineth now that we examine the Arguments and Authorities of Friar *Annius*, who in his Commentaries upon *Beroſus* and others, laboureth marvellouſly to prove that the Ark of *Noah* reſted upon the *Armenian* Mountains called *Caſpii*; which Mountains ſeparate *Armenia* from the upper *Media*, and do equally belong to both. And becauſe all his Authors ſpeak of the Mountains of *Gordiæi*, he hath no other ſhift to unite theſe opinions, but by uniting thoſe far-diſtant Mountains together. To effect which, he hath found no other invention, than to charge thoſe men with errour, which have carefully over-ſeen, Printed, and Publiſhed *Ptolomies* Geography, in which they are altogether diſſevered. For that laſt Edition of *Mercators* ſets theſe Hills five degrees (which makes three hundred *Engliſh* miles) aſunder. And certainly, if we look into thoſe more ancient Copies of *Villanovanus*, and others, we ſhall find nothing in them to help *Annius* withall: for in thoſe the Mountains *Caſpii* ſtand ſeven degrees to the Eaſt of the *Gordiæi*, which makes 420. miles. And for thoſe Authors by whoſe authority *Annius* ſtrengthneth himſelf, *Diodorus* whom he ſo much followeth, giveth this judgment upon them in the like diſpute. *Aberrârunt verò omnes, non negligentiâ, ſed regnorum ſitûs ignorantiâ*; *They have all erred* (ſaith he) *not through negligence, but through ignorance of the ſituation of Kingdoms.* But for an induction, to prove that the Ark of *Noah* ſtood on the mountains of *Armenia*, he beginneth with the antiquity of the *Scythians*: and to prove the ſame he citeth *Marcus Portius Cato*, who avoweth, that 250. years before *Ninus*, the Earth was overflown with Waters, *Et in* Scythia *Saga renatum mortale genus*; *And that in* Scythia *the ſtock of mortal men was renewed.* The ſame Author alſo teacheth, that the *Umbri* before remembred (who were ſo called, becauſe ſaved from *Deucalion's* Floud) were the Sons of the *Galli*, a Nation of the *Scythians*. *Ex his veniſſe* Janum *cum* Dyrim, *&* Gallis *progenitoribus Umbrorum*; *From theſe* Scythians, he ſaith, *that* Janus *came with* Dyrim, *and with the* Galli *the progenitours of the* Umbri: And again, *Equidem principatus originis ſemper* Scythis *tribuitur*; *Certainly, the prime Antiquity of Off-ſpring is alway given to the* Scythians. And herein truly I agree with *Annius*, that thoſe Regions called *Scythia*, and now *Tartaria*, and by ſome Writers *Sarmatia Aſiatica*, were among the firſt peopled: and they held the greateſt part of *Aſia* under Tribute till *Ninus* Time. Alſo *Pliny* called the *Umbri* which long ſince inhabited *Italy*, *Gens antiquiſſima*, *a moſt ancient Nation*, who deſcended of theſe *Scythians*. Now, that which *Annius* laboureth, is to prove that theſe ancient *Scythians* (meaning the Nephews of *Noah*) did firſt inhabit that Region of the Mountains, on which the Ark reſted; and confeſſing that this great Ship was grounded in *Armenia*, he feigneth a Nation of *Scythians* called *Araxea*, taking name of the Mountain *Ararat*, near the River of *Araxes*. And becauſe his Author *Cato* helpeth him in part (to wit, That in *Scythia* mankind was reſtored after the great Floud 250. years before *Ninus*) and in part utterly deſtroyeth his conceit of *Armenia*, by adding the word *Saga*; as, *In* Scythia *Saga renatum mortale genus*; *In* Scythia *Saga, mankind was reſtored*: he therefore in the *Proœme* of his Commentary upon *Beroſus*, leaveth out the addition of *Saga* altogether in the repetition of *Cato* his words, and writes, *homines in* Scythia *ſalvatos*. For *Scythia Saga*, or *Sacæ*, is nndoubtedly under the Mountains of *Parapiniſus*; on which, or near which it is moſt probable that the Ark firſt took ground: and from thoſe Eaſt parts (according to *Moſes*) came all thoſe companies which erected the Tower of *Babel* in *Shinaar* or *Babylonia*.

Ptol. tab. Aſiæ. 3.

Diod. l. c. 3.

Cato de orig. pars prima.

Plin. l. 3. c. 14.

Beroſ. l. 1.

Ptol. Aſiæ, tab. 7.

Gen. 11. 2.

But now, the beſt authority which *Annius* hath, is out of *Diodorus*: where he hath read that the *Scythians* were orignally *Armenians*, taking name *à* Scytha *Rege eorum*, *from* Scytha *their King*. But (in a word) we may ſee his vanity, or rather (indeed) his falſhood in citing this place. For *Diodorus*, a moſt approved and diligent Author, beginneth in that place with theſe words: *Fabulantur* Scythæ, *The* Scythians *Fable*: and his Interpreter in the table of that work, giveth this Title to that very Chapter; *Scytharum origo & ſucceſſus, fabula*; *The original and ſucceſs of the* Scythians, *a Fable*. And (indeed) there needs no great diſproof hereof, ſince *Ptolomy* doth directly delineate *Scythia Saga*, or *Sacæ*, and ſets them in 130. degrees of longitude: and the *Perſians* (ſaith *Herodotus*) call all the *Scythians Sacæ*; which *Pliny* confirms: for in reſpect that theſe *Sacæ* (ſaith *Pliny*) are the *Scythians* next to the *Perſians*, therefore they gave all the reſt that name. Now, that any Nation in *Armenia* can neighbour the *Perſians*, there is no man believeth. But this ſuppoſed *Scythia Araxea* in *Armenia* lieth in 78. degrees of longitude (that is) 42. degrees diſtant from the *Sacæ*; and the Countrey about *Araxes Ptolemy* calleth *Colthene*, and *Soducene*, and *Sacapene*, without any mention of *Scythia* at all: and yet all thoſe which are, or were reputed *Scythians* either within *Imaus*, or without, to the number of 100. ſeveral Nations, are by *Ptolomy* preciſely ſet down.

L. 6. c. 67.

Tab. Aſia. 7. & 8.

But, to come to thoſe latter Authours, whereof ſome have written, others have ſeen a great part of thoſe North-Eaſt Regions, and ſearched their Antiquities with great diligence: Firſt, *Marius Niger* boundeth *Scythia* within *Imaus*, in this manner: (for *Scythia* without theſe Mountains, is alſo beyond our purpoſe) Scythia *inter* Imaum *montem ea eſt, quæ proprio vocabulo Gaſſaria hoc tempore dicitur: ab Occaſu Sarmatia Aſiatica: ab Oriente Imao Monte: à Septentrione terra incognita: à Meridie Saccis, Sogdianis, Margianis, uſque oſtia Oxæ amnis in Hyrcanum mare exeuntis; & parte ipſius maris hinc uſq; ad Rha fluminis oſtia terminatur*: Scythia *within the Mountain* Imaus, *is that part of the World which in their own ſpeech is at this time called* Gaſſaria; *and the ſame is bounded on the Weſt-ſide by* Sarmatia Aſiatica, (*or of* Aſia:) *on the Eaſt, by the* Imaan *Mountains: on the North, by unknown Lands: on the South, by the* Saccæ (which are the *Sacæ*) *the* Sogdiani, *and the* Margiani, *to the mouth of* Oxus, *falling into the* Hyrcan *Sea, and by a part of the ſame Sea as farr as the mouth of* Rha.

Rha, Now *Wolga.*

Now, if *Niger* ſets all *Sarmatia Aſiatica* to the Weſt of *Scythia*, then *Sarmatia (que magna ſanè Regio eſt, & quæ innumeras nationes complectitur*, *Which is a great Region, comprehending innumerable nations*, ſaith *Niger*) much of it being between *Scythia* and *Armenia*, doth ſufficiently warrant us, that *Armenia*

Com. 2. Aſiæ fol. 472.

Armenia can be no part of *Scythia*; and to make it more plain, he diſſevereth *Sarmatia* it ſelf from any part of *Armenia*, by the Regions of *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and *Albania*, which he leaveth on the right hand of *Sarmatia*, and yet makes *Sarmatia* but the Weſt bound of *Scythia*.

Ad meridiem flexo Boſphoro pars ſeptentrionalis ponte Euxini uſque in oſtium Coracis fluvii: unde relictis à parte dextra Colchis, Iberis, Albaniſq; in littus Hyrcani maris provenit. Spoc. hiſt. lib. 30.

And for *Paulus Venetus*, he hath not a word of *Armenia* among the *Tartarian* or *Scythian* Nation; neither doth his fellow Friar *John Plancarpio* (cited by *Vincentius* in his deſcription of *Scythia*) make mention of *Armenia*; neither doth *Haytonus*, an *Armenian* born of the bloud of thoſe Kings (though afterwards a Monk) ever acknowledg himſelf for a *Tartarian*, or of the *Scythian* Races deſcended: though he writ that ſtory at large, gathered by *Nicolaus Salcuni*, and (by the commandement of Pope *Clement* the fifth) in the year 1307. publiſhed.

Neither doth *Matthias a Michon* (a Canon of *Cracovia* in *Polonia*) a *Sarmatian* born, and that travelled a great part of *Sarmatia Aſiatica*, find *Armenia* any way within the compaſs of *Tartaria*, *Scythia*, or *Sarmatia*; and yet no man (whoſe Travels are extant) hath obſerved ſo much of thoſe Regions as he hath done: proving and diſproving many things, heretofore ſubject to diſpute. And among others he burieth that antient and received opinion, That out of the Mountains, *Riphei*, and *Hyperborei* in *Scythia*, ſpring the Rivers of *Tanais* or *Don*, *Volga* or *Edel*; proving by unanſwerable experience, that there are no ſuch Mountains *in rerum natura*; and (indeed) the Heads and Fountains of thoſe famous Rivers are now by the Trade of *Muſcovia* known to every Merchant, and that they ariſe out of Lakes, low, wooddy, and mariſh grounds. The River of *Tanais* or *Don*, ariſeth to the South of the City *Tulla*, ſome twenty *Engliſh* miles, out of a Lake called *Iwanowesero*, in the great Wood *Okenitzkilies*, or *Jepiphanolies*. *Volga*, which *Ptolomy* calls *Rha*, and the *Tartars* call *Edel*, riſeth out of a Lake called *Fronow*, in the great Wood *Vodkonzki*: from which Lake the two other famous Rivers flow of *Boryſthenes* (now *Neyper*) and *Dſuina* or *Dividna*. And this learned *Polonian* doth in this ſort bound the *Europæan Sarmatia*. *In Sarmatia of Europe are the Regions of Ruſſians, Lithuanians, Muſcovians*, and thoſe adjoyning bounded on the Weſt by the River of *Viſa*, the Name perchance miſ-printed *Viſſa* for *Viſtula*, a River which parts *Germania* and *Sarmatia*: and for the Eaſt-border he nameth *Tanais*, or *Don*. *Sarmatia Aſiatica* he cutteth from *Europe* by the ſame River of *Tanais*, and the *Caſpian* Sea, to with-hold it from ſtretching farther Eaſt: this *Aſian Sarmatia* being part of that *Scythia* which *Ptolomy* calleth *Scythia intra Imaum montem: Scythia within the Mountain Imaus*. And the ſame *Matthias Michon* further affirmeth, that the *Scythians* (which Friar *Annius* would make *Armenians*) came not into *Sarmatia Aſiatica* it ſelf above three hundred and a few odd years before his own time: theſe be his words: *Conſtat eam eſſe gentem novam, & adventitiam à partibus Orientis (mutatis ſedibus) paulo plus abhinc trecentis annis Aſiæ Sarmatiam ingreſſam: It is manifeſt* (ſaith he, ſpeaking of the *Scythian* Nation) *that this is a late planted Nation, come from the coaſts of the Eaſt: from whence they entred into Aſia, & gat new ſeats a little more than* 300. *years ſince*; For (indeed) before that time the *Goths* or *Poulaci* inhabited *Sarmatia Aſiatica*. And this *Matthias* lived in the year 1511. and this his Diſcourſe of *Sarmatia* was Printed at *Auguſta* in the year 1506. as *Bucholzerus* in his *Chronologie* witneſſeth. Now theſe *Scythians* (ſaith he) came from the Eaſt; for in the Eaſt it was, that the *Ark* of *Noah* reſted, and the *Scythæ Sacræ* were thoſe people which lived at the North foot of thoſe Mountains, of *Taurus*. And were there no other teſtimony than the general deſcription of the Earth now extant, and the witneſs of *Ptolomy*, it is plain, that between all parts of *Armenia*, and *Scythia*, there are not only thoſe three Regions of *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and *Albania*, but the *Caſpian* Sea: on the Eaſt ſhore of which Sea, but not on the Weſt, or on that part which any way toucheth *Armenia*, there are (indeed) a Nation of *Scythians* (called *Ariacæ*) between *Jaxartus* and *Jaxius*; but what are theſe *Scythians* to any *Ariacæ*, or *Scythia Araxea*, which *Annius* placeth in *Armenia*, more than the *Scythians* of *Europe*?

Sig. Herbeſtem.

Craxens calleth this River *Wiſlaus*, *Niger Dravamanza*, *Pom. Mela. Viſula & Plin. Viſſullus.*

‖. VIII.

The fifth Argument; The Vine must grow naturally neer the place where the Arke reſted.

TO this if we add the conſideration of this part of the Text, *That* Noah *planted a Vineyard*, we ſhall find that the fruit of the Vine or Rayſin did not grow naturally in that part of *Armenia*, where this reſting of the *Arke* was ſuppoſed: for if the Vine was a ſtranger in *Italy* and *France*, and brought from other Countries thither, it is not probable that it grew naturally in *Armenia*, being a far colder Country. For *Tyrrhenus* firſt brought Vines into *France*, and *Saturnus* into *Latium*: yea at ſuch times as *Brennus* and the *Gauls* invaded *Italy*, there were few or no Vines in *France*. For (ſaith *Plutarch* in the life of *Camillus*) the *Gaules* remained between the *Pyrenæi* and the *Alpes* neer unto the *Senones*, where they continued a long time, until they drunk Wine, which was firſt brought them out of *Italy*; and after they taſted thereof, they haſted to inhabite that Country, which brought forth ſuch pleaſant Fruit: ſo as it appeareth, that the Plant of the Vine was not natural in *France*, but from *Italy* brought thither; as by *Saturn* from elſe-where into *Italy*.

Gen. 9. 20.

Servulus Aneid Eutropius.

Now it is manifeſt, that *Noah* travelled not far to ſeek out the Vine. For the Plantation thereof is remembred, before there was any counſel how to diſpoſe of the World among his children: and the firſt thing he did, was, to till the ground, and to plant a Vine-yard, after the Sacrifice and Thankſgiving to God; and whereſoever the *Arke* reſted, there did the Vine grow naturally. From whence it doth no where appear, that he travelled far: for the Scriptures teach us, that he was a Husbandman, and not a wanderer.

‖. IX.

An anſwer to an Objection out of the words of the Text: The Lord ſcattered them from thence upon the face of the whole earth.

AND that all the children of *Noah* came together into *Shinaar*, it doth not appear, ſaving that it may be inferred out of theſe words (*from thence*) becauſe it is written: *So that the Lord ſcattered them* [*from thence*] *upon all the Earth*; which hath no other

other sence, but that the Lord scattered them (to wit) those that built this Tower: for those were from thence dispersed into all the Regions of the North and South, and to the Westward. And by these words of *Sybilla* (as they be converted) it seemeth that all came not together into *Shinaar*; for they have this limitation: *Quidam eorum turrem ædificarunt altissimam, quasi per eam Cœlum essent ascensuri*: *Certain of them built a most high Tower, as if they meant thereby to have scaled the Heavens.*

‖. X.

An answer to the objection of the name of Ararat, *taken for* Armenia: *and the heighth of the Hills there.*

BUT before I conclude this part, it is necessary to see and consider what part of Scripture, and what reason may be found out, to make it true or probable, that the Ark of *Noah* was forsaken by the waters on the Mountains of *Armenia*. For the Text hath only these words: *The Ark rested on* (or upon) *the Mountains of Ararat*, or *Armenia*, saith the Marginal Note of the *Geneva*: the *Chaldean Paraphrast* calls it *Kardu*; of which, the highest hath the name of *Lubar*, saith *Epiphanius*. Now this *Ararat* (which the *Septuagint* do not convert at all, but keep the same word) is taken to be a Mountain of *Armenia*; because *Armenia* it self had anciently that name: so as first out of the name, and secondly out of the height (which they suppose exceeded all other) is the opinion taken, That the Ark first sate thereon.

Gen. 8. 14. Dpiph. l. 1. contr. Hæres.

But these suppositions have no foundation: for neither is *Ararat* of *Armenia* alone, neither is any part, or any of those Mountains of equal stature to many other Mountains of the World, and yet it doth not follow, that the Ark found the highest Mountain of all other to rest on: for the Plains were also uncovered before *Noah* came out of the Ark. Now, if there were any agreement among Writers of this *Ararat*, and that they did not differ altogether therein, we might give more credit to the conceit. For in the Books of the *Sybils* it is written, that the Mountains of *Ararat* are in *Phrygia*, upon which it was supposed that the Ark stayed after the Floud. And the better to particularize the place and seat of these Mountains, and to prove them in *Phrygia* and not *Armenia*: they are placed where the City of *Cælenes* was afterward built. Likewise in the same description she maketh mention of *Marsyas*, a River which runneth through part of *Phrygia* and afterward joyneth it self with the River *Mæander*, which is far from the *Gordæian* Mountain in *Armenia*. We may also find a great mistaking in *Josephus* (though out of *Berosus*, who is in effect the Father of this opinion) that *Josephus* sets *Ararat* between *Armenia* and *Parthia*, toward *Adiabene*, and affirmeth withall, that in the Province of *Cæron* (by others *Kairos* and *Arnos*, so called by reason that the waters have from thence no descent, nor issue out) the people vaunt that they had in those days reserved some pieces of *Noahs* Ark. But *Parthia* toucheth no where upon *Armenia*; for *Armenia* bordereth *Adiabene*, a Province of *Assyria*: so that all *Media* and a part of *Assyria* is between *Parthia* and *Armenia*. Now whereas the discovery of the Mountains *Cordiei* was first borrowed out of *Berosus* by *Josephus*; yet the Text which *Josephus* citeth differs far from the words of that *Berosus*, which wandereth up and down in these days, set out by *Annius*. For *Berosus*, cited by *Josephus*, hath these words: *Fertur & navigii hujus pars in Armenia apud montem Cordieorum superesse, & quosdam Bitumen inde abrasum secum reportare, quo vice amuleti loci hujus homines uti solent*: (which is *It is reported also that a part of this ship is yet remaining in Armenia upon the Cordiean Mountains; and that divers do scrape from it the Bitumen or Pitch, and carrying it with them, they use it in stead of an amulet.* Aut *Annius* his Edition of the Fragment of *Berosus* useth these words: *Nam elevata ab aquis in Gordei montis vertice quievit, cujus adhuc dicitur aliqua pars esse, & homines ex illa Bitumen tollere quo maximè utuntur ad expiationem*: *For the whole Ark being lifted up by the waters, rested on the top of the Gordiean Mountaines, of which it is reported that some parts remain, and that men do carry thence of the Bitumen to purge by Sacrifice therewith*: so as in the two Texts (besides the difference of words) these name is diversly written. The antient *Berosus* writes *Cordiæei* with a (*C*): and the Fragment *Gordieei* with a (*G*): the one that the *Bitumen* is used for a preservative against Poyson or Inchantment; the other, in Sacrifice. And if it be said that they agree in the general, yet it is reported by neither from any certain knowledge, nor from any approved Author: for one of them, useth the word (*fertur*) the other (*dicitur*); the one, *that so it is reported*, the other, *that so it is said*; and both but by hear-say, and therefore of no authority nor credit. For common bruit is so infamous an Historian, as wise men neither report after it, nor give credit to any thing they receive from it.

Furthermore, these Mountains which *Ptolemy* calls *Gordiæi*, are not those Mountaines which himself giveth to *Armenia*, but he calleth the Mountains of *Armenia*, *Moschici*. These be his own words: *Montes Armeniæ nominantur ii, qui Moschici appellantur, qui protenduntur usque ad superjacentem partem Ponti Cappadocum*; *& Mons qui Paryardes dicitur*: *The Mountains of Armenia are they which are called Moschici, stretched along to the higher part of Pontus of the Cappadocians: also the Hill which is called Paryardes*: which Mountains *Pliny* calleth *Pariedri*, and both which ly to the North of *Gordiæi* or *Baris*, in 43. and 44. and a half; and the *Gordiæan* Mountains in 39. and a half: from the Northermost of which did the *Georgians* take their names, who were first *Gordians*, and then *Georgians*, who amidst all the strength of the greatest Infidels of *Persia* and *Turkie*, do still remain *Christians*. Concerning the other suppositions, that the Mountains of *Gordiæi*, otherwise *Baris*, *Kardu* or *Lubar* (which *Ptolemy* calleth *Torgodiaion*) are the highest of the World, the same is absolutely false.

Ptol. Asiæ tab.

Plin. l. 6. c. 9.

‖. XI.

Of Caucasus, and divers far higher hills than the Armenian.

FOr the best *Cosmographers*, with other, that have seen the Mountains of *Armenia* find them far inferiour, and under-set to to divers other Mountains even in that part of the World, and elsewhere: as the Mountain *Athos* between *Macedon* and *Thrace*, which *Ptolemy* calls *Olympus*, now called *Lacas*, (saith *Castaldus*) is far surmounting any Mountain that ever hath been seen in *Armenia*: for it casteth shade three hundred furlongs, which is seven and thirty miles and upwards: of which *Plutarch*, *Athos adumbrat latera Lemniæ bovis*: *Athos*

Plut. Mus. Cosin.

thos ſhadoweth the Cow of Lemnos. Alſo the Mount of *Olympus* in *Theſſalie*, is ſaid to be of that height, as neither the Winds, Clouds, or Rain overtop it. Again, the Mountain of *Antandrus* in *Myſia*, not far from *Ida*, whence the River *Scamandrus* floweth, which runneth through *Troy*, is alſo of a far more admiration than any in *Armenia*, and may be ſeen from *Conſtantinople*. There are alſo in *Mauritania* neer the Sea, the famous Mountains of *Atlas*, of which *Herodotus*: *Extat in hoc mari Mons cui nomen Atlas, it a ſublimis eſſe dicitur, ut ad illius verticem oculi mortalium pervenire non poſſint*: *Upon this Coaſt there is a Mountain called Atlas, whoſe heighth is ſaid to be ſuch as the eye of no mortal man can diſcern the top thereof.* And if we may believe *Ariſtotle*, then are all theſe inferiour to *Caucaſus*, which he maketh the moſt notorous both for breadth and height: *Caucæſus Mons omnium maximus, qui æſtivum ad ortum ſunt, acumine atq; latitudine, cujus juga à Sole radiantur uſq; ad conticinium ab ortu: & iterum ab occaſu: Caucaſus* (ſaith *Ariſtotle*) *is the greateſt Mountain both for breadth and heighth of all thoſe in the North-eaſt, whoſe tops are lightned by the Sun-beams (uſq; ad conticinium)* which is, ſaith *Macrobius, between the firſt crowing after mid-night and the break of day*: Others affirm, that the top of this Mountain holds the Sun-beams when it is dark in the Valley; but I cannot believe either, for the higheſt Mountain of the World known, is that of *Tenerife* in the *Canaria*: which although it hath nothing to the Weſtward of it for 1000. Leagues together but the Ocean Sea, yet doth it not enjoy the Suns company at any ſuch late hours. Beſides, theſe Mountains which *Ariſtotle* calleth *Caucaſi*, are thoſe which ſeparate *Colchis* from *Iberia*; though (indeed) *Caucaſus* doth divide both *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and *Albania* from *Sarmatia*: for he acknowledgeth that the River of *Phaſis* riſeth in the ſame Mountain, which himſelf calleth *Caucaſus*, and that *Phaſis* ſpringeth from thoſe Hills which ſunder *Colchis* from *Iberia*, falling afterward into *Euxinus*: which River (it is manifeſt) yieldeth it ſelf to the Sea, two degrees to the North of *Trapezus* (now *Trabeſunda*) howſoever *Mercator* bring it from *Paryardes*.

Ariſt. Met. cor. l. 1. c. 13.

‖. XII.

Of divers incongruities if in this Story we ſhould take Ararat *for* Armenia.

SO as it doth firſt appear, that there is no certainty what Mountain *Ararat* was: for the Books of the *Sybils* ſet it in *Phrygia*, and *Beroſus* in *Armenia*: and as for *Beroſus* authority, thoſe men have great want of proofs that borrow from thence.

Secondly, that *Baris* was the higheſt Hill, and therefore moſt likely that the Ark grounded thereon, the aſſertion and ſuppoſition have equal credit: for there are many Hills which exceed all thoſe of *Armenia*; and if they did not, yet it doth not follow (as is before written) that the Ark ſhould ſit on the higheſt.

Thirdly, it cannot be proved that there is any ſuch Hill in *Armenia*, or *in rerum natura*, as *Baris*; for *Baris* (ſaith *Hierom*) ſignifieth high Towers; and ſo may all high Hills be called indifferently: and therefore we may better give the name of *Baris* to the Hills of *Caucaſus* (out of which *Indus* riſeth) then to any Hills of *Armenia*. For thoſe of *Caucaſus* in the Eaſt, are undoubtedly the higheſt of *Aſia*.

Fourthly, the Authors themſelves do not agree in what Region the Mountains *Gordiæi* ſtand: for *Ptolemy* diſtinguiſheth the Mountains of *Armenia* from the *Gordiean*, and calleth thoſe of *Armenia*, *Moſchici* and *Paryardes*, as aforeſaid. Now *Paryardes* is ſeated near the middle of *Armenia*, out of which on the Weſt ſide riſeth *Euphrates*, and out of the Eaſt-ſide, *Araxis*: and the Mountains *Moſchici* are thoſe Hills which disjoyn *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and *Albania* (now the Country of the *Georgians*) from *Armenia*.

‖. XIII.

Of the contrary ſituation of Armenia, *to the place noted in the Text: and that it is no marvail that the ſame Ledg of Hills running from* Armenia *to* India, *ſhould keep the ſame name all along: and even in* India *be called* Ararat.

LAſtly, we muſt blow up this Mountain *Ararat* it ſelf, or elſe we muſt dig it down, and carry it out of *Armenia*, or find it elſewhere, and in a warmer Country, and (withall) ſet it Eaſt from *Shinaar*; or elſe we ſhall wound the Truth it ſelf with the weapons of our own vain imaginations.

Therefore to make the miſtaking open to every eye, we muſt underſtand, that *Ararat* (named by *Moſes*) is not any one Hill, ſo called, no more then any one Hill among thoſe Mountains which divide *Italy* from *France*, is called the *Alps*: or any one among thoſe which part *France* from *Spain* is the *Pyrenian*: But as theſe, being continuations of many Hills, keep one name in divers Countries, ſo all that long Ledg of Mountains, which *Pliny* calleth by one name *Taurus*, and *Ptolemy* both *Taurus*, *Niphates*, *Coatras*, *Coronus*, *Sariphi*, until they Incounter and croſs the Mountains of the great *Imaus*, are of one general name, and are called the Mountains of *Ararat* or *Armenia*, becauſe from thence or thereabout they ſeem to ariſe. So all theſe Mountains of *Hyrcania*, *Armenia*, *Coraxis*, *Caſpii*, *Moſchici*, *Amazonici*, *Heniochi*, *Scythici*, (thus diverſly called by *Pliny* and others) *Ptolemy* calls by one name *Caucaſus*, lying between the Seas *Caſpiam* and *Euxinus*: as all thoſe Mountains which cut aſunder *America*, even from the new Kingdom of *Granado*, to the ſtreight of *Magellan*, are by one name called *Andes*. And as theſe Mountains of *Ararat* run Eaſt and Weſt, ſo do thoſe maryailous Mountains of *Imaus* ſtretch themſelves North and South; and being of like extent well-neer, are called by the name of *Imaus*, even as *Pliny* called theſe former Hills *Taurus*, and *Moſes* the Hills of *Ararat*. The reaſon of ſeveral names given by *Ptolemie*, was, thereby the better to diſtinguiſh the great Regions and Kingdoms, which theſe great Mountains bound and diſſever; as *Armenia*, *Meſopotamia*, *Aſſyria*, *Media*, *Suſiana*, *Perſia*, *Parthia*, *Caramania*, *Aria*, *Margiana*, *Bactria*, *Sogdiana*, and *Paropaniſus*: having all theſe Kingdoms, either on the North or South ſide of them. For all the mountains of *Aſia* (both the leſs and the greater) have three general names, (to wit) *Taurus*, *Imaus*, and *Caucaſus*: and they receive other titles, as they ſever and divide particular Places and Regions. For theſe Mountains which ſunder *Cilicia* from the reſt of *Aſia* the leſs, on the North-ſide, are called *Taurus*; and thoſe

Pliny in his diſcription of *Lycia. l. 5. c. 27.*

Mountains which part it from *Comagena* (a Province of *Syria*) are called *Amanus*: the Mountains called *Taurus*, running East and West, as *Imaus* doth North and South. Through *Taurus*, the River of *Euphrates* forceth her passage, leaving the name of *Amanus* to the Mountains on her West-bank, and on her East-side the Mountains are sometimes known by the name of *Taurus*, (as in *Ptolemie*'s three Tables of *Asia*) and sometimes *Niphates* (as in the fourth) retaining that uncertain appellation so long as they bound *Armenia* from *Mesopotamia*: and after the River of *Tygris* cutteth them asunder, they then take the name of *Niphates* altogether, untill they separate *Assyria* and *Media*; but then they call themselves *Coatras*, though between the upper and nether *Media*, they do not appear, but altogether discontinue. For at *Mazada* in *Media* they are not found, but run through the Eastern *Media* by pieces: in the middle of which Region they call themselves *Orontes*, and towards the East part *Coronus*; out of the Southern part whereof the River of *Bagradus* riseth, which divideth the ancient *Persian* from *Caramania*: and then continuing their course Eastward by the name of *Coronus*, they give to the *Parthians* and *Hyrcanians* their proper Countries. This done, they change themselves into the Mountains of *Sariphi*, out of which riseth the River *Margus*, afterward yielding her self to *Oxus* (now *Abia*:) and drawing now near their ways end, they first make themselves the South border of *Bactria*, and are then honoured with the Title of *Paropanisus*; and lastly, of *Caucasia*, even where the famous River of *Indus*, with his principal companions, *Hydaspis* and *Zaredrus*, spring forth and take beginning. And here do these Mountains build themselves exceeding high, to equal the strong Hills called *Imaus* of *Scythia*, which encounter each other in 35, 36, and 37. degrees of Latitude, and in 140. of Longitude: of the which the West parts are now called *Delanguer*, and the rest *Nagracot*; and these Mountains in this place onely are properly called *Caucasi* (saith *Ptolemie*) that is, between *Paropanisus* and *Imaus*: and improperly, between the two Seas of *Caspium* and *Pontus*.

Ptol. tab. Asiæ.

¶. XIV.

Of the best Vine naturally growing on the South side of the Mountain Caucasi, *and toward the* East-Indies: *and of other excellencies of the Soil.*

NOw, in this part of the World it is, where the Mountain and River *Janus*, and the Mountain *Nyseus*, (so called of *Bacchus Nyseus*, or *Noah*) are found: and on these highest Mountains of that part of the World did *Goropius Becanus* conceive that the *Ark* of *Noah* grounded after the Flouds; of all his conjectures the most probable, and by best reason approved. In his *Indo-Scythia* he hath many good Arguments, though mixt with other fantastical opinions of this subject. And as the same *Becanus* also noteth, that as in this part of the World are found the best Vines: so it is as true, that in the same Line, and in 34, 35, and 36. degrees of Septentrional Latitude, are the most delicate Wines of the World, namely, in *Judæa*, *Candia*, and other parts of *Greece*: and likewise in this Region of *Margiana*: and under these Mountains *Strabo* affirmeth, that the most excellent Vines of the World are found; the clusters of Grapes containing two Cubits of length: and it is the more probable, because this place agreeth in Climate with that part of *Palestina*, where the searchers of the Land, by *Moses* direction, found bunches of equal bigness at *Escol*. *Numb.* 13. 24.

The fruitfulness of this place (to wit) on the South bottom of these Hills, *Curtius* witnesseth. For in *Margiana*, near the Mountains of *Meros*, did *Alexander* feast himself and his Army ten days together, finding the most delicate Wine of all other.

¶. XV.

The Conclusion, with a brief repeating of divers chief points.

AND therefore to conclude this opinion of *Ararat*, it is true, that those Mountains do also traverse *Armenia*: yea, and *Armenia* it self sometime is known by the name of *Ararat*. But, as *Pliny* giveth to this Ledge of high Hills, even from *Cilicia* to *Paraponisus* and *Caucasus*, the name of *Taurus*: and as the Hills of *France* and *Germany* are called the *Alps*: and all between *France* and *Spain* the *Pyrenes*: and in *America* the continuation of Hills for 3000 miles together, the *Andes*: so was *Ararat* the general name which *Moses* gave them; the diversity of appellations no otherwise growing, than by their dividing and bordering divers Regions, and divers Countreys. For in the like case do we call the Sea, which entreth by *Gibraltar*, the *Mediterrane* and in-land Sea; and yet where it washeth the Coasts of *Carthage*, and over against it, it is called *Tyrrhenum*: between *Italy* and *Greece*, *Jonium*: from *Venice Durazzo*, *Adriaticum*: between *Athens* and *Asia*, *Ægeum*: between *Sestus* and *Abydus*, *Hellespont*: and afterward *Pontus*, *Propontis*, and *Bosphorus*. And as in these, so is the Ocean to the North-east part of *Scotland* called *Deucaledonycum*: and on this side, the *Brittain* Sea: to the East, the *Germane* and *Baltick*, and then the *Frozen*.

For a final end of this Question, we must appeal to that Judge which cannot erre, even to the Word of Truth, which in this place is to be taken and followed according to the plain sence: seeing it can admit neither distinction, nor other construction than the words bear literally, because they are used to the very same plain purpose of a description, and the making of a true and precise difference of places. Surely, where the sence is plain (and being so understood, it bringeth with it no subsequent inconvenience or contrariety) we ought to be wary, how we fancie to our selves any new or strange exposition; And (withall) to resolve our selves, that every word (as aforesaid) hath his weight in Gods Book. And therefore we must respect and reverence the testimonies of the Scriptures throughout, in such sort as Saint *Augustine* hath taught us, touching the Gospel of *Christ Jesus* (which is) *Nequis aliter accipiat (quod narrantibus Discipulis Christi) in Evangelio legerit, quam si ipsam manum Dei, quam in proprio corpore gestabat, conspexerit*; *That no man otherwise take or understand that which he readeth in the Gospel) the Disciples of Christ having written it) than if he had seen the very hand of the Lord, which he bare in his own body, setting it down.*

The words then of *Moses*, which end this Dispute are these: *And as they went from the East, they found* *Gen.* 11. 2.

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a Plain in the Land of Shinaar, *and there they abode*: which proveth without controverſie, that *Nimrod*, and all with him, came from the Eaſt into *Shinaar*; and therefore the *Ark* of *Noah* reſted and took land to the Eaſt-ward thereof. For we muſt remember, that in all places whereſoever *Moſes* maketh a difference of Countreys, he always preciſely nameth toward what quarter of the World the ſame were ſeated: as where he teacheth the plantation of *Joctan*, he nameth *Sephar*, a Mountain in the Eaſt:
*Gen.*10.30. where he remembreth *Cains* departure from the preſence of God, he addeth: *And Cain dwelt in the Land of Nod, towards the Eaſt-ſide of Eden*: And when he deſcribeth the Tents and Habitations of *Abraham*, after he departed from *Sechem*, he uſeth theſe words; *Afterwards removing thence*
*Gen.*4.16. *unto a Mountain Eaſt-ward from Bethel, he pitched*
*Gen.*12.8. *his Tents: having Bethel on the Weſt-ſide, and Hai on the Eaſt*: and afterward in the ninth Verſe of the ſame Chapter, it is written; *And* Abraham *went*
*Ezek.*38.6. *forth journeying towards the South*: alſo when *Ezekiel* propheciеth of *Gog* and *Magog*, he ſheweth that theſe Nations of *Togorma* were of the North-quar-
*Mat.*12.42. ters: and of the Queen of *Saba* it is written, that *ſhe came from the South to viſit* Solomon: And the
*Mat.*2.1. *Magi*, (or *Wiſemen*) *came out of the Eaſt to offer preſents unto Chriſt*. And that all Regions, and theſe travels were preciſely ſet down upon the points of the Compaſs and Quarters of the World, it is moſt manifeſt: for *Eden* was due Eaſt from *Judæa*; *Saba* South from *Hieruſalem*: the way from *Bethel* to *Egypt* directly South; and the *Cæleyrians*, the *Tubalines*, and *Magogians* inhabited the Regions directly North from *Paleſtina*, and ſo of the reſt. But *Armenia* anſwereth not to this deſcription of *Shinaar* by *Moſes*. For to come out of *Armenia*, and to arrive in that Valley of *Babyſonia*, is not a journeying from the Eaſt, nor ſo near unto the Eaſt as the North: for *Armenia* is to the Weſt of the North it ſelf; and we muſt not ſay of *Moſes* (whoſe hands the holy Ghoſt directed) that he erred *toto cælo*, and that he knew not Eaſt from Weſt. For the body of *Armenia* ſtandeth in fourty three degrees Septentrional, and the North part thereof in fourty five; and thoſe *Gordiæan* Mountains, whereon it was ſuppoſed that the Ark reſted, ſtand in fourty one. But *Babylonia*, and the Valley of *Shinaar* are ſituated in thirty five; and for the Longitude (which maketh the difference between Eaſt and Weſt) the *Gordiæan* Mountains ſtand in 75. degrees, and the Valley of *Shinaar* in 79. and 80. And therefore *Armenia* lieth from *Shinaar* North-weſt, 95. degrees from the Eaſt; and if *Armenia* had been but North, yet it had differed from the Eaſt one whole quarter of the Compaſs. But *Gregory*, and *Hierome* warn us, *In Scripturis ne minima differentia omitti debet: nam ſinguli ſermones, ſyllabæ, apices, & puncta in divina Scriptura plena ſunt ſenſibus; In the Scriptures the leaſt difference may not be omitted: for every ſpeech, ſyllable, note, or accent, and point in divine Scriptures are repleniſhed with their meanings*. And therefore ſeeing *Moſes* teacheth us that the children of *Noah* came from the Eaſt, we may not believe Writers (of little authority) who alſo ſpeak by hear-ſay, and by report, *Ut fertur, & ut dicitur*, as *Beroſus* and *Nicolaus Damaſcenus*, determining herein without any examination of the Text, at all adventure. But this is infallibly true, that *Shinaar* lyeth Weſt from the place where the Ark of *Noah* reſted after the Floud; and therefore it firſt found ground in the Eaſt, from whence came the firſt knowledg of all things. The Eaſt parts were firſt civil, which had *Noah* himſelf for an inſtructor, and directly Eaſt from *Shinaar* in the ſame degree of 35. are the greateſt Grapes, and the beſt Wine. The great Armies alſo which overſpread in number thoſe Millions of *Semiramis*, prove, that the Eaſt parts were firſt Planted. And whereas the other opinion hath neither Scripture nor Realon ſufficient: for my ſelf I build on his words, who in plain terms hath told us, That the Sons of *Noah* came out of the Eaſt into *Shinaar*, and there they abode. And therefore did the Ark reſt on thoſe Eaſtern Mountains, called by one general name *Taurus*, and by *Moſes* the Mountains of *Ararat*, and not on thoſe Mountains of the North-weſt, as *Beroſus* firſt feigned, whom moſt part of the Writers have followed therein. It was, I ſay, in the plentiful warm Eaſt where *Noah* reſted, where he planted the Vine, where he tilled the ground and lived thereon. *Placuit vero* Noacho *agriculturæ ſtudium, in qua tractanda ipſe omnium peritiſſimus eſſe dicitur: ob eamque rem ſua ipſius lingua* Iſh-Adamath (*hoc eſt*) *telluris vir appellatur celebratuſque eſt, The ſtudy of Husbandry pleaſed* Noah (ſaith the excellent learned man *Arias Montanus*) *in the knowledg and order of which it is ſaid that* Noah *excelled all men: and therefore was he called in his own language, a man exerciſed in the earth*. Which alſo ſheweth, that he was no wanderer; and that he troubled not himſelf with the contentions beginning again in the World, and among men, but ſtayed in his deſtined places, and in that part of the World where he was firſt deliver'd out of the Priſon of the Ark, whereunto God had committed him, to preſerve him and mankind.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the first planting of Nations after the Floud; and of the Sons of Noah, Shem, Ham, *and* Japhet, *by whom the Earth was re-peopled.*

SECT I.

Whether Shem *and* Ham *were elder then* Japhet.

Aug. de Civit. Dei. l. 16. c. 3.

OF these Sons of *Noah*, which was the eldest, there is a question made. St. *Augustine* esteemed *Shem* for the eldest, *Ham* for the second, and *Japhet* for the youngest: and herein the opinions of Writers are divers. But this we find every where in the Scriptures, and especially in *Moses*, that there was never any respect given to the eldest in years, but in virtue; as by the examples of *Henoch*, *Abraham*, *Jacob*, and *David*, is made manifest. In a few words, this is the ground of the controversie; The *Latine* Translation, and so the *Geneva*, hath converted this Scripture of *Genesis* the 10. *v.* 21. in these words: *Unto* Shem *also the Father of all the Sons of* Heber, *and elder brother of* Japhet, *were children born.* But *Junius*, agreeing with the *Septuagint*, placeth the same words in this manner: *To* Shem *also the Father of all the Sons of* Heber, *and brother of* Japhet *the eldest Son, were children born*: So the transposition of the word (*elder*) made this difference. For if the word (*elder*) had followed after *Japhet*, as it is in the vulgar Translation placed before it, then had it been as plain for *Japhet*, as it is by these Translations for *Shem*. Now (the matter being otherwise different) seeing Gods blessings are not tyed to first and last in bloud, but to the eldest in piety, yet the arguments are stronger for *Japhet* then for *Shem*. And where the Scriptures are plainly understood without any danger or inconvenience, it seemeth strange why any man of judgment should make valuation of conjectural arguments, or mens opinions. For it appeareth that *Noah* in the five hundreth year of his life, begat the first of his three Sons, *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*: and in the six hundreth year (to wit) the hundreth year following, came the general Floud; two years after which, *Shem* begat *Arphaxad*, which was in the year 602. of *Noah*'s life, and in the year of *Shem*'s life one hundred: so as *Shem* was but an hundred years old, two years after the Floud: and *Noah* begat his first born being 500. years old; and therefore were *Shem* the elder, he had then been an hundred years old at the Floud, and in the six hundreth year of *Noah*'s life, and not two years after. Which seeing the Scriptures before remembred hath denied him, and that it is also written: *Then* Noah *awoke from his Wine, and knew what his younger son had done unto him* (*to wit*) Ham; of necessity the first place doth belong to *Japhet*. This *younger son*, so converted by the Vulgar and *Geneva*, *Junius* turns it *filius minimus*, *his youngest son*; but St. *Chrysostom* takes it otherwise, and finds *Cham* to be the middle or second brother, and *Japhet* the youngest son of all: which *Cham* for his disobedience and the contempt of his Father (whose nakedness he derided) was dis-inherited, and lost the preeminency of his birth, as *Esau* and *Ruben* did. *Pererius* conceiveth that *Ham* was called the younger in respect of *Shem* the eldest, but avoweth withall, that the *Hebrew* hath not that precise difference of *younger* and *youngest*, because it wanteth the comparative degree. It is true that *Shem* himself was always named in the first place; yet whereas in the first Verse of the tenth Chapter of *Genesis*, *Shem* is accounted before *Japhet*, in the second Verse *Moses* leaveth to begin with the issue by *Shem*, and reciteth the children of *Japhet* first. So the first place was given to *Shem* for his election and benediction, and for this weighty respect, that the *Hebrew* Nation, *Abraham*, the *Prophets*, *David*, and *Christ* our Saviour were descended of him. And therefore, whether we shall follow the Vulgar *Pagninus*, and the *Geneva*, who agree in this conversion, Shem *Frater* Japhet *major*; or with the *Septuagint*, *Junius* and *Tremelius*, Shem *Fratris* Japhet *majoris*; or with *Pererius*, Shem *Frater* Japhet *ille magnus*: inferring that *Shem* was the great and famous brother of *Japhet*, let the Reader judge. But for ought that I have seen to the contrary, it appeareth to me that *Japhet* was the eldest. For where *Pererius* qualifieth the strength of the former argument, That *Shem*'s age at the time of the Floud did not agree with the eldership (with a supposition that the Scriptures took no account of smaller numbers) I do not find in the Scriptures any such neglect at all: for it is written, that Shem *was an hundred years old, and begat* Arphaxad *two years after the Floud*; and again in the 12. Verse: *So* Shela *lived after he begat* Ebar, *four hundred and three years, &c.* so as the number of two years, of three years, of five years, and afterward of two years, were always precisely accounted.

Gen. 11. 10.

Gen. 9. 24.

In Gen.

Gen. 11. *v.* 10.

SECT.

SECT. II.

Of divers things that in all reason are to be presumed, touching the first planting of the World; as that all Histories must yield to Moses: *that the World was not planted all at once, nor without great direction: and that known great Lords of the first Ages were of the issue of* Ham.

But let us go unto the Worlds plantation after the Floud, which being rightly understood; we shall find that many Nations have supposed or feigned themselves those Ancestors and Fathers, which never saw or approched the bounds of their Countries, and of whom they are by no way or branch descended. For it is plain in the Scriptures how the sons and issues of *Noah* were distributed, and what Regions were first planted by them, from whence by degrees the rest of the World was also peopled. And if any prophane Author may receive allowance herein, the same must be with this caution, that they take their beginning where the Scriptures end. For so far as the story of Nations is therein handled, we must know, that both the truth and antiquity of the Books of God find no companions equal, either in age or authority. All record, memory, and testimony of antiquity whatsoever, which hath come to the knowledge of men, the same hath been borrowed thence, and therefore later than it, as all careful observers of time have noted: among which, thus writeth *Eusebius* in the *Proæme* of his Chronology: Moses *is found more antient than all those the Grecians make most antient, as* Homer, Hesiod, *and the Trojan War; and far before* Hercules, Musæus, Linus, Chiron, Orpheus, Castor, Pollux, Æsculapius, Bacchus, Mercurius, *and* Apollo, *and the rest of the Gods of the Nations, their Ceremonies, or holy Rites, or Prophets: and before all the deeds of* Jupiter, *whom the Greeks have seated in the top and highest Turret of their Divinity.*

Cicero de Nat. Deorum. l. 3.

For of the three *Jupiters* remembred by *Cicero*, the antienteſt was the ſon of *Æther*, whoſe three ſons begotten on *Proſerpina*, were born at *Athens*, of which *Cecrops* was the firſt King: and in the end of *Cecrops* time did *Moſes* bring the children of *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*: *Eduxit* Moſes *populum Dei ex Egypto noviſſimo tempore* Cecropis *Athenienſis Regis*; Moſes *brought the Children of Iſrael out of Egypt in the laſt days of* Cecrops *King of the Athenians*, ſaith S. *Auguſtine*: and yet was not *Cecrops* the Founder of that City it ſelf, but *Theſeus* long after him. But becauſe the truth hereof is diverſly proved, and by many learned Authors, I will not cut aſunder the purpoſe in hand, by alledging many authorities in a needleſs queſtion, but leave it to the proper place.

De Civit. Dei l. 18. c. 11.

The Sons of *Japhet* were *Gomer*, *Magog*, *Madai*, *Javan*, *Tubal*, *Meſhach*, and *Tiras*.
The Sons of *Gomer* were *Askenaz*, *Riphath*, *Togorma*.
The Sons of *Javan* were *Eliſha*, *Tarſhis*, *Kittim*, and *Dodonim*.

First, we are to conſider, that the World after the Floud was not planted by imagination, neither had the Children of *Noah* wings to fly from *Shinaar* to the uttermoſt border of *Europe*, *Africa*, and *Aſia*, in haſte, but that theſe Children were directed by a wiſe Father, who knew thoſe parts of the World before the Floud, to which he diſpoſed his children after it, and ſent them not as diſcoverers, or at all-adventure, but aſſigned and alloted to every Son and their iſſues, their proper parts. And not to hearken to fabulous Authours, who have no other end than to flatter Princes (as *Virgil* did *Auguſtus* in the fiction of *Æneas*) or elſe to glorifie their own nations; Let us build herein upon the Scriptures themſelves, and after them, upon Reaſon and Nature. Firſt therefore we muſt call to mind, and conſider, what manner of face the Earth every where had in the 130. year after the great Inundation, and by comparing thoſe fruitfulleſt Valleys with our own barren and cold ground, inform our ſelves thereby, what wonderful Deſarts, what impaſſable fatneſs of woods, reeds, briers, and rotten graſs; what lakes and ſtanding pools, and what mariſhes, fens, and bogs, all the face of the Earth (excepting the Mountains) was peſtered withall. For, if in this our Climate (where the dead and deſtroying Winter depreſſeth all vegetative and growing Nature, for one half of the year in effect) yet in twenty or thirty years, theſe our grounds would all over-grow and be covered (according to the nature thereof) either with woods, or with other offenſive thickets and buſhments: much more did all ſorts of plants, reeds, and trees, proſper in the moſt fruitful Valleys, and in the Climate of a long and warm Summer, and having withall, the ſtart of 130. years to raiſe themſelves without controlement.

This being conſidered, it will appear, that all theſe people which came into *Shinaar*, and over whom *Nimrod*, either by order or ſtrength, took the Dominion, did, after the confuſion of Languages, and at ſuch time as they grew to be a mighty People, diſperſe themſelves into the Regions adjoyning to the ſaid Valley of *Shinaar*, which contained the beſt part of *Meſopotamia*, *Babylonia*, and *Chaldea*; and from the borders thereof in time they were propagated, ſome of them towards the South, others towards the Weſt and North. And although there were allotted to *Shem* many Regions, both Eaſt and Weſt from *Shinaar*, with the Dominion of *Paleſtina*, which the *Canaanites* firſt poſſeſt; yet could he not enjoy the Lot of his Inheritance on the ſudden, but by time and degrees. For we find that *Abraham*, the true ſucceſſour of *Shem*, dwelt in *Chaldæa*, at *Ur*; and from thence (called by God) he reſted at *Charran* in *Meſopotamia*: from whence after the death of *Thare* he travelled to *Sichem* in *Paleſtina*: and yet there had paſſed between *Shem* and *Abraham* (reckoning neither of themſelves) ſeven Deſcents, before *Abraham* moved out of *Chaldæa*; where, and in *Babylonia*, all thoſe people, by *Nimrod* commanded, inhabited for many years, and whence *Nimrod* went out into *Aſſyria*, and founded *Nineveh*. Indeed, the great Maſters of Nations (as far as we can know) were in that Age in the iſſues of *Ham*; the bleſſing of God given by *Noah* to *Shem* and *Japhet* taking leſs effect, untill divers years were conſumed; and untill the time arrived, which by the wiſdome of God was appointed. For of *Chus*, *Mizraim*, and *Canaan*, came the People and Princes, which held the great Kingdoms of *Babylonia*, *Syria*, and *Egypt* for many Deſcents together.

SECT.

SECT. III.

Of the Isles of the Gentiles *in* Japhet's *Portion: of* Berosus *his too speedy seating* Gomer *the Son of* Japhet *in* Italy; *and another of* Japhet's *Sons*, Tubal *in* Spain: *and of the Antiquity of Longinque Navigation.*

TO begin therefore (where *Moses* beginneth) with the Sons of *Japheth*, among whom the Isles of the *Gentiles* were divided: which division, as well to *Japhet's* Sons, as to the rest which came into *Shinaar*, was (if the division were made at *Phaleg's* birth) in the year of the World 1757. or 1758. and (by that account) in the years after the Floud one hundred and one; of which question else-where.

The habitations proper to the Sons of *Japhet* were the Isles of the *Gentiles*, which include all *Europe*, with all the Isles adjoyning, and compassing it about: *Europe* being also taken for an Island, both in respect that the Sea *Hellespont* and *Ægeum*, *Bosphorus*, and *Euxinus* cut it off from the great Continent of *Asia*, as also because *Europe* it self is (in effect) surrounded with water, saving that it is fastned to *Asia* by the North; for it hath those Seas before named to the East, the *Mediterrane* to the South and South-west, the Ocean to the West, and *Brittish*, *Germane*, and *Baltick* Sea, with that of *Glaciale*, to the North, North-east, and North-west. Besides, it hath about it all the *Cyelades*, or Isles lying between *Greece* and the lesser *Asia*, and the Isles of *Rhodes*, *Cyprus*, *Crete*, or *Candia*, *Sicilia*, *Corsica*, *Sardinia*, *Malta*, the Isles of *Brittanie*, and *Zeland*, with their young ones adjacent.

This partition and portion of *Japheth*, with the part which he held in *Asia*, and the North, which was also very great, answereth to that blessing of
Gen. 9. 27. God by *Noah*, *Dilatet Deus* Japheth; *Let God spread abroad* (or increase the Posterity of) *Japheth, and let him dwell in the Tents of* Shem. For though *Junius* here useth the word *alliciat*, and not *dilatet:* and the *Geneva*, *persuadeat*; yet the *Septuagint* have *dilatet*, or *amplificet*; and such was the blessing given to our Fathers, which God promised to *Abraham* and his seed for ever. And the dwelling in the Tents or Tabernacles of *Shem* was a blessing by God to the Posterity of *Japheth*: noting not onely an enlargement of Territories, but that thereby they should be made participant of God's Church. But to come to *Japhet's* Sons, of whom *Gomer* is the eldest. This *Gomer* (if we may believe *Berosus* and *Annius*, whose authority the greatest number of all our late Writers have followed) did in the tenth year of *Nimrods* Reign, depart from *Babylonia*, and planted *Italy:* which also *Functius* confirmeth in these words, *Anno decimo* Nimrodi, *&c. In the tenth year of* Nimrod's *Reign*, Gomerus Gallus *planted a Colony in that Land afterward called* Italy: *and in the twelfth year of the same* Nimrod's *Reign*, Tubal *seated himself in* Austria *in* Spain (*now called* Biscay) *which was in the* 140. *and in the* 142. *years after the Floud, according to* Berosus. But this opinion is very ridiculous: For before the confusion of Tongues, the Children of *Noah* did not separate themselves, at least so many of them as came with *Nimrod* into *Shinaar*. Let us therefore consider with reason, what time the building of such a City and Tower required, where there was no prepared matter, nor any ready means to perform such a work as *Nimrod* had erected (and as *Functius* himself out of his Authour *Berosus* witnesseth) *ad altitudinem & magnitudinem Montium*; *To the height and magnitude of the Mountains*. Sure that both this City and Tower was almost builded, the Scriptures witness: *but the Lord came down to see the City and Tower which the Sons of men had builded.* Let us then but allot a time sufficient for the making of Brick to such a Work, of the greatest heighth (and therefore of circuit and foundation answerable) that ever was. For where the universal Floud covered the highest Mountains fifteen Cubits; *Let us build us a City and Tower* (saith *Nimrod*) *whose top may reach unto the Heaven*: meaning, that they *Gen.* c. 11. would raise their work above fifteen Cubits higher than the highest Mountain, otherwise they could not assure themselves from the fear of a second Inundation: a great part whereof was finished before it fell, and before they left the work. They also began this building upon a ground, the most oppressed with waters of all the world: as by the great ruine which these waters forcibly over-bearing and over-flowing, made in the time of the succeeding Emperours, is made manifest; approved also by the Prophet *Jeremie*, speaking of *Babylon* in these words: *Thou that dwellest upon many waters.* It cannot be doubted but that there needed a substantial foundation for so high a raised building on a marish ground: and to which *Glycas* upon *Genesis* giveth fourty years. For it seemeth that the Tower was near finished when God overthrew it: it being afterward written; *So the Lord scattered them from thence upon all the Earth, and they left to build the City.* Out of which place it may be gathered (because the Tower is not then named) that they very near had performed the work of their supposed defence, which was the Tower: and that afterward they went on with the City adjoyning, wherein they inhabited. It is also to be noted, that till such time as this confusion seized them (whereupon the Tower was thrown down) these Nations did not disperse themselves: for *from thence the Lord scattered them upon all the Earth*, (that was) when they perceived not one anothers speech. Now, to think that this *Gen.* 11. work, in the newness of the World, (wanting all instruments and materials) could be performed in ten years; and that *Tubal* and *Gomer* in the same year, could creep through 3000. miles of Desart, with Women, Children, and Cattel: Let those light believers, that neither tye themselves to the Scripture, nor to reason, approve it, for I do not. And if the Ark of *Noah* was 100. years in building, or but near such a time, (and then) when the World had stood 1556. years; it were more than foolishness and madness it self, to think that such a work as this could be performed in ten; when the World (from the Floud to the arrival at *Babel*, and beginning of this building there) had but 131. years, and whereof they had spent some part in travelling from the East. Again, if all *Asia* set to their *Pliny.* helping hands in the building of the Temple of *Diana*, and yet they consumed in that Work 400. years (or be it but half that time) and in such an Age as when the World flourished in all sorts of Artificers, and with abundant plenty of materials and carriages: This Work of the Tower of *Babel* could hardly (with all the former wants supposed) be erected in those few years remembred. And for conclusion, let all men of judgment weigh with themselves how impossible it was for a Nation or Family

Funct. Chronol.

Family of men, with their Wives, and Children, and Cattel, to travel 3000. miles through Woods, Bogs, and Desarts, without any Guide or Conductor; and we shall find it rather a work of 100. years than of 100. days. For in the West *Indies*, of which the *Spaniards* have the experience, in those places where they found neither path nor guide, they have not entred the Countrey ten miles in ten years. And if *Nimrods* people spent many years by the account before remembred in passing from the East *India*, or the higher part thereof, which standeth in 115. degrees of Longitude, untill they came into *Shinaar*, which lieth in 79. degrees (the distance between those places containing 36. degrees, which makes 720. leagues, which is 2160. miles) and did all the way keep the Mountains and hard ground; then the difference between *Babylon* and *Biscay* is much more: for the body of *Biscay* lyeth in ten degrees, and *Babylon*, or *Shinaar*, (as aforesaid) in 79: so the length of way from *Shinaar* to *Austria*, or *Biscay*, is 69. degrees, which make 1380. leagues, or of miles 4140. And therefore if *Nimrod* took divers years to find *Shinaar*, which was but 2160. miles: or (supposing that the Ark rested in *Armenia*) little above 400. miles: there is no cause to the contrary, but to allow as many years to *Gomer* and *Tubal* to travel 3000. miles, to Countries less known unto them by far, than the Land of *Shinaar* was to *Nimrod*. For *Paradise* was known to *Noah* before the Floud: and so was the Region of *Eden* by *Moses* afterward remembred; but what he understood of most part of the World else, it is unknown. And therefore did *Annius* ill advise himself to plant *Gomer* in *Italy*, and *Tubal* in *Spain*, in the tenth and twelfth of *Nimrods* Reign: *Shall the Earth be brought forth in one day, or shall a Nation be born at once?* But it may be objected, That the Sons of *Japheth* might come by Sea, and so save this great travel through Desarts by Land. But we never read of any Navigation in those days, nor long after. Surely, he that knoweth what it is to imbarque so great a People, as we may justly suppose those Conductors carried with them, will not easily believe that there were any Vessels in those days to transport Armies, and (withall) their Cattel, by whose milk they lived, and fed their children: For milk and fruit were the banquetting dishes of our Fore-Fathers. And in the eldest times, even the Kings and Fathers of Nations valued themselves by the Herds and numbers of their Cattel: who had Flocks of Sheep, and great Droves and Herds of their own, and their own Shepherds and Herdsmen. Now, if *Tubal* had past by Sea from any part of *Palæstina*, *Syria*, or *Silicia*, he might have made good choice within the *Streights*, and not have overgone *Granado*, *Valentia*, and other Provinces in that Tract; past the *Streights* of *Gibralter*; disdained all *Andalusia* and *Portugal*, with all those goodly Ports and Countreys; and have sought out the Iron, Woody, and barren Countrey of the World (called *Biscay*) by a long and dangerous Navigation. But before the journey of the *Argonautæ*, there were scarce any Vessels that durst cross the Seas in that part of the World: and yet that which *Jason* had (if the tale be true) was but a Galley, and a poor one (God knows) and perchance, such as they use this day in *Ireland*: which although it carried but four and fifty passengers, yet it was far greater than any of the former times: *Erat enim antea parvarum navicularum usus: For in former times they used very small vessels.* I deny not, but that the *Tyrians* gave themselves of old to far-off Navigations, whence *Tibullus* ascribed the invention of Ships to them:

Isai. 66. v. 8.

Diod. Sicul. l. 4. c. 4. fol. 115.

Prima ratem ventis credere docta Tyros. *Tibull. Eleg. 7.*

Tyrus knew first how Ships might use the Wind. *Strab. l. 16.*

And for those Boats called *Longæ naves*, or Gallies, *Pliny* saith, that *Ægesias* ascribeth the device to *Paralus*: and *Philostephanus*, to *Jason*: *Ctesias*, to *Samyras*; and *Saphanus*, to *Semiramis*: *Archimacus*, to *Ægeon*: to which invention the *Erythræi* are said to have added certain numbers of Oars: and then *Aminocles* the *Corinthian* to have increased them: the *Carthaginians* afterwards to have brought them to four Banks: the *Quinque Remi* first to have been used by *Nesichthon* the *Salaminian*, with which Vessels, in those parts of the World, the *Romans* served themselves in the *Punick* War. But these be perhaps, but the partialities of Writers, or their ignorance. For there are that as constantly cast the devising of these Gallies on *Sesostris*, though *Semiramis* used them in the passage of her Army over *Indus* in *Abrahams* time. So it is said, that *Danaus* was the first brought a Ship into *Greece*; and yet the *Samothracians* challenge the invention: and yet *Tertullian* (on the contrary) gives it to *Minerva*: others, to *Neptune*; *Thucydides*, to the *Corinthians*. And so ignorant were the people of those Ages, as the *Egyptians* used to coast the shores of the Red-Sea upon rafts, devised by King *Erythrus*: and in the time of the *Romans*, the *Britans* had a kind of Boat (with which they crost the Seas) made of small twigs, and covered over with leather: of which kind I have seen at the *Dingle* in *Ireland*, and else-where. *Naves ex corio circumsutæ in Oceano* Britannico (saith *Textor*:) of which *Lucan* the Poet:

Diod. Sicul. l. 1. Plin. l. 7. cap. 56. Thucid. Plin. l. 7. cap. 56. Euseb. de præp. Evang. c. 1. Tert. de Coron. mil.

Primum cana salix, madefacta vimine parvam
Texitur in puppim, cæsoque induca juvenco,
Vectoris patiens tumidum supernatat amnem,
Sic Venetus stagnante Pado, fusoque Britannus
Navigat Oceano.

The moistned Osyer of the hoary Willow
Is woven first into a little Boat:
Then cloath'd in Bullocks hide, upon the billow
Of a proud River, lightly doth it float
Under the Waterman:
So on the Lakes of over-swelling *Poe*
Sails the *Venetian*: and the *Britain* so
On th'out-spread Ocean.

And although it cannot be denied, when *Noah*, by Gods inspiration, was instructed in so many particulars concerning the *Ark*, then many things concerning Navigation were revealed; yet it appears that there was much difference between the *Ark* of *Noah*, and such Ships as were for any long Navigation. Yea, ancient Stories shew, that it was long after these times, ere any durst presume upon any long voyages to Sea, at least with multitudes of Women, and Children, and Cattel; as also common reason can tell us, that even now, when this Art is come to her perfection, such Voyages are very troublesom and dangerous. So as it doth appear, that there was not in that Age of *Nimrod* any Ship, or use of Ships, fit for any long navigation. For, if *Gomer* and *Tubal* had passed themselves and their people by Sea; the exercise of Navigation would

would not have been dead for so many hundred years after. Leaving therefore the fabulous to their Fables, and all men else to their fancies, who have cast Nations into Countreys far off, I know not how, I will follow herein the Relation of *Moses* and the Prophets: to which Truth there is joyned both Nature, Reason, Policie, and Necessity: and to the rest, neither probability, nor possibility.

SECT. IV.

Of Gog *and* Magog, Tubal *and* Meshech, *seated first about* Asia *the less*; *out of* Ezechiel, Chap. 38. 39.

NOw, although many learned and reverend men have formed (I know not whereby led) a Plantation of the World, which also hath been and is received; yet I hope I may be excused, if I differ altogether from them in many particulars. Certainly, that great Learned man of this latter Age, *Arias Montanus*, was also in some things much mistaken: and for *Josephus*, as he hath many good things, and is a Guide to many errours withall, so was he in the Plantation of the World very gross and fabulous; whereby both *Eusebius*, *Hierosolymitanus*, *Epiphanius*, and others, that have taken his testimonies for currant, have been by him far miss-led. But the better to conceive what Regions of the World *Gomer* the Son of *Japhet* possest, as also *Tubal*, it is needfull to begin with *Magog*: because the Scriptures takes most knowledge of *Gog* and *Magog*: which two names have troubled many Commentators, saith *Matth. Beroaldus*, who hath laboured herein with great diligence, and whom (of all that ever I read) I find most judicious in the examination of this Plantation. He takes authority from the Prophet *Ezechiel* chiefly, who in the 38. and 39. Chapters directeth us, what Nations the *Gomerians*, *Tubalines*, and *Togormians* were, together with the *Magogians*: of which *Gog* was Prince, or chief Conductor, in their Attempts against *Israel*. For besides the portions of *Europe*, and the North-east parts of the greater *Asia*, which *Japhets* Issues possest, all *Asia* the Less was peopled by them. And that those of the Issue of *Japheth* (whom *Ezekiel* speaks of) were seated hereabout, it may best appear, if we consider the circumstances of the place, and the dependency upon the former Prophecie in the 37. Chapter. For in that 37. Chapter *Ezechiel* propheseth of the uniting of the two Kingdoms of *Israel* and *Juda*, after their delivery from Captivity. *Chap. 37. v. 19.*

By which Prophecie of *Ezechiel*, it appeareth, that God purposed to gather together his people, to give life to dead bones, and to rule them by one Prince. For to that purpose it is written; *And* David *my servant shall be King over them, and they shall have one Shepherd*, (that is) they shall be united as they were in *Davids* time. Hereupon in the 38. Chapter, *Ezechiel* propheseth against those Nations, which should seek to impeach this Union, and disturb the people of *Israel*, whom God purposed to receive to grace, and promised to restore. And so in the same Chapter are those Nations coupled together, which infested the *Israelites* after their return, and sought to subject them: all which were the Subjects or Allies of *Gog*, Prince of the *Magogians*, or *Cœlosyrians*, next bordering *Palæstina*, or the holy Land, followed also by the rest of the Nations of *Asia* the less, which lay North from *Judea*. The words of *Ezechiel* are these: *Son of man, set thy face against* Gog, *and against the Land of* Magog, *the chief Princes of* Meshech (or *Moschi*) *and* Tubal: and afterward; *Behold, I come against the chief Prince of* Meshech *and* Tubal: and in the sixth Verse; Gomer *and all his Bands, and the House of* Togorma *of the North quarters*. Herein *Ezechiel* having first delivered the purpose of his Prophecie, teacheth what Nations they were that should in vanity assayl *Israel*. He joyneth them together under their Prince *Gog*, and sheweth that their habitations were on the North quarters of *Juda*, and how seated and joyned together. *Gog* signifieth in the *Hebrew* (saith Saint *Hierom*) *tectum* or *covering of a house*: and *Pintus* upon *Ezechiel* affirmeth, that by *Gog* is meant *Antichrist*: for (saith he) *Antichristus erit Diaboli tegumentum sub specie humana*: *That Antichrist shall be the covering of the Devil under humane form*. He addeth, that *Magog* is as much to say as *Gog*: the Letter (m) being an *Hebrew* Preposition, and importeth as much as *of*, or, *from*: so he taketh *Magog* for those people which follow *Antichrist*. So far *Pintus*; at least in this not amiss, that he expoundeth *Magog* not for any one person, but for a Nation: with which agreeth this observation of *Beroaldus*, *Magog* (saith he) in *Hebrew* is written *Ham-Magog*, which sheweth *Magog* to be a Region or Nation: for the Letter (*He*) which is used but for an *Emphasis* (which the *Hebrews* call *Heliajedia*) is never added to proper names of men, but often to place. So as *Gog* was Prince of that Nation (called either *Magog*, or, according to others, the people of *Gog*) also Prince of *Meshech* (or *Moschi*) and of *Tubal*: as by the first Verse of the 29. Chapter is made manifest: *Behold, I come against thee* Gog *the chief Prince of* Meshech *and* Tubal. This must needs be meant by the Successors of *Seleucus Nicanor*, who did not (as other conquering Nations) seek to make the *Jews* their Tributaries only, but indeavoured by all means, and by all kind of violence, to extinguish the Religion it self (which the *Hebrews* profess'd) and the acknowledging of one true God: and to force them to worship and serve the mortal and rotten gods of the Heathen; of which nothing remained but the very name, and dead Images. S. *Ambrose*, and *Isidore* take *Gog* for the Nation of the *Goths*: belike, because they invaded *Europe*, and sacked *Rome*, and many other places and Cities thereabout. *Hermolaus Barburus* out of *Pomp. Mela* derives the *Turks* from the *Scythians*, esteemed *Magogians* of *Gog*. Many take *Gog* for the proper name of a man: others, of a Region, others for a Nation inhabiting a Region, as *Junius*, who says that *Gog* is the name of a Nation, denominated from him whom the *Greek* Stories call *Gyges*: who in former time having slain *Candaules* the *Lydian*, gave his own name to that Nation, thence after called *Gygades*: and thereof also the *Gygean* Lake; which Lake *Strabo* also findeth in *Lydia* (of which *Gyges* was King) fortie Furlongs from *Sardis*. *Plinie* calleth it *Gygeum stagnum*. *Herodotus* and *Nicander* set it about the Rivers of *Hillus*, and *Mæander*; but the difference is not great. *Marius Niger* maketh mention of this *Gyges* King of *Lydia*: who, after he had subdued the Country about the River *Rhodius* which runneth into the *Hellespont*, called the Promontory *Trapese* after his own name *Gyges*. These Opinions do also seem to strengthen that of *Junius*. For *Magog*, saith he, is that part of *Asia* the less, which *Halyattes* obtained, and after him his Son *Crœsus*; who (as *Junius* further notes)

C. 38. v. 2.

In Ezech.

L. 2. de Fide.

Strab. lib. 13.

Suid. Col. 207.

Jun. in Ezech. 38.

notes) having mastered all those Regions as farr South as *Libanus*, in that Border built the City *Gigarta*, or *Gogkarta* (which in the *Syrian* signifieth the City of *Gog*) seated in *Cœlosyria*, whose People were the ancient Enemies of the *Jews*.

Now, that *Magog* is found in *Cœlosyria*, *Pliny* affirmeth, saying; Cœlosyria *habet* Bambycen, *quæ alio nomine* Hierapolis *vocatur: Syris verò*, Magog; Cœlosyria *hath in it* Bambyce, *which in another name is called* Hieropolis; *but of the* Syrians, *Magog*. He further telleth us, that the monstrous Idol *Atergatis*, called by the *Greeks Derceto*, was here worshipped. *Lucian* makes mention hereof, saying, That the City had anciently another name, which he yet expresseth not; forbearing, perhaps, the word *Magog*, as sounding nothing elegantly in the *Greek*. But if we may believe *Strabo*, then was *Edessa* in *Mesopotamia*, the same *Bambyce* or *Hierapolis*, where the same Idol was worshipped. *Ortelius* is doubtful whether one of these Authors did not mistake the place of this *Bambyce*, or *Hierapolis*, It may well enough be, that the same name and Religion was common to them both. Certain it is, that both of them lay due North from *Palæstina*, and were both subject unto the Kings of the Race of *Seleucus*. Now, I do not condemn the Opinion of *Hermolaus Babarus* following *Josephus*, but grant that, perhaps, *Magog* might also be the Father of the *Scythians*; notwithstanding that in this place, where *Gog* is made Prince of *Magog*, the Nations of *Cœlosyria*, and the North parts adjoyning be meant by *Magog*: for by a latter Plantation from these parts they might be propagated into *Scythia*. Yet it is not to be denied, that the *Scythians* in old times coming out of the North-east, wasted the better part of *Asia* the less, and possest *Cœlosyria*, where they built both *Scythopolis* and *Hierapolis*, which the *Syrians* call *Magog*. And that to this *Magog Ezechiel* had reference, it is very plain: for this City *Hierapolis* or *Magog* standeth due North from *Judæa*, according to the words of *Ezechiel*, that from the North-quarters those Nations should come. For as the Kings of the South which infested the *Israelites* were the *Ptolemies*, Kings of *Egypt*: so those of the North were the Kings of *Asia* and *Syria*, the Successors of *Seleucus*, the Successors of *Alexander Macedon*. *Gulielmus Tyrius* thinks that this *Hierapolis* is that *Rages*, mentioned in the Story of *Tobias*. *Pliny* takes it not onely to have been called *Bambyce*, as we have said, but also *Edessa*: not that of *Euphrates*; but another of the same name: now, the known name is *Aleppo*: for so *Bellonius* expounds this *Hierapolis*, or *Magog*. This City had the Title of *Sacred*, as the *Sacred City*, (for so the word *Hierapolis* signifieth) yet was it a place of most detested Idolatry, and wherein was worshipped the Idol of the Mermaid *Atergates*, or *Atergitis*, according to *Pliny*, which the *Greeks* call *Derceto*.

Strab. l. 16.

Lib. 4. cap. de bello sacro

If then we confer the words of *Ezechiel* in the third Verse of the thirty eight Chapter, wherein he joyneth together *Gog*, *Meshech* and *Tubal*; and withall remember that *Hierapolis* was the City of *Magog*, which also is seated directly North from *Judæa*: with whom also *Ezechiel* coupleth *Gomer*, and all his bands of the North quarters; we may (as I conceive) safely conclude, that these Followers and Vassals of *Gog* (which were Northern Nations in respect of *Judæa*) were not the *Gomerians* of *France*, nor the *Tubalines* of *Spain*, but a people of the lesser *Asia*, and *Cœlosyria*: and therefore that the opinions of *Berosus*, *Josephus*, and whosoever else hath followed them therein, are to be rejected. But if *Josephus* refer himself to latter times, and think that some *Colonie* of the *Tubalines* might from *Iberia* and *Asia* pass into *Spain* (to wit) from that piece of Land between *Colchis* (or *Mengrelia*) and *Albania*, (most part possessed by the *Georgians*) then is his judgment of better allowance. For without any repugnancy of opinions, it may be granted, that in process of time these people might from their first habitation, pass into the Countries neer the *Euxine* Sea, and from thence in after-Ages into *Spain*.

Josephus makes mention of the *Iberi*, saying, that they were antiently called *Thobelos*, as of *Tubal*; from whence (saith *Justine*) *they passed into* Spain *to search out the mines of that Region*: having belike understood that it was a Southerly Country, and Mountainous. For it seemeth that the *Tubalines* called *Chalybes*, lived altogether by the Exchange of Iron, and other Metals, as *Apollonius* witnesseth in these following Verses, telling how the *Argonautes* did visit them:

Hæc gens tellurem rigido non vertit aratro,
Sed ferri venas scindit sub montibus altis:
Mercibus hæc mutat, quæ vitæ alimento ministrant.

The *Calybes* plough not their barren soil,
But undermine high Hills for Iron Veins:
Changing the purchase of their endless toil
For Merchandize, which their poor lives sustains.

But it is more probable, that *Spain* was first peopled by the *Africans*, who had ever since an affection to return thither, and to re-people it anew. This appeared by the *Carthaginians* of old, who were easily drawn to pass over the *Streights* into that Countrey: and after by the *Moors* who held *Granado*, and the South parts, eight hundred years, till the time of *Ferdinand* and *Isabel*. And either of these opinions are more probable, than that in the twelfth year of *Nimrods* Reign, *Tubal* past into *Spain*, and therein built Saint *Uval*: a poor Town, and a poor device, God knows. Certain it is, that we must find *Moshoch* or *Meshech*, and *Tubal* Neighbours, and *Gomer* and *Togarma* not far off, or else we shall wrong *Ezechiel*: for he called *Gog* the Leader or Prince of *Meshech* and *Tubal*, and maketh *Gomer* and *Togorma* their assistants. And that *Meshech* inhabited *Asia*, *Functius* (though he followed *Berosus*) confesseth, for these be his words: Mesacus, *qui à* Mose Mesech, *priscos Mesios ab Adula monte usque ad Ponticam regionem posuit: hæc regio postea* Cappadocia *dicta est, in qua urbs* Mazica, *&c. hæc est terra* Magog *principalis*; Mesacus, *whom* Moses *calleth* Mesech, *placed the ancient* Mesians *from the Mount* Adulas, *unto the Coasts of* Pontus. *This Region was afterward called* Cappadocia, *in which is the Town* Mazica, *&c. this is the principal Countrey of* Magog. And this doth *Annius* also avow, and yet forgets that *Gog* was Prince both of *Mesech* and *Tubal*: and therefore that the one was a Nation of *Spaniards*, the other of *Cappadocians*, is very ridiculous; *Spain* lying directly West, and not North from *Judea*. Also *Ezechiel* in the 27. Chapter, where he prophecieth of the destruction of *Tyre*, nameth *Mesech* and *Tubal* jointly. And for a final proof, that these Nations were of a Northern Neighbour Land (how far soever stretched) *Ezechiel* in the 38. Chapter makes them all Horsemen. *Thou, and much people with thee, all shall ride upon Horses, even a great multitude, and a mighty.* Then, if any man believe that these troups came out of *Spain* over

the *Pyrenes*, and first passed over a part of *France*, *Italy*, *Hungary*, and *Sarmatia*, and imbarqued again about the *Hellespont*, or else compassed all *Pontus*, and *Euxinus*, to come into the lesser *Asia*, which is half the length or compass of the then known World; he may be called a strong Believer, but he shall never be justified thereby. But on the contrary, it is known that *Seleucis* was a Province neighbouring *Palestina* or *Judea*, and that *Hierapolis* (or *Magog*) joyned unto it: whose Princes commanded all *Syria*, and *Asia* the less, (namely; the *Seleucida*) and held it, till *Scipio Asiaticus* overthrew *Antiochus* the Great: after which yet they possest *Syria*, till the time of *Tigranes*: and whether *Meshech* be in *Cappadocia*, or under *Iberia*, yet is it of the *Tubalines*, and one and the same Dominion.

Of *Gomer* the like may be said. First, he seated himself with *Togarma*, not farr from *Magog* and *Tubal*, in the borders of *Syria* and *Cilicia*. Afterward he proceeded further into *Asia* the less; and in long tract of time his valiant Issue filled all *Germany*, rested long in *France* and *Brittany*, and possessed the utmost borders of the Earth, accomplishing (as *Melanchon* well notes) the signification of their Parents name, which is *Utmost bordering*. But when these borderers wanted further place, wherein they might exonerate their swelling multitudes that were bounded in by the great *Ocean*, then did they return upon the Nations occupying the Countreys, through which they had formerly passed, oppressing first their Neighbours, afterwards the people more remote. Hereupon it was (as the worthy Restorer of our Antiquities, M. *William Cambden* hath noted) that they were called *Cimbri*, which in their old Language doth signifie *Robbers*; necessity inforcing them to spoil their Neighbours, to whom in their original, they were as near joyned, as afterwards in the seats which they possessed. For that the Warlike Nations of *Germany* were in elder Ages accustomed to be beaten by the *Gaules*, the authority of *Cæsar* affirming it, is proof sufficient. But in times following, they pursued richer Conquests, and more easie, though further distant, by which (to omit their other enterprises not here to be spoken of) they were drawn at length into *Asia* the less, and occupied those parts, which had formerly been held by their Progenitours. I say not that they claimed those Lands as theirs by Descent; for likely it is, that they knew little of their own Pedigree. Neither can any man therefore deny, that they were of old seated in *Asia*, because in late Ages they returned thither; unless he will think, that all those Nations which from far parts have invaded and conquered the Land of *Shinaar*, may by that Argument be proved not to have issued from thence at the first.

Now, concerning *Samothes*, for his excellent wisdome, sirnamed *Dis*, whom *Annius* makes the Brother of *Gomer* and *Tubal* (which Brother, *Moses* never heard of, who spake his knowledge of *Japheths* Sons) they must find him in some old Poet: For *Functius*, a great *Berosian*, confesseth: *Quis hic* Samothes *fuerit incertum est*; *Who this* Samothes *was*, *it is uncertain*; neither is there any proof that he was that same *Dis*, whom *Cæsar* saith the *Gaules* suppose to be their Ancestor; yea, and *Vignier* confesseth with *Functius*: *Mays on ne scayt qui il estoit*; *No man knows who he was*.

In Chron.

Cæsar. Comment. Vigni part. 1. Chron.

SECT. V.

Against the fabulous Berosus *his Fiction, That the* Italian Janus *was* Noah.

But before I go on with *Noah* his Sons, I think it is necessary to disprove the Fiction which *Annius* hath of *Noah* himself: an invention (indeed) very ridiculous, though warranted (as he hath wrested) by those Authors of whom himself hath Commented: as the Fragment of *Berosus*, *Fabius*, *Pictor*, *Cato*, *Lavinius* and others. For *Annius* seeks to perswade us, that *Noah* (surnamed *Janus*) was the same which founded *Genoa*, with other Cities in *Italy*, wherein he lived 92. years. This to disprove, by *Moses* silence, is a sufficient argument to me, if there were nothing else to disprove it. For, if he vouchsafed to remember the building of *Babel*, *Erec*, *Achad*, *Chalne* and *Nineve*, by *Nimrod*, *Noah* was a man of too great mark to be forgotten, with all the acts he did in 92. years. But it were a needless labour for me to disprove the authority of that *Berosus*, on whom *Annius* groundeth, seeing so many learned men have so demonstratively proved that Fragment to be counterfeit. Besides that *Tartianus* the *Assyrian*, in his Oration against the *Greeks*, avoweth, that the ancient and true *Berosus* wrote only three Books dedicated to *Antiochus* the Successor of *Seleucus Nicanor*: but *Annius* hath devised five Books, wherewith he honoureth *Berosus*. And whereas *Berosus* handled onely the estate of the *Chaldæans* and *Assyrians*, *Annius* hath filled this Fragment with the business of all the World. And if we may believe *Eusebius* better than *Annius*, then all the Kings of the *Latines* (before *Æneas*) consumed but 150. years: whereas no man hath doubted, but that from *Noah* to *Æneas* arrival into *Italy*, there past 1126. (after the least rate of the *Hebrew* account) and (after *Codoman*) 1291. For *Janus* (who was the first of their Kings) lived at once with *Ruth*, who married *Booz* in the Worlds year (as some reckon) 2717. after the Floud 1064. and *Noah* died 350. years after the Floud: and so there past between *Janus* of *Italy*, and *Noah* surnamed *Janus*, 704 years. For *Saturnus* succeeded *Janus*, *Picus* after *Saturnus*, *Fannus* after *Picus*, and *Latinus* followed *Fannus*: which *Latinus* lived at once with *Tautanes* the 27. King of *Assyria*; with *Pelasgus* of *Peloponnesus*; with *Demophoon* of *Athens*; and *Sampson* Judge of *Israel*. Now, all these five Kings of the *Latines* having consumed but one hundred and fifty years, and the last of them in the time of *Sampson*: then reckoning upwards for one hundred and fifty years, and it reacheth *Ruth*, with whom *Janus* lived.

Ann. de Ba-trus. Pitt. de aur. se-culo. Cato de origin. Lavin. li. Iust. de Gal.

Joseph. l. 1.

True it is, that the *Greeks* had their *Janus*; but this was not *Noah*: so had they *Ion* the Son of *Xuthus*, the Son of *Deucalion*, from whom they draw the *Iones*, who were indeed the children of *Javan*, the fourth Son of *Japheth*. For the vulgar Translation (where the *Hebrew* word is *Javan*) writes *Greece*, and the *Septuagint*, *Hellas*; which is the same. So had they *Medus* the Son of *Medea*, whom they make the Parent of the *Medes*, though they were descended of a farr more ancient Father (to wit) *Madai* the third Son of *Japheth*.

Ezech. 27. 19, 23. and so the place of *Esa. 66. 19.* (for *Javan*) *Hellada*: and (for the Plural *Javanim*) *Hellenes*.

Lastly, we see by a true experience, that the *British* Language hath remained among us above 2000. years, and the *English* Speech ever since the invasion of the *Angles*, and the same continuance have all Nations observed among themselves, though with some

ſome corruption and alteration. Therefore it is ſtrange, if either *Noah* (by them called *Janus*) had left in *Italy* his Grand-child *Gomer* after him, or *Tubal* in *Spain*, that no plain reſemblance of the *Hebrew*, *Syrian*, or *Scythian*, (which no time could have quite extinguiſhed) ſhould have been found in the Languages of thoſe Countreys. For which reaſons we doubt not but theſe perſonal Plantations of *Janus*, *Gomer*, *Tubal*, &c. In *Italy*, *Spain*, or *France*, are meerly fabulous. Let the *Italians* therefore content themſelves with the *Grecian Janus* which commanded them, and planted them, and who preceded the fall of *Troy* but 150. years (ſaith *Euſebius*) which was in the time of *Latinus*, the fifth King: which alſo Saint *Auguſtine* and *Juſtine* confirm: and this agreeth with reaſon, time, and poſſibility. And if this be not ſufficient to diſprove this vanity, I may out of themſelves add thus much; That whereas ſome of them make *Veſta* (others *Camaſena*) the wife of this *Janus*, who inſtituted the holy Fire of the *Veſtal Virgins* in *Rome* (the *Latines* and *Romans* taking from *Janus* all their Idolatrous and Hetheniſh Ceremonies) there is no man ſo impious, as to believe that *Noah* himſelf (who is ſaid by *Moſes* to *have walked with God*, to be a juſt man, and whom God of all mankind made choice of) could be either ignorant of the true and only God, or ſo wicked and ungrateful, to ſet up or deviſe any Heathen, Salvage, or Idolatrous adoration, or have inſtituted any Ceremony, contrary to that which he knew beſt pleaſing to God himſelf.

SECT VI.

That Gomer *alſo and his Son* Togorma *of the Poſterity of* Japheth, *were firſt ſeated about* Aſia *the Leſs: and that from thence they ſpread Weſtward into* Europe, *and Northward into* Sarmatia.

TO turn now to the Sons of *Noah*, and the Worlds Plantation after the Floud: therein I obſerve, that as both reaſon and neceſſity taught them; ſo, when they multiplied in great numbers, and diſperſed themſelves into the next Countreys bordering to their firſt habitations, and from thence ſent forth *Colonies* elſewhere, it was in ſuch manner, as that they might repair to each other, and keep intelligence by River: becauſe the Land was yet Deſart, and overpreſt with Woods, Reeds, Boggs, and rotten Mariſhes. As when *Nimrod* ſeated in *Babylonia*, *Chuſh* took the South part of *Chaldæa* down the River of *Gehon*, by which he might paſs to and fro from *Babylon* to his own Plantation: thoſe alſo, which were of the Race of *Shem*, inhabiting at *Ur*, or *Orchoa*, near the Lakes of *Chaldæa*, might by the ſame River get up to *Babylon*, and receive ſuccour from thence. All which Tract of Land upon *Gehon* Southward, *Moſes*, in the deſcription of *Paradiſe*, calleth the Land of *Chuſh*: becauſe the Dominion and Empire was then in the hands of *Nimrod* a *Chuſhite*, by whom the children of *Shem* (which came into that Valley and ſtayed not in the Eaſt) were for a while oppreſt, till God afterward by the ſeed of *Abraham* made them his own Nation and victorious. *Havilah*, the brother of *Nimrod*, and ſon of *Chuſh*, took both Banks of *Tygris*, eſpecially on the Eaſt ſide of the River: by which River his people might alſo paſs to and fro to *Babel*.

The Imperial Seat of which Region of *Havilah* or *Suſian*, was anciently called *Chuſian* or *Chuſan*, afterward *Suſa*. *Chuſh* himſelf took the Banks of *Gehon*, and planted thoſe Countries Weſt-ward, and Southweſt-ward towards *Arabia* the Stony, and the Deſart, where *Ptolemy* placeth the City of *Chuſidia*, firſt *Chuſia*. *Ptol. Aſiæ Tab. 4.*

Seba, and *Sheba*, with the reſt that planted *Arabia fœlix*, had *Tygris*, to convey them into the *Perſian gulf*, which waſheth the Banks of *Arabia fœlix* on the Eaſt-ſide: ſo as thoſe Sons of *Cuſh* might take Land down the River as they pleaſed. Alſo the City of *Ninive* was by *Nimrod* founded on the ſaid River of *Tygris*, and from thence a *Colony* paſs'd to *Charran*, ſtanding alſo upon a navigable Branch of *Euphrates*. In like manner did *Japhet*'s Sons ſettle themſelves together, and took their Seats in *Aſia* the leſs; from whence they might indifferently ſtretch themſelves Northward and Weſtward, into the next parts of *Europe*, called the Iſles of the *Gentiles*. And it ſeemeth very agreeable to Reaſon, that both *Gomer*, *Magog*, and *Tubal* ſate down firſt of all in that part of *Syria*, to the North of *Palæſtina* and *Phœnicia*: and from thence *Gomer*, or his Children, paſs'd on into *Aſia* the leſs, as thoſe of *Magog* and *Tubal* did; from whence the *Tubalines* ſpred themſelves into *Iberia*; and the *Magogians* more Northerly into *Sarmatian*. The firſt *Gomerians*, and firſt Planters in *Aſia* the leſs, held the Country of the *Cymmerians* (witneſs *Herodotus*) the ſame Region which was afterward by the *Gallo-Greeks* called *Galatia*, to whom Saint *Paul* wrote his Epiſtle ſo intituled. This Nation of the *Cymmerians* (whom the invincible *Scythians* afterwards diſperſed, and forced from their firſt Plantations) gave names to divers places, as to the Mountains about *Albania* (called *Cymmerini*) and to the City of *Cymmeris* in *Phrygia*: alſo *Boſphorus Cymmerius* took appellation from this Nation, in the out-let whereof was alſo a City of that name, called *Cymmerian*: which *Pliny* ſaith (miſtaking the place) had ſometime the name of *Cerberion*; but *Cerberion* was a Town in *Campania*, ſo called of the unhealthful waters ſavouring of Brimſtone, which *Auguſtus* cauſed to be cleanſed by letting in the water of the Lake *Lucrinus*. *Lib. 4.*

The Children of *Tubal* ranged as far as *Iberia*, to whom the *Moſchiſci* were Neighbours, which others write *Meſhech*. The Prophet *Ezechiel* (coupling them together) calleth *Gog* the Prince of *Meſchech* and *Tubal*. For theſe *Meſchi* (which *Ptolomy* calleth *Moſchi* inhabit *Syracena* a Province of *Armenia*, directly South from the Mountains *Moſchici*, in the Valley between the Mountains *Moſchici*, and the Mountains *Pariardes*: out of whoſe North part ſpringeth the River *Phaſis*; from the Eaſt part *Araxis*; and from the Weſt *Euphrates*: and of this *Meſchech* are deſcended alſo the *Moſcovians* (ſaith *Melanthon*) and it may be, that in proceſs of time ſome of them inhabitated thoſe Regions alſo: For *Meſhech* ſaith *Melanthon*) ſignifieth *extendens*, *enlarging* or *ſtretching forth*. *Togorma* alſo at firſt did inhabit amongſt his Parents and Kindred: The *Togormians* were alſo called *Giblei*, a people neighbouring the *Sydonians* in *Gabala*, a *Tetrarchy* of *Phœnicia*, the ſame which *Pliny* calleth *Gaben*: from whence *Solomon* had his moſt excellent Maſons, which hewed ſtones for the Temple of *Jeruſalem*. Thence the *Togormians* ſtretched into the leſs *Armenia*, whoſe Kings were hence called *Jun. in Gen. 10. vers. 3.* *1 King. 5. 18.*

called *Tigranes*, and their Cities *Tigranokartæ*: of which Cities, *Tigranes* subdued by *Lucullus* the *Roman*, built one. *Hieroſolytanus* hath planted the *Togormians* in *Barbary*, forgetting the Propheſie of *Ezechiel* againſt the *Tyrians*: *They of the houſe of Togorma, brought to thy Fairs, Horſes, and Horſemen, and Mules*; which could not well be driven over the whole length of the Mediterrane Sea, but from the neighbour Countries by Land. But *Joſephus* takes them for the Parents of the *Phrygians*; which I do not deny, but they might be, in the enſuing Ages; and ſo might the *Tubalines* be of the *Spaniards*; but it was from *Iberia*, and many hundred years after the twelfth of *Nimrod*'s reign. The *Jews* conceive that the *Turks* came of thoſe *Togormians*, becauſe their Emperour is called *Togor*. The *Chaldeans* make them the Fathers of the *Germans*. But *Laonicus* affirms, that the *Turks* deſcended of the *Crim Tartar*, which borders *Muſcovia*. But for theſe ſubderivations it were infinit to examine them. Only of the firſt and ſecond Plantation, and of the firſt Nations after the Flood, is the matter which I labour to diſcover; and therein to open the ignorance of ſome, and the corruption of other fabulous Writers. And this we muſt *Note*, That thoſe Grand-children of *Noah* which were of a more quiet, or (perchance) of leſs underſtanding, and had not therefore the leading of *Colonies* ſent out, their proper habitations could be hardly known: only reaſon hath taught us, that they dwelt among the reſt, and were covered with the fame of others who took on them the Conduction and Dominion over the reſt.

Judg. 17. 14.

Note.

From *Madai* the third Son of *Japheth*, were the *Medes*. The *Grecians* bring them (as before) from *Medus* the Son of *Media*.

SECT. VII.

Of Javan *the fourth Son of* Japheth: *and of* Meſech *of* Aram, *and* Meſhech *of* Japheth.

OF *Javan* the fourth Son of *Japheth* came the *Iones*, which were afterwards called the *Greeks*: and ſo the *Latine* and *Greek* Interpreters for *Javan* write *Greece*, as in *Eſay*, *Et mittam ex iis qui ſalvati fuerint ad gentes, in mare, in Italiam, & Græciam*: *And I will ſend thoſe that eſcape of them to Nations in the Sea, in Italy and in Greece*. The *Geneva* here uſeth the word (*Tarſhiſh*) for *Tarſus*, a City in *Cilicia*, though *Tarſis* in many places be taken for the Sea. The *Tigurine* and the *Geneva* uſe the names of *Tubal* and *Javan*, and not *Italy* and *Greece*: keeping the ſame *Hebrew* words. Of the *Iones* were the *Athenians*, though themſelves dream that they were *Alborigines*, or men without Anceſtors, and growing (as it were) out of the Soyl it ſelf: who abounding in people, ſent Colonies into *Aſia* the leſs, of whom came the *Iones* of thoſe parts. Others derive the *Athenians* from *Ion* the Son of *Xuthus*, the Son of *Deucalion*; but the Antiquity of *Javan* mars the faſhion of that ſuppoſition, who ſo many years preceded *Xuthus*, *Ion*, or *Deucalion*. *Pauſanias* tells us, that *Xuthus* ſtole out of *Theſſaly* with all his Fathers Treaſure, and his Brothers portions, and arriving at *Athens*, he was graciouſly received by *Erichtheus*, who gave him his Daughter in marriage; of whom he received two Sons, *Ion* and *Achæus*, the ſuppoſed Anceſtors of the *Athenians*: (For *Attica* was called *Ionia*, ſaith *Plutarch* in the life of *Theſeus*;) who, when he had joyned *Megara* to *Attica*, erected a Pillar in that *Iſthmos* or *Strait*, which faſteneth *Peloponneſus* to the other part of *Greece*; writing on that part which looketh towards the Eaſt, theſe words: *Hæc non ſunt Peloponneſus, aſt Ionia*; *The Countries are not Peloponneſus, but of Ionia*; and on the other ſide which looketh towards the South, and into *Peloponneſus*, this: *Theſe parts are Peloponneſus, and not Ionia*.

Thucyd.

Strabo out of *Hecateus* affirmeth, that the *Iones* came out of *Aſia* into *Greece*, which is contrary to the former opinion: That the *Iones* of *Greece* tranſporting certain companies into *Aſia* the leſs, the name of *Iones* was thereby therein retained. And though *Strabo* knew no more thereof than he learned of the *Greeks* themſelves, yet I find this conjecture of *Hæcateus* reaſonable enough. For though it were to him unknown, yet ſure I am that *Aſia* the leſs had people before *Greece* had any: and that *Javan* did not flie from *Babylonia* into *Greece*, but took *Aſia* the leſs in his paſſage; and from thence paſt over the neereſt way, leaving his own name to ſome maritimate Province on that ſide, as he did to that part of *Greece* ſo called. But yet *Strabo* himſelf believed, that *Ionia* took the name from *Ion* the ſon of *Xuthus*; for ſo much he had learned from themſelves: which was alſo the opinion of *Pauſanias*. True it is, that the *Greeks* in after-times caſt themſelves into that part of *Aſia* the Leſs, oppoſite unto them, which they held for divers years. And howſoever the *Greeks* vaunt themſelves to be Fathers of Nations, and the moſt antient; yet all approved Hiſtorians (not their own) deride and diſprove their pride and vanity therein. For this diſpute of Antiquity (among prophane Writers) reſted between the *Scythians* and the *Egyptians*, as *Juſtine* out of *Trogus*, in the War between *Vexorus* of *Egypt*, and *Tanais* of *Scythia*, witneſſeth: which preceded far the reign of *Ninus*, and was long before the name of *Greece* was ever heard of. And it is alſo manifeſt, that in *Cecrops* time the *Greeks* were all Salvages, without Law or Religion, living like brute Beaſts in all reſpects: and *Cecrops* (ſaith Saint *Auguſtine*) lived together with *Moſes*.

The ſixth ſon of *Japheth* was *Meſhech*, whom the *Septuagint* call *Moſech* (a part of thoſe Nations commanded by *Gog* the chief Prince of *Meſhech* and *Tubal*.) But this we muſt remember, that between *Meſech* the ſon of *Aram*, and *Meſhech* (or *Moſech*) the ſon of *Japheth*, there is little difference in name, and both by divers Interpreters diverſly written. *Montanus*, with the Vulgar, writeth *Meſech*, the ſon of *Aram*, *Mes*; the *Geneva*, *Maſh*; *Junius*, *Meſeh*. But it may be gathered out of the 120. *Pſalm*, that either *Meſhech* the ſon of *Japheth*, was the parent of thoſe people, or gave the name to that Province wherein *David* hid himſelf: or elſe (which may rather ſeem) that it took name from *Meſeh* the ſon of *Aram*. For *David* bewayling his exile (while he lived among a barbarous and irreligious People) uſeth theſe words: *Wo is me that I remain in Meſech, and dwell in the Tents of Kedar*: which *Junius* converteth thus; *Hei mihi quia peregrinor tam diu: habito tanquam Scenitæ Kedareni*: The *Septuagint* gives it this ſence: *Wo is me becauſe my habitation* (or abode) *is prolonged, who dwell with the Inhabitants of Kedar*: with which this of the *Latine* agreeth; *Heu mihi, quia incolatus meus prolongatus eſt, habitavi cum habitantibus Kedar*: The *Chaldean* otherwiſe, and in theſe words: *O me miſerum, quia*

Lib. 18. *de Civ. Dei.* c. 10.

Pſal. 120. *v.* 5.

quia peregrinatus ſum Aſianis, habitavi Cum tabernaculis Arabum; O wretch, that I am, for I have travailed among thoſe of Aſia: I have dwelt in the Tabernacles of the Arabians. But howſoever or which ſoever converſion be taken for the beſt, yet all make mention of *Kedar*: which is a Province of *Arabia Petræa*; and the *Chaldean* putteth *Aſia* in ſtead of *Meſech*, but the *Hebrew* it ſelf hath *Meſech*. And if it be to be taken for a Nation, (as it is moſt likely, becauſe it anſwers to *Kedar*, the name of a Nation) ſeeing *Meſch* the ſon of *Aram*, 1 *Chron.* 17. is called *Meſech*, it is indifferent whether this Nation took name from *Meſech* or *Meſch* both bordering *Judæa*, and like enough to be commanded by one Prince; for ſo *Ezechiel* makes *Meſech* and *Tubal*. But as for thoſe that take *Meſech* out of the word *Moſoch* (given by the *Septuagint*) to be the *Muſcovian*: ſure they preſume much upon the affinity of names, as aforeſaid. Sure I am that *David* never travelled ſo far North (for to him *Muſcovia* was utterly unknown) but about the border of *Kedar* (it may be) he was often in all the time of his perſecution: the ſame being a City on the Mountains of *Sanir* or *Galaad*. And yet *Arias Montanus* makes *Moſoch* the Father of the *Muſcovians*: and herein alſo *Melanchton* runs with the tide of common opinion, and ſets *Meſech* in *Muſcovia*, though with ſome better advice of judment; as, firſt ſeated in *Cappadocia*, and from thence travailing Northward: expounding the places of the 120. *Pſalm*, *(Hei mihi quod exulo in Meſech)* to ſignifie, *Gentis ejus feritatem inſignem eſſi*; *That the ferity of that Nation exceeded*: which fierceneſs or brutality of the *Muſcovians*, *David* never proved, or (perchance) never heard of. But the ſame ferity or cruelty which thoſe Northern *Muſcovians* had, may aſwell be aſcribed to the *Arabians* and *Kedariens*. For this Country took name of *Kedar* the ſecond ſon of *Iſmael*, of whom a people of equal fierceneſs to any of the World were begotten, both in thoſe times and long after, even to this day (if the *Arabians*, *Iſmalites*, and *Saracens*, may be accounted one people:) the ſame being fore-ſhewed by the ſpeech of the Angel to *Hagar*, Gen. 16. *v.* 12. *And he ſhall be a wilde man: his hand ſhall be againſt every man, and every mans hand againſt him.* Now *Arabia* the *Deſart* (ſaith *Pliny*) confronteth the *Arabians Cochlei* on the Eaſt, and the *Cedræi* Southward, both which joyn together upon the *Nabathæi*. So it appeareth (as before) that *Meſech*, *Tubal*, *Gomer*, *Togorma*, and *Magog*, neighboured *Canaan* and *Iſrael*, and that *Kedar* alſo did joyn to *Meſech*: all which were Regions of *Syria*, or of *Aſia* the Leſs, commanded by the ſucceſſors of *Seleucus*, enemies of the re-eſtabliſhment of *Iſrael* and *Juda*. But (as I have already ſaid) it might well be, that long after the firſt Plantation the iſſue of *Meſech* (or *Moſoch*) might paſs into *Cappadocia*, and thence into *Hyrcania*, and give names both to *Mezaga* in the one, and to the Mountains *Moſchici* in the other, and from thence might ſend people more Northerly in *Muſcovia*, and ſo all opinions ſaved. But all ſalvage Nations over-grown and uncultivated, do (for the moſt part) ſhew a late Plantation, even as civility, letters, and magnificent building, witneſs antiquity.

Gen. 15. 13.

Tyras, the ſeventh ſon of *Japheth*, which *Montanus* reckons among the ſons of *Gomer*, was the Father of the *Thracians*, as all Authors (worthy the examination) affirm. *Joſephus* was the firſt that determined hereof: and becauſe the Scriptures are altogether ſilent, what part of the World *Tyras* peopled, the conjectures are indifferent, and give no ground at all of diſpute. It followeth now to ſpeak of the Sons of *Gomer*; which were three.

Mont. in Chr.

Aſcanez, *Riphath*, and *Togorma*.

SECT. VIII.

Of Aſcanez *and* Riphath *the two elder Sons of* Gomer.

Aſcanez was the Father of thoſe which the *Greeks* call *Regini*, (ſaith *Joſephus*) but he gives no reaſon why.

Euſebius makes *Aſcanez* the Father of the *Goths*. The *Jews* in their *Thargum* make him the root of the *Germane* Nation; but their expoſitions are commonly very Idle. *Pliny* findeth *Aſcania* in *Phrygia*, neer the Rivers of *Hilas* and *Cios*: *Melanchton* being of the ſame opinion, that the *Tuiſcones* were deſcended of the *Aſcanez*: (for *Tuiſcones*, ſaith he, is as much to ſay, as of the *Aſcanez*, *præpoſito articulo die Aſcanes*) and that the word ſignifieth, *a Religious Keeper of fire*: it being an antient ſuperſtition to pray at the fire of Sacrifices, as afterwards at the Tombs of Martyrs. Not far from *Phrygia* was the Lake *Aſcania*, known by that name in the *Romans* time. And among the Kings which came to the ſuccour of *Troy*, was *Aſcanius* (*Deo ſimilis*, ſaith *Homer*) *like unto God*: becauſe he was beautifull and ſtrong: for in the ſame manner doth *Virgil* grace *Æneas*, *Os humeroſque Deo ſimilis*: *In face and body like one of the gods*: *Virgil* alſo remembreth ſuch a River, together with the Hills *Gurgara*: as *Illas ducit amor trans* Gargara, *tranſque ſonantem* Aſcanium; *Appetite leads them both over the mountains* Gargara, *and the roaring* Aſcanius. But this *Pliny* maketh more plain in the deſcription of *Phrygia*. For he placeth the City of *Brillion* upon the River *Aſcanius*, which is adjoyning to *Myſia*, and is near the border of the *Trojan* Empire: and the Lake *Aſcanez* he directs us to find by the deſcription of *Pruſia*, founded by *Hannibal* at the foot of *Olympus*, which lyeth farr within the Countries of *Bithynia*: and then from *Pruſia* to *Nicea* are accounted 25. miles, in which way this Lake lieth, even between *Pruſia* and *Nicea*. And ſo *Junius* (as I conceive him) takes them of *Aſcanez*, to be the Inhabitants of *Pontus* and *Bithynia*, and thoſe North parts of *Aſia*. *Stephanus de Urbibus* makes it a City of *Troas*, built by *Aſcanius* the Son of *Æneas*: ſaying, that there was another of that name in *Myſia*. Of *Aſcania* a Lake of *Bithynia*, *Ptolemy* witneſſeth: and *Strabo* giveth *Aſcania* both a Lake, a River and a Town in *Myſia*, near unto *Cio*; which alſo agreeth with *Pliny*. For *Pliny* findeth *Pruſia* (before ſpoken of) near *Cio*, and calleth the Iſlands before *Troy*, *Aſcanes*.

Melanch. in Car. lib. 1.

Hom. Iliad. 2.

Virg. Geor. l. 3.

Now, whether theſe places took name of *Aſcanez* the Son of *Gomer*, or of *Aſcanius* the Son of *Æneas*, it might be queſtioned; ſure it is, that *Aſcanius* which brought ſuccour to the *Trojans*, could not take his name from *Æneas* Son, who was then either exceeding young, or rather unborn: and it ſeemeth that the Countreys whence thoſe ſuccours came, were not out of any part of *Phrygia*, or *Myſia*, but farther off, and from the North parts of *Aſia* the leſs, which by *Hieremy* is called *Aſcanez*, by the figure *Synechdoche*, as *Junius* thinketh. Out of thoſe teſtimonies therefore which deceive not, we may confidently determine. For of the Prophet *Hieremy* we ſhall learn of what Nation the *Aſcanez* were;

Cap. 51. v. 27. were, whose words are these: *Set up a Standard in the Land, blow the Trumpet among the Nations against her, call up the Kings of* Ararat, Minni, *and* Ascanez, *against her,* &c. meaning, against the *Babylonians*. *Ararat* was *Armenia* the greater, as most Intepreters consent, so called of the Mountains of *Ararat* which run through it: *Minni*, the lesser *Armenia*; *Armenia* being compounded of *Aram* and *Minni*. For *Minni* was the ancient name (saith *Junius* and others before him:) and *Aram* anciently taken for *Syria*, which contained all that Tract from *Euphrates* to the Sea-coasts of *Phœnicia*, and *Palæstina*; and therefore *Mesopotamia* being in elder times but a Province of *Syria*, the Scriptures difference it in the Story of *Jacob* and *Esau*, call it *Aram-Padan*. Then if these two Nations were of the *Armenians*, and *Ascanez* joyned with them (who altogether united under *Cyrus* and *Darius*, came to the spoil of the *Babylonian* Empire) we shall erre much to call *Askenez Germany*, or *Almain*: for we hear of no swart *Rutiers* at that siege. But the *Askenez* were of those Nations which were either subject or allied to the *Medes*: of which if any one of them came afterward into *Phrygia*, I know not: for the dispersion of Nations was in after-times without acount. But for the opinion of *Eusebius*, who makes them to be *Goths*; or that of *Josephus*, who calls them *Rhegini*; or of the *Jews*, who will have them to be *Almains*; when they confirm it either by Scriptures or Reason, I will think as they do.

Of *Riphath*, the second Son of *Gomer*, there is mention in the first of *Chronicles*. *Beroaldus* and *Pererius*, think that he wandred from far off the rest of his Brothers, and therefore no memory of his Plantation. But I see nothing to the contrary, but that he might seat himself with the rest of his Family: for there wanted no room or soil in those days for all the Sons and Grand-children of *Noah*. Therefore I take it to be well understood, that the *Riphei* were of *Riphath*, which the *Greeks* afterwards (according to *Josephus*) called the *Paphlagones*: and *Riphei* (saith *Melanchthon*) signifieth Giants. These people were very famous in the North parts, and in *Sarmatia*: the most of number and power among them, *Sarmatarum gens maxima Heneti, The greatest number of the* Sarmatians *were the* Heneti; who spake the ancient *Polæ*: which being first called *Riphei* for the love of some of their Leaders or Kings) changed their names, and became *Heneti* (a custom exceeding common in those times) and dwelt first in *Paphlagonia* as *Homer* witnesseth, and so doth *Apollonius* in his *Argonauticks*: Now, when these *Riphei* (afterward *Heneti*) sought new Regions, they came along the shores of *Euxinus*, and filled the North-part of *Europe*, containing *Russia*, *Lituania*, and *Polonia*. From thence they crost thwart the Land, and peopled *Illyria*, desirous (saith *Melanchthon*) of a warmer soil of Fruit and Wine. These *Heneti*, or *Veneti*, whom *Melanchthon* taketh to be one people, filled all the *Baltick* and *Adriatick* Sea; and to this day the name of the Gulf *Venedicus* is found in *Russia*. This Nation, after they were possest of *Lituania* and *Polonia*, disturbed the Plantation of the *Boii* and *Hermondurii*. Therefore it seemeth to me, that of *Riphath*, came the *Riphei*, afterwards *Heneti*; and so thinketh *Arias Montanus*, first seated in *Paphlagonia*, but in course of time, Lords of *Sarmatia*, and those other parts before remembred, chiefly between the Rivers of *Vistula* and *Albis*. The name (saith *Melanchthon*) signifieth wandering, or wanderers, or *Nomades*: a people which lived by White-meats and Fruits, as (indeed) all Nations did in the first Ages.

Melanct. Carion.

Of the third Son of *Gomer*, *Togorma*, I have spoken already; now therefore of *Javan*'s Children, which were four:

Elisa, Tharsis, Cethim, Dodonim.

SECT. IX.

Of the four Sons of Javan: *and of the double signification of* Tharsis, *either for a proper Name, or for the Sea.*

OF *Elisa*, or *Elipha*, came the *Æoles*: and of this *Elisa*, all the *Greeks* were called *Hellenes*, saith *Montanus*. *Melanchthon* makes *Elisa* the Father of the *Æoles* in *Asia* side: Others of *Elis* in *Peloponnesus*; or of both. And seeing the *Greeks* were descended in general of *Javan*, it is probable that *Æoles* and the *Elei*, took name of *Elisa* his eldest Son. *Ezechiel* in the 27. Chapter speaking of *Tyre*, nameth the Isles of *Elisa*, *Hyacinthus & purpuris de insulis* Elisæ *facta sunt operiment tuum*: *Blue silk and purple, brought from the Isles of* Elisa, *was their covering*. The *Chaldæans* for *Eliza*, write *Italia*: but the *Vulgar*, the *Tigurine*, the *Geneva*, and *Junius*, keep the word *Elisa*: and so I think they might do with reason. For there is not found any such Purple-Die in *Italy* in those days, nor since that I can read of: but those of *Elisa* were by a better conjecture the Isles of *Greece*; and the best Purple was found afterward at *Tyre* it self: and before that, among the *Cyclades*, and on the Coast of *Getulia*. Vers. 7.

Tharsis the second Son of *Javan*, inhabited *Cilicia*, of which *Tharsis* is the Metropolis. *Montanus* for *Tharsis* in *Cilicia*, understands *Carthage* in *Africa*; but reserving the respect due to so learned a man) he was much mistaken in that conjecture. The *Chaldæan Paraphrast* puts *Carthage* for *Tharsis*, but it hath no authority nor warrant of reason therein. So likewise, where it is written, that the Ships of *Solomon* went every three years to *Tharsis*, and brought thence Gold, Silver, Elephants teeth, &c. the *Chaldæan Paraphrast* translates *Tharsis* (*Africa*.) But *Solomons* Ships were prepared in the Red-Sea at *Esion-Gaber*, in the Bay of *Elana*, near unto *Madian*, where *Jethro* (*Moses* Father-in-law) inhabited; a Province of *Arabia Petrea*, *Idumæa*, or of the *Chusites*; and they sailed to the higher part of the *East-India*. For it had been a strange Navigation to have spent three years in the passage between *Judæa* and *Carthage*, or any other part of *Africa*, which might have been sailed in six or ten days. And if so great riches might have been found within the bounds of the *Mediterrane* Sea, all the other neighbouring Princes would soon have entertained that Trade also. But this enterprise of *Solomon* is in this sort written of, in the first of *Kings*: *Also King* Solomon *made a Navie of Ships in* Esion-Gaber, *which is beside* Elath, *and the brink of the Red-Sea in the Land of* Edom: *and* Hyram *sent with the Navie his servants, that were Mariners, and had knowledge of the Sea, with the servants of* Solomon: *and they came to* Ophir, *and fet from thence* 420. *Talents of gold*, &c. But as the Nations of *Pontus* thought no Sea in the World like unto their own, and doubted whether there were any other Sea but that onely (whereof it came, that *Pontus* was a word used for the Sea in general) so, because the *Israelites* and the *Phœnicians* knew

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no other Sea than that of the *Meditterrane* in the beginning; and that the people of *Tharſis* had the greateſt Ships, and were the firſt Navigators in thoſe parts with ſuch Veſſels, they were therefore called men of the Sea: and the word *Tharſis* uſed often for the Sea. And whereas it is ſaid that the Ships of *Solomon* went every three years to *Tharſis*, that phraſe is not ſtrange at all; for we uſe it ordinarily whereſoever we navigate, (namely) that the Kings Ships are gone to the Sea; or that they are ſet out every year, or every three years to the Sea, and therefore *Tharſis* was not therein named, either for *Carthage*, *Africa*, or *India*, but uſed for the Sea it ſelf. But in this place, *Tharſis* is truly taken for *Tharſis*, the chief City in *Cilicia*, founded by *Tharſis* the ſecond Son of *Javan*, or by his Succeſſors in memory of their firſt Parent. To this City arrived *Alexander Macedon*, before he gave the firſt overthrow to *Darius*, and caſting himſelf into the River to bathe and waſh his body, he fell into an extreme Feaver, and great danger of death: and in this City of *Tharſis* was S. *Paul* born. Now, this agreeth with the reaſon and nature of a Plantation. For (*Gomer* and his other Sons inhabiting *Aſia* the leſs, and that part of *Syria* adjoyning) *Javan*, who was to paſs over the Sea into *Greece*, took the edge of the ſame Coaſt, and firſt planted the *Iones* on that ſhore: gave the Iſlands between *Aſia* the leſs and *Greece* to *Eliſa*, and left *Tharſis* upon the Sea-ſide in *Cilicia*; of whom that City took name.

The third Son of *Javan* was *Cethim*, of whom were the *Romans* and *Italians*, ſaith *Beroaldus*, but I allow better of *Melanchons* opinion, who makes *Cethim* the Father of the *Macedonians*. *Cethim* is a voice plural (ſaith he) and ſignifies *percuſſores*, though in that reſpect it may be meant by either. But it ſeemeth more probable, that the place of *Iſai.* 23. (according to *Melanchon*) had relation to *Alexander* and the *Macedonians*: *Hæc calamitas ab* Eſai *prædicta eſt, qui capite viceſſimo tertio inquit, venturos eſſe everſores Tyri ex terra* Cittim; *This Calamity* (ſaith Melanchon) *was foreſhewed by* Eſai *the Prophet, who in the three and twentieth Chapter pronounced, that the deſtroyers of* Tyre *were come out of* Cittim. And although the children of *Iſrael* eſteemed all men Iſlanders, which came to them by Sea, and ſeparate from the Continent (and ſo alſo *Cittim* might be taken for *Italy*, ſaith *Beroaldus*) yet we muſt take the firſt performance of the former Prophecie which took effect by the deſtruction of the *Tyrians* by *Alexander*, who, after ſeven Moneths ſiege entred that proud City, and cut in pieces ſeven thouſand principal Citizens; ſtrangled two thouſand, and changed the freedom of 13 thouſand others into bondage and ſlavery. Now, that *Macedon* was taken for *Cethim*, it doth appear plainly in the firſt of the *Macchabees* in theſe words: *After that* Alexander *the* Macedonian, *the Son of* Philip, *went forth of the Land of* Cethim, *and ſlew* Darius *King of the* Perſians, *and* Medes. *Joſephus* ſets *Cethim* in the Iſle of *Cyprus*, in which (ſaith he) there remaineth the City *Citium*, the Countrey of *Zeno* the Philoſopher (witneſs *Laertius*;) which City *Pintus* upon *Ezechiel* affirmeth, that it ſtood in S. *Hieroms* time. So it may be that all the Iſlands in ancient times by the *Hebrews* were called the Iſlands of *Cethim*; and in that ſence might *Cyprus* be ſo called alſo; and yet, becauſe *Tharſis* was the very next Port to *Cyprus*, and directly over againſt it, it is alſo very probable, that *Cethim* dwelt by his brother *Tharſis*: and finding that Iſland too ſtraight for his people, after they were increaſed, and that the reſt of the Coaſts, both in *Aſia* and *Greece*, were inhabited by his Father and brothers, he ſent *Colonies* over the *Ægean* Sea, and inhabited *Macedonia*.

Dodonim the fourth Son of *Javan*, and the youngeſt brother (by the moſt opinions) ſate down at *Rhodes*, as near *Cethim*, *Tharſis*, and *Eliſa*, as he could. For *Dodonim* and *Rhodanim* are uſed indifferently by many Tranſlators: the *Hebrew* (*D*) and the *Hebrew* (*R*) are ſo alike, as the one may eaſily be taken for the other, as all *Hebricians* affirm. There is alſo found in *Epirus* the City of *Dodona*, in the Province of *Moloſſia*. And as *Cethim*, when he wanted ſoil in *Cyprus*: ſo *Dodonim* (ſeated in a farr leſs Iſland) did of neceſſity ſend his people farther off; and keeping alongſt the Coaſt, and finding *Peloponneſus* in the poſſeſſion of *Eliſa*, he paſſed a little further on the Weſtward, and planted in *Epyrus*. And though the City of *Dodona* was not then built (or perchance not ſo antient as *Dodonim* himſelf) yet his poſterity might give it that name in the memory of their firſt Parent, as it happened all the World over. For names were given to Cities, Mountains, Rivers, and Provinces, after the names of *Noahs* children, and grand-children; not in all places by themſelves, but by their ſucceſſors many years after: every of their Families being deſirous to retain among them, by thoſe memories, out of what branch themſelves were taken and grafted elſe-where. And becauſe great Kingdoms were often by new Conquerers newly named, and the greateſt Cities often fired and demoliſhed, therefore thoſe that hoped better to perpetuate their memories, gave their own names, or the names of their Anceſtors, to Mountains and Rivers, as to things (after their judgments) freeſt from any alteration.

Thus then did *Javan* ſettle himſelf and his children in the edge and frontier of *Aſia* the leſs, towards the Sea-ſhore: and afterward in *Greece*, and the Iſlands and neighbour Provinces thereof, as *Japheth* their Father had done in the body of the leſſer *Aſia*, together with *Javans* brethren, *Gomer*, *Magog*, *Madai*, *Iubal*, *Meſech*, and the reſt, round about him. And in like ſort did *Chuſh* (the Son of *Cham*) people *Babylonia*, *Chaldæa*, and the borders thereof towards the Weſt and South-weſt; and the Sons of *Chuſh* (all but *Nimrod*, who held *Babylonia* it ſelf) travelled Southward in *Arabia fœlix*, and South-weſt-ward into *Arabia Petræa*: the reſt of his children holding the Regions adjoyning to *Nimrod*. *Mizraim* the brother of *Chuſh* in like manner took the way of *Egypt*: and his brother *Canaan* the Region of *Paleſtina* adjoyning. The Sons of *Canaan* had their portions in *Canaan*, of whom all thoſe Nations came, which were afterward the Enemies both to the *Hebrews*, and to thoſe of the Sons of *Shem*, which ſpread themſelves towards the Weſt, and the bordes of the *Mediterrane* Sea: of which I ſhall ſpeak hereafter. But firſt of the Sons of *Cham* or *Ham*; which were four:

Chuſh, *Mizraim*, *Phut*, and *Canaan*.

SECT.

SECT. X.

That the seat of Chush *the eldest Son of* Ham, *was in* Arabia, *not in* Æthiopia: *and of strange Fables, and ill Translations of Scriptures, grounded on the mistaking of this point.*

§. I.

Of Josephus *his Tale of an* Æthiopeses, *Wife of* Moses, *grounded on the mistaking of the seat of* Chush.

THat *Ham* was the Father of the *Egyptians*, it is made manifest in many Scriptures, as in the 105. *Psalm*, vers. 51. *Then* Israel *came to* Egypt, *and* Jacob *was a stranger in the Land of* Ham: and in the 78. *Psalm*, *He slew all the first-born in* Egypt, *even the beginning of their strength, in the Tabernacles of* Ham. There is also found a great City in *Thebaidai*, called *Cheramis* (as it were the City of *Ham*) of which name *Herodotus* also discovers an Island in the same Region. But because *Chush* is the elder Son of *Ham*, it agreeth with order to speak first of him. Now, though I have already in the description of *Paradise* handled this question, and (I hope) proved that *Chush* could not be *Æthiopia*: yet seeing it cometh now to his turn to speak for himself, I will add some farther proof to the former. For, the manifestation hereof sets many things straight, which had otherwise very crooked constructions, and senceless interpretations. Surely, howsoever the *Septuagint* and *Josephus* have herein failed, that *Chush* could not be *Æthiopia*, but *Arabia* (to wit) both that *Arabia* called *Petræa*, and a part of *Arabia* the Happy and the Desart, which Regions *Chush* and the *Chusites* presently planted, after they left *Babylonia* to *Nimrod*, wherein they first sate down altogether. And there is nothing which so well cleareth the Controversie, as the true interpretation of the place, *Num.* 12. vers. 1. where *Moses* his Wife is called a *Chusite*; together with some places which speak of *Nebuchodonosor*'s Conquests. For whereas *Josephus* and the *Septuagint* in the place *Numb.* 12. vers. 1. as also else-where, understand *Chush* for *Æthiopia*, we must give credit to *Moses* himself herein; and then it will appear that *Josephus* was grosly mistaken, or vainly led by his own invention. For *Josephus*, presuming that *Chush* was *Æthiopia*, and therefore that the Wife of *Moses* (which in Scripture, *Numb.* 12. vers. 1. is called a Woman of *Chush*) was a Woman of the Land of *Æthiopia*, feigneth that *Tharbis* the Daughter of the King of *Æthiopia*, fell in love with the person and fame of *Moses*, while he besieged *Saba* her Fathers City; and to the end, to obtain *Moses* for her Husband, she practised to betray both her Parents, Countrey, and Friends, with the City it self, and to deliver it into *Moses* hands: The Tale (if it be worth the reciting) lieth thus in *Josephus*. And after he hath described the strength of the *Æthiopian* City *Meroe*, which he saith at length, *Chambyses*, called so from the name of his Sister (the old name being *Saba*) he goeth on in these words: *Hic cum* Moses *residere exercitum otiosum ægrè ferret, hoste non audente manus conserere, tale quiddam accidit. Erat* Æthiopium *Regi filia nomine* Tharbis, *&c.* Which Tale hath this sence in *English*: *When* Moses *was grieved that his Army lay idle, because the Enemy besieged durst not sally and come to handy-stroakes, there happened this accident in the mean while*: *The* Æthiopian *King had a Daughter called* Tharbis, *who at some assaults given, beheld the person of* Moses, *and withall admiring his valour. And knowing that* Moses *had not only upheld and restored the falling estate of the* Egyptians, *but had also brought the conquering* Æthiopians *to the very brink of subversion*: *these things working in her thoughts, together with her own affection, which daily increased, she made means to send unto him by one of her trustiest servants, to offer her self unto him, and become his Wife*; *which* Moses *on this condition entertained, that she should first deliver the City into his possession*; *whereupon she condescending, and* Moses *having taken oath to perform this contract, both the one and the other were instantly performed.*

Herod. in Euterpe.

Antiq. l. 2. cap. 5.

§. II.

A Dispute against the Tale of Josephus.

THis Tale (whereof *Moses* hath not a word) hath *Josephus* fashioned, and therein also utterly mistaken himself, in naming a City of *Arabia* for a City of *Æthiopia*: as he names *Æthiopia* it self to have been the Countrey of *Moses* his Wife, when (indeed) it was *Arabia*. For *Saba* is not in *Æthiopia*, but in *Arabia*, as both *Strabo* and all other Geographers, ancient and modern, teach us, saying, that the *Sabæans* are *Arabians*, and not *Æthiopians*; except *Josephus* can perswade us, that the Queen of *Saba*, which came from the South to hear the Wisdom of *Solomon*, were a *Negroe*, or *Black-moor*. And though *Damianus à Goes* speak of certain Letters to the King of *Portugal* from *Prester John*, of the *Abissines*: wherein that *Æthiopian* King would perswade the *Portugals*, that he was descended of the Queen of *Saba*, and of *Solomon*; yet it doth no where appear in the Scriptures, that *Solomon* had any Son by that great Princess: which had it been true, it is likely that when *Sishac* King of *Egypt* invaded *Roboam*, and sackt *Hierusalem*, his Brother (the Son of *Saba* and *Solomon*) who joyned upon *Egypt*, would both have impeached that enterprize, as also given aid and succour to *Roboam* against *Jeroboam*, who drew from him ten of the twelve Tribes to his own obedience. Neither is it any thing against our Opinion of *Moses* his Wife, to have been an *Arabian*, that the Scriptures teach us, that *Moses* married the Daughter of *Jethro*, Priest of *Midian* or *Madian*: which standing on the North-coast of the Red-Sea, over against the body of *Egypt*, and near *Esion-Gaber*, where *Solomon* provided his Fleet for *India*, in the Region of *Edom*, may well be reckoned as a part of *Arabia*, as the Red-Sea is called *Sinus Arabicus*. For *Idumæa* joyneth to the Tribe of *Juda* by the North; to *Arabia Petræa*, by the East; to the Mediterrane, by the West; and to the Red-Sea, by the South-East. And if we mark the way which *Moses* took when he left *Egypt*, and conducted *Israel* thence, it will appear that he was no stranger in *Arabia*: in the border whereof, and in *Arabia* it self, he had formerly lived fourty years; where it seemeth, that besides his careful bringing up in *Egypt*, he was instructed by *Jethro* in the *Egyptians* learning. For *Josephus* confesseth, and St. *Stephen* confirmeth, that he was learned in all the Wisdom of the *Egyptians*. But on the other side, this Text makes much against *Josephus*, where it is written in *Exodus* the second, *Therefore* Moses *Vers.* 15.

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fled from Pharaoh, *and dwelt in the Land of* Madian *or* Midian, and not in *Æthiopia*. And in the third Chapter, it is as plain as words can expreſs, in what Region *Madian* was, where it is written, *When* Moſes *kept the Sheep of* Jethro *his Father-in-law, Prieſt of* Madian, *and drave the Flock to the Deſart, and came to the Mountain of God in* Horeb. Now, that Mount *Horeb* is not in *Æthiopia*, every infant knoweth. And if we believe *Moſes* himſelf, then was not the Wife of *Moſes* purchaſed in that manner which *Joſephus* reporteth (which was for betraying her Countrey and friends) neither had ſhe the name of *Tharbis*, but of *Sippora*, or *Zippora*: neither was ſhe a *Negroe*, but a *Madianiteſs*. And as God worketh the greateſt things by the ſimpleſt means: ſo it pleaſed him from a Shepherd to call *Moſes*, and after him *David*, and by them to deliver his People firſt and laſt. For *Moſes* ſitting by a Well (as diſconſolate, and a ſtranger) defended the Daughters of *Reguel* from the other Shepherds, and drew them Water to water their Sheep: upon which occaſion (by God ordained) he was entertained by *Jethro*, whoſe Daughter he married, and not for any betraying of Towns or Countries.

Exod. 2.

From hence alſo came *Jethro* to *Moſes* at *Rephidim*, not far from *Idumæa*, and finding the inſupportable government of ſuch a multitude, he adviſed him to diſtribute this weighty charge, and to make Governours and Judges of every Tribe and Family. And if *Jethro* had been an *Æthiopian*, it had been a farr progreſs for him to have paſſed throughout all *Egypt* with the Wife and Children of *Moſes*, and to have found *Moſes* in the border of *Idumæa*: the *Ægyptians* hating *Moſes*, and all that favoured him. But the paſſing of *Moſes* through *Arabia Petræa* (which joyneth to *Madian*) proveth that *Moſes* was well acquainted in thoſe parts, in which the ſecond time he wandred fourty years, and did by theſe late travels of his, ſeek to inſtruct the Children of *Iſrael* in the knowledge of one true God, before he brought them to the Land of plenty and reſt. For he found them nouriſhed up with the milk of Idolatry, and obſtinate in the Religion of the *Heathen*, and finding that thoſe ſtiff plants could not be bowed or declined, either by perſwaſion or by miracle, he ware them out in the Deſarts, as God directed, and graſted their branches anew, that from thoſe he might receive fruit, agreeable to his own deſire, and Gods Commandments.

Sixt. Senenſ. Bibl.

Laſtly, this Opinion of *Joſephus* is condemned by *Auguſtinus Chryſamenſis*, where alſo he reprehended *Apollinaris*, who avowed that *Moſes* had married both *Tharbis* and *Sephora*: His own words have this beginning: *Mentitur etiam* Apollinaris *duas uxores habuiſſe* Moſen, *&c.* Apollinaris *alſo lyeth, in affirming that* Moſes *had two Wives: and who doth not perceive theſe things feigned by them; for it is manifeſt, that the Wife of* Moſes *was* Zephora, *Daughter to the Prieſt or Preſident of Madian: and that Madian cannot be taken for* Æthiopia *beyond* Egypt; *being the ſame that joyneth to* Arabia: So farr *Chryſamenſis.*

¶. III.

Chuſh *ill expounded for* Æthiopia, *Ezechiel* 29. 10.

NOW, as *Chuſh* is by the *Septuagint* converted *Æthiopia*, and the Wife of *Moſes* therefore called *Æthiopiſſa*; ſo in the conqueſt of *Nebuchodonoſor* is *Æthiopia* written for *Arabia*. For by the words of *Ezechiel*, it is manifeſt that *Nebuchedonoſor* was never in *Æthiopia*. *Behold* (ſaith *Ezechiel*, ſpeaking of the perſon of this great *Aſſyrian*) *I come upon thee and upon thy Rivers, and I will make the Land of* Egypt *utterly waſte and deſolate, from the Tower of* Seveneh, *even to the borders of the* Black-Moors: which laſt words ſhould have been thus converted: *From the Tower* Seveneh, *to the borders of the* Chuſites, or *Arabians*, between which two is ſituated all *Egypt*. For to ſay, from the borders of *Seveneh* to the *Æthiopians*, hath no ſence at all, *Seveneh* it ſelf being the border of *Egypt*, confronting and joyning to *Æthiopia*, or the Land of the *Black-moors*. So as if *Nebuchodonoſors* conqueſt had been but between *Seveneh* and the border of *Æthiopia*, it were as much to ſay, and did expreſs no other victory than the conqueſt of all that Land and Countrey, lying between *Middleſex* and *Buckingham*, where both the Countries joyn together; or all the North parts of *England* between *Barwick* and *Scotland*: for this hath the ſame ſence with the former, if any man ſought to expreſs by theſe two bounds, the Conqueſt of *England*: *Barwick* being the North border of *England*, as *Seveneh* or *Syena* is the South bound of *Egypt*, ſeated in *Thebaida*, which toucheth *Æthiopia*. But by the words of *Ezechiel* it appeareth, that *Nebuchodonoſor* never entred into any part of *Æthiopia*, although the *Septuagint*, the *Vulgar*, the *Geneva*, and all other (in effect) have written *Æthiopia* for *Chuſh*.

Exech. 29. 10.

¶. IV.

Another place of Ezechiel, *Chap.* 30. *Verſ.* 9. *in the like manner miſtaken.*

AND as the former, ſo is this place of *Ezechiel* miſtaken, by being in this ſort converted, *In die illa egredientur nuncii à facie mea in trieribus ad conterendam* Æthiopiæ *confidentiam*: Which place is thus turned in *Engliſh* by the *Geneveans*: *In that day ſhall their meſſengers go forth from me in ſhips to make the careleſs* Moors *afraid*. Now, the *Latine* for (ſhips) *hath the Greek* word *Trieres* for *Triremes*, which are Gallies of three banks, and not ſhips. But that in this place the Tranſlation ſhould have been (as in the former) amended by uſing the word *Chuſh*, or *Arabia*, for *Ethiopia*, or the *Black-Moors*, every man may ſee which meanly underſtandeth the *Geography* of the World, knowing, that to paſs out of *Egypt* into *Æthiopia*, there need no Gallies or Ships, no more than to paſs out of *Northampton* into *Leiceſter-ſhire*: *Æthiopia* being the conterminate Region with *Egypt*, and not divided ſo much as by a River. Therefore in this place of *Ezechiel* it was meant, that from *Egypt Nebuchodonoſor* ſhould ſend Gallies alongſt the Coaſt of the Red-Sea, by which an Army might be tranſported into *Arabia* the *Happy* and the *Stony* (ſparing the long wearisome march over all *Egypt*, and the Deſart of *Pharan*) which Army might thereby ſurpriſe them unawares in their ſecurity and confidence. For when *Nebuchodonoſor* was at *Seveneh* within a mile of *Æthiopia*, he needed neither Gally nor Ship to paſs into it; being all one large and firme Land with *Egypt*, and no otherwiſe parted from it, than one In-land ſhire is parted from another: and if he had a fancy to have rowed up the River but for pleaſure, he could not have done it; for the fall of *Nilus* (tumbling over high and ſteepy Mountains) called *Cataduꝑæ Nili*, were at hand.

Lastly, I have already observed, the Sons of every Father seated themselves as near together as possibly they could; *Gomer* and his Sons in *Asia* the less; *Javan* and his Sons in *Greece*, and the Islands adjoyning; *Shem* in *Persia* and Eastward. So the sons and grand-children of *Chush* from the River of *Gehon* (their Fathers first seat) inhabited upon the same, or upon some other contiguate unto it, as *Nimrod* and *Havilah* on the one side, and *Saba*, *Sheba*, and *Sabtecha* (with the rest) did on the other side. And to conclude in a word, the *Hebrews* had never acquaintance or fellowship, any war, treaty of peace, or other intelligence with the *Æthiopian Black-moors*, as is remembred in the Chapter of *Paradise*.

§. V.

A place, Esay 18. *v.* 1. *in like manner corrupted, by taking* Chush *for* Æthiopia.

AND as in these places before remembred, so in divers others is the word *Æthiopia* put for *Arabia*, or *Chush*, which puts the Story (where it is so understood) quite out of square; one Kingdom thereby being taken for another. For what sence hath this part of Scripture, *Isai.* 18. *Væ terræ Cymbalorum alarum quæ est trans flumina* Æthiopiæ; or, according to the *Septuagint*, in these words: *Væ terræ navium alarum quæ est trans fluvios* Æthiopiæ; *Wo to the Land shadowing with wings, which is beyond the Rivers of* Æthiopia, *sending Embassadors by Sea, even the Vessels of Reeds upon the waters. Væ terræ umbrosæ oræ*; *Wo to the Land of the shady coast*, saith *Junius*. The former Translators understand it in this sence; That the waters are shadowed with the sails, which are significatively called the wings of the ships; the other, that the coast of the Sea was shadowed by the height of the Land.

But to the purpose: That this Land here spoken of by the Prophet *Isaiah*, is *Egypt*, no Interpreter hath doubted. For they were the *Egyptians* that sent this Message to the *Israelites*, which *Isaiah* repeateth, and by the former Translation, every man may see the transposition of Kingdoms: for hereby *Egypt* is transported unto the other side of *Æthiopia*, and *Æthiopia* set next unto *Judæa*; when it is the Land of *Chush* and *Arabia* indeed that lieth between *Judæa* and *Egypt*, and not *Æthiopia*, which is seated under the *Equinoctial* Line. And of this, *Beroaldus* asketh a material question (to wit) what Region that should be, of which the Prophet speaketh, and placeth it beyond the Rivers of *Æthiopia*? *Nam de ignota agi regione dici nequit*; *For it cannot be said that he treateth of an unknown Region.* Now, if *Æthiopia* it self be under the *Equinoctial* line, with whom the *Jews* had never any acquaintance, why should any man dream that they had knowledg of Nations far beyond it again, and beyond the Rivers of *Æthiopia*? except we shall impiously think that the Prophet spake he knew not what, or used an impertinent discourse of those Nations, which were not discovered in 2000. years after, inhabiting as far South as the *Cape* of *Good Hope*, commonly known by the name of *Bona Esperanza*.

§. VI.

That upon the like mistaking, both Terrhaca *in the Story of* Senacherib, *and* Zera *in the Story of* Asa, *are unadvisedly made* Æthiopians.

AND by this Translation is the Story of *Senacherib* utterly mistaken in the cause of his retreat. For *Senacherib* was first repulsed at *Pelusium*, at the very entrance of *Egypt* from *Judæa*: when having certain knowledge that *Thirrhaca* (which all the Interpreters called King of *Æthiopia*) was on the way to set on him, he began to withdraw himself: and fearing to leave his Army in two parts, he sent threatning Messengers to *Ezechia* King of *Juda*, perswading him to submit himself: the Tenor whereof is set down in the second of *Kings* in these words: *Have any of the gods of the Nations delivered his Land out of the hands of the King of* Ashur? *Where is the god of* Hamah, *&c.* By which proud Embassage, if he had obtained entrance into *Jerusalem*, he then meant to have united that great Army before *Jerusalem*, commanded by *Rabshekeh*, with the other which lay before *Pelusium*, a great City upon the branch of *Nilus* next *Arabia*. For *Senacherib* had already mastered the most part of all those Cities in *Judæa* and *Benjamin*, with a third Army (which himself commanded) being then at the siege of *Lebna*. But upon the rumor of that *Arabian* Army led by the King *Thirrhakeh* (whom *Josephus* calls *Tharsices*) *Rabshakeh* hasted from the siege of *Hieruiasem*, and found *Senacherib* departed from *Lachis*, and set down before *Lebna*, which was afterwards called *Eleuthoropolis*, as some have supposed. But while he had ill success at *Pelusium*, and feared *Thirrhakeh*, God himself, whom he least feared, strook his Army before *Hierusalem* by the Angel of his power, so as 158000. were found dead in the place, as in the life of *Ezechias* is hereafter more largely written. And that this Army of *Thirrhakeh* was from *Arabia*, *Josephus* himself makes it plain. For he confesseth in the tenth Book, the first Chapter of the *Jews* Antiquities, that it was come to *Senacherib*'s knowledge, that the Army which was a foot (both to relieve the *Egyptians* and the *Jews*) marched towards him by the way of the *Desart*: Now, the *Desart* which lay indifferent between *Hierusalem* and *Pelusium*, was that of *Pharan* or *Sur*, which also toucheth on the three *Arabia*'s, to wit, the *Stony*, of which it is a part; the *Desart*, and the *Happy*; and by no otherway indeed could the *Arabians* come on to succour either *Pelusium* or *Hierusalem*. But that there is any *Desart* between *Pelusium* and the South part of *Egypt*, hath never yet been heard of, or described by any *Cosmographer* or *Historian*. So then this description of the second of *Kings*, Vers. 9. hath the same mistaking as the rest. For here the word (*Chush*) is also translated *Æthiopia*; and in this sence have all the Interpreters (but *Junius*) expressed the beginning of the ninth Verse: *He heard also men say of* Thirrhakeh *King of* Æthiopia, *&c.* Whereas it should have been thus converted with *Junius*: *Audiens autem de* Thirrhakeh *Rege Cushi*; *He heard also of* Thirrhakeh *King of the* Cushites. For they were the *Chushites* and *Arabians*, whose Houses and Cities were next the fire, and upon whom the very smoak of *Juda* flaming was blown, being their neerest Neighbours: and so were not the *Æthiopian Black-Moors* under the *Equinoctial*, whom neither War nor Peace (which discovereth

Joseph. l. 10. c. 1.

2 Kings 19.

Antiq. 10.

Antiq. l. 10.

Lib. 10. c. 1.

Plin. l. 4. c. 21.

covereth all Regions) ever found out, saith *Pliny*. For this King was no more King of *Æthiopia* than *Zerah* was, who invaded *Asia* King of *Juda*, with an Army of a Million, and three thousand Chariots. Indeed, how such an Army, and those Chariots should pass through all *Egypt* (the Kings of *Egypt* being mighty Kings) let all men that know how these Regions are seated, and how far distant, judge. For Princes do not easily permit Armies of a Million to run through them; neither was there ever such strength of *Black-moors* heard of in that part of the World, or elsewhere. Neither are these *Æthiopians* such Travellers or Conquerours; and yet is this King *Zerah* also called King of *Æthiopia*. But the word *Chush* being first so converted for *Æthiopia*, the rest of the Interpreters (not looking into the seats of Kingdoms, or the possibilities of attempts, or invasions) followed one another in the former mistakings.

2. *Chron. cap.* 14.

§. VII.

A farther Exposition of the place, Esai. 18. 1.

COncerning these words in that eighteenth Chapter of *Esay*, *Navium alarum*, *Winged Ships* (so the *Septuagint* turn it) or *Cymbalo alarum* (according to the *Latine*) *sails whistling in the winds*, or *terræ umbrosæ oræ* (after *Junius*) *the Land of a shadowed coast*, or *the Land shadowing with wings*, as our *English Geneva* hath it. The two first interpretations of the *Septuagint* and St. *Hierom*, have one sence in effect. For the sails are commonly called the wings of a Ship; and we use to say ordinarily when our Ships sails slowly, that she wanteth wings (that is) when her sails are either worn, or too narrow: and we also use the same phrase of the wind whistling in the sails. And it may be that the *Egyptians* imployed so many of those small ships, as their sails were said to give a shadow over the Red-Sea. But to make both interpretations good, *Pintus* (upon *Isaiah*) affirmeth, that the word (*Sabal*) doth signifie both to shadow, and to gingle (which is) to make a kind of Cymbaline sound: so as the meaning of this place (saith *Pintus*) is this: *Wo to thee, O* Egypt, *which dost promise to others safeguard, under the shadow of thy wings*; which (indeed) seemeth to agree with the argument of the 18th. Chapter of *Isaiah*: and this phrase is often elsewhere used, as in the 16. *Psalm*: *Sab umbra alarum tuarum protege me*; *Defend me under the shadow of thy wings*. The Boats of Reed spoken of are of two kinds: either of basket-Willow covered with hides (as antiently in *Brittain*) or a Tree made hollow in the bottome, and built up on both sides with Canes. Of the one sort I have seen in *Ireland*, of the other in the *Indies*.

SECT. XI.

Of the Plantation and Antiquities of Egypt.

§. I.

That Mizraim *the chief Planter of* Egypt: *and the rest of the Sons of* Ham, *were seated in order one by another.*

THE second son of *Ham*, was *Mizraim*; who (according to the place of a second brother) was sent somewhat farther off to inhabit. For *Chush* first possest *Chaldæa* on the West side of *Gehon* chiefly: and from thence, as he increased in people, so he entred *Arabia*, and by time came to the border of the Red-Sea, and to the South-east side of *Judæa*. *Mizraim* his brother (with *Phut*) past over into *Africa*. *Mizraim* held *Egypt*; and *Phut* (as a third brother) was thrust farther off into *Mauritania*. *Canaan* took the Sea-coast, and held the side of *Palestina*: and these four brothers possest all that Tract of Land, from *Gehon* in *Chaldæa*, as far to the West as the *Mediterrane* Sea: comprehending all *Arabia Deserta*, and *Petræa*, all *Canaan* which embraceth *Galilæ*, *Samaria*, and *Judæa*; with the two *Egypts*, whereof the neather is bounded by *Memphis* on the South, and by the *Mediterrane* Sea on the North: and *Thebaida* (called the upper *Egypt*) stretcheth it self toward the South as far as *Syene*, the border of the *Æthiopians*, or *Black-Moors*. All the rest of the coast of *Africa* Westward, *Phut* peopled; which brothers had not any other Nation or Family that dwelt between them. And in the same manner did all their Sons again, and all the Sons of the rest of *Noah*'s children sort themselves.

§. II.

Of the time about which the name of Egypt *began to be known: and of the* Egyptians *Lunary years, which made their Antiquities seem more fabulous.*

THis flourishing Kingdom possest by *Mizraim*, changed her antient name, and became *Egypt*, at such time as *Ægyptus* (otherwise *Ramesses*, as some think) the son of *Belus*, thence his elder brother *Davanus*, shifting him into that part of *Greece*, now called *Morea*, by whom the *Argives* were made *Danai*, abondoning their proper names: which happened 877. years after the Floud, in the time of *Josua*, as Saint *Augustine* conjectureth out of *Eusebius*. But in *Homers Odysses* it appeareth that the *Egyptians* were so called at the time of the *Trojane* Warr. And before this, *Egypt* was known by divers other names, as *Oceana*, *Aria*, *Osiriana*, &c. And *Manethon* (whom *Josephus* citeth in his first Book against *Appion*) numbreth all the Kings of *Egypt* after *Moses* departure, who consumed 393. years. By which other men conjecture, that the *Egyptians* took on them that name, 330. years after *Josua*, and about 1000. years after the Floud. But where *Josephus* in the same Book taketh *Israel* to be those *Hycsos*, which he also calleth *Pastores*, or Shepherds, which are said to have reigned in *Egypt* 511. years: whom also he calleth his Ancestors (meaning the Ancestors of the *Jews*) in this I am sure he was grosly deceived, or that he vainly boasted: for the *Israelites* had no such Dominion as *Manethon* faineth, nor abode in *Egypt* so long a time by many years.

Of the *Egyptian* Antiquities there are many fancies in *Trogus*, *Herodotus*, *Plato*, *Diod. Siculus*, *Mela*, and others. For they affirm (saith *Pomp. Mela*) that there had reigned in *Egypt* 330. Kings before *Amasis*, who was contemporary with *Cyrus*; and that they had Memory and Story of 13000. years; and that the Stars had four times changed their course, and the Sun twice set in the East. These Riddles are also rise among the *Athenians* and *Arcadians*,

cadians, who dare affirm, that they are more ancient than *Jupiter* and the *Moon*; whereof *Ovid*:

Ante Jovem *genitum terras habuisse feruntur*
Arcades: & Luna *gens prior illa fuit.*

The *Arcadians* the Earth inhabited
Ere yet the *Moon* did shine, or *Jove* was bred.

But for those 13000. years, it may well be true; seeing it is certain that the *Egyptians* reckon their years by moneths, which makes after that account not above 1000. or 1100 years, whether we take their Moneths or Lunary years to have been of the first kind of 27. days and eight hours; or otherwise 29. days and twelve hours; or after any other of those five diversities of their Lunary years.

§. III.

Of certain vain assertions of the Antiquity of the Egyptians.

GErardus *Mercator*, in his *Chronologie*, reasoneth for the *Egyptians* Antiquity in this manner: That the sixteenth *Dynasty* (where *Eusebius* begins to reckon the *Egyptians* times) had beginning with the general Floud: and that therefore the first of the other fifteen reached the Creation, or soon after it. To which conjecture of *Mercator*, *Pererius* maketh this answer; That therein *Mercator* was first deceived, because he taketh it for granted, that the beginning of the sixteenth *Dynasty* was at once with the general Floud: which *Eusebius* maketh 292. years after, and in the time of *Abraham*. Secondly, *Mercator* maketh the beginning of the shepherds *Dynastia* (being in number 17.) in the time of their first King, *Salitis*, to have been in the year of the World 1846. which *Eusebius* findeth in the Worlds Age 2140. For the 16, *Dynastia* was begun but in the 292. year after the Floud, as they account, and continued 190. years. Thirdly, whereas *Mercator* maketh every *Dynastia* to endure 115. years, *Eusebius* reckoneth many of them at less than 100. years: for the 28. had but six years, the 29. but 20. and the 30. but 18. years.

Now, *Annius* in his Supplement of *Manethon* affirmeth, That all these 15. *Dynasties* lasted but 162. years: and that the first of the 15. began but in the 131. year after the Floud: so as where *Mercator* maketh all the 15. to precede the Floud, and the 16. to have been then in being at the time of the Floud, *Annius* makes them all after it. But the contrariety of Falshood cannot be hidden, though disguised. For *Annius* had forgotten his former Opinion and Assertion, that it was in the 131. year that *Nimrod*, with the Sons of *Noah*, came into the Valley of *Shinaar*: so he forgets the time which was consumed in the building of *Babel*: and that before the confusion of Speech there was no dispersion, nor far-off plantation at all. And though he hastily conveyed *Gomer* into *Italy*, and *Tubal* into *Spain*, in the tenth year of *Nimrods* reign (which was ten years after his arrival into *Babylonia*) yet herein he is more unadvised. For he makes *Egypt* possest, and a Government established in the very first year of the arrival of *Nimrod* into *Shinaar*, before all partition, or any Expedition farr off, or near, in question: for, *from thence* (that is, from *Babel*) *did the Lord scatter them upon all the earth.*

§. IV.

Against Pererius: *that it is not unlikely, but that* Egypt *was peopled within* 200. *years after the Creation, at least, that both it, and the most parts of the World were peopled before the Floud.*

BUT whereas *Pererius* seeketh to overthrow this Antiquity of the *Egyptians* touching their *Dynasties* (which *Eusebius* doth not altogether destroy, but lessen) I do not find any great strength in this Opinion of *Pererius* (to wit) that it was either unlikely or impossible that *Egypt* should be peopled with 100. or 200. years after *Adam*, in the first Age. And whereas he supposeth that it was not inhabited at all before the general Floud, I do verily believe the contrary: and that not only of *Egypt*, but the better part of all the World was then peopled: *Pererius* his words are these: *Quomodo enim primos mundi ducentos, vel etiam centum annos* Adami *proles adeò multiplicari potuit, ut ad* Ægyptum *usque habitandum & complendum propagata sit*, &c. *For how could the children of Adam be so multiplied in the first two hundred, or in the first hundred years of the World, and so propagated as to inhabit and fill* Egypt? for allowing this (saith *Pereius*) we must also confess, that there were then both the *Assyrians* and other Nations.

Now, seeing that the Scriptures are silent herein, and that it is no point of our saving-belief, it is lawfull for every man to be guided in this and the like questions by the best reason, circumstance, and likelihood; and herein, as in the rest, I protest that I do not gainsay any mans opinion out of any crossing or cavelling humors: for I think it the part of every *Christian*, rather to reconcile differences, where there is possibility of union, than out of froward subtilty, and prejudicate resolvedness, to maintain factions needless, and dangerous contentions.

First therefore, for this Opinion, that *Egypt* was not planted so soon after *Adam*, no, not at all before the Floud, I say, that there is no reason why we should give a less increase to the Sons of *Adam*, than to the Sons of *Noah*. For their length of life, which exceeded those which came after the Floud double, and (after a few years) treble, is an infallible proof of their strength and ability, to beget many Children: and at that time, they observed no degrees of kindred, nor consanguinity. And that there was a speedy increase of people, and in great numbers, it may in some sort appear by this, that *Cain*, who being fearfull that the death of *Abel* would have been revenged on him) withdrew himself from the rest, which were afterward begotten, and dwelt in the land of *Nod*, and there, by the help of his own issues, built a City (called *Enoch*) after the name of his first-born. Now, if it be gathered that *Nimrod* came into the Valley of *Shinaar* with so many multitudes as sufficed to build the City and Tower of *Babel*: and that to this increase there was given but 130. years by *Berosus*, and after the account of the Scriptures (reckoning, as it is commonly understood, by the birth of *Arphaxad*, *Selah*, *Heber*, and *Phalegh*) but one hundred and one year: I see no cause to doubt, but that in the Infancie of the first Age, when the bodies of men were most perfect, even within 130. years the same (if not a greater) number might be increased

increaſed; and ſo within 70. years after (that is, by ſuch time as the World had ſtood 200. years) *Aſſyria*, *Syria*, and *Egypt* might be poſſeſt before the Floud, as they were within the ſame or leſs time after it. Neither doth it agree with the circumſtance or true Story of the *Babylonian* and *Aſſyrian* Empire, that all thoſe people, which were increaſed in the firſt 100. or 130. years after the Floud, came into *Shinaar* and *Babylonia*. For, that ever *Noah* himſelf came out of the Eaſt, as there is no Scripture or Authority to prove it, ſo all probable conjecture and reaſon it ſelf denies it. Again, thoſe multitudes and powerfull numbers which *Semiramis* (but the third from *Nimrod*) found in *India*, conſidered with her own Army of three millions (and the reſt not all her Kingdoms empty) do well prove, that if the World had ſuch plenty of people in ſo few years after the Floud, it might alſo be as plentifully filled in like time before it: For after their own account, *Ninus* governed *Babylonia* and *Aſſyria* but 292. years after the Floud of *Noah*. And theſe Troops of *Semiramis* were gathered out of all thoſe Eaſtern Kingdoms, from *Media* to the *Mediterrane* Sea; when there had now paſt from the Floud to the time of this her invaſion ſomewhat leſs or more than 300. years: for much more time the true *Chronologie* cannot allow; though I confeſs, that in reſpect of the ſtrange greatneſs of *Semiramis* Army, and the incredible multitudes gathered, this is as ſhort a time as can well be given. And if but one half be true of that which is ſaid, That her Army conſiſted of 1300000. Foot-men, and 500000. Horſe-men, it muſt needs be, that long before *Semiramis* Reign, the greateſt part of *Aſia* (whence her huge Army was gathered) was full of people: yea *Arabia* it ſelf (much part whereof is barren) muſt long before this time of *Semiramis*, have been plentifully peopled; when *Ninus* having a determination to make himſelf Maſter of all Nations, entred (notwithſtanding) in league with the King thereof: whom therefore he either feared, or ſought his aſſiſtance. And if *Arabia* were then ſo well repleniſhed, I ſee no cauſe but *Egypt* might alſo be peopled. Now, if we may believe *Trogus Pompeius* (Epitomiz'd by *Juſtine*) *Egypt* was a moſt flouriſhing and magnificent Nation before *Ninus* was born. For theſe be his own words, ſpeaking of *Ninus*: *Fuere quidem temporibus antiquioribus* Vexoris *Rex* Ægypti, *&c. But there were in times more ancient* Vexoris *King of* Egypt, *and* Tanais *King of the* Scythians: of which the one invaded *Pontus*, the other *Egypt*. And how full of people all that part of the World was, the Conqueſts of *Ninus* witneſs, who ſubdued with no ſmall force the *Armenians*, the *Medes*, and afterward the *Bactrians*; yea all that whole Body of *Aſia* on this ſide *India*. For *Diodorus* out of *Cteſias* numbreth the Armies wherewith *Ninus* invaded *Zoroaſter*, at 1700000 Foot-men, and 200000 Horſmen: and the Stories generally ſhew, that though *Zoroaſter*'s Army was far ſhort of this, yet it was greater than any that thoſe parts of the World ever ſince beheld. But to what end ſhould I ſeek for forreign Authority? for no man doubteth, but that *Egypt* was poſſeſt by *Mizraim*, the Son of *Ham*; and that it was an eſtabliſhed Kingdom, filled with many Cities in *Abrahams*'s time, the Scriptures tells us. And ſure, to prepare and cultive a deſolate and over-grown ground, to beautifie it with many Cities, Laws and Policies, cannot be eſteemed a labour of a few days: and therefore it muſt be inhabited in a leſs time than 200 years after the Floud; and in the ſame time (if not in a ſhorter) before the Flood. For if ſo many millions of men were found within 300 years after the general Flood; ſo as not only *Babylon* and *Aſſyria*, *Bactria*, *Armenia*, *Media*, *Arabia*, *Egypt*, *Paleſtina*, yea, the far-off *Lybia* on the one ſide, and *India* on the other, and *Scythia* (inferiour to neither) were all filled: into what corners could then all thoſe Nations be compreſt, which 1656 years brought forth before the Flood? even neceſſity, which cannot be reſiſted, caſt the abundance of mens bodies into all parts of the known World; eſpecially, where death forbare the Father, and made no place for the Son, till he had beheld living Nations of his own body.

§. V.

Of ſome other Reaſons againſt the Opinion of Peterius.

FOr what a ſtrange increaſe did the long lives of the firſt Age make, when they continued 800 or 900 years? Surely we have reaſon to doubt, that the World could not contain them, rather than they were not ſpred over the World. For let us now reckon the date of our lives in the Age of the World; wherein if one exceed fifty years, ten for one are cut off in that paſſage, and yet we find no want of people; nay, we know the multitude ſuch, as if by Wars, or Peſtilence they were not ſometimes taken off by many thouſands, the Earth, with all the induſtry of man, could not give them food. What ſtrange heaps then of Souls had the firſt Ages, who enjoyed 800 or 900 years as aforeſaid? Theſe numbers, I ſay, cannot be counted nor conceived. For it would come to the ſame reckoning in effect, as if all thoſe which have been born in *Britain* ſince three or four hundred years before the *Norman Conqueſt* (ſaving ſuch as by accident, or by violence were cut off) were now alive; and if to theſe there were added as many as by *Polygamy* might have been increaſed. For (to omit, that the Giants and Mighty Ones of the firſt Age obſerved no Law of Matrimony) it is to be thought that thoſe Lovers of the World and Pleaſure, when they knew the long and liberal Time which Nature had given them, would not willingly or haſtily preſent themſelves to any danger, which they could fly from, or eſchew. For what humane Argument hath better perſwaſion to make men careleſs of life, and fearleſs of death, than the little time which keeps them aſunder, and that ſhort time alſo accompanied with ſo many pains and diſeaſes, which this envious old Age of the World mingleth together, and ſoweth with the ſeeds of Mankind?

Now, if that *Beroſus* or *Annius* may be alledged for ſufficient Authors, whom *Pererius* himſelf in this Queſtion citeth, then is it by them affirmed, and by *Joſephus* confirmed, that the City of *Enoch* was ſeated near *Libanus* in *Syria*: and if other parts of *Syria* were peopled in *Cain*'s time, I ſee no cauſe why *Paleſtina* (which is alſo a Province of *Syria*) and *Egypt* (which neighboureth it) could be left deſolate both all the life-time of *Cain*, and all thoſe times between his death and the Flood, which were by eſtimation ſeven or eight hundred years. And ſure, though this fragment of *Beroſus* with *Annius* his Comment be very ridiculous in many places (the ancient Copies being corrupted or loſt) yet all things in *Beroſus* are not to be rejected. Therefore St. *Hierome*, for ſuch Au-

Authors gives a good Rule: *Bona eorum eligamus, vitemus contraria*; *Let us chuse what is good in them, and reject the rest.* And certainly, in the very beginning of the first Book, *Berosus* agreeth (in effect) with *Moses*, touching the General Flood: and in that first Part *Berosus* affirmeth, that those Mighty Men and Giants which inhabited *Enoch*, Commanded over all Nations, and subjected the universal World: and though that Phrase (*Of all the World*) be often used in the Scriptures for a part thereof; as in the second of the *Acts*, *That there dwelling at* Hierusalem Jews, *men that feared God of every Nation under Heaven*: yet by the words which follow in *Berosus*, it is plain, that his words and sence were the same: for he addeth, *From the Suns rising to the Suns setting*; which cannot be taken for any small part thereof. Again, we may safely conjecture, that *Noah* did not part and proportion the World among his Sons at adventure, or left them as Discoverers, but directed them to those Regions which he formerly knew had been inhabited. And it cannot be denied that the Earth was more passable and easie to travel over before the Flood than after it. For *Pererius* himself confesseth, that *Attica* (by reason of mud and slime which the water left upon the Earth) was uninhabited 200 years after *Ogyges* Flood; whereby we may gather, that there was no great pleasure in passing into far Countries after the General Deluge, when the Earth lay (as it were) incopsed for an hundred or an hundred and thirty years together. And therefore was the face thereof in all conjecture more beautiful, and less cumbersome to walk over, in the first Age, than after the General Overflowing.

VI.

Of the words of Moses, Gen. 10. Vers. *ult. whereupon* Pererius *grounded his opinion.*

LAstly, whereas *Pererius* draws this Argument out of the last Verse of the Tenth of *Genesis*; *And out of these were the Nations divided after the Flood: Quo significatur talem divisionem non fuisse ante diluvium*; *By which it appeareth* (saith *Pererius*) *that there was no such division before the Flood*; which he also seeketh to confirm out of the eleventh of *Genesis*, because the division of Tongues was the cause of the disperlion of the people. This consequence, *quo significatur*, &c. seemeth to me very weak: The Text it self rather teacheth the contrary: *For out of these* (saith *Moses*) *were the Nations divided in the Earth after the Flood*: inferring, that before the Nations were divided out of others, though after the Flood out of these only. But whatsoever sence may be gathered from this place, yet it can no way be drawn to the times before the Flood, or to any plantation or division in that Age: for if there were none else among whom the Earth could be divided after the Flood, but *Noahs* Sons, wherein doth that necessary division controul the planting of the World before it? And whereas it is alledged that the confusion of speech was the cause of this dispersion; it is true, that it was so for that present; but if *Babel* had never been built, nor any confusion of Languages at all, yet increase of people and time would have enforced a farther off and general plantation: as *Berosus* says well, that when man-kind were exceedingly multiplied, *Ad comparandas novas sedes necessitas compellebat*, *They were driven by necessity to seek new Habitations.* For we find (as it is before said) that within 300. years after the Floud, there were gathered together into two Armies such multitudes, as the Valley about *Babylon* could not have sustained those numbers, with their increase for any long time; all *Asia*, the Greater and the Lesser; all *Scythia*, *Arabia*, *Palæstina*, and *Egypt*, with *Greece*, and the Islands thereof; *Mauritania*, and *Lybia*, being also that time fully peopled. And if we believe *Berosus*, then not onely those parts of the World but (within 140. years after the Floud) *Spain*, *Italy*, and *France* were also planted: much more then may we think, that within 1656. years before the Floud, in the time of the chief strength of mankind, they were repleniſhed with people. And certainly, seeing all the World was overflown, there were people in all the World which offended.

Lib. 3.

||. VII.

A Conclusion, resolving of that which is most likely, touching the Egyptian *Antiquities: with somewhat of* Phut *(another Son of* Ham*) which peopled* Lybia.

THerefore, for the Antiquity of the *Egyptians*, as I do not agree with *Mercator*, nor judge with the *Vulgar*, which give too much credit to the *Egyptians* Antiquities: so I do not think the report of their Antiquites so fabulous, as either *Pererius* or other men conceive it. But I rather incline to this, that *Egypt* being peopled before the Floud, and 200. or 300. years more or less after *Adam*, there might remain unto the Sons of *Mizraim* some Monuments in Pillars or Altars (of Stone or Metal) of their former Kings or Governours: which the *Egyptians* having added to the List and Roll of their Kings after the Floud, in succeeding time (out of the vanity of glory, or by some corruption in their Priests) something beyond the truth might be inserted. And that the memory of antiquity was in such sort preserved, *Berosus* affirmeth it of the *Chaldæans*, and so doth *Epigenes*. For they both write, that the use of Letters, and the Art of Astronomy was known to the *Babylonians* 3634. years before *Alexanders* Conquest: and this report *Annius* findeth to agree, and reach to the time of *Enoch*, who was born 1034. years before the Floud, and wrote of the Worlds destruction, both by Water and Fire; as also of *Christ* his coming in judgment, as Saint *Jude* hath witnessed. But leaving these Antiquities to other mens judgments, and every man to his own reason, I will conclude this Plantation of *Egypt*: It is agreed by all, that it was peopled by *Mizraim*, and that it took the name of *Egypt* from *Egyptus*, the Son of *Belus*, as aforesaid, being divided into two Regions, that part from *Memphis*, or *Nicopolis*, to the *Mediterrane* Sea, was called the inferiour *Egypt*; surnamed also *Delta*: because the several branches of *Nilus* breaking asunder from one body of the River, gave it the form of the *Greek* Letter *Delta*, which is the form of a Triangle. That branch, which ran toward the North-east, and embraced the Sea, next unto the Desarts of *Sur* and *Pharan*, had on it the City of *Pelusium*, where *Senacherib* was repulsed. The other branch, which yielded it self to the Salt-water towards the North-east, is beautified by that famous City of *Alexandria*: The upper part of *Egypt* is bounded between *Memphis* and *Syene* near *Æthiopia*, and had the

the name of *Thebaida*, of the ancient City of *Thebes*; which (according to *Homer*) was adorned with 100. Gates: and therefore called *Civitas centum portarum*; and by the *Greeks*, *Diospolis*; in the Scriptures *No-hamon*, which signifieth multitudes of Inhabitants, exceeding belief. *Josephus* calls *Egypt*, *Mersin* of *Mizraim*: and *Herodotus* affirms that it had once the name of *Thebais*.

Joſ. l. 1. Ant. l. 1. Hero. Euterpe.

Phut, the third Son of *Ham*, took the next portion of Land to his Brother *Mizraim*, and inhabited *Lybia*: whose people were anciently called *Phutei* (saith *Josephus*) and *Pliny* mentioneth the River *Phut* in *Mauritania*: which River from the Mountain *Atlas* (known to the Inhabitants by the name of *Dyris*) he maketh to be distant the space of two hundred miles. It also appeareth in the thirtieth Chapter of *Ezechiel*, that *Phut*, *Chush*, and *Lud* were *conterminii*, and associates with the *Egyptians*.

L. 5. c. 1.

SECT. XII.

Of the eleven Sons of Canaan, *the fourth Son of* Ham.

¶. I.

Of the bounds of the Land of Canaan: *with the names of his eleven Sons.*

Canaan (the fourth Son of *Ham*) possest all that Region, called by the *Romans Palæstina*; in the Scriptures *Galilæa*, *Samaria*, and *Judæa*; in the latter times known by the name of the *Holy-Land* and *Jurie*: the limits whereof are precisely set down by *Moses*, *Genesis* the tenth, *Then the border of the* Canaanites *was from* Zidon *as thou goest to* Gerar *until* Azzah, *and as thou goest unto* Sodom *and* Gomorrah, *and* Adma, *and* Zeboim, *even unto* Lasha. Now, howsoever these words of the *Hebrew* Text (*as thou goest*) be converted, *Moses* meaning was, that *Gerar* was the South bound of *Canaan*, and *Zidon* the North; *Sodom* and *Gomorrah* the East, and the other Cities named, stood on the Frontiers thereof. For *Gerar* standeth in a right line from *Gaza* in the way of *Egypt*, the uttermost Territory of *Canaan* South-ward: and this was properly the Land of *Canaan*.

Now, the Sons of *Canaan* which possest this Countrey, and inhabited some part of the borders thereof, were in number eleven.

1. *Zidon*.
2. *Heth*, or *Chethæus*.
3. *Jebusi*, or *Jebusæus*.
4. *Emori*, or *Emoreus*, or *Amoreus*.
5. *Girgeshi*, or *Girgiseus*.
6. *Hevi*, or *Chiveus*.
7. *Arki*, or *Harkeus*.
8. *Seni*, or *Sinæus*.
9. *Arvadi*, or *Arvadæus*.
10. *Zemari*, or *Samareus*, or *Tzemareus*.
11. *Hamathi*, or *Hamathæus*, or *Chamathæus*.

Of which the most renowned were the *Hethites*, *Gergesites*, *Amorites*, *Hevites*, *Jebusites*, and *Perizzites*: which *Perizzites* were descended of *Zemari*, or *Samarius*, or from some of his.

¶. II.

Of the Portions of Zidon *and* Heth.

Zidon the first-born of *Canaan*, built the famous City of *Zidon* in *Phœnicia*, which afterward fell in partition to the Tribe of *Asser*: for *Asser*, *Zabulon*, and *Nepthali* had a great part of the ancient *Phœnicia* distributed among them; but the *Asserites* could never obtain *Zidon* it self.

The second Son of *Canaan* was *Heth*, or *Cethus*: of whom came the *Hethites*, or *Hittites*, one of those seven principal Nations (Commanders of *Canaan*) appointed by God to be rooted out; namely, the *Gergesites*, the *Amorites*, the *Canaanites*, the *Perizzites*, the *Hevites*, and the *Jebusites*. The *Hittites* inhabited about *Bersabe*, and towards *Hebron*, near the Torrent *Besor*, and about *Gerar*, which *Moses* maketh the uttermost limit of *Canaan*, having the Desart of *Pharan* to the South: for about *Bersabe* (otherwise *Puteus juramenti*) four miles from *Gaza*, dwelt *Heth* and his Posterity, as far to the North-east as *Hebron*, and *Mamre*; and of *Ephraim* the *Hittite*, did *Abraham* buy the field of *Sarahs* burial. Of which Nation *Rebecca* bewailed her self to *Isaac*, saying; *That she was weary of her life for the Daughters of* Heth. The Giants *Anakim* were of these *Hittites*, a strong and fierce Nation, whose entertainment by the Kings of *Israel* against them the *Syrians* greatly feared: as in the seventh of the *Kings*; *Israel hath hired against us the Kings of the* Hittites.

Gen. 10. 19.

Gen. 23.

Gen. 27. 46.

King. 7. 6.

¶. III.

Of the Jebusites *and* Amorites.

Jebusæus, the third Son of *Canaan*, of whom came the *Jebusites*, and whose principal seat was *Jebus* (afterward *Hierusalem*) were also a valiant and stubborn Nation, and held their City and the Countrey near it, till such time as *David* by Gods assistance recovered both: yet were not the *Jebusites* extinguished, but were Tributaries to *Solomon*.

Amoreus was the fourth Son of *Canaan*, of whom the *Amorites* took name, who inhabited that Land to the East of *Jordan* below the Sea of *Galilee*, having *Arnon* and the Mountains of *Galaad* on the East, and *Jordan* on the West: of whom *Og* (King of *Basan*) and *Sihon* (overthrown by *Moses*) were Princes.

The *Amorites* had also many other habitations dispersed within the bounds of *Canaan*: as behind *Libanus*, in the edge of *Cœlosyria*, or *Syria Libanica*. They had also their being in the Mountains of *Juda*, and in *Idumea*, near the *Metropolis* thereof, called *Duma*. And hereof it came that all the *Canaanites* were sometimes called *Amorites*: as in *Genesis* the fifteenth: *For the wickedness of the* Amorites *is not yet full*. And that this was also a powerfull Nation, we find in the Prophet *Amos*: *Yet destroyed I the* Amorite, *before them, whose height was like the height of a Cedar, and he was strong as the Oak.*

Deut. 1. Numb. 13.

Amos 2.

¶. IV.

‖. IV.

Of the Gergeſites, Hevites *and* Harkites.

THe fifth Son of *Canaan* was *Gergeſius*, or *Gergeſion* (otherwiſe *Girgaſi*) who inhabited on the Eaſt-ſide of the Lake of *Tiberias*, or the Sea of *Galilee*, where *Ptolemy* ſets the City *Geraſa*, which *Joſephus* calls *Geſera*, in the Territory of *Decapolis*. Here it was that Chriſt diſpoſſeſſed the poſſeſſed with devils; and the *Gergeſites* deſired him to depart their Coaſts, becauſe their Swine, filled with the evil Spirits, drowned themſelves in the Sea of *Galilee*: *Gergeſeus* alſo built *Beritus* (ſometime *Geris*) afterward *Fœlix Julia*, three miles from the River *Adonis* in *Phœnicia*: in which the *Romans* held a Garriſon: and to which *Auguſtus* gave many large priviledges.

Heveus the ſixth Son, and Father of the *Hevites*, inhabited under *Libanus* near *Emath*. Theſe *Hevites*, howſoever the *Caphthorim* expelled a good part of them (as in *Deuteronomie* the ſecond is remembred) yet many of them remained all the Warr of *Joſua*, and afterward to the time of *Solomon*. For God was not pleaſed utterly to root out theſe Nations, but they were ſometimes made Tributaries to the *Iſraelites*, and at other times ſerved (in their falling away from the true worſhip of God) to afflict them: for as it is written, *Judges* the third: *They remained to prove* Iſrael *by them, whether they would obey the Commandments of God.*

The ſeventh Son was *Araceus*, or *Harki*, who between the foot of *Libanus* and the *Mediterrane* Sea (over againſt *Tripolis*) built the City of *Archas*, *Arce*, or *Arca*, afterwards *Arachis*.

‖. V.

Of Sini *and* Arvadi.

Sineus the eighth Son, *Hieroſolymitanus* ſets at *Caparorſa*, which *Ptolemy* finds in *Judæa*, not farr from *Jebus*; to the South thereof, ſaith *Junius*. But it is more probable, that *Sineus* founded *Sin*, which Saint *Hierome* calls *Sim*: *Ptolemy*, *Simyra*: *Mela*, and *Pliny*, *Symirus*: *Brochard*, *Sycon* (called *Synochis*) near *Arca*. *Pererius* thinks that *Sineus* inhabited the Deſarts of *Sinai*, or thereabout; but hereof there is no other certainty than the report of *Brochard*, who took view of all theſe places, affirming, that *Sineus* built *Sinochis*, as *Zidon* built *Zidon*. There is alſo another Nation of *Cini*, written with the letter *C*. (otherwiſe *Kenæi*) who deſcended of *Hobab* the Son of *Raguel* the *Madianite*, who aſſiſted the *Iſraelites* in their conduction through the wilderneſs of *Pharan*. But the *Cinæi* were admitted among the *Iſraelites*, and had a portion of Land with the *Nephtalims*, beſide their habitations with the *Amalekites*: againſt theſe *Cinai*, *Balaam* propheſied, that they ſhould be deſtroyed by the *Aſſyrians*.

Jud. 4. *Jeſ.* 19.33.

Gul. Tyr. Vit.

The ninth Son was *Aradeus*, or *Arvadeus*, who in the Iſle of *Aradus*, built the City *Arados*: oppoſite againſt which Iſland, on the Main of *Phœnicia*, they founded another City of that name, which for oppoſition was afterwards called *Antaradus*. To this City came Saint *Peter* (ſaith *Clement*) and in this Iſle preached the Goſpel, and founded a Church in honour of our Lady: but we find no ſuch work of his in the *Acts* of the Apoſtles. Both theſe two were very famous, and places of skilfull Sea-men: whom *Ezechiel* remembreth in his Prophecies againſt the *Tyrians*: *The inhabitants of Zidon and Arvad were thy Mariners.* *Cap.* 27. *v.* 8.

‖. VI

Of Zemari.

OF *Samareus*, or *Zemari*, the tenth Son, there are divers Opinions. Some think that he inhabited in *Cœloſyria* at *Edeſſa*, and founded *Samaraim*, which in *Joſua* is placed in the Tribe of *Benjamin*. There is alſo *Samarajim* (of the ſame Orthography) upon the Mountain of *Ephraim* (ſaith *Beroaldus*) mentioned in the ſecond of *Chron.* c. 13. v. 4. which the *Latine* converteth amiſs (ſaith he) by *Semeron*. The *Hieroſolymitan Paraphraſt* makes *Samareus* (of whom were the *Perizzites*) the Parent of the *Emiſſani*, which *Pliny* calls the *Hemiſſeni*, in *Cœloſyria*; and it may be that it was their firſt habitation, and that they afterwards inhabited thoſe other places before remembred. But that they founded *Samaria*, both the *Hebrew* Orthography, and this place in the firſt of *Kings* (ſpeaking of *Omri*) diſproveth; *And he bought the Mountain* Samaria, *or* Shemeron *of one* Shemar, *for two Talents of Silver, and built in the Mountain; and called the name of the City which he built, after the name of* Shemar, *Lord of the Mountain*, Samaria. But of all theſe places Iſhall ſpeak more at large in the Conqueſt of the *Holy Land*, by the children of *Iſrael*. Of whomſoever the *Samaritans* were deſcended, ſure I am, that they were ever a perfidious Nation, and baſe: for as long as the ſtate of the *Jews* ſtood up, they always called themſelves *Jews*: when it ſuffered, or ſank, they then utterly denied to be of that Nation or Family; for at ſuch time as they were returned from their firſt captivity, they became a mixt Nation; partly of the Colonies of the *Aſſyrians*, and partly of the Naturals.

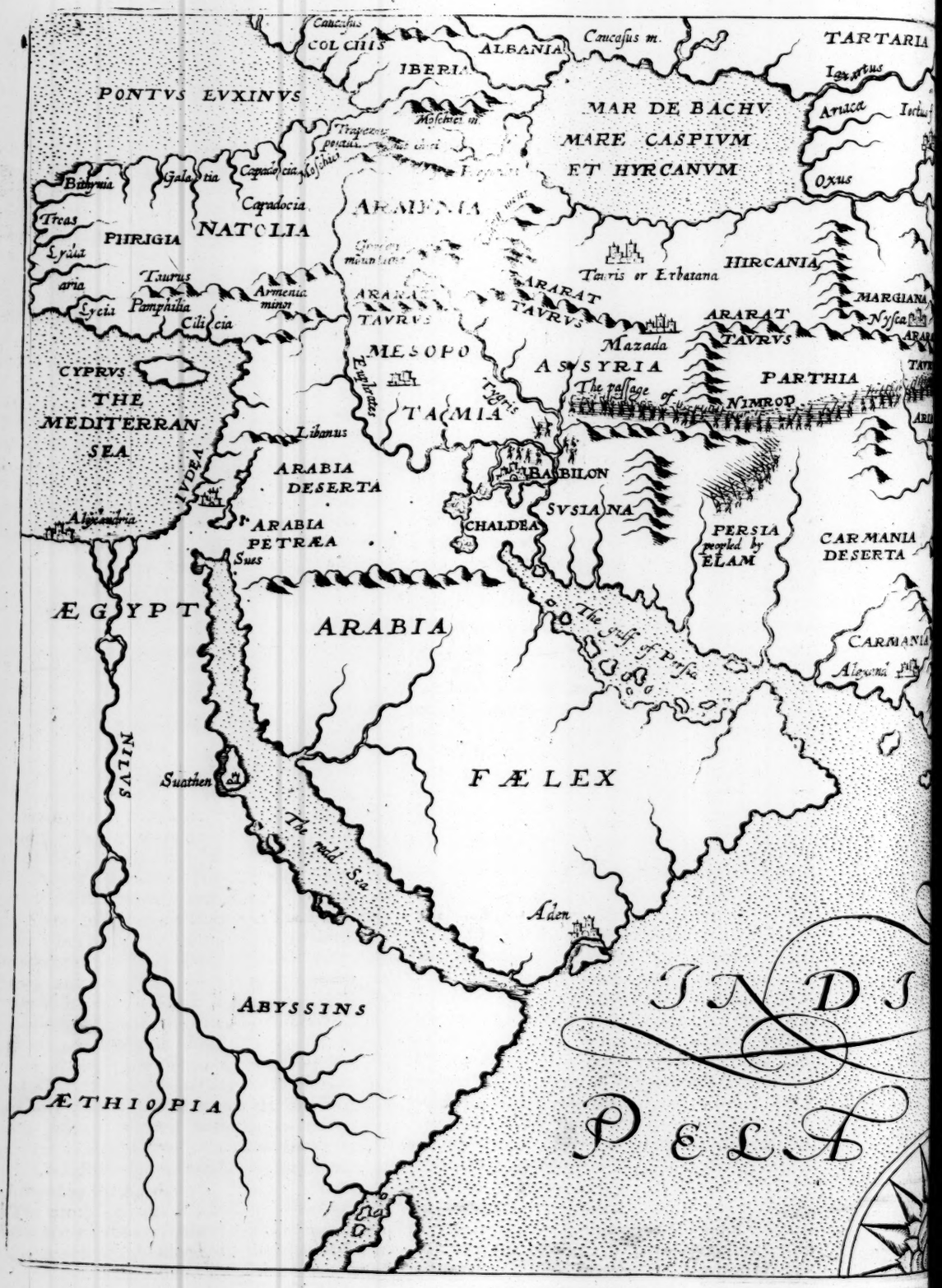
Beroald. in Chron. l. 4.

1 *Kings* 16. 28.

‖. VII.

Of Hamathi.

THe laſt of *Canaans* Sons was *Hamatheus*, or (according to the *Hebrew*) *Hamathi*, of *Hamath* (ſaith *Beroaldus*:) of which (the aſpiration taken away) the ſame is pronounced *Emath*, whereof *Hamatheus* was preſent. *Joſephus*, and Saint *Hierome* confound *Emath* with *Antioch*: not that *Antioch* which ſtandeth on the River *Orontes*, on the frontier of *Comagena*, between the Mountain *Caſſius*, and the Province of *Pieria*, and *Seleucis*, of which Saint *Peter* was Biſhop, and in which Saint *Luke* and *Ignatius* were born; but *Antioch*, firnamed *Epiphania*, as *Beroaldus* ſuppoſeth, which ſtandeth between *Apamea* and *Emeſa* in *Caſſiotis*. Yet indeed, *Emath* cannot be taken for either: for both that *Antioch* upon *Orontes*, and that which Neighboureth *Emeſa*, are farther off ſeated from *Canaan*, than ever any of thoſe Nations ſtraggled. And whereas St. *Hierom* ſetteth *Emath*, which he confoundeth with *Epiphania*, in the Tribe of *Nephtali*; it is manifeſt, that *Epiphania*, which ſtandeth to the North of *Emeſa*, hath all the Province of *Laodicea* between it and any part of the Land


Caucasus
COLCHIS
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Caucasus m.
TARTARIA
IBERIA
PONTVS EVXINVS
MAR DE BACHV
MARE CASPIVM
ET HYRCANVM
Araxes
Araxa
Trapezus
Moschici m
Bithynia
Galatia
Cappadocia
Moschici
ARMENIA
Oxus
Troas
PHRIGIA
NATOLIA
Lydia
aria
Taurus
Armenia minor
Tauris or Erbatana
HIRCANIA
MARGIANA
Nysca
ARARAT
TAVRVS
Lycia
Pamphilia
Cilicia
Mazada
ARARAT
TAVRVS
MESOPO
TAMIA
ASSYRIA
PARTHIA
CYPRVS
THE
MEDITERRAN
SEA
Euphrates
Tygris
The passage of
NIMROD
Libanus
IVDEA
ARABIA
DESERTA
BABILON
SVSIANA
Alexandria
ARABIA
PETRÆA
CHALDEA
PERSIA
peopled by
ELAM
CARMANIA
DESERTA
Sues
ÆGYPT
ARABIA
The gulf of Persia
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FÆLEX
The red Sea
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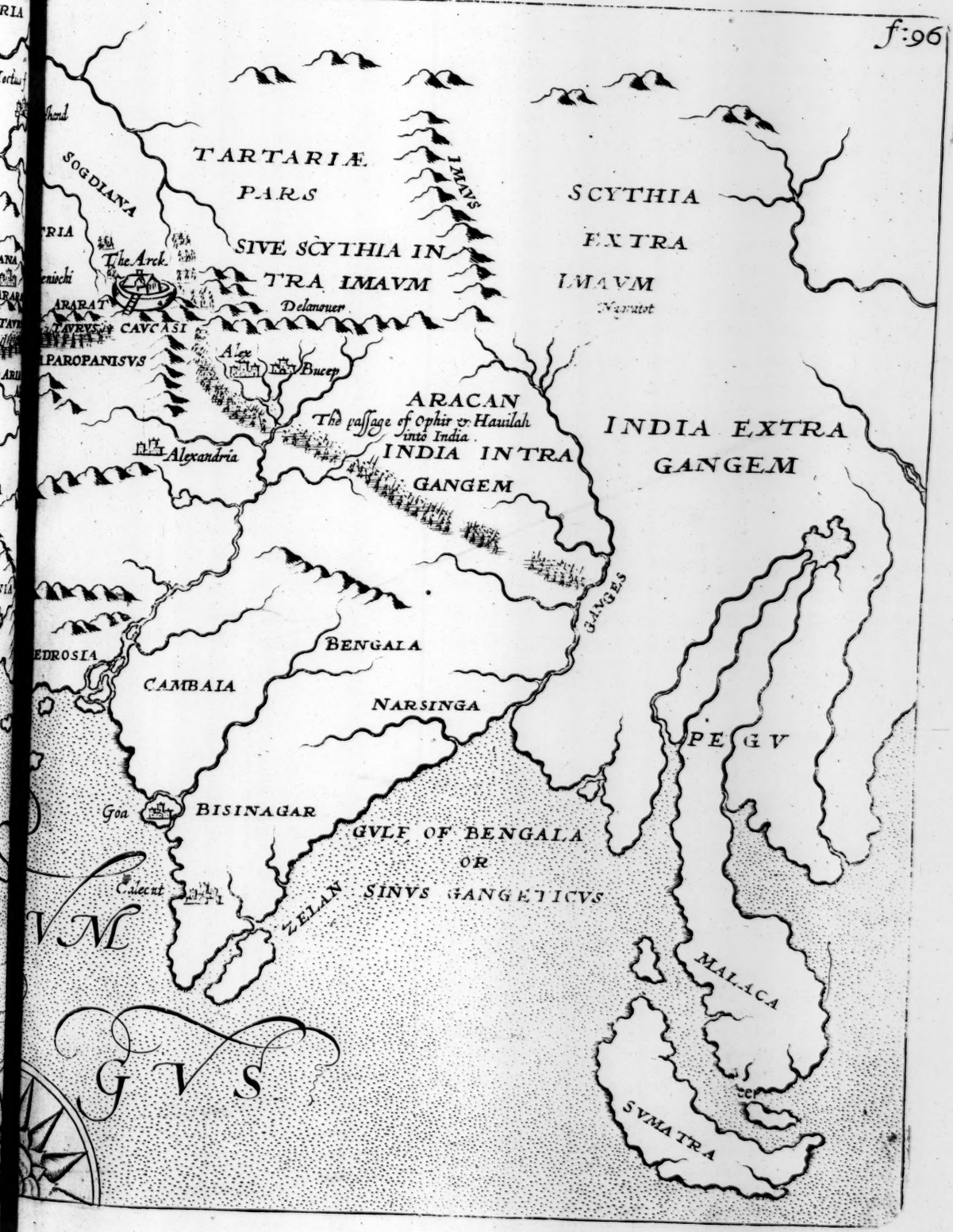
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ARARAT
TAVRVS
CAVCASI
PAROPANISVS
Delanouer
Alex
Bucep
ARACAN
The passage of Ophir & Havilah into India
INDIA INTRA
GANGEM
INDIA EXTRA
GANGEM
Alexandria
GANGES
BENGALA
CAMBAIA
NARSINGA
PEGV
Goa
BISINAGAR
GVLF OF BENGALA
OR
ZEILAN SINVS GANGETICVS
Calecut
MALACA
SVMATRA

Land divided. And if *Libanon* it self were not shared among the Tribes, then could not *Epiphania* belong unto them: for both the Provinces, *Laodicea*, and *Libanica*, are between *Epiphania* and any part of the *Holy Land*: and therefore *Emath* so taken, could not be a part of *Nepthali*, as in the thirteenth of *Josua* is directly proved. For *Josua* counting the Lands that remained unpossest, reckoneth all Mount *Libanon* towards the Sun-rising, from *Baalgad* under Mount *Hermon*, until we come to *Hamath*. And this reason (among others) is used, that *Emath* was not in *Nephtalim*, or any way belonging to the children of *Israel*: Because *David* accepted the Presents of *Tohu* King of *Emath*, and
1 Sam. 8. 9 (therewithal) conditions of Peace: which he would not have done, if that Territory had ever belonged to the children of *Israel*, but would have recovered it without composition, and by strong hand, as he did the rest. But this Argument (as I take it) hath no great weight: For if the Promise which God made, be considered, as it is written in *Deuteronomy*, then might *Emath* be comprehended, though
Cap. 11. v. 24. seated altogether without the bounds of the Land promised, according to the description of *Moses* and *Josua*: for *Emath* is indeed situated on the other side of the Mountain of *Hermon*, which joyneth to *Libanus*; and is otherwise called *Iturea*. But whereas *Hamath* is named in *Josua* 19. *v.* 35. and written in the *Latine* conversion *Emath*, therein (saith *Beroaldus*) was S. *Hierom* mistaken. *Emath* or *Iturea* is that over the Mountains, and the City in *Nephtalim* should be written *Hamath*: and so the *Septuagint* (understanding the difference) write it *Ammath*, and not *Emath*, the same which indeed belongeth to the *Nephtalims*, seated on the South side of *Libanus*, to the East of *Assedim*: which City S. *Hierom* writes *Emath*; *Josephus*, *Hamath*; others, *Emathin*, or *Amatheos*, and the people of *Amathein*; of which (as I take it) *Rabsakeh* vaunteth in the
Cap. 18. & 19. second of *Kings*; *Where is the God of Hamath?*

SECT. XIII.

Of the Sons of Chush (*excepting* Nimrod, *of whom hereafter.*)

The Sons of *Chush*, were, { *Sheba*, *Havila*, *Sabta*, *Raama*, *Sabteca*, *Nimrod*. } And the Sons of *Raama*, were, { *Sheba*, and *Dedan*. }

¶. I.

That most of the Sons of Chush *were seated in* Arabia *the* Happy: *and of the* Sabæans *that robbed* Job: *and of the Queen that came to* Solomon.

SEba or *Saba* was the eldest Son of *Chush*, the eldest Son of *Ham*; to make a difference between him and his Nephew *Sheba*, the Son of his Brother *Raama* or *Regma* (or *Ragma* after *Montanus*) his Name is written with a single (*S*) *Samech*, and *Sheba* the Son of *Regma* with an (*S*) asperat, which is the *Hebrew*, *Schin*. *Seba* the eldest Son of *Chush*, *Regma* his Brother, and *Sheba* the Son of *Regma* possess'd both the shores of *Arabia Fœlix*. *Saba* took that part towards the Red-Sea, as neareſt his Father *Chush*, and the Land of the *Chusites*: *Regma* and *Sheba* the East-coast of the same *Arabia*, which looketh into the Gulf of *Persia*; of which *Pliny*: *Sabæi*, *Arabum populi*, *propter thura clarissimi*, *ad utraque maria porrectis gentibus habitant*: *The Sabæans*, *people of Arabia*, *famous for their Frankincense*, *extending their Nations*, *dwell along both the Seas* (to wit) *the Persian*, *and the Arabian* or *Red-Sea*. This Country was afterwards called *Arabia*, *à populo mixtione*, saith *Postellus*. To this agreeth *Ptolemy*, who setteth the City of *Saba* towards the *Arabian* or *Red-Sea*, and the City *Rhegama* towards the *Persian*; with whom also we may leave *Sabta*: for so much *Montanus* gathereth out of *Ptolemy*, because he remembreth a Nation (called *Stabæi*) near the *Persian* Sea; and *Massabathæ* which descended of them. But *Montanus* hath sent *Regma*, or (as he calls him) *Rhama*, into *Caramania*, for which I see no reason. *Josephus*, who only attended his own fancies, hath banished *Saba* or *Seba* to the border of *Ethiopia*. But *Beroaldus* thinks it strange, that the *Sabæi* which stole away *Job*'s Cattle, should run through all *Egypt*, and all *Arabia Petræa*, and find out *Job* in *Traconitis*, between *Palæstina* and *Cœlosyria*, 1200 miles off. Now as this conjecture was more than ridiculous, so do I think, that neither the *Sabæi* on the *Red-Sea*, nor those towards the *Persian* Sea, could by any means execute the stealth upon *Job*, which soever *Beroaldus* shall take for neareſt. But these were the *Sabæi* of *Arabia the Desart*, where *Guilandinus Melchior* affirmeth, out of his own experience, that the City *Saba* is seated: the same which *Ptolemy* calls *Save*, now *Semiscasac*: and from this *Saba* in *Arabia the Desart*, came those *Magi* or *Wise-men*, which worshipped *Christ*, saith *Melchior* whose words are these: *The Magi came neither out of Mesopotamia* (as *Chrysostom*, *Hierom*, and *Ambrose* supposed) *nor out of Arabia the Happy*, *as many wise-men do believe*, *but out of Saba in Arabia the Desart*: *which City*, *when my self was there*, *was* (*as I judged it*) *called Semiscasac*. And to approve this Opinion of *Guilandinus*, it appeareth that these *Sabæi* were neighbours to *Job*, and lay fit to invade and rob him. For both the other Nations (as well those on the *Persian* Sea, as those on the *Red-Sea*) are so disjoyned with large Deserts, as there is no possibility for strangers to pass them, especially with any numbers of Cattle, both in respect of the Mountains, of the Sands, and of the extreme want of water in those parts: *Ubi nec homines*, *nec bestiæ videntur*, *nec aves*, *imò nec arbores*, *nec gramen aliquod*, *sed non nisi montes saxosi*, *altissimi*, *asperrimi*; *Where there are found neither men*, *nor beasts*, *nor birds*, *no*, *not so much as trees*, *or any pasture or grass*, *but only sharp*, *and high*, *stony*, *and craggy Mountains*. *Beroaldus* and *Pererius* conceive, that the Queen of *Saba*, which came to visit *Solomon*, was of the *Sabæi*, on the East-side of *Arabia fœlix*; but the contrary seems more probable, and that she was Queen of *Saba* towards the Red Sea: for *Solomon* at that time commanding all that part of *Arabia Petræa*, betwixt *Idumæa* and the Red Sea, as far down as *Midian*, or *Madian*, and *Ezion Gaber*; and this Queen of *Saba*, which inhabited the West part of *Arabia Fœlix*, being his neighbour, might, without any far travel, enter his Territories, free from all danger of surprize by any other Prince or Nation.

But, to avoid tediousness, it is manifest that *Seba*, or *Saba*, *Sabta*, *Raama*, or *Regma*, with his Sons, *Sheba* and *Dedon*, and *Sabteca*, were all the posses-

sors of *Arabia* the *Happy*, and the Desart: only *Havilah* and *Nimrod* dwelt together on the East-side of *Chush*, who held *Arabia Petræa*. Now, for *Sabta*, there is found of his Name, the City of *Sbbatha*, or *Sabota* in the same *Arabia*: of which both *Pliny* and *Ptolemy*; who withal nameth *Sabotale*, within the Walls whereof there was sometimes found sixty Temples. *Ezechiel* joyneth the Father and the Son together, *The Merchants of Sheba and Raama were thy Merchants*. And that they were the Eastern *Arabians*, their Merchandise witnesseth, formerly repeated in the Chapter of *Paradise*. For *Josephus* his fancies, that *Saba* was the Parent of the *Ethiopians* about *Meroe*, and *Sabta* of the *Ethiopians Astabari*; they be not worthy any farther Answer than hath already been given: especially seeing these Cities preserving the memory of the names of *Saba*, and of *Sabta* in *Arabia*, were yet remaining in *Ptolemy*'s time, though in some Letters changed. As also in the coasts adjoyning, the names of other of the Brethren of the Family of *Chush*, with little alterations, are preserved. In *Arabia* the Desart, is found the City of *Sabæ*, or *Sare* (now *Semiscasac*) with the City of *Rhegana* for *Rhegma*; and the Nation by *Ptolemy* himself called *Raabeni* of *Raamah*. In *Arabia* the *Happy*, is found the City of *Rhegama*, and *Rabana*; which also keepeth the sound of *Rhegma*, the City of *Saptha*, or *Saptah*, not far from the East-coast of *Arabia*: as also the *Metropolis* and Chief City in the body of the South part of *Arabia*, called without difference or alteration *Sabatha*, and to the West of *Sabatha* towards the Red Sea, the great City of *Saba*; and the Nation adjoyning, *Sabæi*; and to the South thereof again toward the streight entrance of the Red Sea, the Region of *Sabe*. To all these his Brothers and Nephews which were seated on the East side of *Arabia*, *Havilah* by the passage of *Tygris* was a neighbour, to whom he might pass by Boat, even unto *Rhegma* the City of *Raama*, or *Rhegma*, set near the River of *Lar* to wards the mouth of the *Persian* Sea, which stood in *Ptolemy*'s time.

Plin. l.12. c.14. *Ptol. tab.6. Asiæ.*

Ezech. 27. v.22.

Rice, but nothing at all of any Manufacture: and all these they exchanged for Linnen, or Iron chiefly.

But in those days, the West part of *Africa*, within the body of the Land, was known only by imagination: and, being under the burnt *Zone*, was held uninhabitable. And therefore, that the *Negroes* of the West *Æthiopia*, which inhabite about *Serra Liona*, or *Niger*, could either pass by Sea or Land to *Tyre*, in the *Mediterrane* Sea, were a strange or rather a foolish fancy. Now, to put it out of Dispute, that *Dedan* also dwelt by the rest of the Children of *Chush*, which Seats they held by that name in the time of *Hieremy* the Prophet; let us hear *Hieremy* his own words: *Fly, ye Inhabitants of Dedan, for I have brought the destruction of* Esau *upon him.* Hereby it appeareth, that *Dedan* was a Neighbour to the *Idumæans*: and *Idumæa* is a Province of *Arabia Petræa*; and *Dedan*, which dwelt on the North part of *Arabia Fælix*, joyned in that part to *Petræa*, the seat of his Grand-father *Chush*; which neighbourhood of *Dedan* and the *Idumæans*, is also confirmed by Ezechiel: *I will stretch out my hand upon* Edom, *and destroy man and beast out of it, and I will make it desolate from* Teman: *and they of* Dedan *shall fall by the sword.* *Ezech. 15. v. 15.*

¶. II.

Josephus *his Opinion of* Dedan, *one of the Issue of* Chush, *to have been seated in the West* Æthiopia, *disproved out of* Ezechiel *and* Hieremy.

And whereas *Josephus* (whom in this Saint *Hierom* followeth, as not curious herein) sent *Dedan* the Son of *Raamah* into the West *Æthiopia*, it is strange that Ezechiel should couple *Sheba*, and *Raamah*, and *Dedan* together; *Dedan* in the 15th Verse, and *Sheba* and *Raamah* in the 22th Verse, to be the Merchants of *Tyre*, if *Dedan* had dwelt in West *Æthiopia*, which is distant from *Raamah* and *Sheba* (the habitation of his Father and Brother) above four thousand miles. Besides which, the Merchandise that the *Dedanites* brought to *Tyre* doth not make them naked *Black-Moors*. For they of *Dedan* (saith *Ezechiel*) were thy Merchants in precious cloaths for thy Chariots; and these Western *Æthiopians* never saw cloth, till the *Portugals*, seeking those Coasts, traded with them: the Merchandise of their Countrey being Hides, Elephants Teeth, some Gold and Amber, Civet-Cats, and

SECT. XIII.

Of the Issue of Mizraim: *and of the place of* Hieremie, *Chap. 9. Verse 7.*

After *Chush*, it followeth to speak of *Mizraim*'s Sons, whose names (saith Saint *Augustine*) were plural, to signifie the Nations which came of them. *Ludim*, the elder Son of *Mizraim*, was the Father of the *Lybians* in *Africa*: and the rest of his Brothers dispersed themselves into all the Regions adjoyning. Among the Sons of *Shem*, there is also *Lud*; but he is differenced from *Lud* the Son of *Mizraim*, by the singular number: the Son of *Shem* being written *Lud*; the Son of *Mizraim*, *Ludim*: and yet these Names and Nations are often confounded, notwithstanding the apparent difference both of Names and Nations. For, that *Ludim* the Son of *Mizraim* was the Parent of the *Lybians* in *Africa*, and that he was seated not far from *Mizraim* his Father, appeareth by the Prophet *Hieremie*, who joyned them in this sort together: *Come up ye Horses, and rage ye Chariots, and let the valiant men come forth, the* Black-moors, *and the* Lybians *which bear the shield*: for those Nations assisted the *Egyptians*, being of one Parent descended. And in *Ezechiel*, *Phut* and *Lud* are joyned together; *Æthiopia* (or *Chush*) saith Ezechiel, *cap. 30. ver. 3. and* Phut *and* Lud, *and all the common people, and the men of the Land that are in league, shall fall with them by the sword*: which is as much to say, as the Sons of *Chush* (which were the *Chushites*) the Sons of *Mizraim* (which were the *Egyptians*) and the *Lybians* descended of his Son *Lud*) with other the Inhabitants of *Egypt* and *Africa*, shall fall together. *Hierosolymitanus* finds also in *Africa* a Nation of the *Lydians*. And I believe it; because *Hieremie* joyneth the *Libyans* and *Lidyans* together in the place before remembred. But *Libya* in *Africa* is by the *Hebrews* called *Ludim* (saith *Arias Montanus*) though 2 *Chron.* 12. 3. they seem to be called *Lubim*, or *Lubæi*, a name somewhat near the word *Lybies*, and by which it may seem that the truer writing is, not *Libyes*, but *Lybies*. Neither

Chap. 46. v. 9.

The termination *im* in the *Hebrew*, is commonly a sign of the plural number, as *aim*, of the dual.

ther is it here to be omitted, that *Pintus* (upon the thirteenth of *Ezechiel*) understandeth that which is spoken in the third Verse of *Lud*, not to be meant of the *Lybians* at all: for he will have this threatning to be meant against the people of *Lyda*, a City (saith he) between *Egypt* and *Palæstina*, which opinion I could not mislike, if the City of *Lyda* were so seated. But *Lyda* (which should be written *Lydda*, with a double *d*, and is the same City which was afterwards *Diospolis*, in which St. *Peter* cured *Æneas* of the Palsie) standeth near the Torrent *Gaas*, not far from *Joppe* the Port of *Hierusalem*. Yet it is not impossible but that this City might have *Lud* for the Founder: For there are many Cities of one name, founded in all the Regions of the World, and far asunder; as after the name of *Alexander*, *Teleucus*, and *Antiochus*, many Cities called *Alexandria*, *Seleucia*, and *Antiochia*: so of divers others. St. *Hierome* maketh *Lehabim* to be the Father of *Libya*, who was the third Son of *Mizraim*: and so doth *Postellus*; and either Opinion may be true.

The rest of *Mizraim*'s Sons have no proper Countries given them in the Scriptures, saving *Casluhim* and *Caphtorim*, of whom came the *Philistims*, whom the Scriptures call *Peleset*.

These *Casluhim* inhabited *Cassiotis*, a Region lying in the entrance of *Egypt* from *Palestina*, in which the Lake *Sirbonis*, and the Mountain *Cassius* are found, not far from whence *Pompey* was buried.

Caphtorim seated near *Casluhim* in that Tract of *Egypt* called *Sethrotis*, not far from *Pelusium*, *Strabo* calls it *Sethrotis*; *Stephanus* and *Pliny*, *Sethroitis*, of the City *Sethron*: which *Ortelius* takes to be the same which *Ptolemy* calls *Hercules parva*. Of the *Casluhim* and *Caphtorim* came the *Philistims*, which are called by the *Septuagint Allophyli* (which is) *Alienigenæ*, Strangers, or of a strange Kindred. These *Philistims* inhabited the South part of the Holy Land towards *Egypt*, of whom *Palestina* took name. For the *Hebrews* (saith *Isidore*) do not use the Letter (*p*) but instead of it (*ph.*) Their principal Cities were *Gaza*, *Ascalon*, *Azotus*, *Geth*, and *Accaron*: and the people of them called *Gasæi*, *Ascalonitæ*, *Azotii*, *Gethæi*, and *Accaronitæ*: *Isidore* affirms, that *Ascalon* was first called *Philistim*; and of that City the Country adjoyning. But where *Isidore* had it, I know not.

The first known King of the *Philistims*, was that *Abimelech*, who had a liking to *Abraham*'s wife; with whom *Abraham* made a Covenant and League. This *Abimelech* dwelt indeed at this time in *Gerar*; but it is written, that he was also King of the *Philistims*, in these words: *Wherefore Isaac went to Abimelech King of the Philistims unto Gerar.* Now in regard that this or some ancienter *Abimelech* governed the Common-wealth greatly to his glory, the rest of his Successors called themselves by the same name. The *Philistims* commanded that Tract of Land upon the Mediterrane Sea to the Northward, from the Castle of *Pilgrims* (otherwise *Cæsaria Palæstina*, or *Stratons* Tower) which was the South border of *Phœnicia*, to *Gaza*, or to the River of *Egypt*. The *Anakims* or strong Giants were of these *Philistims*: and *Goliah* was of *Geth*, one of the five Cities above-named. They had sometimes five Kings, saith *Lyranus*. They mastered the *Israelites* at several times above 150 years, and kept them Tributaries, till they were weakned by *Sampson* and *Samuel*; but in the end, this yoke was taken off by *David*, and laid on themselves.

Basil upon the 33. Psalm. *Hierom* upon the 29. of *Ezechiel*.

It is Objected, that because these Cities and the Countries adjoyning, were held by the Sons of *Mizraim*, therefore did the *Israelites* dispossess the Sons of *Mizraim*, and not of *Canaan*, by forcing those places.

To this saith *Pererius*, that although the *Palestines* or *Philistims* held it in the time of *Josua*, yet at the time of the Promise it was possessed by the *Canaanites*; as in the second of *Deuteronomy*. The *Hevites* dwelt in the Villages unto *Gaza*. And what marvel, if the *Canaanites* being the greater part) the denomination were from them? For that the *Philistims* were of *Caphtor*, and so of *Mizraim*, and not of *Canaan*, besides *Moses*, the Prophet *Jeremy* witnesseth: *The Lord will destroy the Philistims, the remnant of the issue of Caphtor*: And in like manner in the ninth of *Amos*, the *Philistims* are said to be the reliques of *Caphtorim*: *Have I not brought up* Israel *out of the Land of Egypt, and the* Philistims *from Caphtor, and* Aram *from Kir?* so I read this place with divers of the Learned. For whereas the Vulgar hath, and *Palæstinos de Cappadocia, & Syros de Cyrene*, this conversion *Beroaldus* condemneth; where *Caphtor* is taken for *Cappadocia*, and *Cyrene* for *Kir*. For *Cyrene* is a City directly West from *Egypt*, between *Ptolomais* or *Barce* and *Apollonia*; but *Kir* in *Asia* under the *Assyrians*: *Junius* hath it *Kir*, and not *Cyrene*; and so hath the *Geneva*. But *Pererius* calls *Caphtorim Cappadocia*, according to the Vulgar Translation, to which he is bound: and yet it is not altogether improbable if he mean *Cappadocia* in *Palestina*, and not that *Cappadocia* by the Sea *Euxine* in the North of *Asia the Less*. For which of these inhabited *Sethreites*, or *Cappadocia* of *Palestina*, it is not certainly known. And sure in this manner he may expound *Cappadocia* to be ambiguous, as well as he doth *Cyrene*: taking it here not for *Cyrene* in *Africa*, but for a place in *Media*. for it is written in the second of the *Kings*, That *Teglathphalasser* King of the *Assyrians* carried away the Inhabitants of *Damascus* into *Kir*: and so *Josephus* seems to understand this *Kir* of *Cyrene* in *Media*, calling this *Cerene*, *Media superior*: for it was the manner and policie of the *Assyrians* to transplant the people conquered by them, as they did the *Samaritans* or *Israelites*, and other Nations. And hereof it came that *Kir* was called *Syro-Media*; because the *Syrians* by the *Assyrians* were therein captivated.

Of which, see in the second Book, Chap. 7. Sect. 3. ‖. 5.

Hier. c. 47. 4.

Amos c. 9. v. 7.

cap. 16. v. 9.

SECT. XV.

Of the Issue of Sem.

‖. I.

Of Elam, Assur, Arphaxad, *and* Lud.

It remaineth lastly to speak of the Sons of *Sem*, who are these:

1. *Alam*, or *Elam*,
2. *Assur*,
3. *Arphaxad*,
4. *Lud*, and
5. *Aram*.

THe Posterity of *Sem*, *Moses* recounteth after the rest: because from them he proceedeth in order with the Geneology and Story of the *Hebrews*: (For of *Sem* was *Abraham* descended.)

Of these five Sons, the Scriptures remember the length of the life of *Arphaxad* only, and only the the Children of him and *Aram*; the rest are barely spoken of by rehearsal of their names, saving that it may be gathered, that *Assur* (who was supposed to found *Ninive*) was also said to be the Father of the *Assyrians*, whose Issues, and the Issues of *Cham*, instantly contended for the Empire of the East: which sometimes the *Assyrians*, sometimes the *Babylonians* obtained, according to the virtue of their Princes. This is the common opinion, which also teacheth us that all the East parts of the World were peopled by *Ashur*, *Elam*, and *Lud* (saving *India*) which I believe *Noah* himself first inhabited; and to whom *Ophir* and *Havilah*, the Sons of *Joctan* afterward repaired: *Hi filii* Sem *ab* Euphrate *fluvio partem* Asiæ *usque ad Oceanum* Indicum *tenuerunt*; *These Sons of* Sem (saith (St. *Hierom*) *held all those Regions from* Euphrates *to the* Indian *Ocean.*

Ios. Ant. l. 1. c. 7. Of *Elam* came the *Elamites*, remembred *Acts* 2. *ver.* 9. And the Princes of *Persia*; which name then began to be out of use and lost, when the *Persians* became Masters of *Babylonia:* the East Monarchy being established in them. Some prophane Writers distinguish *Elam* from *Persia*, and make the *Elamites* a people apart. But *Susa* (which the Scriptures call *Susan*) in *Elam* was the Kings Seat of *Persia* (witness *Daniel*) *And I saw* (saith he) *in a Vision, and when I saw it, I was in the Palace of* Susan, *which is in the Province of* Elam. This City is embraced by the River *Euleus* (according to *Ptolemy*) in *Daniel*, *Ulai*: and seated in the border of *Susiana.*

Cap. 8. v. 2.

Ptol. Asiæ tab. 5.

Dan. 8. 2.

Ashur (as most Historians believe) the second Son of *Sem*, was the Father of the *Assyrians*, who disdaining the pride of *Nimrod*, parted from *Babel*, and built *Ninive*, of equal beauty and magnitude with *Babylon*, or exceeding it. But we shall in due place disprove that Opinion. Every man's hand hath been in this Story, and therefore I shall not need herein to speak much: for the *Assyrians* so often invaded and spoiled the *Israelites*, destroyed their Cities, and led them Captives, as both in Divine and Humane Letters there is large, and often mention of this Nation.

But howsoever *Herodotus* and *Diod. Siculus* extend this Empire, and honour this Nation with ample Dominion; yet was not the state of the *Assyrians* of any such power, after such time as *Sardanapalus* lost the Empire. For *Senacherib*, who was one of the most powerful Princes among them, had yet the Mountain *Taurus* for the utmost of his Dominion toward the North-East, and *Syria* bounded him towards the West, notwithstanding these vaunts of *Senacherib* in *Esay* the 37. *Have the gods of the Nations delivered them whom my Fathers have destroyed: as* Gozan, *and* Haran, *and* Reseph, *and the children of* Eden *which were at* Telassar? *Where is the King of* Hamath, *and the King of* Arphad, *and the King of the City* Sepharuaim, Hena, *and* Ivah? All these were indeed but petty Kings of Cities, and Countries, as *Haran* in *Mesopotamia*: *Reseph* in *Palmyrena*: *Hamath* or *Emath* in *Iturea*, under *Libanus*: the Isle of *Eden*: *Sephar*, and others of this sort. Yea, *Nebuchadonozor*, who was most powerful before the Conquest of *Egypt*, had but *Chaldea*, *Mesopotamia*, and *Syria*, with *Palestina*, and *Phœnicia*, parts thereof. But in this Question of *Assur*, I will speak my Opinion freely when I come to *Nimrod*, whose Plantation I have omitted among the rest of the *Chusites*, because he established the first Empire; from whom the most memorable Story of the World taketh beginning

Vers. 11.

Of *Arphaxad* came the *Chaldæans*, saith Saint *Hierom* and *Josephus*; but it must be those *Chaldeans* about *Ur*: for the Sons of *Cham* possest the rest. It is true that he was the Father of the *Hebrews*; for *Arphaxad* begat *Shela*, and *Shela*, *Heber*, of whom hereafter.

And that *Lud*, the fourth Son of *Shem*, gave name to the *Lydians* in *Asia* the less, is the common Opinion, taken from *Josephus* and Saint *Hierom*; but I see not by what reason he was moved to straggle thither from his friends.

¶. II.

Of Aram, *and his Sons.*

Aram the first and last Son of *Shem* was the Parent of the *Syrians*: of which *Damascus* was head. Their name was changed from *Aram* or *Aramites* by *Syrus* (saith *Eusebius* out of *Josephus*) which *Syrus* lived before *Moses* was born; the same which others call the Son of *Apollo*. *Mesopotamia* also, being but a Province of *Syria*, had the name of *Aram Naharajim*, which is as much to say, as, *Syria duorum fluviorum*; *Syria compassed with two Rivers*, (to wit) *Tygris* and *Euphrates*. The Scriptures call it *Mesopotamia*, *Syria*, and *Padan Aram*: and the *Greeks Mesopotamia* simply.

Esay 7. 8.

Euseb. p. 10. c.

Arise and get thee to Padan Aram (saith *Isaac* to *Jacob*) *to the house of Bethuel thy* Mothers *Father, and thence take thee a Wife.* *Strabo* also remembreth it by the ancient name of *Aram*, or *Aramea*, as these his own words converted witness: *Quos nos* Syros *vocamus, ipsi* Syri Aramenios *&* Arameos *vocant*; *Those which we call Syrians* (saith he) *themselves call* Aramenians *and* Arameans.

Gen. 28. 2. see *Gen.* 25. 10. also *Deut.* 23. 4. *Judg.* 3. *Paral.* 1. 19. *Psal.* 59. *Strab. lib.*

Against this Opinion, that *Aram* the Son of *Sem* was the Father and Denominator of the *Syrians* in general; (and not only of those in *Syria Inter-Amnis*, which is *Mesopotamia*) some read, *Genes.* 22. 21. *Kemuel*, the Father of the *Syrians*: where others out of the Original read *Kemuel*, the Son of *Aram*. Neither is it any inconvenience for us to understand the word (*Aram*) here, not for the Nation, but for the name of some one of note, the rather, because in the History of *Abraham* and *Isaac* (which was in time long before *Kemuels* Posterity could be famous) we find *Mesopotamia* called *Aram*, and that with an addition, sometimes with *Naharajim*, and sometimes of *Padan*, to distinguish it from another *Aram*, which (as it seems) then also was called *Aram*. For whereas *Junius* thinks, in his Notes upon *Gen.* 25. 20. that *Padan-Aram* ought to be restrained to some part of *Mesopotamia* (to wit) to that part which *Ptolemy* calls *Ancobaritis* (so called from the River *Chaboras*, which, dividing it, runneth into *Euphrates*) the promiscuous use of *Padan Aram*, and *Aram Naharajim* (which (latter appellation questionless comprehends the whole *Mesopotamia*) may seem to refute this Opinion: especially seeing the signification of this appellation agreeth with the whole Region. For it signifieth as much as the yoke of *Syria*, which name agreeth with this Region; because the two Rivers (as it were) yoaked together go along it. The Reliques of the name *Padan* appear in the name of two Cities, in *Ptolemy*, called *Aphadana* (as *Junius* hath well noted) the one upon *Chaboras*, the other upon *Euphrates.*

The

The Sons of *Aram* were, { *Uz*, or *Hus*. *Hul*. *Gether*, and *Meſch*, or *Mes*.

Uz, or *Hus*, inhabited about *Damaſcus*, and built that City, ſaith *Joſephus*, and Saint *Hierom*. But *Toſtatus* miſtaking this Opinion, both in them and in *Lyra*, who alſo followeth *Joſephus*, affirmeth, that *Abraham*'s Steward, *Eliezer*, was the Founder thereof; though it were likely that *Hus*, the eldeſt Son of *Aram*, dwelt neer unto his Father, who inhabited the body of *Syria*. For *Hus* was a Region of the ſame, adjoining to *Arabia* the Deſart, and to *Batanea*, or *Traconitis*; whereof the Prophet *Hieremy*: Rejoyce *and be glad, O daughter of* Edom, *that dwelleſt in the Land of* Hus. *Hus* therefore is ſeated beyond *Jordan*, in the Eaſt Region of *Traconitis*, adjoining to *Baſan*, having *Batanea Gaulonitis*, and the Mountain *Seir* to the Eaſt, *Edrai* to the South, *Damaſcus* North, and *Jordan* Weſt: having in it many Cities and People, as may alſo be gathered out of *Hieremy*: *And all ſorts of people, and all the Kings of the Land of Hus.* In this Region dwelt *Job*, deſcended of *Hus*, the Son of *Nahor*, the Brother of *Abraham* (ſaith S. *Hierom*) and married *Dina* the Daughter of *Jacob*, ſaith *Philo*.

Hierom. in trad. Hebraic.

Hierom. Lam. chap. 4. v. 21.

Chap. 25. v. 20.

Hul, the ſecond Son of *Aram*, S. *Hierom* makes the Father of the *Armenians*; and *Gether*, the third Son, Parent to the *Acarnanians*, or *Carians*: which Opinion (becauſe I find not where to ſet him) I do not diſprove, though I ſee no reaſon why *Gether* ſhould leave the fellowſhip of his own Brethren, and dwell among ſtrangers in *Aſia* the leſs. *Junius* gives *Hul* (whom he writes *Chul*) the Deſart of *Palmyrena*, as far as *Euphrates*, where *Ptolemy* ſetteth the City of *Cholle*.

Gether (ſaith *Joſephus*) founded the *Bactrians*: but *Joſephus* gave all *Noah*'s children feathers, to carry them far away in all haſt. For mine own Opinion, I always keep the rule of Neighbourhood, and think with *Junius* (to wit) That *Gether* ſeated himſelf neer his Brothers in the Body of *Syria*, and in the Province of *Caſſiotis*, and *Seleucis*, where *Ptolemy* placeth *Gindarus*, and and the Nation by *Pliny* called *Gindareni*.

Junius alſo giveth to *Mes*, or *Meſch* the North part of *Syria*, between *Cilicia* and *Meſopotamia*, near the Mountain *Maſius*. The certainty of thoſe Plantations can no otherwiſe be known than by this probability, that *Aram* the Father (of whom that great Region took name) planted his Sons in the ſame Land about him: for he wanted no ſcope of Territory for himſelf and them; neither then when the World was newly planted, nor in many hundred years after: and therefore there is no reaſon to caſt them in the Deſart parts of the World, ſo far aſunder. And as neceſſity and policy held them together for a while; ſo ambition (which began together with Angels and Men) inhabiting the hearts of their children, ſet them aſunder. For although theſe Sons of *Aram*, and the Sons of the reſt of *Noah*'s children kept themſelves within the bounds of ſome one large Kingdom; yet therein every one alſo ſought a Province apart, and to themſelves; giving to the Cities, therein built, their own names, thereby to leave their memory to their Poſterity: the uſe of letters being then rare, and known to few.

In this ſort did the pride of the *Spaniards* in *America* caſt them into ſo many Provinces: every one emulating and diſdaining the greatneſs of other, as they are thereby to this day ſubject to invaſion, expulſion, and deſtruction: ſo as (*Nova Hiſpania* and *Peru* excepted, becauſe thoſe Countreys are unacceſſible to ſtrangers) an eaſie force will caſt them out of all the reſt.

Mes, the fourth Son, is made the Parent of the *Mœonians*: of whom ſomething had been ſpoken already. *Arphaxad*, the third Son of *Shem*, begat *Shelah*, and *Heber*. *Heber* had two Sons, *Phaleg* and *Joctan*: and in *Phaleg*'s time was the Earth divided. *Chap. 8. Sect. 7.*

‖. III.

Of the diviſion of the Earth in the time of Phaleg, *one of the Sons of* Heber, *of the iſſue of* Sem.

THe inany People which at the diviſion (at *Phaleg*'s birth) were then living, and the through Plantation of all the Eaſt part of the World (at his death) hath made a doubt, whether the Earth were divided at either. The *Hebrews* (ſaith *Pererius* out of *Sedar Holam*, one of their Chronicles) affirm, that this partition hapned at the death of *Phaleg*: and *Phaleg* was born in the year after the Floud 101. and lived in all 239. years, which numbers added, make 340. And therefore was it ſo many years after the Floud, ere the children of *Noah* ſevered themſelves. But to this Opinion of the *Hebrews*, and the doubt they make, how in ſo few years as 101. (the time of *Phaleg*'s birth) ſo many people could be increaſed, *Pererius* gives this Anſwer, That if 70. perſons of the Family of *Jacob* increaſed to 600000. fighting men in 215. years (beſides women, children and impotent perſons) how much more is it likely, that ſo ſoon after the Floud the children of *Noah* might, in a ſhorter time bring forth many multitudes, having received the bleſſing of God, *Increaſe and multiply, and fill the Earth*; What ſtrength this Anſwer hath, let others judge: for the children of *Iſrael* were 70. and had 215. years time: and the Sons of *Noah* were but three, and had but 101. years of time, to the birth of *Phaleg*.

Others conceive that *Phaleg* took that name after the diviſion, in memory thereof: as *Joſephus* and S. *Auguſtine*, who reaſon in this manner. If the diviſion were at *Phaleg*'s death (which happened in the year, which is commonly held to be the 48. of *Abraham*, but was, by more likely computation, 12. years before his birth) then was the diviſion 38. years after *Ninus*, who governed 52. years: in the 43. year of whoſe Reign *Abraham* was born. But when *Ninus* began to rule the *Aſſyrians*, 80. years before this diviſion (as this diviſion is placed by the *Hebrews*, *Hierom* and *Chriſoſtom*) then was the Earth ſo peopled in all the Eaſt & Northern parts, as greater numbers have not been found at any time ſince. For *Ninus*, aſſociating to himſelf *Arieus* King of *Arabia*, a People who at that time (ſaith *Diodorus Siculus*) *plurimum opibus atque armis præſtabant, Exceeded both in riches and bodies of men*, ſubdued many Cities in *Armenia*; received *Barzanis* into grace; then invaded *Media*, and crucified *Pharnus* the King thereof, with his Wife and ſeven Children; vanquiſhed all thoſe Regions between *Nilus* and *Tanais*, the *Egyptians*, *Phœnicians*, the Kingdoms of *Syria*, and all the Nations of *Perſia*, to the *Hyrcanian* Sea. For the number which followed *Ninus* (already remembred out of *Cteſias*) againſt *Zoroaſter* and others: and

Joſeph. l. 1. Antiquit. Aug. de civit. Dei. l. 16. c. 11.

Per. in Gen. lib. 15. c. 10.

and *Zoroaſter* on the other ſide, who made reſiſtance with 400000 prove it ſufficiently, that if the diviſion had not hapned before the death of *Phaleg*, there had needed no diviſion at that time at all. For ſome of them were ſo ill ſatisfied with their portions, as they ſought to be maſters of all; and greater Armies were there never gathered than by *Ninus* and *Semiramis*: wherefore in this Opinion there is little appearance of the truth.

But for that conceit, that if the diviſion had been made at the birth of *Phaleg*, there were not then ſufficient numbers born to fill the Earth: It was never meant that the Earth could be filled every where at the very inſtant, but by times and degrees. And ſurely, whatſoever mens Opinions have been herein, yet it is certain, that the diviſion of Tongues and of Men muſt go neer together with the ceaſing of the work of *Babel*: and that the enterpriſe of *Babel* was left off inſtantly upon the confuſion of Languages, where followed the execution of the diviſion; and ſo neither at the birth nor death of *Phaleg*: for *Phaleg* was born in the year 101. after the Floud, which was the year *Nimrod* came into *Shinaar*, or ten years after he arrived, ſaith *Beroſus*.

Now, if it be objected, That *Phaleg* (the Etymologie of whoſe name ſignifieth Diviſion) muſt have lived without a name, except the name had been given him at the time of this confuſion and partition: to this Objection, it may be anſwered, That the change of names upon divers accidents is not rare in the Scriptures; for *Jacob* was called *Iſrael* after he had wreſtled with the Angel; *Abraham* was firſt *Abram*; and *Edom*, *Eſau*; and that *Phaleg* being a principal man in this diviſion, had his firſt name upon this accident changed, it is moſt probable.

And laſtly, whereas the *Hebrews*, Saint *Hierom*, and *Chryſoſtom*, account *Heber* for a great Prophet, if that by giving his Son the name *Phaleg*, he foretold the diviſion which followed: to this I ſay, I do not find that *Heber* deſerved any ſuch honour, if he had thereupon ſo called his Son: for diviſion and diſperſion followeth increaſe of people of neceſſity; and this Prophecy (if any ſuch had been) might alſo have reference to the diviſion, which afterwards fell amongſt the *Hebrews* themſelves.

But if we give a reaſonable time to the Building of the Tower and City of *Babel*, in which time many people (by reaſon and by demonſtrative proof) might be increaſed: and that upon the fall thereof the confuſion and diviſion followed (whereupon *Phaleg* took name) then in this opinion there is nothing either curious or monſtrous.

‖. IV.

Of the ſons of Joctan, *the other Son of* Heber.

The Sons of *Joctan* were,
1. *Elmodad.*
2. *Saleph*, or *Salep*, or *Sheleph.*
3. *Aſamath*, or *Chatzar.*
4. *Jare*, or *Jaraah*, or *Jerath.*
5. *Hadoram.*
6. *Uzal*, or *Uxal.*
7. *Dicklach*, or *Dicla.*
8. *Obal*, or *Ebal*, or *Hobal.*
9. *Abimael.*
10. *Sheba*, or *Seba.*
11. *Ophir*, or *Opir.*
12. *Havilah*, or *Chavila*, and
13. *Jobab.*

ALl thoſe Sons of *Joctan* (according to Saint *Hierome*) dwelled in the Eaſt parts of the World, or *India*, even from the River *Cophe* or *Choas*, which is one of the branches or heads of *Indus*.

But the certain places of thoſe thirteen Sons cannot be gathered out of the Scriptures, the words of *Moſes* being general: *And their dwelling was from* Meſha *as thou goeſt unto* Separ *a Mount in the Eaſt.* Gen. 10. 30. Of all theſe thirteen Sons, there were only three memorable, (to wit) *Sheba*, *Ophir*, and *Havilah*. Concerning whoſe names, to avoid confuſion, it is to be obſerved, that among the Sons of *Chuſh*, two of them had alſo the names of *Sheba* and *Havilah*. *Abraham* had alſo a third *Seba*, or *Sheba*, his Grand-child by his wife *Ketura*. But *Seba* the Son of *Chuſh*, and *Sheba* the Son of *Rhegma* his Nephew we have left in *Arabia fœlix*; and *Havilah* the Son of *Chuſh* upon *Tygris*. *Saba* the Grand-child of *Abraham* was (as ſome have thought) the Father of the *Sabæans* in *Perſia*; of which Nations *Dionyſius de Orbis ſitu* maketh mention; *Primum* Sabæi; *poſt hos ſunt* Paſſagardæ; *prope vero hos ſunt* Taſci: *The firſt are* Sabæans; *after theſe be* Paſſægarde; *and near theſe the* Taſci. And whereas it is written; *But unto the Sons of the Concubines which* Abraham *had,* Abraham *gave gifts, and ſent them away from* Iſaac *his Son (while he yet lived) Eaſtward to the Eaſt-Country*: Hereupon it is ſuppoſed, that this *Saba* the Son of *Abraham* wandered into *Perſia*: for *Perſia* was accounted the furthermoſt Eaſt-Country in reſpect of *Judæa*; which alſo *Ovid* ſetteth under the Sun-riſing. Gen. 25. 6. Yet ſeeing the reſt of *Abraham's* Sons ſeated themſelves on the borders of *Judæa*, I rather chooſe to leave *Saba* the Son of *Abraham* in *Arabia the Deſart*, where *Ptolemy* ſetteth a City of that name. *Metam. l. 1.*

But *Saba*, the Son of *Joctan*, the Son of *Heber* (as I conceive) inhabited *India* it ſelf. For *Dionyſius Afer* in his *Periegeſis* (or deſcription of the World) which he wrote in *Greek* Verſe, among the Regions of *India* findeth a Nation called the *Sabæi*. Taxilis *hos inter medios habitatque* Sabæus; *In the middeſt of theſe dwell the* Sabæi, *and the* Taxili, ſaith *Dionyſius*. τῶν δὲ μέσοι ναίουσι Σαβαῖ καὶ Ταξίλοι ἀνδρες.

‖V.

§. V.

Of Ophir *one of* Joctan's *Sons, and of* Peru, *and of that voyage of* Solomon.

Ophir also was an inhabitant of the East *India*, and (as St. *Hierom* understands it) in one of the Islands plentiful with Gold, which are now known by the name of *Moluccæ*. *Josephus* understands *Ophir* to be one of those great head-lands in *India*, which by a general name are called *Chersonesi*, or *Peninsulæ*: of which there are two very notorious; *Callecut* and *Malacon*. *Pererius* takes it rightly for an Island, as St. *Hierom* doth, but he sets it at the head-land of *Malacca*. But *Ophir* is found among the *Moluccas* farther East.

Arias Montanus, out of the second of *Chronicles*, the third Chapter and 6th Verse, gathers, that *Ophir* was *Peru* in *America*, looking into the West Ocean, commonly called *Mare del Sur*, or the South Sea; by others, *Mare pacificum*. The words, in the second of the *Chronicles*, are these: *And he over-layed the house with precious stones for beauty; and the gold of Parvaim.* *Junius* takes this gold to be the gold of *Havilah*, remembred by *Moses* in the description of *Paradise*: *And the gold of that Land is good*: finding a Town in *Characene*, a Province of *Susiana*, called *Barbatia*; so called (as he thinks) by corruption for *Parvaim*: from whence those Kings subjected by *David*, brought this gold, with which they presented him; and which *David* preserved for the inriching of the Temple.

Gen. 2. 11. & 12. *Plin. l.* 6. *c.* 28.

But this fancy of *Peru* hath deceived many men, before *Montanus*, and *Plessis*, who also took *Ophir* for *Peru*. And that this Question may be a subject of no further dispute; it is very true that there is no Region in the World of that name: sure I am, that at least, *America* hath none, no not any City, Village or Mountain so called. But when *Francis Pisarro* first discovered those Lands to the South of *Panama*, arriving in that Region which *Atabaliba* commanded (a Prince of magnificence, riches, and dominion inferior to none) some of the *Spaniards*, utterly ignorant of that language, demanding by signes (as they could) the name of the Country, and pointing with their hand athwart a River, or Torrent, or Brook that ran by, the *Indians* answered *Peru*, which was either the name of that Brook, or of Water in general. The *Spaniards* thereupon conceiving that the people had rightly understood them, set it down in the *Diurnal* of their enterprise, and so in the first description made, and sent over to *Charles* the Emperor, all that West part of *America* to the South of *Panama*, had the name of *Peru*, which hath continued ever since, as divers *Spaniards* in the *Indies* assured me; which also *Acosta* the *Jesuite* in his natural and moral History of the *Indies* confirmeth. And whereas *Montanus* also findeth, that a part of the *Indies* (called *Jucatan*) took that name of *Joctan*, who as he supposeth navigated from the utmost East of *India* or *America*: it is most true, that *Jucatan* is nothing else in the language of that Country, but [*What is that?*] or [*What say you?*] For when the *Spaniards* ask'd the name of that place (no man conceiving their meaning) one of the Salvages answered *Jucatan* (which is) *What ask you*, or *What say you?* The like happened touching *Paria*, a Mountainous Country on the South side of *Trinidado*, and *Margarita*: for when the *Spaniards* inquiring (as all men do) the names of those new Regions which they discovered, pointed to the Hills afar off, one of the people answered, *Paria*, which is as much to say, as, *high Hills* or *Mountains*. For at *Paria* begin that marvellous ledg of Mountains, which from thence are continued to the Strait of *Magellan*, from eight degrees of North latitude to the 52. of South: and so hath that Country ever since retained the name of *Paria*.

The same happened among the *English*, which I sent under Sir *Richard Greenevile* to inhabit *Virginia*. For when some of my people asked the name of that Country, one of the Slaves answered, *Wingandacon*, which is as much to say, as, *You wear good cloaths*, or gay cloaths. The same happened to the *Spaniard* in asking the name of the Island *Trinidado*: for a *Spaniard* demanding the name of that self place which the Sea encompassed, they answered, *Caeri*, which signifieth an Island. And in this manner have many places, newly discovered, been entituled, of which *Peru* is one. And therefore we must leave *Ophir* among the *Moluccas*, whereabout such an Island is credibly affirmed to be.

Now, although there may be found Gold in *Arabia* it self (towards *Persia*) in *Havilah*, now *Susiana*, and all alongst that East *Indian* shore; yet the greatest plenty is taken up at the *Philippines*, certain Islands planted by the *Spaniards*, from the East *India*. And by the length of the passage which *Solomons* Ships made from the Red-Sea (which was three years in going and coming) it seemeth they went to the uttermost East, as the *Moluccas* or *Philippines*. Indeed these that now go from *Portugal*, or from hence, finish that navigation in two years, and sometimes less: and *Solomon's* Ships went not above a tenth part of this our course from hence. But we must consider, that they evermore kept the coast, and crept by the shores, which made the way exceeding long. For before the use of the compass was known, it was impossible to navigate athwart the Ocean; and therefore *Solomon's* Ships could not find *Peru* in *America*. Neither was it needfull for the *Spaniards* themselves (had it not been for the plenty of Gold in the East *India* Islands, farr above the Mines of any one place of *America*) to sail every year to the West part of *America* thither, and there to have strongly planted, and inhabited the richest of those Islands: wherein they built a City called *Manilia*. *Solomon* therefore needed not to have gone farther off than *Ophir* in the East, to have sped worse: neither could he navigate from the East to the West in those days, whereas he had no coast to have guided him.

Tostatus also gathereth a fantastical Opinion out of *Rabanus*, who makes *Ophir* to be a Countrey, whose Mountains of Gold are kept by *Griffins*: which Mountains *Solinus* affirmed to be in *Scythia Asiatica*, in these words: *Nam cum Auro & Gemmis affluant*, Griphes *tenent universa, alites ferocissimæ*, Arimaspi *cum his dimicant* &c. *For whereas these Countreys abound in Gold and rich Stones, the* Griffins *defend the one and the other: a kind of Fowl, the fiercest of all other; with which* Griffins *a Nation of people, called* Arimaspi, *make Warr.* These *Arimaspi* are said to have been men with one eye onely, like unto the *Cyclops* of *Sicilia*: of which *Cyclops*, *Herodotus*, and *Aristeus* make mention: and so doth *Lucan* in his third Book: and *Valerius Flaccus*: and *D. Siculus*, in the Story of *Alexander Macedon*. But (for mine own Opinion) I believe none of them. And for these *Arimaspi*, I take it that this name signifying *one-eyed*, was first given them, by reason that they used to wear a vizzard of defence, with one sight in the middle to serve both eyes; and

Flaccus lib. 6. *Diorus Siculus, lib.* 16.

and not that they had by nature any such defect. But *Solinus* borroweth these things out of *Pliny*, who speaks of such a Nation in the extreme North, at a place called *Gisolitron*, or the Cave of the North-east wind. For the rest, as all Fables were commonly grounded upon some true Stories, or other things done: so might these tales of the *Griffins* receive this moral: That if those men, which fight against so many dangerous passages for Gold, or other riches of this World, had their perfect sences, and were not deprived of half their eye-sight (at least of the eye of right reason and understanding) they would content themselves with a quiet and moderate estate; and not subject themselves to famine, corrupt air, violent heat and cold, and to all sorts of miserable diseases. And though this Fable be feigned in this place, yet, if such a tale were told of some other places of the World, where wilde Beasts or Serpents defend Mountains of Gold, it might be avowed. For there are in many places of the World, especially in *America*, many high and impassable Mountains, which are very rich, and full of Gold, inhabited onely with *Tygers*, *Lions*, and other ravenous and cruel Beasts: unto which, if any man ascend (except his strength be very great) he shall be sure to find the same warr which the *Arimaspi* make against the *Griffins*: not that the one or other had any sense of the Gold, or seek to defend that metal, but being disquieted, or made afraid of themselves or their young ones, they grow inraged and adventurous. In like sort it may be said, that the *Alegartos* (which the *Egyptians* call the *Crocodyles*) defend those Pearls which lie in the Lakes of the In-land: for many times the poor *Indians* are eaten up by them, when they dive for the Pearl. And though the *Alegartos* know not the Pearl, yet they find savour in the flesh and bloud of the *Indians*, whom they devour.

¶. VI.

Of Havilah *the Son of* Joctan, *who also passed into the East-Indies: and of* Mesha *and* Sepher *named in the bordering of the families of* Joctan: *with a Conclusion of this Discourse touching the plantation of the World.*

OF *Havilah* the Son of *Joctan*, there is nothing else to be said, but that the general Opinion is, that he also inhabited in the *East-India*, in the Continent, from which *Ophir* past into the Islands adjoining. And whereas *Ganges* is said to water *Havilah*, it is meant by *Havilah* in the *East-India*, which took name of *Havilah* the Son of *Joctan*: but *Havilah* which *Pison* compasseth, was so called of *Havilah*, the Son of *Chus*, as is formerly proved by this place of Scripture: *Saul smote the* Amalekites *from* Havilah, *as thou comest to* Shur, *which is before* Egypt. But, that *Saul* ever made warr in the *East-India*, no man hath suspected. For an end we may conclude, that of the thirteen Sons of *Joctan*, these three, *Saba*, *Havilah*, and *Ophir*; though at the first seated by their Brethren about the Hill *Masius*, or *Mesh*, *Gen.* 10. 30. (to wit) between *Cilicia* and *Mesopotamia*; yet, at length, either themselves, or their issues removed into the *East-India*, leaving the other Families of *Joctan*, to fill the Countreys of their first plantations, which the Scripture defines to have been from *Mesh* unto *Sephar*. And although S. *Hierome* take *Mesh* to be a Region of the *East-India*, and *Sephar* a Mountain of the same (which Mountain, *Montanus* would have to be the *Andes* in *America*) those fancies are far beyond my understanding. For, the word (*East*) in the Scriptures, where it hath reference to *Judæa*, is never farther extended than into *Persia*. But *Mesech* is that part of the Mountain of *Masius* in the North of *Mesopotamia*, out of which the River *Chaborus* springeth, which runneth by *Charran*: and in the same Region we also find for *Sephar* (remembred by *Moses*) *Sipphara* by *Ptolemy*, standing to the East of the Mountain *Masius*; from whence, *Joctan* having many Sons, some of them might pass into *India*, hearing of the beauty and riches thereof. But this was in process of time.

1 *Sam.* 15. 2. 7.

The other fashion of Planting I understand not, being grounded but upon mens imaginations, contrary to reason and possibility. And that this Mountain in the East was no farther off than in those Regions before remembred, it appeareth by many places of the Scripture where the same phrase is used: as in *Numbers* 23. Balac *the King of* Moab *hath brought me from* Aram, *out of the Mountain of the East*; which was from the East part of *Mesopotamia*. For *Balac* brought *Balaam* out of *Mesopotamia* (witness this place of *Deuteronomy*: *Because they hired* Balaam *the Son of* Beor, *of* Pethor *in* Aram Naharajim, *to curse thee*: for *Aram Naharajim* was *Syria fluviorum*, which is *Mesopotamia*, as aforesaid. Ver. 7.

This plantation of the World after the Floud doth best agree (as to me it seems) with all the places of Scripture compared together. And these be the reports of reason and probable conjecture; the guides which I have followed herein, and which I have chosen to go after; making no valuation of the opinions of men, conducted by their own fancies, be they ancient or modern. Neither have I any end herein, private or publick, other than the discovery of truth. For as the partiality of man to himself hath disguised all things: so the factious and hireling Historians of all Ages (especially of these later Times) have, by their many Volumes of untrue reports, left *Honour* without a Monument, and *Virtue* without Memory: and (in stead thereof) have erected *Statues* and *Trophies* to those, whom the darkest forgetfulness ought to have buried, and covered over for evermore. And although the length and dissolving nature of time hath worn out or changed the names and memory of the Worlds first Planters after the Floud (I mean the greatest number, and most part of them) yet all the footsteps of Antiquity (as appears by that which hath been spoken) are not quite worn out, nor over-grown: for *Babylon* hath to this day the sound of *Babel*; *Phœnicia* hath *Zidon*, to which City the eldest Son of *Canaan* gave name; so hath *Cilicia*, *Tharsis*; and the *Armenians*, *Medes*, *Hibernian*, *Cappadocians*, *Phrygians*, the *Syrians*, *Idumæans*, *Libyans*, *Moors*, and other Nations, have preserved from the death of forgetfulness some signs of their first Founders and true Parents.

CHAP.

Chap. IX.

Of the Beginning and Eſtabliſhment of Government.

SECT. I.

Of the proceeding from the firſt Government under the eldeſt of the families to be Regal, and from Regal abſolute, to Regal tempered with Laws.

IT followeth now, to intreat how the World began to receive Rule and Government, which (while it had ſcarcity of people) under-went no other Dominion than Paternity and Elderſhip. For the Fathers of Nations were then as Kings, and the eldeſt of Families as Princes. Hereof it came, that the word (*Elder*) was alwayes uſed, both for the Magiſtrate, and for thoſe of Age and gravity: the ſame bearing one ſignification almoſt in all Languages. For, in the Eleventh of *Numbers*, God commanded *Moſes* to gather together 70. of the Elders of the people, and Governours over them: the *Hebrew* bearing the ſame ſence which the *Latine* word *Senes*, or *Seniores* doth. So it is written in *Suſanna*, *Then the Aſſembly believed them as thoſe that were the Elders and Judges of the people.* And ſo in the words of thoſe falſe Judges and Witneſſes to *Daniel*, *Shew it unto us, ſeeing God hath given thee the Office of an Elder.* *Demoſthenes* uſeth the ſame word for the Magiſtrate among the *Grecians*. *Cicero* in *Cato* giveth two other reaſons for this appellation: *Apud* Lacedæmonios *qui ampliſſimum Magiſtratum gerunt, ut ſunt, ſic etiam appellantur, Senes*; *Among the* Lacedæmonians, *the chief Magiſtrates, as they were, ſo they are called, Eldermen:* And again, *Ratio & prudentia niſi eſſent in ſenibus, non ſummum Concilium Majores noſtri appellâſſent Senatum*; *If reaſon and adviſement were not in old men, our Anceſtours had never called the higheſt Councel by the name of Senate.*

But, though theſe reaſons may well be given, yet we doubt not, but in this name of (*Elders*) for Governours, or Counſellours of State, there is a ſign that the firſt Governours were the Fathers of Families; and under them the eldeſt Sons. And from thence did the *French*, *Italian*, and *Spaniard*, take the word (*Signor*) and out of it (*Seignourie*) for Lordſhip and Dominion: ſignifying (according to *Loyſeau*) puiſſance in propriety, or proper power. The kinds of this *Seignourie*, *Seneca* makes two: The one, *Poteſtas aut imperium*, *Power or command:* the other, *Proprietas aut dominium*; *Propriety or maſter-ſhip:* The correlative of the one is the Subject; of the other, the Slave. *Ad Cæſarem* (ſaith he) *poteſtas omnium pertinet*; *ad ſingulos proprietas*; *Cæſar hath power over all, and every man propriety in his own:* And again, *Cæſar omnia imperio poſſidet, ſinguli dominio*; *Cæſar holdeth all in his power, and every man poſſeſſeth his own.* But as men and vice began abundantly to increaſe: ſo obedience (the fruit of natural reverence, which but from excellent ſeed ſeldome ripeneth) being exceedingly overſhadowed with pride, and ill examples, utterly withered and fell away. And the ſoft weapons of Paternal perſwaſions (after man-kind began to neglect and forget the Original and firſt giver of life) became in all over-weak, either to reſiſt the firſt inclination of evil, or after (when it became habitual) to conſtrain it. So that now, when the hearts of men were onely guided and ſteered by their own fancies, and toſt to and fro on the tempeſtuous Seas of the World, while Wiſdom was ſevered from power and ſtrength from charity: Neceſſity (which bindeth every nature but the immortal) made both the wiſe and fooliſh underſtand at once, that the eſtate of reaſonable men would become far more miſerable than that of beaſts, and that a general floud of confuſion would a ſecond time over-flow them, did they not, by a general obedience to Order and Dominion, prevent it. For the mighty, who truſted in their own ſtrengths, found others again (by interchange of times) more mighty than themſelves: the feeble fell under the forcible; and the equal from equal received equal harms. Inſomuch, that the licentious diſorder (which ſeemed to promiſe a liberty upon the firſt acquaintance) proved, upon a better trial, no leſs perillous than indurable bondage.

Neceſſitas eſt firmum judicium, & immutabilis providentiæ poteſtas.

Theſe Arguments, by Neceſſity propounded, and by Reaſon maintained and confirmed, perſwaded all Nations which the Heavens cover, to ſubject themſelves to a Maſter, and to Magiſtracy in ſome degree. Under which Government, as the change (which brought with it leſs evil, than the former miſchiefs) was generally pleaſing: ſo time (making all men wiſe that obſerve it) found ſome imperfection and corroſive in this cure. And therefore the ſame Neceſſity which invented, and the ſame Reaſon which approved, Sovereign power; bethought it ſelf of certain equal rules, in which Dominion (in the beginning boundleſs) might alſo diſcern her own limits. For before the invention of Laws, private affections in ſupream Rulers made their own fancies both their Treaſurers and Hangmen; meaſuring by this Yard, and weighing in this Ballance, both good and evil.

For as wiſedom in Elderſhip preceded the rule of Kings; ſo the will of Kings forewent the inventions of Laws. *Populus nullis legibus tenebatur: arbitria principum pro legibus erant*; *The people were not governed by any other laws than the wills of Princes.* Hereof it followed, that when Kings left to be good, neither did thoſe men's Virtues value them which were not fancied by their Kings, nor thoſe men's Vices deform them that were. *Amor interdum nimis videt, interdum nihil videt*; *Love ſees one while too much, another while ſtark nothing.* Hence it came to paſſe, that after a few years (for direction and reſtraint of Royal power) Laws were eſta-

bliſhed : and that Government which had this mixture of equality (holding in an even Ballance ſupreme power and common right) acquired the Title of Regal : the other (which had it not) was known for Tyrannical : the one, God eſtabliſhed in favour of his people ; the other he permitted for their affliction.

In the infancy of this Regal Authority, Princes as they were choſen for their Virtues only, ſo did they meaſure their powers by a great deal of moderation. And therefore (ſaith *Fabius Pictor*) *Principes, quia juſti erant, & religionibus dediti, jure habiti Dii & dicti* ; *Princes becauſe they were juſt and religious, were rightly accounted and called Gods.*

De aurea ſæculo, part 1.

And though (ſpeaking humanely) the beginning of Empire may be aſcribed to Reaſon and Neceſſity ; yet it was God himſelf that firſt kindled this light in the minds of men, whereby they ſaw that they could not live and be preſerved without a Ruler and Conductor : God himſelf by his Eternal providence having ordained Kings ; and the Law of Nature, Leaders, and Rulers over others. For the very Bees have their Prince ; the Deer their Leaders ; and Cranes (by order impoſed) watch for their own ſafety. *The moſt high beareth rule over the Kingdoms of Men ; and appointeth over it whomſoever he pleaſeth. By me* (ſaith *Wiſdom* , ſpoken by the Son of God) *Kings reign ; By me Princes rule. And it is God* (ſaith *Daniel*) *that ſetteth up Kings, and taketh away Kings.* And that this power is given from God, *Chriſt* himſelf witneſſeth, ſpeaking to *Pilate* ; *Thou couldeſt have no power at all againſt me, except it were given thee from above.*

Dan. 5.21. *Prov.* 8. 15. *Dan.* 2. 21. *John* 19. 11.

It was therefore by a threefold Juſtice that the World hath been Governed from the beginning (to wit) by a Juſtice natural ; by which the Parents and Elders of Families governed their Children, and Nephews, and Families ; in which government the Obedience was called natural Piety : Again, by a Juſtice divine, drawn from the Laws and Ordinances of God ; and the Obedience hereunto was called Conſcience : And laſtly, by a Juſtice civil , begotten by both the former ; and the Obedience to this we call Duty. That by theſe three, thoſe of the eldeſt times were commanded, and that the rule in general was Paternal, it is moſt evident : for *Adam* , being Lord over his own Children, inſtructed them in the ſervice of God his Creator ; as we read, *Cain* and *Abel* brought Oblations before God, as they had been taught by their Parent, the Father of Mankind.

SECT. II.

Of the three commendable ſorts of Government, with their oppoſites : and of the degrees of humane ſociety.

WHat other Policy was exerciſed , or State founded, after ſuch time as man-kind was greatly multiplied before the Flood , it cannot be certainly known , though it ſeem by probable conjecture , that the ſame was not without Kings in that firſt Age : It being poſſible that many Princes of the *Egyptians* (remembred among their antiquities) were before the general Flood ; and very likely, that the cruel Oppreſſions in that Age proceeded from ſome Tyranny in Government , or ſome rougher form of Rule, than the Paternal.

Beroſus aſcribeth the Rule of the World in thoſe days to the Gyants of *Libanus*, who maſtered (ſaith he) all Nations from the Sun-riſing to the Sun-ſet. But in the ſecond Age of the World, and after ſuch times as the rule of Elderſhip failed, three ſeveral ſorts of Government were in ſeveral times eſtabliſhed among men, according to the divers natures of Places and People.

Beroſ. l. 1.

The firſt, moſt Antient, moſt general, and moſt approved, was the Government of one , ruling by juſt Laws, called *Monarchy* : to which *Tyranny* is oppoſed, being alſo a ſole and abſolute Rule, exerciſed according to the will of the Commander , without reſpect or obſervation of the Laws of God, or Men. For a lawful Prince or Magiſtrate (ſaith *Ariſtotle*) is the Keeper of Right and Equity : and of this condition ought every Magiſtrate to be, according to the Rule of Gods Word: *Judges and Officers ſhalt thou make thee in thy Cities : and theſe ſhall judg the people with righteous judgment.*

Deut. 16. 18.

The ſecond Government , is of divers principal Perſons eſtabliſhed by Order, and ruling by Laws, called *Ariſtocracy*, or *Optimatum poteſtas* ; to which *Oligarchia* (or the particular faction and uſurpation of a few great ones) is oppoſed : as the *Decemviri*, or *Trium viri*, and the like.

The third is a State popular, (or Government of the people) called *Democratia*, to which is oppoſed *Ochlocratia* , or the Turbulent unjuſt ruling of the confuſed multitude, ſeditiouſly ſwaying the State, contrary to their own Laws and Ordinances. Theſe three kinds of Government are briefly expreſt by *Tholoſanus* ; *unius, paucorum, & multorum* ; *Of one, of few, of many.*

Now as touching the beginning and order of Policy ſince the ſecond increaſe of mankind , the ſame grew in this ſort : Firſt of all, every Father, or eldeſt of the Family, gave Laws to his own iſſues, and to the people from him and them increaſed. Theſe, as they were multiplied into many houſholds (man by nature loving ſociety) joyning their Cottages together in one common Field or Village , which the *Latins* call *Vicus* ; of the *Greek* οἶκος, which ſignifies a *Houſe* ; or of the word (*Via*) becauſe it hath divers ways and paths leading to it. And as the firſt Houſe grew into a Village, ſo the Village into that which is called *Pagus* (being a ſociety of divers Villages) ſo called of the *Greeks* πάγη whioh ſignifieth a *Fountain* : becauſe many people (having their habitations not far aſunder) drank of one Spring or Stream of Water. To this word the *Engliſh* Hundreds, or (as ſome think) Shires , anſwereth not unfitly.

But as men and impiety began to gather ſtrength, and as emulation and pride, between the Race of the one and the other, daily increaſed : ſo both to defend themſelves from out-rage , and to preſerve ſuch goods as they had gathered, they began to joyn and ſet together divers of their Villages, invironing them firſt with Banks and Ditches, and afterwards with Walls : which, being ſo compaſſed, were then called *Oppida* ; either *ab opponendo ſe hoſtibus, Becauſe Walls were oppoſed againſt Enemies* ; or *ab opibus, becauſe thither they gathered their riches for ſafety and defence :* as alſo they were called *Urbes*, *ab orbe* ; becauſe when they were to build a City, they made a Circle with a Plough (ſaith *Varro*) therewith meaſuring and compaſſing the ground which they went to incloſe or fortifie. And although *Urbs* and *Civitas* be often confounded, yet the difference was antiently in this, that *Urbs* ſignifieth no other than the very Walls, and Buildings, and *Civitas* was taken for the Citizens, inhabiting therein : ſo called of *Civis*, and that, *ab eo quòd multitudo coivit, of comming together.* But all inhabitants within

in these Walls are not properly Citizens, but only such as are called Free-men: who bearing proportionably the charge of the City, may by turns become Officers and Magistrates thereof: the rest go under the name of Subjects, though Citizens by the same general name of Subjects are also known. For every Citizen is a Subject, but not every Subject a Citizen: perhaps also some Citizen (as the chief Magistrate, if he be to be tearmed one of the Citizens) is no Subject; but of this we need not stand to inquire. The word (Magistrate) is taken *à Magistro*, *from a Master*, and the word (Master) from the Adverb *Magis* (as also *Magisteria*, *Precepts of Art*) or else from the *Greek* word (*Megistos*) and so the *Greeks* call them *Megistanes*, whom the *Latins* call *Magnates*, or *Magistratus*.

Eth. 5. The Office and Duty of every Magistrate, *Aristotle* hath written in few words. *A Magistrate or Prince* (saith he) *is the keeper of right and equity*; but the same is best taught by Saint *Paul*, who expresseth both the cause efficient, and final, (that is) by whom Magistrates and Princes are ordained, together with their Duties and Office. *Rom 13.4.* *A Magistrate is the Minister of God for thy wealth; but if thou do evil, fear: for he beareth not the sword for nought. For he is the Minister of God, to take vengeance on him that doth evil.* He also teacheth in the same place; *Ver. 1. 2.* *That every soul ought to be subject to the higher powers, because they are by God ordained*, and that *whosoever resisteth that power, resisteth God*, the giver and fountain thereof: and shall not only be therefore subject to the judgment and condemnation of Man, but of God: *Ibid. v. 5.* *For ye must be subject* (saith he) *not because of wrath only, but also for conscience sake.*

The examples are not to be numbred of Gods punishments, upon those that have resisted Authority, by God ordained and established. Neither ought any Subject therefore to resist the power of Kings, because they may be taxed with injustice or cruelty: for it pleaseth God sometimes to punish his people by a Tyrannous hand: and the Commandment of obedience is without distinction. The *Prophets* and *Christ* himself subjected themselves to the power of Magistracy. *Christ* commanded that all due to *Cæsar* should be given unto him: and he payed Tribute for himself and *Peter*. *Hieremy* commanded the *Israelites* (even those that were Captives under Heathen Kings) to pray for them and for the peace of *Babylon*. So *Abraham* prayed for *Abimelech*; and *Jacob* blessed the King of *Egypt*: And *it is acceptable in the sight of our Saviour* (saith *Paul*) *that ye make Supplications and Prayers for Kings, and for all that are in Authority*: and if for such Kings as were Idolatrous, much more for Christian Kings and Magistrates. And so much did Saint *Chrysostom*, in his Homily to the people, prefer *Monarchical* Government, as he rather commended the rule of Kings (though Tyrants) than that they should be wanting: *Præstat Regem tyrannum habere, quàm nullum*; *Better a Tyrannous King, than no King*: to which also *Tacitus* subscribeth: *Præstat* (saith *Tacitus* in the first of his History) *sub malo principe esse, quàm nullo*; *It is better to have a bad Prince than none at all.* And be they good Kings (which is generally presupposed) then is there no liberty more safe, than to serve them: *Neque enim libertus tutior ulla est* (saith *Claudian*) *quàm Domino servire bono*; *No liberty* (saith he) *more safe for us than to be servants to the virtuous.* And certainly, howsoever it may be disputed, yet it is safer to live under one Tyrant, than under 100000 Tyrants: under a wise man that is cruel, than under the foolish and Barbarous cruelty of the multitude. For as *Agesilaus* answered a Citizen of *Sparta*, that desired an alteration of Government, That kind of Rule which a man would disdain in his own house, were very unfit to govern great Regions by.

Hierem. 29. 7. *Gen. 20. 17 & 27. 10.*

Lastly, as many Fathers erect many Cottages for their many Children: and as (for the reason before remembred) many Housholds joyned themselves together, and made Villages; many Villages made Cities: so when these Cities and Citizens joyned together, and established Laws by consent, associating themselves under one Governour, and Government; they, so joyned, were called a Comman-wealth: the same being sometimes governed by Kings; sometimes by Magistrates; sometimes by the People themselves.

SECT. III.

Of the good Government of the first Kings.

NOW this first Age after the Flood; and after such time as the people were increased, and Families became strong, and they dispersed into several parts of the World, was by antient Historians called Golden: Ambition and Covetousness being as then but green, and newly grown up, the seeds and effects whereof were as yet but potential, and in the blowth and bud. For while the Law of Nature was the rule of mans life, they then sought for no larger Territory than themselves could compass and manure: they erected no other magnificent Buildings, than sufficient to defend them from cold and tempest: they cared for no other delicacy of fare, or curiosity of dyet, than to maintain life: nor for any other apparel, than to cover them from the Cold, the Rain and the Sun.

And sure if we understand by that Age (which was called Golden) the antient simplicity of our Fore-fathers, this name may then truly be cast upon those Elder times; but if it be taken otherwise, then, whether the same may be attributed more to any one time than to another (I mean to one limited time and none else) it may be doubted. For good and Golden Kings make good and Golden Ages: and all times have brought forth of both sorts. And as the Infancy of Empiry) when Princes played their Prizes, and did then only woo men to obedience) might be called the Golden Age; may the beginning of all Princes times be truly be called Golden. For be it that men affect Honour, it is then best purchased; or if Honour affect men, it is then that good deservings have commonly the least Impediments: and if Liberality overflow her Banks and Bounds, the same is then best warranted both by Policie and Example. But Age and Time, do not only harden and shrink the openest and most *Jovial* hearts, but the Experience which it bringeth with it, layeth Princes torn Estates before their eyes, and (withal) perswadeth them to compassionate themselves. And although there be no Kings under the Sun whose means are answerable unto other mens desires; yet such as value all things by their own respects, do no sooner find their appetites unanswered, but they complain of alteration, and account the Times injurious and Iron. And as this falleth out in the Reign of every King, so doth it in the life of every man, if his days be many: for our younger years are our Golden Age, which being eaten up by time, we praise those Seasons which our youth

accompanied: and (indeed) the grievous alterations in our selves, and the pains and diseases which never part from us but at the grave, make the times seem so differing and displeasing: especially the quality of Man's nature being also such, as it adoreth and extolleth the passages of the former, and condemneth the present state how just soever: *Fit humanæ malignitatis vitio, ut semper vetera in laude, præsentia in fastidio sint*; *It comes to pass* (saith *Tacitus*) *by the vice of our malignity, that we always extol the time past, and hold the present fastidious.* For it is one of the Errors of way-ward Age: *Quod sint laudatores temporis acti*; *That they are praisers of fore-passed times*, forgetting this advice of *Solomon*: *Say not then, Why is it that the former days were better than these? For thou doest not inquire wisely of this thing*: to which purpose *Seneca*; *Majores nostri questi sunt, & nos querimur, posteri querentur, everſos esse mores, regnare nequitiam, in deterius res hominum & in omne nefas labi: Our Ancestors have complained, we do complain, our Children will complain, that good manners are gone, that wickedness doth reign, and all things grow worse and worse, and fall into all evil.* These are usually the Discourses of Age and Misfortune. But hereof what can we add to this of *Arnobius*? *Nova res quandoque vetus fiet, & vetus temporibus*; *quibus cœpit nova fuit & repentina. Whatsoever is new in time shall be made old: and the ancientest things when they took beginning were also new and sudden.* Wherefore not to stand in much admiration of these first times, which the discontentment of present times have made Golden, this we may set down for certain, That as it was the virtue of the first Kings, which (after God) gave them Crowns; so the love of their people thereby purchased, held the same Crowns on their heads. And as God gave the obedience of Subjects to Princes: so (relatively) he gave the care and justice of Kings to the Subjects; having respect, not only to the Kings themselves, but even to the meanest of his Creatures: *Nunquam particulari bono servit omne bonum*; *The infinite goodness of God doth not attend any one only*: For he that made the small and great, careth for all alike: and it is the care which Kings have of all theirs, which makes them beloved of all theirs; and by a general love it is, that Princes hold a general obedience: For, *Potestas humana radicatur in voluntatibus hominum: All humane power is rooted in the will or disposition of men.*

Tacit. in Dial. de Orat.

Eccles.7.

Arnob.l.2.

Wisd.6.7.

SECT. IV.

Of the beginning of Nobility: and of the vain vaunt thereof without Virtue.

Virus Nobilis non nascitur sed fit.

AND with this Supreme Rule and Kingly Authority, began also other degrees and differences among Subjects. For Princes made election of others by the same Rule, by which themselves were chosen; unto whom they gave place, trust, and power. From which Imployments and Offices sprung those Titles, and those degrees of Honour, which have continued from Age to Age, to these days. But this Nobility, or difference from the vulgar, was not in the beginning given to the Succession of Blood, but to Succession of Virtue, as hereafter may be proved. Though at length it was sufficient for those whose Parents were advanced, to be known for the Sons of such Fathers: and so there needed then no endeavour of well-doing at all, or any contention for them to excel, upon whom glory or worldly Nobility necessarily descended. Yet hereof had Nobility denomination in the beginning, That such as excelled others in virtue, were so called: *Hinc dictis Nobilis, quasi virtute præ aliis notabilis.* But after such time as the deserved Honour of the Father was given in reward to his Posterity, Saint *Jerom* judged of the Succession in this manner: *Nihil aliud video in Nobilitate appetendum, nisi quod Nobiles quadam necessitate constringantur, ne ab antiquorum probitate degenerent: I see no other thing to be affected in Nobility, than that Noblemen are by a kind of necessity bound, not to degegenerate from the virtue of their Ancestors.* For if Nobility be *Virtus & antiquæ divitiæ*; *Virtue and ancient riches*, then to exceed in all those things which are *extra hominem*, as riches, power, glory, and the like, do no otherwise define Nobility, than the word (*animal*) alone doth define a reasonable man. Or if honour (according to *L. Vives*) be a witness of virtue and well-doing: and Nobility (after *Plutarch*) the continuance of Virtue in a Race or Linage: then are those in whom Virtue is extinguished, but like unto Painted and Printed Papers, which ignorant men worship instead of *Christ*, our *Lady*, and other *Saints*: men in whom there remain but the dregs and Vices of ancient Virtue: Flowers, and Herbs, which by change of Soyl and want of manuring are turned to Weeds. For what is found praise-worthy in those waters, which had their beginning out of pure Fountains, if in all the rest of their course they run foul, filthy, and defiled? *Ex terra fertili producitur aliquando Cicuta venenosa, ex terra sterili pretiosum Aurum*; *Out of fruitful ground ariseth sometimes poysoning Henbane, and out of barren Soyl precious Gold.* For as all things consist of matter and form, so doth *Charron* (in his Chapter of Nobility) call the Race and Linage but the matter of Nobility: the form (which gives life and perfect being) he maketh to be Virtue, and Quality, profitable to the Common-weal. For he is truly and entirely Noble, who maketh a singular profession of publike Virtue, serving his Prince and Country, and being descended of Parents and Ancestors that have done the like. And although that Nobility, which the same Author calleth personal (the same which our selves acquire by our Virtue and well deservings) cannot be ballanced with that which is both natural by Descent, and also Personal; yet if Virtue be wanting to the natural, then is the personal and acquired Nobility, by many degrees to be preferred: For (saith *Charron*) this Honour (to wit) by Descent, may light upon such an one, as in his own nature is a true Villain. There is also a third Nobility, which he calleth Nobility in Parchment, bought with Silver or Favour: and these be indeed but Honours of affection, which Kings, with the change of their Fancies, wish they knew well how to wipe off again. But surely, if we had as much sence of our degenerating in worthiness, as we have of vanity in deriving our selves of such and such Parents, we should rather know such Nobility (without Virtue) to be shame and dishonour, than Nobleness and glory to vaunt thereof. *What calamity is wanting* (saith *Bernard*) *to him that is born in sin, of a Potshare body and barren mind?* For (according to the same Father) *Dele fucum fugacis honoris hujus, & malè coronatæ nitorem gloriæ, &c. Wipe away the painting of this fleeting honour, and the glittering of the ill-crowned glory, that then thou mayest consider thy self nakedly: for thou camest naked out of thy Mothers womb. Camest thou thence with thy Mytre, or glystering with Jewels, or garnish-*

Pint. in Ezech.

Bern.l.2. de Consider. ad Eugen. Pap.

garnished with Silks, or adorned with Feathers, or stuffed with Gold? If thou scatter and blow away all these by thy consideration, as certain morning clouds, which do or will soon pass over, thou shalt meet with a naked, and poor, and wretched, and miserable man; and blushing, because he is naked, and weeping, because he is born; and repining, because he is born to labour, and not to honour.

For, as touching the matter of all men, there is no difference between it and dust: *which if thou dost not believe* (saith St. *Chrysostom*) *look into the Sepulchres and Monuments of thy Ancestors, and they shall easily perswade thee by their own example, that thou art dust and dirt: so that if man seem more noble and beautiful than dust, this proceedeth not from the diversity of his Nature, but from the cunning of his Creatour.*

Chrys. hom. 2. de incomposita Dei natura com. 5.

For true Nobility standeth in the Trade — *Phart.*
Of virtuous life; not in the fleshly Line:
For bloud is brute, but Gentry is Divine.

And howsoever the custom of the World have made it good, that Honours be cast by birth upon unworthy Issues: yet *Solomon* (as wise as any King) reprehendeth the same in his fellow-Princes: *There is an evil* (saith he) *that I have seen under the Sun, as an errour that proceedeth from the face of him that ruleth: Folly is set in great excellency.* *Eccles. 10.*

CHAP. X.

Of Nimrod, Belus, *and* Ninus: *and of memorable things about those times.*

SECT. I.

That Nimrod *was the first after the Floud that reigned like a Sovereign Lord, and that his beginning seemeth to have been of just authority.*

THE first of all that reigned as Sovereign Lord, after the Floud, was *Nimrod*, the Son of *Chush*, distinguished by *Moses* from the rest (according to S. *Augustine*) in one of these two respects: either for his eminency, and because he was the first of fame, and took on him to command others: or else, in that he was begotten by *Chush*, after his other children were also become Fathers; and of a later time than some of his Grandchildren and Nephews. Howsoever, seeing *Moses* in expres words, calleth *Nimrod* the Son of *Chush*, other mens conjectures to the contrary, ought to have no respect.

This Empiry of *Nimrod*, both the Fathers, and many later Writers call tyrannical: the same beginning in *Babel* (which is) confusion. But it seemeth to me, that *Melanchon* conceived not amiss hereof: the same exposition being also made by the Authour of that Work, called *Onomasticum Theologicum*, who affirms that *Nimrod* was therefore called *Amarus Dominator, A bitter, or severe Governour*, because his form of Rule seemed, at first, farr more terrible than Paternal authority. And therefore he is in this respect also called *A mighty Hunter*: because he took and destroyed both beasts and thieves. But S. *Augustine* understands it otherwise, and converts the word (*ante*) by (*contra*) affirming therein, that *Nimrod* was a mighty Hunter against God: *Sic ergo intelligendus est Gigas ille, Venator contra Dominum; So is that Giant to be understood, a Hunter against the Lord.*

But howsoever this word (*A mighty Hunter*) be understood; yet it rather appeareth, that as *Nimrod* had the command of all those which went with him from the East into *Shinaar*: so, this charge was rather given him, than by him usurped. For it no where is found, that *Noah* himself, or any of the Sons of his own body, came with this troop into *Babylon*: no mention at all being made of *Noah* (the years of his life excepted) in the succeeding Story of the *Hebrews*; nor that *Sem* was in this disobedient troop, or among the builders of *Babel*.

The same is also confirmed by divers Historians, that *Nimrod*, *Suphne*, and *Joctan*, were the Captains and Leaders of all those which came from the East. And though *Sem* came not himself so farr as *Shinaar* (his lot being cast on the East parts) yet from his Son's Nephew *Heber*, the name and Nation of the *Hebrews* (according to the generall opinion) took beginning, who inhabited the Southermost parts of *Chaldæa*, about the City of *Ur*, from whence *Abraham* was by God called into *Charran*, and thence into *Canaan*.

And because those of the Race of *Sem* which came into *Chaldæa*, were no partners in the unbelieving work of the Tower: therefore (as many of the Fathers conjecture) did they retain the first and most ancient language, which the Fathers of the first Age had left to *Noah*; and *Noah* to *Sem* and his Issues: *In familia* Heber *remansit hæc lingua; In the family of* Heber *this language remained* (saith Saint *Augustine* out of *Epiphanius*) and this Language *Abraham* used; yea, it was anciently, and before the Floud, the general speech: and therefore first called (saith *Cælestinus*) *lingua humana: the humane tongue.*

We know that *Goropius Becanus* following *Theodoret*, *Rabbi Moses*, *Ægyptius*, *Vergara*, and others, is of another opinion; but howsoever we determine of this point, we may with good probability resolve, that none of the godly seed of *Sem* were the chief Leaders of this presumptuous multitude. And seeing it is not likely, but that some one was by order appointed for this charge, we may imagine that *Nimrod* rather had it by just authority, than violence of usurpation.

SECT.

SECT. II.

That Nimrod, Belus, *and* Ninus *were three distinct Persons.*

BEnzo, and out of him *Nauclerus*, with others, make many *Nimrods*; *Eusebius* confounds him with *Belus*, and so doth Saint *Hierom* upon *Ose*; and these words of Saint *Augustine* seem to make him of the same Opinion: *Ibi autem* Ninus *regnabat post mortem patris sui* Beli, *qui primus illic regnaverat 65. annos*; *There did* Ninus *reign after the death of his father* Belus, *who governed in* Babylon *sixty five years*. But it could not be unknown to Saint *Augustine*, that *Nimrod* was the Establisher of that Empire: *Moses* being plain and direct therein. *For the beginning of* Nimrods *Kingdom* (saith he) *was* Babel, Erec, Accad, *and* Chalne, *in the Land of* Shinaar; wherefore *Nimrod* was the first King of *Babel*. And certainly, it best agreeth with reason, that *Ninus* was the third, and not one with *Nimrod*, as *Mercator* (led by *Clement*) supposed: for in *Ninus* his time, the World was marvellously replenished. And if S. *Augustine* had undoubtedly taken *Belus* for *Nimrod*, he would have given him the name which the Scriptures give him, rather than have borrowed any thing out of prophane Authors. And for those words of S. *Augustine* (*qui primus illic regnaverat*; *Who was the first that reigned there*) supposed to be meant by *Belus*: those words do not disprove that *Nimrod* was the Founder of the *Babylonian* Empire. For although *Julius Cæsar* overthrew the liberty of the *Roman* Common-wealth, making himself perpetual *Dictator*; yet *Augustus* was the first established Emperour, and the first that reigned absolutely by soveraign Authority over the *Romans*, as an Emperour.

The like may be said of *Nimrod*, that he first brake the rule of Eldership and Paternity, laying the foundation of soveraign rule, as *Cæsar* did; and yet *Belus* was the first, who peaceably, and with general allowance, exercised such a power. *Pererius* is of opinion, that *Belus* and *Nimrod* were the same, because many things are said of them, both agreeing in time: for it was about 200. years after the Floud (as they account) that *Belus* reigned; but such agreement of times proves it not. For, so *Edward* the third, and his Grand-child, *Richard* the second, were Kings both in one year: the one died; the other in the same year was crowned King.

And yet the opinion (that *Nimrod* and *Belus* were one) is farr more probable than that of *Mercator*; who makes *Ninus* and *Nimrod* to be the same. For, it is plain, that the beginning of *Nimrod*'s Kingdom was *Babel*, and the Towns adjoining: but the first, and most famous work of *Ninus*, was the City of *Ninive*.

Now, whereas *D. Siculus* affirmeth, that *Ninus* overcame and suppresst the *Babylonians*, the same rather proveth the contrary, than that *Ninus* and *Nimrod* were one Person. For *Ninus* established the seat of his Empire at *Ninive* in *Assyria*, whence the *Babylonians* might (perchance) in disdain thereof fall from his obedience, whom he recovered again by strong hand; which was easie: *Babylon* being not walled till *Semiramis* time,

——*Dicitur altam*
Coctilibus muris cinxisse Semiramis *Urbem.*

Semiramis with walls of Brick, the City did inclose.

Further, where it is alledged, that as the Scriptures call *Nimrod mighty*; so *Justine* hath the same of *Ninus*, which is one of *Mercator*'s Arguments; it may be answered, that such an addition might have been given to many other Kings as well. For, if we may believe *Justine*; then were *Vexoris* King of *Egypt* and *Tanais* of *Scythia*, mighty Kings before *Ninus* was born. And if we may compare the words of *Moses* (touching *Nimrod*) with the undertakings of *Ninus*, there will be found great difference between them.

For, whereas *Mercator* conceiveth, that it was too early, for any that lived about the time of the confusion of Languages, to have invaded and mastered those Cities so farr removed from *Babel*, namely, *Erech*, *Accad*, and *Chalne*: which work he therefore ascribeth to *Ninus*, as a man of the greatest undertaking; and consequently would have *Nimrod* to have been long after the time, in which we suppose he flourished; and both those names of *Nimrod* and *Ninus* to belong to one Person, to wit, to *Ninus*: to these things to make some answer. First, I do not find that supposition true, That ever *Nimrod* invaded any of these Cities; but that he founded them, and built them from the ground, being the first after the Floud, that conducted the children of *Noah* into those parts: and therefore had nothing built or erected to his hand.

Besides, whereas these Cities, in many mens opinions, are found to stand farr away from *Babylon*, I find no reason to bring me to that belief. The City of *Accad*, which the *Septuagint* calls *Archard*; and *Epiphanius*, *Arphal*; *Junius* takes it to be *Nisibis* in *Mesopotamia*: for the Region thereabout, the Cosmographers (saith he) call *Accabene* for *Accadene*. Others understand *Nisibis* and *Ninive*, to be one City: so do *Strabo* and *Stephanus* confound it with *Charran*, but all mistaken. For *Nisibis*, *Accad*, and *Charran*, are distinct places. Though I cannot deny *Accedene* to be a Region of *Mesopotamia*, the same which *Arias Montanus*, out of S. *Hierom*, calls *Achad*: and so do the *Hebrews* also call *Nisibis*, which seemeth to be the cause of this mistaking. As for the City of *Erec*, which the *Septuagint* call *Orech*; S. *Augustine*, *Oreg*; and *Pagninus*, *Erec*; this place *Junius* understands for *Aracca* in *Susiana*: but there is also a City in *Camagena*, called *Arace*; and indeed, likelihood of name is no certain proof, without the assistance of other circumstances.

Concerning the third City (called *Chalne*) some take it for *Calinisis*: of which *Am. Mercellinus*. S. *Hierom* takes it for *Seleucia*; *Hierosolymitanus*, for *Ctesiphon*: others do think it to be the *Agrani* upon *Euphrates*, destroyed and raised by the *Persians*. But let *Moses* be the Moderator and Judge of this Dispute, who teacheth us directly, that these Cities are not seated in so divers and distant Regions; for these be his words: *And the beginning of his Kingdom* (speaking of *Nimrod*) *was* Babel, Erec, *Accad, and Chalne in the Land of Shinaar*: so as in the Valley of *Shinaar*, or *Babylonia*, or *Chaldæa* (being all one) we must find them. And therefore I could (rather of the two) think, with *Viterbiensis*, that these four made but one *Babylon*, than that they were Cities far removed, and in several Provinces, did not the Prophet *Amos* precisely distinguish *Chalne* from *Babylon*. *Go you* (saith *Amos*) *to Chalne, and from thence go you to Hamath, and then* *Lib. 23.* *Cap. 6. v. 2.*

to

to Gath of the Philistims. The *Geneva* Translation, favouring the former Opinion, to set these Cities out of *Shinaar*, hath a marginal note expressing that *Shinaar* was here named, not that all these Cities were therein seated, but to distinguish *Babylon* of *Chalde*, from *Babylon* in *Egypt*: but I find little substance in that conceit. For sure I am, that in the beginning of *Nimrod*'s Empire, there was no such *Babylon*, nor any City at all to be found in *Egypt*: *Babylon* of *Egypt* being all one with the great City of *Cairo*, which was built long after, not far from the place where stood *Memphis* the ancient City, but not so ancient as *Babylon* upon *Euphrates*. Now, that *Chalne* is situate in the Valley of *Shinaar*, it hath been formerly proved in the Chapter of *Paradise*. So as for any argument that may be brought to the contrary, from the remote situation of these three Cities from *Babylon*, we may continue in our opinion, That *Nimrod*, *Belus*, and *Ninus*, were distinct and successive Kings.

SECT. III.

That Nimrod, *not* Assur, *built* Ninive; *and that it is probable, out of* Esay 23. 13. *that* Assur *built* Ur *of the* Chaldees.

NOW, as of *Nimrod*; so are the Opinions of Writers different touching *Assur*, and touching the beginning of that great State of *Babylon* and *Assyria*: a controversie wearisomly disputed without any direct proof, conclusion, or certainty. But to me (of whom, where the Scriptures are silent, the voice of reason hath the best hearing) the Interpretation of *Junius* is most agreeable; who, besides all necessary consequence, doth not dis-joyn the sence of the Scriptures therein, nor confuse the understanding thereof. For in this sort he converteth the *Hebrew* Text: *Erat enim principium Regni ejus* Babel, *&* Erec, *&* Accad, *&* Chalne, *in terra* Shinaaris: *è terra hac processit in* Assyriam, *ubi ædificavit* Niniven (which is) *For the beginning of his Kingdom was* Babel, *and* Erech, *and* Accad, *and* Chalne, *in the Land of* Shinaar: *and he went forth of this Land into* Assyria, *and built* Nineve. So as *Junius* takes *Assur* in this place, not for any Person, but for the Region of *Assyria*; the Land being so called in *Moses* time, and before it. For certainly, the other construction (where the word *Assur* is taken for *Assur* the Son of *Shem*) doth not answer the order which *Moses* observeth through all the Books of *Genesis*, but is quite contrary unto it. For, in the beginning of the tenth Chapter, he setteth down the Sons of *Noah*, in these words: *Now these are the generations of the Sons of* Noah, Shem, Ham, *and* Japheth, *unto whom Sons were born after the Flood:* then it followeth immediately; *The Sons of* Japheth *were* Gomer, *&c.* so as *Japheth* is last named among *Noah*'s Sons, be he eldest or youngest, because he was first to be spoken of: with whom (having last named him) he proceeds and sets down his Issue, and then the Issue of his Sons: first, the Issue of *Gomer*, *Japheths* eldest Son; and then speaks of *Javan* and his Sons: for of the rest of that Family he is silent. Anon after, he numbreth the Sons of *Ham*, of which *Chush* and *Mizraim*; and afterwards of *Canaan*; leaving *Shem* for the last, because he would not dis-joyn the Story of the *Hebrews*. But after he beginneth with *Shem*, he continueth from thence by *Arphaxad*, *Sela*, and *Heber*, unto *Abraham*, and so to *Jacob*, and the Fathers of that Nation. But to have brought in one of the Sons of *Shem*, in the middle of the Generations of *Ham*, had been against order; neither would *Moses* have past over so sleightly the erection of the *Assyrian* Empire in one of the Sons of *Shem*, if he had had any such means: it being the Story of *Shem*'s Sons which he most attended. For he nameth *Nimrod* apart, after the rest of the Sons of *Chush*, because he founded the *Babylonian* and *Assyrian* Empire: and in the eleventh Chapter, he returns to speak of the building of *Babel* in particular, having formerly named it in the tenth Chapter, with those other Cities which *Nimrod* founded in *Shinaar*. And as he did in the tenth Chapter, so also in the eleventh he maketh no report of *Shem*, till such time as he had finished so much of *Nimrod* as he meant to touch: and then he beginneth with the Issue of *Shem*, which he continueth to *Abraham* and *Israel*. And of *Junius* opinion touching *Assur*, was *Calvin*: to which I conceive P. *Comestor*, *in historia Scholastica*, gave an entrance, who, after he had delivered this place in some other sence, he useth these words: *Vel intelligendum non est de* Assur, *filio* Sem, *&c. sed* Assur (*id est*, *Regnum* Assyriorum) *inde egressum est, quod tempore* Sarug *proavi* Abrahami *factum est*; (which is) *Or else it is not to be understood of* Assur *the Son of* Sem, *&c. but* Assur (*that is, the Kingdom of the* Assyrians) *came from thence* (*videlicet, from* Babylon) *or was made out of it: which happened in the time of* Sarug *the great Grand-father of* Abraham. After which he reconcileth the difference in this sort: If you take the ancient *Belus* (meaning *Nimrod*) to be the first Erector of the *Assyrian* Empire, or the first Founder thereof, it is true, *Quantum ad initium*; *Respecting the beginning*; but others conceive that it had beginning from *Ninus*, Which is also true, *Quantum ad Regni ampliationem*; *Regarding the enlargement of the Empire.* To this I may add the opinion of *Epiphanius*, confirmed by *Cedrenus*, who takes *Assur* to be the Son of *Nimrod*: and so doth *Methodius*, and *Niterbiensis*, Saint *Hierom*, and *Cyrillus*, and now lastly, *Torniellus*: who (saith he) took upon him that name of *Assur* after he had beaten the *Assyrians*, as *Scipio* did of *Africanus*, after his Conquest in *Africa*; and that *Assur* was a common name to the Kings of *Assyria*, as it appeareth by many Scriptures, as *Psal.* 81. *Esay.* 10. *Ose.* 5. &c. But to help the matter, he makes *Nimrod* of the race of *Shem*, and the Son of *Irari*. But *Rabanus Maurus*, who was Arch-Bishop of *Mentz* in the year of *Christ* 854. an Ancient and Learned Writer, understands this place with *Comestor*, or *Comestor* with him, agreeing in substance with that Translation of *Junius*: to which words of *Moses* he giveth this sence: *De hac terra* Assyriorum *pullulavit imperium, qui ex nomine* Nini, Beli, *filii*, Ninum *condiderunt*, *urbem magnum*, &c. *Out of this Land grew the Empire of the* Assyrians, *who built* Ninus *the great City, so named of* Ninus *the Son of* Belus. On the contrary, *Calvin* objecteth this place of *Esay*: *Behold the Land of the* Chaldæans, *this was no people*, Assur *founded it by the inhabitants of the Wilderness*; than which there is no one place in the Scriptures, that hath a greater diversity in the Translation and Understanding; in so much as *Michael de Palatio* upon *Esay* (though in all else very diligent) passeth it over. But *Calvin* seemeth hereby to infer, that because *Assur* founded the State of the *Chaldæans*, therefore also *Assur*, rather than *Nimrod*, established the *Assyrian* Empire, and built *Ninive*: contrary to the former Translation of *Junius*, and his own Opinion. Now, out of the *Vulgar* (called *Hierom*'s Trans-

Torniel. Annal. sacr. in Gen. 10.

23.13.

Translation) it may be gathered, that *Assur* both founded and ruined this Estate or City of the *Chaldæans*, by *Esay* remembred: unto which City, People, or State, he plainly telleth the *Tyrians*, that they cannot trust or hope for relief thence. Or rather it may be taken, that the Prophet maketh this City of *Chaldæa*, and that Estate, an example unto those *Phœnicians*, whom in this place he fore-telleth of their ruine: which City of *Chaldæa*, being of strength, and carefully defended, was (notwithstanding) by the *Assyrians* utterly wasted and destroyed: whereby he giveth them knowledge, and fore-telleth them, that their own City of *Tyre* (invincible, as themselves thought) should also soon after be overturned by the same *Assyrians*: as (indeed) it was by *Nebuchodonosor*. And these be the words after *Hierom*: *Ecce terra* Chaldæorum, *talis populus non fuit*, Assur *fundavit eam, in captivitatem traduxerunt robustos ejus, fossoderunt domos ejus, posuerunt eam in ruinam* (which is) *Behold the Land of the* Chaldæans, *such a People there were not* (or, *this was no People*, after the *Geneva*) Assur (*or the* Assyrians) *founded it, they carried away their strong men captive, they undermined their Houses, and ruined their City.* The *Septuagint* expresse it but in a part of another Verse, in these words: *Et in terra* Chaldæorum, *& hæc desolata est ab* Assyriis, *quoniam murus ejus corruit*, making the sence perfect by the preceding verse, which altogether may be thus understood: *If thou go over to* Chittim (which is *Macedon*, or *Greece*) *yet thou shalt not rest* (speaking to the *Tyrians*) *neither in the Land of the* Chaldæans, *for this is made desolate by the* Assyrians, *because their Walls fell together to the ground. Pagninus* and *Vatablus* convert it thus: *Ecce terra* Chasdiim, *iste populus non erat illic olim*; *nam* Assur *fundavit eam navibus, erexerunt arces illius*; *contriverunt ædes ejus, posuit eam in ruinam:* which may be thus Englished: *Behold the Land of the* Chaldæans, *this People was not once therein inhabiting*: *for* Assur *built it a harbour for Ships, they erected the Towers thereof*; *and again brake down the Houses thereof, and ruinated it. Junius*, in the place of Ships, sets the word (*pro Barbaris*) that is, *for the Barbarians*: and the *Geneva*, *by the Barbarians*. But this is undoubted, that the Prophet *Esay* (as may be gathered by all the sence of the Chapter) did therein assure the *Tyrians* of their future destruction, which (accordingly) fell on them: wherein (for the more terrour) he maketh choice to note the calamities of those places, Cities, and Regions, by whose Trade the state and greatness of the *Tyrians* was maintained; as by the *Cilicians* from *Tharsis*, from the *Macedonians*, and other *Grecians*, under the name of *Cittim*; also by the *Egyptians*, the *Chaldæans*, and the rest. For *Tyre* was then the Mart Town of the World most renowned. And (as it appears in our Discourse of *Paradise*) not the least part of her chief merchandize came in by the City *Ur*, or *Urchoa* in *Chaldæa*, where the body or chief stream of *Euphrates* (even that stream which runneth through *Babylon* and *Otris*, which now falleth into *Tygris*) had his passage into the *Persian* Gulf: though now it be stopped up. For, as we have heretofore noted, the *Arabians* (that descended from *Sheba* and *Raamah*) dwelling on the East banks of the *Persian* Gulf, trading with the *Tyrians* (as those of *Eden*, *Charran*, and *Chalne* did) transported their merchandize by the mouth of *Tygris*, that is, from *Teredon*; and of *Euphrates*, that is, from *Ur*, or *Urchoa*: and then by *Babylon*, and thence by River and over Land, they conveyed it into *Syria*, and so to *Tyre*; as they do this day to *Aleppo*. So then *Ur* of the *Chaldees* was a Port Town, and one of those Cities which had Intelligence, trade, and exchange with the *Tyrians*: for it stood by the great Lakes of *Chaldæa*, through which, that part of *Euphrates* ran, which passage is now stopt up. *Hujus cursum vetustas abolevit* (saith *Niger.*) And *Pliny*: *Locus ubi* Euphratis *ostium fuit, flumen salsum*; *Time hath worn away the Channel of* Euphrates: *the place where the mouth thereof was, is a Bay of salt water.* These things being thus, certainly (not without good probability) we may expound the City of the *Chaldees*, whose calamities *Esay* here noteth for terrour of the *Tyrians*, to be the City anciently called *Ur*; and by *Hecatæus*, *Camerina*; by *Ptolomy*, *Urchoa*; and by the *Greeks*, *Chaldæopolis*, *the City of Chaldæa*: which the Sons of *Shem*, until *Abrahams* time, inhabited. And whereas, in all the Translations, it is said, that *Assur* both founded it and ruined it: it may be understood, that *Assur* the Founder was the Son of *Shem*; and *Assur* the destroyers were the *Assyrians*, by whom those that inhabited *Ur* of *Chaldæa*, were at length oppressed and brought to ruine: which thing God fore-seeing, commanded *Abraham* thence to *Carran*, and so into *Canaan*. And if the *Hebrew* word by *Vatablus* & *Pagninus* converted (*by Ships*) do bear that sence, the same may be the bter approved, because it was a Port Town; and the River so far up as this City of *Ur* was in ancient time navigable, as both by *Pliny* and *Niger* appeareth. And if the word (*for the* Barbarians) or (*by the* Barbarians) be also in the *Hebrew* Text, it is no less manifest, that the most barbarous *Arabians* of the Desart were and are the confronting, and next People of all other unto it. For *Chaldæa* is now called *Arachaldar*, which signifieth Desart Lands, because it joyneth to that part of *Arabia* so called; and *Cicero* (calling those *Arabians* by the name of *Ituræans*) addeth, that they are, of all other People, the most Salvage; calling them, *Homines omnium maximè barbaros.*

So as this place of *Esay*, which breedeth some doubt in *Calvin*, proveth in nothing the contrary Opinion, nor in any part weakeneth the former Translation of *Junius*, nor the Interpretation of *Comestor* and *Rabanus*. For though other men have not conceived (for any thing that I have read) that *Assur* is in this place diversly taken (as for the Son of *Shem*, when he is spoken of as a Builder of *Ur*; and when as a Destroyer thereof, then for the *Assyrian* Nation) yet certainly the evidence of the truth, and agreement of circumstances seem to enforce it. And so this Founding of the City of the *Chaldees* by *Assur* (into which the most of the Posterity of *Shem* that came into *Shinaar*, and were separate for the Idolatry of the *Chusites* and *Nimrodians*, retired themselves) hath nothing in it to prove the same *Assur* built *Nineve*, or that the same *Assur* was all one with *Ninus*; except we will make *Assur*, who was the Son of *Shem*, both an Idolater, and the Son of *Belus*. For (out of doubt) *Ninus* was the first notorious sacrificer to Idols; and the first that set up a Statue or Image to be honoured as God. Now, if *Assur* must be of that Race, and not of the Family of *Shem*, as he must be, if he founded *Ninive*, then all those which seek to give him the honour thereof, do him by a thousand parts more injury, by taking from him his true Parent and Religion.

Besides, if this supposed *Assur*, whom they make the Founder of *Ninive* (and so the Son of *Belus*) were any other, and not the same with *Ninus*; then what became of him? Certainly, he was very unworthy, and obscure, and not like to be the Founder

der of such an Empire, and such a City, if no man have vouchsafed to leave to Posterity his expulsion thence, and how he lost that Empire again, or quitted it to *Ninus*: whose Acts and Conquests are so largely written, and (according to my apprehension) far differing from truth. It will therefore be found best agreeing to Scripture and to Reason, and best agreeing with the Story of that Age written by prophane Authors, that *Nimrod* founded *Babel*, *Erech*, and *Accad*, and *Chalne*, the first works and beginnings of his Empire, according to *Moses*; and that these works being finished within the Valley of *Shinaar*, he looked farther abroad, and set in hand the work of *Ninus*, lying near unto the same stream that *Babel* and *Chalne* did: which work his Grand-child *Ninus* afterward amplified and finished, as *Semiramis* (this *Ninus* his wife) did *Babylon*. Hence it came to pass, that as *Semiramis* was counted the Foundress of the City which she only finished; so also *Ninus* of *Nineve*: *Quam quidam* Babylonem *potuit instaurare*; *She might repair or renew* Babylon, saith St. *Augustine*. For so did *Nebuchodonosor* vaunt himself to be the Founder of *Babylon* also, because he built up again some part of the Wall, over-born by the fury of the River: which work of his stood till *Alexander*'s time, whereupon he vaunted thus: *Is not this great Babel which I have built?* Dan. 4. 27.

SECT. IV.

Of the Acts of Nimrod *and* Belus, *as far as now they are known.*

But to return to the Story, it is plain in *Moses*, that *Nimrod* (whom *Philo* interpreteth *transfugium*, and *Julius Africanus* firnamed *Saturn*) was the establisher of the *Babylonian Monarchy*, of whom there is no other thing written, than that his Empire in the beginning consisted of those four Cities before remembred; *Babel*, *Erech*, *Accad*, and *Chalne*; and that from hence he propagated his Empire into *Assyria*, and in *Assyria* built four more Cities (to wit) *Ninive*, *Rehoboth*, *Celah*, and *Resen*. And seeing that he spent much time in building *Babel* it self, and those adjoyning; and that his travels were many ere he came into *Shinaar*: that work of *Babel* (such as it was) with the other three Cities, and the large foundation of *Ninive*, and the other Cities of *Assyria* which he builded (considered with the want of Materials, and with other impediments) were of greater difficulty than any thing performed by his Successours in many years after: to whose undertakings time had given so great an encrease of People; and the Examples and Patterns of his beginning, so great advancement and encouragement: in whose time (saith *Glycas*) all these Nations were called *Meropes*, *à sermonis linguarum terræque divisione*; *By reason that the earth and the speech were then divided.*

Belus, or *Bel*, or *Jupiter Belus*, succeeded *Nimrod*, after he had reigned 114 years; of whose acts and undertakings there is little written. For it is thought that he spent much of his time in disburdening the low Lands of *Babylon*, and drying and making firm ground of all those great Fens and overflown Marishes which adjoyned unto it. For any of his Wars or Conquests there is no report, other than of his begun enterprise against *Sabatius* King of *Armenia*, and those parts of *Scythia*, which *Berosus* calls *Scythia Saga*, whose Son and Successour *Barzanes* became Subject and Tributary to *Ninus*, that followed the War to effect, which was by his Father *Belus* begun.

SECT. V.

That we are not to marvel how so many Kingdoms could be erected about these times: and of Vexoris *of* Egypt, *and* Tanais *of* Scythia.

That so many Kingdoms were erected in all those Eastern parts of the World so soon after *Nimrod* (as by the Story of *Ninus* is made manifest) the causes were threefold (namely) Opportunity, Example, and Necessity. For Opportunity, being a Princess liberal and powerful, bestoweth on her first Entertainers many times more benefits, than either Fortune can, or Wisdom ought; by whose presence alone the understanding minds of men receive all those helps and supplies, which they either want or wish for; so as every Leader of a Troop (after the division of Tongues, and dispersion of People) finding these fair offers made unto them, held the power which they possest, and governed by discretion all those People, whom they conducted to their destined places. For, it cannot be conceived, that when the earth was first divided, mankind straggled abroad like Beasts in a Desart, but that by agreement they disposed themselves, and undertook to inhabit all the known parts of the World, and by distinct Families and Nations: otherwise, those remote Regions from *Babylon* and *Shinaar*, which had Kings, and were peopled in *Ninus* his time, would not have been possest in many hundreds of years after, as then they were; neither did those that were sent, and travelled far off (order being the true Parent of prosperous success) undertake so difficult enterprises without a Conductor or Commander. Secondly, the Example of *Nimrod*, with whom it succeeded well, strengthened every humour that aspired. Thirdly, Necessity resolved all men by the arguments of common miseries, that without a Commander and Magistrate, neither could those that were laborious, and of honest dispositions, enjoy the harvest of their own Travels; nor those which were of little strength, secure themselves against forcible violence; nor those which sought after any proportion of greatness, either possess the same in quiet, or rule and order their own Ministers and Attendants.

That these Causes had wrought these Effects, the undertakings and Conquests of *Ninus* (the Son of *Belus*) made it apparent; for he fonnd every where Kings and Monarchies, what way soever his Ambition led him in the Wars.

But *Nimrod* (his Grand-father) had no Companion King, to us known, when he first took on him Sovereignty and sole Commandment of all those the Children of *Noah*, which came from the East into *Babylonia*; though in his life-time others also raised themselves to the same estate; of which hereafter. *Belus* (his Son and Successour) found *Sabatius* King of *Armenia* and *Scythia* sufficiently powerful to resist his attempts; which *Sabatius*, I take to be the same, which *Justine* calls *Tanais*; and should conjecture, that *Mizraim* had been this *Vexoris*, were it not that I vehemently suspect some errour (as *Justine* placeth him) in the time of that *Vexoris*, who by many circumstances seems to me, rightly

See more of this, l. 2. of this first Part, cap. 2. sect. 6.

rightly accounted by the Judicious and Learned *Reineccius*, all one with the great *Sesostris*, that lived certain Ages after *Ninus*. This *Belus*, the second King of *Babylon*, reigned 65 years, according to the common account.

SECT. VI.

Of the Name of Belus, *and other Names affines unto it.*

WHence this second King and Successor of *Nimrod* had the name of *Bell*, or *Belus*, question hath been made; for it seemeth rather a name imposed, or (of addition) given by *Ninus*, than assumed by *Belus* himself.

Cyrillus against *Julian* calls the Father of *Ninus*, *Arbelus*, affirming that he was the first of all men that caused himself to be called a god: which were it so, then might the name of *Belus* be thence derived. But *Bell*, as many Writers have observed, signifieth the Sun in the *Chaldæan* Tongue; and therefore did *Ninus* and *Semiramis* give that name to their Father, that he might be honoured as the Sun, which the *Babylonians* worshipped as a god. And as this Title was assumed in after-times by divers others of the *Chaldæan* Princes and *Babylonian Satrapæ*: so was it used by the chief of the *Carthaginians* and other Nations, as some Historians have conceived.

To this *Bel*, or *Belus*, pertain (as in affinity) those voices of *Baal*, *Baalim*, *Belphegor*, *Beelphagor*, *Belsebub*, and *Beelsephon*. Those that are learned in the *Hebrew* and *Chaldæan*, convert the word *Baal* by the *Latine*, *Princeps Militiæ*, *Chief in the War*; though *Daniel* was so called (saith *Suidas*) *Ob honorem explicationis arcanarum rerum*; *In honour of his expounding secrets*. Saint *Hierom* makes *Bel*, *Beel*, and *Baal*, to have the same signification: and saith, That the Idol of *Babylon* was so called, which *Ninus* in memory of his Father set up to be worshipped; to which, that he might add the more honour and reverence, he made it a Sanctuary and refuge for all offenders. Hence (saith *Lyranus*) came Idolatry, and the first use of Images into the World. *Isidore* doth interpret *Bel* by *Vetus*, old, or ancient; adding, That as among the *Assyrians* it is taken for *Saturn*, and the *Sun*; so in the *Punick* or *Carthaginian* Language, it signifieth God: *Glycas* makes it an *Assyrian* name properly; & *Josephus* a *Tyrian*. He also affirmeth, That the Idol wch the *Moabites* worshipped (by them erected on the Mountain *Phegor*, or *Peor*, & called *Baal*) is the same which the *Latines* call *Priapus*, the god of Gardens; which also was the Opinion of Saint *Hierom*. But, that the word *Bel*, or *Beel*, was as much to say, as God, appeareth by the word *Beelzebub*, the Idol of *Accaron*. For *Bel*, or *Beel* soundeth (God) and *Sebub* (Flies or Hornets) by which name (notwithstanding) the *Jews* express the Prince of Devils. But the Prophet *Ose* teacheth us the proper signification of this word from the voice of God himself; *And at that day (saith the Lord) thou shalt call me* Ishi, *and shalt call me no more* Baalim: *for I will take away the name of* Baalim *out of their mouths*. For, although the name of *Baal*, or *Bahal*, be justly to be used towards God; yet in respect that the same was given to Idols, God hath hated it, and forbad it. And the using of the word *Bel* among the *Chaldæans* for the Sun, was not, because it properly signifieth the Sun, but because the Sun there was worshipped as God; as also the Fire was; *tanquam Solis particula*. As for the words compounded (before remembred) as *Belphegor*, and *Belsephon*; *Belsephon* is expounded out of *Facius*; *Dominus speculæ, vel custodiæ*: *The Lord of the Watch-tower, or of the Guard*: the other word noteth the Idol, and the place wherein it was worshipped. It is written *Belpeor*, or *Baalpeor*; and *Peor* (they say) is as much as *Denudavit*; and therefore the word joyned, expresseth a naked Image. Some there are that call this *Belus*, the Son of *Saturn*: for it was used among the Ancients, to name the Father *Saturn*, the Son *Jupiter*, and the Grand-child *Hercules*. *Saturni dicuntur familiarum Nobilium, Regumque qui urbes condiderunt senissimi; primogeniti eorum* Joves & Junones; Hercules *vero Nepotes eorum fortissimi. The ancientest of Noble Families and Kings which founded Cities, are called* Saturns; *their first-born* Jupiters *and* Junoes; *and their valiant Nephews*, Hercules. But this *Belus* (saith *L. Vives*) was famous for his Warlike Son *Ninus*, who caused his Father to be worshipped as a God by the name of *Jupiter Babylonius*, whom the *Egyptians* (transported by Dreams of their Antiquities) make one of theirs. For *Neptune* (say they) upon *Lybia* the Daughter of *Epaphus*, begat this *Jupiter Belus*, who was Father to *Ægyptus*. They add, That this *Belus*, carrying a Colony to the River *Euphrates*, there built a City, in which he ordained Priests after the *Egyptian* manner. But, were there any *Belus* the Son of *Epaphus* and *Isis*, or of *Neptune* and *Lybia*, or (with *Eusebius*) of *Teglonus*, who after the death of *Apis* married *Isis* (*Cecrops* then reigning in *Athens*) the same was not this *Babylonian Belus* of whom we speak; but rather some other *Belus*, of whom the *Egyptians* so much vaunted.

Hier. in Ose. c. 2.

Lyr. in Sapien. Salom. c. 11. Isidor. l. 8. c. 11.

Hieron. in Ose. c. 4. & 9.

Auct. de æquit. l. 1.

Diod. l. 3.

SECT. VII.

Of the worshipping of Images, begun from Belus *in* Babel.

AS for the *Babylonian Belus*, he was the most ancient *Belus*, and the Inventor of *Astronomy*, if *Pliny* say true: from whence the *Egyptians* might borrow both the name and doctrine. Some part of the Temple, in which his *Statue* or Image was honoured as a God, the same Author affirmeth, that it did remain in his time.

Of the Sepulchre of *Belus*, *Strabo* writeth thus: *Over the River*, saith he, *there are Gardens, where they say the ruines of* Belus *his Tomb, which* Xerxes *brake up, are yet remaining. It was a square Pyramis made of Brick, a furlong high, and on every side it had a furlong in breadth.* It appears by *Cyril* against *Julian*, that he obtained divine worship yet living: for so he writes of him (calling him *Arbelus*.) *Arbelus, vir superbus & arrogans, primus hominum dicitur à subditis Deitatis nomen accepisse: Perseverârunt igitur* Assyrii, *& finitimæ illis gentes sacrificantes ei.* Arbelus, *a man very proud and arrogant, is accounted to be the first of all men that was ever honoured by their Subjects with title of Deity,* (or with the name of God) *the Assyrians therefore, and the bordering Nations have persevered, sacrificing to him.* Even *Arius* also, whom *Suidas* calls *Thuras*, who succeeded next after *Ninus*, was made an Idol-God among them, if we credit *Suidas*.

Strab. lib. 16. c. 3.

L. 1. cont. Julian.

After *Ninus* (that is, after *Ninias*) *Thuras* reigned (saith *Suidas*) whom they called after the name of

of the Planet *Mars*; a man of sharp and fierce disposition, who bidding battel to *Caucasus*, of the stock of *Japheth*, slew him. The *Assyrians* worshipped him for their God, and called him *Baal* (that is) *Mars*; thus far *Suidas*. Neither is it unlikely but that any among Idolatrous Nations were Deified in their life-times, or soon after: though I deny not, but that the most of their Images and *Statuæ* were first erected without divine worship, only in the memory of the glorious acts of Benefactors, as *Glycas* rightly conceiveth; and so afterward the Devil crept into those woodden & brazen Carcasses, when Posterity had lost the memory of their first invention. Hereof *Isidore* speaketh in this manner: *Quos autem* Pagani *Deos asserunt, homines fuerunt, & pro uniuscujusque vitæ meritis vel magnificentia, coli apud suos post mortem cœperunt: sed (Dæmonibus persuadentibus) quos illi pro sua memorea honoraverunt, minores Deos existimârunt: ad ista vero magis ex colenda accesserunt Poetarum figmenta; They were men* (saith he) *whom the* Pagans *affirmed to be gods: and every one for his merits or magnificence, began after his death to be honoured of his own: But, at length* (*the Devil perswading*) *they accounted them lesser gods, whose memories they honoured: and the Fictions of the Poets made the Opinions* (*concerning the honour of the dead*) *much more superstitious.*

And, that the worshipping of Images was brought in by the *Pagans* and *Heathen* Nations, it is not *Isidore* alone that witnesseth, but *Gregory*: *Gentilitas* (saith he) *inventrix & caput est Imaginum: Gentilism is the Inventress and ground of Images*; and *Ambrose*, *Gentes lignum adorant, tanquam Imaginem Dei*; *The* Gentiles *adored wood, as it were the Image of God.* *Eusebius* also affirmeth as much, and calleth the worshipping of Images, a Custom borrowed of the *Heathen*. The like saith Saint *Augustine* against *Adimantus*. *Et verentur* (saith *Lactantius*) *ne Religio vana sit, si nihil videant quod adorent; They fear their Religion would be vain, should they not see what they worship.*

Greg. Nyss. Cæsar.
Ambr. in Psal. 108.
Euseb. l. 7. cap. 18.
Aug. c. 13.
Lact. lib. 2. cap. 2.

And (out of doubt) the Schoolmen shift this fearful custom very strangely. For seeing the very workmanship is forbidden, how can the heart of a wise *Christian* satisfy it self with the distinction of *Doulia*, and *Hyperdoulia*, which can imply nothing but some difference of worshipping of those Images after they are made? And it is of all things the most strange, why religious and learned men should strain their wits to defend the use of those things, which the Scriptures have not only no where warranted, but expresly in many places forbidden, and cursed the practicers thereof. Yet this doctrine of the Devil was so strongly and subtilly rooted, as neither the express Commandment of God himself, *Thou shalt not make any graven Image*, nor all the threatning of *Moses* and the Prophets after him, could remove, weed it, or by fear, or by any perswasions lead the hearts of men from it. For, where shall we find words of greater weight, or plainer instruction than these? *Take therefore good heed to your selves (for ye saw no Image in the day that the Lord spake unto you in* Horeb, *out of the midst of the fire) that ye corrupt not your selves, and make you a graven Image, or representation of any Figure, whether it be the likeness of Male or Female.*

And, besides the express Commandment, *Thou shalt make thee no graven Image*, and the prohibition of many Scriptures; so it is written in the Book of *Wisdom*, That, *the invention of Idols was the beginning of Whoredom: and the finding of them the corruption of life: for they were not from the beginning, neither shall they continue for ever.*

And whereas the Schoolmen affirm, that the Prophets spake against the Worshipping of the *Heathen* Idols, it is manifest, that *Moses* spake of Images of the living God, and not of *Baal*, and the rest of that nature, *For you saw no Image* (saith *Moses*) *that day that the Lord spake unto you in* Horeb. Surely it was excellently said of *Basil*; *Noli aliquam in illo formam imaginari, ne circumscribas eum mente tua: Do not imagine any form to be in God, lest thou limit or circumscribe him in thy mind too.* Now, if the great *Basil* thought it a presumption unlawfull to represent a pattern of the infinite God to our own thoughts and minds, how far do those men presume, that put him under the greasie Pencil of a Painter, or the rusty Ax or other Instrument of a Carpenter or Carver?

For as this dishonour to the infinite and incomprehensible God, began in *Babel*: so did the Devil transport and spread this invention into all the Regions adjoyning, and into *Egypt* and *Greece*.

The *Romans*, for a while, resisted the erection of these Idols and Images, refusing to set them in their Temples for 170 years; observing the Law of *Numa*, who thought it impiety to resemble things most beautiful, by things most base. But, *Tarquinius Priscus* afterwards prevailing, and following the vanity of the *Grecians* (a Nation of all others under the Sun most deluded by Satan) set up the Images of their gods; which (as S. *Augustine* witnesseth) that learned *Varro* both bewailed, and utterly condemned: and which *Seneca* thus derideth; *Simulachra deorum venerantur, illis supplicant, genu posito illa adorant; & cum hæc suspiciant, fabros, qui illa fecere, contemnunt; The Images of the gods are worshipped, those they pray unto, with bended knees those they adore; and while they so greatly admire them, they contemn the Handicrasismen that made them*; which also *Sedulius* the *Poet* in this sort scoffed at:

Aug. de civit. l. 4. c. 31.

Heu miseri qui vana colunt, qui corde siniſtro
Religiosa sibi sculpunt simulachra, suumque
Factorem fugiunt, & quæ fecere, verentur!
Quis furor est? quæ tanta animos dementia ludit?
Ut volucrem, turpemque bovem, torvumque Draconem,
Semi-hominemque-canem supplex homo pronus adoret.

Ah wretched they that worship vanities,
And consecrate dumb Idols in their heart;
Who their own Maker (God on high) despise,
And fear the work of their own hands and Art!
What fury? what great madness doth beguile
Mens minds? that man should ugly shapes adore
Of Birds, or Bulls, or Dragons, or the vile
Half-dog-half-man on knees for aid implore.

And though this device was barbarous, and first, and many years practised by Heathen Nations only, till the *Jews* were corrupted in *Egypt*, yet it is not *Seneca* alone that laughed to scorn the Ignorant stupidity of his Nation: but *Justin Martyr* remembreth how the *Sybils* inveighed against Images: and *Hospinian*, how *Sophocles* taught, that it was pernicious to the Souls of men to erect and adore those babels. *Strabo* and *Herodotus* witness, that the *Persians* did not erect or set up any *Statue* of their Gods. *Lycurgus* never taught it the *Lacedæmonians*, but thought it impiety to represent immortal natures by mortal Figures. *Eusebius* also witnesseth, in his Sixth Book, *de præparatione Evangelica*, that it was forbidden by a Law in *Serica*, or among the

Brackmans in *India*, that Images should be worshipped. The same do *Tacitus* and *Crinitus* report of the ancient *Germans*. Many other Authors might be remembred, that witness the disdain which the Heathen themselves had of this childish Idolatry: of which *Hospinian* hath written at large in his Tract, *de origine Imaginum*. And it was truly said, *Omnia mala exempla bonis initiis orta sunt, All ill examples have sprung from good beginnings.* The Heathen, at first, made these *Statuæ* and Images, but in memory of such remarkable men, as had deserved best of their Countries and Common-wealths: *Effigies hominum* (saith *Pliny*) *non solebant exprimi, nisi aliqua illustri causa perpetuitatem merentium: Men are not wont to make Pictures, but of men which merited for some natable cause to be perpetually remembred.* And though of the more antient *Papists*, some have borrowed of the *Gentiles* (as appears in *Lactantius*) that defence for Images: That *Simulachra* are *pro elementis literarum, ut per ea discerent homines Deum invisibilem cognoscere: Images*, say they, (and so before them the Heathen said) *are instead of Letters, whereby men might learn to know the invisible God*: in which understanding, perhaps, they no other ways esteemed them than Pictures indeed; yet as that of *Baal*, or *Bel*, set up in memory of *Belus* the *Babylonian*, became afterward the most reverenced Idol of the World, by which so many Nations (and they which were appropriate to God himself) were misled and cast away; so those very stocks and stones, and painted canvases (called the Pictures of *Christ*, our *Lady*, and others) were by thousands of ignorant people, not only adored, but esteemed to have life, motion, and understanding. *On these stocks we call* (saith the Book of *Wisdom*) *when we pass through the raging waves, on these stocks more rotten than the Ship that carries us.*

This Heathen invention of Images became so fruitful in after-times, breeding an infinite multitude of gods, that they were forced to distinguish them into degrees and orders; as *Dii consentes, seu majorum gentium, selecti, Patritii, insigniores, dii medii*: *Counselling gods, or gods of the mightiest Nobility, select gods, Patrian, gods of mark, and Common gods* (which the *Romans* called *Medioxum*) *dii infimi*, and terrestrial *Heroes*, and multitudes of other gods, of which S. *Augustine* hath made large mention, in his Book, *de Civitate Dei*. But (saith *Lactantius*) among all those miserable souls, and rotten bodies, worshipped by men more like to their Idols, did *Epimenides Cretensis* (by what good Angel moved I know not) erect in the *Athenian* Fields, Altars to the unknown God, which stood with the same title and dedication, even to the times of S. *Paul*: who made them first know to whom these Altars belonged, and opened their eyes which were capable of grace, that they might discern the difference betwixt that light which lighteneth every man, and the obscure and stinking mist wherein the Devil had so many years led and misled them. And it sufficed not that the multitude of these gods was so great in general, or that every Nation had some one which took particular and singular care of them, as *Jupiter* in *Crete*, *Isis* in *Egypt*, in *Athens*, *Minerva*, in *Samos*, *Juno*, in *Paphos*, *Venus*, and so of all other parts; but every City, and almost every Family, had a god apart. For, as it is written in the second of *Kings*, the men of *Babel* made *Succoth Benoth*, and the men of *Cuth* made *Nergal*, and the men of *Hamath* made *Ashima*, and the *Avites* made *Nibhaz* and *Tartak*, and the *Sepharvaims* burnt their children in the fire to *Adramelech*. All which, how plainly hath the Prophet *Esay* derided? *Men cut down Trees, rind them, burn a part of them, make ready their meat, and warm themselves by the fire thereof, and of the residue he maketh a god, an Idol, and prayeth unto it: but God hath shut their eyes from sight, and their heart from understanding.* It is therefore safest for a *Christian*, to believe the Commandments of God, so direct against Idolatry, to believe the Prophets, and to believe S. *Paul*, who speaketh thus plainly and feelingly, *My beloved, flie from Idolatry; I speak as unto them which have understanding, judge ye what I say.*

lib. 14.

Cap. 17. *v.* 18. 31.

Cap. 44.

SECT. VIII.

Of the Warrs of Ninus: *and lastly, of his Warr against* Zoroaster.

UNto this *Belus* succeeded *Ninus*, the first that commanded the exercise of Idolatry, the first that injuriously invaded his Neighbour Princes, and the first that, without shame or fear, committed Adultery in publick. But, as of *Belus* there is no certain memory (as touching particulars) so of this *Ninus* (whose Story is gathered out of prophane Authors) I find nothing so warrantable, but that the same may be disputed, and in the greatest part doubted. For, although that piece of *Berosus*, set out and commented upon by *Annius*, hath many good things it it, and giveth great light (as *Chytræus* noteth) to the understanding of *Diodorus Siculus*, *Dion*, *Halicarnasseus*, and others: yet, *Lodovicus Vives*, *B. Rhenanus*, and others after them, have laid open the imperfection and defects of the Fragment; proving directly, that it cannot be the same *Berosus* which lived in *Alexander*'s time, cited by *Athenæus* and *Josephus*: and whose *Statue* the *Athenians* erected, saith *Pliny*. Yet it is from him chiefly, that many have gathered the succession of the *Babylonian* and *Assyrian* Princes, even from *Nimrod*, to the eighteenth King *Ascatades*, and to the times of *Josua*. For of *Metasthenes* an Historian, of the Race of the *Persian* Priests, there are found but certain Papers; or some few lines of the *Chaldæan* and *Assyrian* Monarchies: but he afterwards, in the collection of the *Persian* Kings, is not without his errours.

Athen. lib. 1. *Joseph. cont. Appian. l.* 1. *&* 7.

Ctesias, or *Cnidus* (a City joyning to *Halicarnasseus*) who lived together with *Cyrus* the younger, and with *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, gathered his History out of the *Persian* Records, and reacheth as farr upwards as *Ninus* and *Semiramis*: and, though in the Story of *Cyrus* the younger, *Xenophon* approveth him in some things, and *Athenæus*, *Pausanias*, and *Tertullian* cite him; yet so base and apparent are his flatteries of the Times and Princes with whom he lived, and so incredible are the numbers which he finds in the Armies of *Ninus*, and especially of *Semiramis*; as whatsoever his reports were, times have consumed his Works, saving some very few excerptions lately published.

And therefore in things uncertain, seeing a long discourse cannot be pleasing to men of judgment, I will pass over the acts of this third *Assyrian*, in as few words as I can express them. S. *Augustine* affirms, that *Ninus* mastered all *Asia*, *India* excepted. Others say that he wan it all, save *India*, *Bactria*, and *Arabia*. For he made *Aricus* of *Arabia*, the companion of his Conquests, with whom he entred into a streight league of amity, because he commanded many people, and was his kinsman, and

and a *Chusite* and the neereſt Prince confronting *Babylonia*. His firſt enterprize was upon *Syria*, which he might eaſily ſubdue, both becauſe he invaded it on the ſudden, and becauſe it lay next him: and alſo becauſe the *Arabians* and their King *Arieus* (which bordered *Syria*) aſſiſted him in the Conqueſt thereof.

The King of *Armenia*, *Barzanes*, he forced to acknowledge him, and to aid him in his Warr againſt *Zoroaſter*: for from *Armenia*, he bent himſelf that way toward the Eaſt; but, that ever he commanded the leſſer *Aſia*, I do not believe, for none of his Suceſſors had any poſſeſſion therein.

His third Warr was againſt *Pharnus*, King of the *Medes*, whom it is ſaid that he overthrew, and cruelly murthered with his ſeven Children; though others affirm, that they all died in one battel againſt him. Whether he invaded *Zoroaſter* before the building or amplifying of *Ninive*, or after, it is uncertain. It is ſaid, that he made two Expeditions into *Bactria*: and, that finding little or ill ſucceſs in the firſt, he returned, and ſet the work of *Ninive* forward: and then a ſecond time entred *Bactria* with 1700000 Foot, and 200000 Horſe, and 100000 ſix hundred Chariots: being encountred by *Zoroaſter* with four hundred thouſand. But *Ninus* prevailing, and *Zoroaſter* being ſlain, he entred farther into the Countrey, and beſieged the chief City thereof, called *Bactria*, or *Bactrion* (ſaith *Stephanus*) which by a paſſage found, and an aſſault given by *Semiramis* (the Wife of *Menon*) he entred and poſſeſt. Upon this occaſion *Ninus* both admiring her judgment and valour, together with her perſon and external beauty, fancied her ſo ſtrongly, as (neglecting all Princely reſpects) he took her from her Husband, whoſe eyes he threatned to thruſt out, if he refuſed to conſent. He therefore yielding to the paſſion of love in *Ninus*, and to the paſſion of ſorrow in himſelf, by the ſtrong perſwaſions of ſhame and diſhonour, caſt himſelf headlong into the Water, and died.

Aug. de Civit. Dei.

Steph. de urb.

CHAP. XI.

Of Zoroaſter, *ſuppoſed to have been the chief Authour of Magick Arts: and of the divers kinds of Magick.*

SECT. I.

That Zoroaſter *was not* Cham, *nor the firſt inventer of Aſtrologie, or of Magick: and that there were divers great Magicians of this name.*

ZOroaſter, King of the *Bactrians*, *Vincentius* ſuppoſeth to be *Cham* the Son of *Noah*: a fancy of little probability. For *Cham* was the Paternal Anceſtour of *Ninus*, the Father of *Chus*, the Grand-father of *Nimrod*, whoſe Son was *Belus*, the Father of *Ninus*. It may be that *Vincentius* had heard of that Book which was called *Scripturæ Cham*, deviſed by ſome wicked Knave, and ſo entituled; of which *Sixtus Senenſis* hath made the due mentions.

Caſſian in Oct. Col. cap. 21.

It is reported by *Caſſianus*, that *Serenus Abbas* gave the invention of *Magick* to *Cham* the Son of *Noah*: ſo did *Comeſtor* in his Scholaſtical Hiſtory; which Art (ſaith he) with the ſeven Liberal Sciences he writ in fourteen Pillars: ſeven of which were made of Braſs, to reſiſt the defacing by the Waters of the Floud; and ſeven of Brick, againſt the injury of fire. There was alſo another deviſed Diſcourſe, which went under the title of *Prophetia Cham*. *Caſſianus* out of *Serenus* hath ſomewhat like this of *Comeſtor*. Theſe be *Caſſianus* words: Cham (*filius* Noah) *qui ſuperſtitionibus iſtis & ſacrilegis fuit artibus infectus, ſciens nullum ſe poſſe ſuper his memorialem librum in Arcam prorſus inferre, in qua erat cum patre juſto*, &c. Cham (*the Son of* Noah) *who was infected with theſe ſuperſtitions and ſacrilegious Arts, knowing that he could not bring any Book or memorial of that nature into the Ark, wherein he was to remain with his godly Father, cauſed the Precepts and Rules thereof to be graven in Metal, and hard Stone.*

Saint *Auguſtine* noteth, that *Zoroaſter* was ſaid to have laught at his birth, when all other children weep; which preſaged the great knowledge which afterward he attained unto; being taken for the Inventer of natural *Magick* and other Arts; for the Corrupter, ſaith *Pliny* and *Juſtine*. But I do not think that *Zoroaſter* invented the doctrine of the *Horoſcopes*, or *Nativities*: or firſt found out the nature of Herbs, Stones, and Minerals, or their Sympathetical, or Antipathetical workings; of which, I know not what King of *Chaldæa* is alſo made the Inventer. I rather think that theſe knowledges were far more ancient, and left by *Noah* to his Sons. For *Abraham*, who had not any acquaintance with *Zoroaſter* (as *Joſephus* reporteth) was no leſs learned herein than any other in that age, if he exceeded not all men then living: differing from the wiſdom of after-times in this, that he knew, and acknowledged, the true cauſe and giver of life and virtue to Nature, and all natural things; whereas others (forgetting Gods infinite, diſperſed, and univerſal power) admired the Inſtruments, and did attribute proper ſtrength to the things themſelves (from which the effects were ſenſible) which belonged to that wiſdom, *Which being one, and remaining in it ſelf, can do all things, and reneweth all.*

Wiſd. 7.

Now, whether this *Zoroaſter* (overthrown by *Ninus*) were the ſame which was ſo excellent a Natura-

Naturaliſt, it is doubted. For *Zoroaſter* the *Magician*, *Cteſias* calls *Oxyartes*, whom *Pliny* finds of a later time. And if *Zoroaſter* were taken away by a Spirit (being in the midſt of his Diſciples) as ſome Authors report, then *Zoroaſter*, ſlain by *Ninus*, was not the *Magician*: which is alſo the opinion of *Scaliger*.

Scalig. in Fuſeb. *Joſeph. l. 1. Antiq. c. 4.*

Again, *Joſephus*, and *Cedrenus* affirm, that *Seth* firſt found out the Planets, or wandring Stars, and other motions of the Heavens: for if this Art had been invented by *Zoroaſter*, he could not have attained to any ſuch excellency therein, in his own lifetime; but being a man (as it ſeemeth) of ſingular judgment, he might add ſomewhat to this kind of knowledge, and leave it by writing to Poſterity.

But of this *Zoroaſter*, there is much diſpute: and no leſs jangling about the word and Art of *Magick*. *Arnobius* remembreth four, to whom the name of *Zoroaſter*, or *Zoroaſtres* was given: which by *Hermodorus* and *Dinon* ſeemeth to be but a *cognomen*, or name of Art, and was as much to ſay, as *Aſtrorum cultor*. The firſt, *Arnobius* calleth the *Bactrian*, which may be the ſame that *Ninus* overthrew: the ſecond, a *Chaldæan*, and the *Aſtronomer* of *Ninus*: the third was *Zoroaſter Pamphylius*, who lived in the time of *Cyrus*, and his familiar: the fourth, *Zoroaſter Armenius*, the Nephew of *Hoſtianes*, which followed *Xerxes* into *Greece*: between whom and *Cyrus*, there paſt threeſcore and eighteen years. *Suidas* remembreth a fifth, called *Perſomedus ſapiens*: and *Plato* ſpeaketh of *Zoroaſter* the Son of *Oromaſdes*; which *Picus Mirandula* confirmeth.

Now, of what Nation the firſt and chief *Zoroaſter* was, it is doubted. *Pliny* and *Laertius* make him a *Perſian*. *Gemiſtheus*, or *Pletho*, *Ficinus*, and *Steuchius*, make him a *Chaldæan*. But by thoſe Books of one *Zoroaſter*, found by *Picus Mirandula*, it appeareth plainly, that the Author of them was a *Chaldæan* by Nation, though the word (*Chaldæan*) was as often given to the learned Prieſts peculiarly, as for any diſtinguiſhment of Nations. *Porphyrius* makes the *Chaldæi* and *Magi* divers; *Picus*, the ſame. But that this *Zoroaſter* was a *Chaldæan* both by Nation and Profeſſion, it appeareth by his Books, which (ſaith *Picus*) were written in the *Chaldæan* Tongue; and the Comment in the ſame Language. Now, that the *Magi* and they were not differing, it may be judged by the name of thoſe Books of *Zoroaſter*, which in an Epiſtle of *Mirandula* to *Ficinus*, he ſaith, to be intituled, *Patris* Ezre Zoroaſtris *&* Melchior *magorum oracula*.

SECT. II.

Of the name of Magia; *and that it was Anciently far divers from Conjuring and Witch-craft.*

Pic. Mir. fol. 81.

NOW, for Magick it ſelf, which Art (ſaith *Mirandula*) *Pauci intelligunt, multi reprehendunt*; *Few underſtand, and many reprehend*; *Et ſicut Canes ignotos ſemper allatrant*; *As Dogs bark at thoſe they know not*: ſo they condemn and hate the things they underſtand not: I think it not amiſs (leaving *Ninus* for a while), to ſpeak ſomewhat thereof.

It is true, that many men abhorr the very name and word (*Magos*) becauſe of *Simon Magus*, who being indeed, not *Magus*, but *goes* (that is) familiar with evil Spirits, uſurped that Title. For Magick, Conjuring, and Witchery, are far differing Arts, whereof *Pliny* being ignorant, ſcoffeth thereat. For *Nero* (ſaith *Pliny*) who had the moſt excellent Magicians of the Eaſt, ſent him by *Tyridates* King of *Armenia*, who held that Kingdom by his grace, found the Art, after long ſtudy and labour, altogether ridiculous.

Plin. l. 30. Hiſt. Nat. *Porphyr. & Apul.*

Magus is a *Perſian* word primitively, whereby is expreſt ſuch a one as is altogether converſant in things Divine. And (as *Plato* affirmeth) the Art of Magick is the Art of worſhipping God. To which effect *Apollonius* in his Epiſtles expounding the word (μάγος) ſaith, that the *Perſians* called their god μάγυς: whence he addeth, that *Magus* is either ὁ καλὸ φύσιν θεὸς, or ἐπαοιδὸς θεῶν (that is) that *Magus* is a name ſometimes of him that is a God by nature; ſometimes of him that is in the ſervice of God: in which latter ſence it is taken, *Mat. 2. v. 1.* And this is the firſt and higheſt kind: which *Piccolominie* calleth divine Magick: and theſe did the *Latines* newly entitle *Sapientes*, or *Wiſemen*: *For, the fear and worſhip of God is the beginning of knowledge.* Theſe Wiſemen the *Greeks* call Philoſophers: the *Indians*, *Branchmans*; which name they ſomewhat neerly retain to this day, calling their Prieſts *Bramines*; among the *Egyptians* they were tearmed Prieſts; with the *Hebrews* they were called *Cabaliſts*, *Prophets*, *Scribes*, and *Phariſees*: amongſt the *Babylonians* they were differenced by the name of *Chaldæans*: and among the *Perſians*, Magicians: of whom *Arnobius* (ſpeaking of *Hoſtanes*, one of the ancient Magicians) uſeth theſe words: *Et verum Deum merita majeſtate proſequitur, & Angelos miniſtros Dei, ſed veri ejus venerationi novit aſſiſtere. Idem dæmonas prodit terrenos, vagos, humanitatis inimicos*; *Soſtenes* (for ſo *M. Felix* called him, not *Hoſtanes*) *aſcribeth the due Majeſty to the true God, and acknowledgeth that his Angels are miniſters and meſſengers which attend the Worſhip of the true God. He alſo hath delivered, that there are Devils Earthly, and wandring, and enemies to mankind.*

Plato in Alcil. *Piccol. de Defin. Prov. 1. 7.* *John Hug. Linſchot.* *In octavio Minutii Felicis cum Arnobio p. 360.*

His Majeſty alſo, in his firſt Book of *Demonologie*, *ch. 3.* acknowledgeth, that in the *Perſian* Tongue the word (*Magus*) imports as much as a contemplator of divine and Heavenly ſcience; but unjuſtly ſo called, becauſe the *Chaldæans* were Ignorant of the true Divinity. And it is alſo right which *His Majeſty* avoweth, that under the name of *Magick*, all other unlawful Arts, are comprehended; and yet doth *His Majeſty* diſtinguiſh it from Necromancy, Witch-craft, and the reſt: of all which he hath written largely, and moſt learnedly. For the Magick which *His Majeſty* condemneth, is of that kind whereof the Devil is a party. *Daniel* in his ſecond Chap. nameth four kinds of thoſe *Wiſemen*: *Arioli*, *Magi*, *Malefici*, and *Chaldæi*. *Arioli* the old *Latine* Tranſlation calleth *Sophiſtas*: *Vatablus* and *Pagninus*, *Genethliacos*, or *Phyſicos*, or *Philoſophers*, or (according to the note of *Vatablus*) *Naturaliſts*: *Nempe ſunt Magi apud Barbaros, quod Philoſophi apud Græcos* (*ſcilicet*) *divinarum humanarumque rerum ſcientiam profitentes*; *For the Magi are the ſame with the* Barbarians, *as the Philoſophers are with the* Grecians (that is) *men that profeſs the knowledge of things both divine and humane.* The *Greek* and the *Engliſh* call them *Inchanters*; Junius, *Magicians*; Caſtalion, *Conjecturers*: in the *Syrian*, they are all four by one name called *Sapientes Babylonis*; *The Wiſemen of Babel.*

Dæmonol. l. 2. c. 1.

The ſecond ſort *Vatablus*, *Pagnin*, *Junius*, and our

our *English*, call Astrologers; *Hierom* and the *Septuagint*, Magicians.

The third kind are *Malefici* or *Venefici*; in *Hierom*, *Pagnin*, and the *Septuagint*, Witches, or Poisoners: in *Junius*, *Præstigiatores*, or Sorcerers, as in *English*.

That Witches are also rightly so called *Venefici*, or *Poisoners*; and that indeed there is a kind of *Malefici*, which, without any Art of Magick or Necromancie, use the help of the Devil to do mischief, *His Majesty* confirmeth in the first Chapter of his second Book: speaking also in the fifth Chapter of their practice, to mix the powder of dead bodies with other things by the Devil prepared; and at other times to make Pictures of Wax, or Clay, (as it were *Sacramentaliter*) to effect those things which the Devil by other means bringeth to pass.

The fourth, all Translators call *Chaldæans*: who took upon them to foretell all things to come, as well natural as humane, and their events: and this they vaunted to perform by the Influences of the Stars, by them observed, and understood.

Such were, and to this day partly (if not altogether) are, the corruptions, which have made odious the very name of *Magick*, having chiefly sought (as is the manner of all Impostures) to counterfeit the highest and most noble part of it, yet so as they have also crept into the inferiour degrees.

A second kind of *Magick* was that part of *Astrologie*, which had respect to sowing and planting, and all kinds of Agriculture and Husbandry: which was a knowledge of the motions and influences of the Stars into those lower Elements.

Philo Judæus goeth farther, affirming, that by this part of *Magick*, or *Astrology*, together with the motions of the Stars, and other heavenly bodies, *Abraham* found out the knowledge of the true God, while he lived in *Chaldæa*: *Qui contemplatione creaturarum cognovit Creatorem* (saith *Jo. Damascen*) *Who knew the Creator by the contemplation of the Creature.* *Josephus* reporteth of *Abraham*, that *he instructed the* Egyptians *in Arithmetick and Astronomie, who before* Abraham's *coming unto them knew none of these Sciences.*

De vit. sanct. Glyc. Annal fol. 180.

And so doth *Archangelus de Burgo*, in defence of *Mirandula* against *Garsias*: Alexander & Eupolemon *dicunt*, *quod* Abraham *sanctitate & sapientia omnium præstantissimus*, Chaldæos *primum*, *deinde* Phænices, *demum* Ægyptos *Sacredotes Astrologiam & divina docuerit*; Alexander (saith he, *meaning* Alexander Polyhistor) *and* Eupolemon *affirm, that* Abraham, *the holiest and the wisest of men, did first teach the* Chaldæans, *then the* Phenicians; *lastly, the* Egyptian *Priests*, *Astrologie*, *and divine Knowledge.*

The third kind of *Magick* containeth the whole Philosophy of Nature; not the brabblings of the *Aristotelians*, but that which bringeth to light the inmost virtues, and draweth them out of Nature's hidden bosome to humane use: *Virtutes in centro centri latentes*: *Virtues hidden in the center of the center*, according to the *Chymists*. Of this sort were *Albertus Arnoldus de villa nova*, *Raymond*, *Bacon*, and many others: and before these, in elder times, and who better understood the power of Nature, and how to apply things that work to things that suffer, were *Zoroaster* before spoken of: *Apollonius Tyranæus*, remembred by S. *Hierom* to *Paulinus*; in some mens Opinion, *Numa Pompilius* among the *Romans*: among the *Indians*, *Thespian*: among the *Egyptians*, *Hermes*; among the *Babylonians*, *Budda*: the *Thracians* had *Zamolxis*: the *Hyperboreans* (as is supposed) *Abbaris*: and the *Italians*, *Petrus Aponensis*. The *Magick* which these men profest, is thus defined: *Magia est connexio à viro sapiente agentium per naturam cum patientibus, sibi congruenter respondentibus, ut inde opera prodeant, non sine eorum sine admiratione qui causam ignorant*: *Magick is the connexion of natural agents and patients, answerable each to other, wrought by a wise-man, to the bringing forth of such effects as are wonderful to those that know not their causes.* In these three kinds, which other men divide into four, it seemeth that *Zoroaster* was exceedingly learned; especially in the first and highest. For in his Oracles he confesseth God to be the Creator of the Universal: he believeth of the * *Trinity*, which he could not investigate by any natural knowledge: he speaketh of Angels, and of *Paradise*: approveth the immortality of the Soul: teacheth Truth, Faith, Hope, and Love, discoursing of the Abstinence and Charity of the *Magi*: which Oracles of his, *Psellus*, *Ficinus*, *Patritius*, and others, have gathered and translated.

* *Toto in mundo lucet Trias, cujus Monas est princeps Cuncta namque perfecit pater, & menti tradidit secunda. Psel. & Ficin. de præp. Evang. l. 1. cap. 7.*

See upon his Comment. *in Aug. de civit. Dei, l. 18. c. 2.*

Of this *Zoroaster*, *Eusebius* in the *Theologie* of the *Phænicians*, using *Zoroaster*'s own words: *Hæc ad verbum scribit* (saith *Eusebius*) *Deus primus incorruptibilium*, *sempiternus*, *ingenitus*, *expers partium*, *sibi-ipsi simillimus*, *bonorum omnium auriga*, *munera non expectans*, *optimus*, *prudentissimus pater juris*, *sine doctrina justitiam perdoctus*, *natura perfectus*, *sapiens*, *sacræ naturæ unicus inventor*, &c. Thus writeth *Zoroaster* word for word. *God, the first incorruptible, everlasting, unbegotten, without parts, most like himself, the guide of all good, expecting no reward, the best, the wisest, the father of right, having learned justice without teaching, perfect, wise by nature, the only Inventer thereof.*

Lib. 2. fol. 26.

Sixtus Senensis, speaking of the wisdom of the *Chaldæans*, doth distinguish those wise men into five Orders (to wit) *Chascedim*, or *Chaldæans*; *Asaphim*, or *Magicians*; *Chartumim* (which he translates *Ariolie*, or *Sophists*) *Mechasphim*, or *Malefici*, or *Venefici*, *Witches*, or *Poysoners*; and *Gazarim*, *Augures*, or *Aruspices*, or *Diviners*.

Chascedim were those which had the name of *Chaldæans*, which were *Astronomers*: *Hi cælorum motus diligentissimè speculâruut*; *These did most diligently contemplate the motions of the Heavens*: whom *Philo*, in the life of *Abraham* describeth.

Asaphim were in the old *Latine* translation called *Philosophers*: of the *Septuagint*, and of *Hierom*, *Magicians*: *Qui de omnium tam divinarum quam humanarum rerum causis Philosophati sunt*; *Who discoursed of the causes of all things, as well divine as humane*: *Origen* makes *Balaam* (the Son of *Beor*) to be the first: but *Laertius* ascribeth the Invention of this Art to *Zoroaster* the *Persian*.

Laert. l. 1.

Chartumim, or *Inchanters*, the Disciples (saith St. *Augustine*, *Pliny*, and *Justine*) of another *Zoroaster*, who corrupted the admirable wisdom of the *Magi*, which he received from his Ancestors.

Mechasphim, or *Venefici*, or *Witches*, are those which we have spoken already out of *His Majesties* Book of *Dæmonologia*.

Gazarim, or *Aruspices* (after St. *Hierom*) which divine from the Intrails of Beasts slain for Sacrifices: or by *Gazarim*, others understand *Augures*, who divine by the flying, singing, or feeding of Birds.

By this distinction, we may perceive the difference between those wise men which the Kings of *Babylon* entertained; and that the name and profession of the *Magi* among the ancient *Persians* was most honest. For *Peucer* truly observeth, *Præerant religioni*

Peucer de Divinitat. in c. de mag. fol. 135. 136.

gioni Persicæ, ut in populo Dei Levitæ, studiisque veræ Philosophiæ dediti erant: nec quisquam Rex Persarum poterat esse, qui non antea Magorum disciplinam scientiamq; percepisset; The Magi (saith he) *were the chief Ministers of the* Persian *Religion, as the Levites among Gods people, and they were given to the studies of true Philosophy: neither could any be King of the* Persians, *who had not first been exercised in the mysteries and knowledge of the Magi. Sixtus Senensis,* in the defence of *Origen* against *Polychronius* and *Theophilus*, hath two kinds of *Magick*, his own words are these: *Et ne quem moveant præmissa* Polychronii *&* Theophili, *testimonia, sciendum est duplicem esse Magiam; alteram ubique ab* Origine *damnatam, quæ per fœdera cum dæmonibus inita, aut verè, aut apparenter, operatur; alteram ab* Origine *laudatam, quæ ad practicem naturalis Philosophiæ pertinet, docens admirabiles res operari ex applicatione mutua naturalium virtutum ad invicem agentium ac patientium; That the Testimonies of* Theophilus *and* Polychronius (saith he) *may not move any man, it is to be understood, that Magick is of two sorts, the one every where condemned by* Origen; *which worketh (whether truly or seemingly) by Covenants made with Devils; the other Commended by* Origen, *which appertaineth to the practick part of natural Philosophy, teaching to work admirable things by the mutual application of Natural Virtues, agent and suffering reciprocally.*

Bibl. l. 6. fol. 424.

This Partition *Hierom* doth embrace in the first of his Commentaries upon *Daniel*, where considering of the difference which *Daniel* makes between these four kinds of Wise Men formerly remembred, he useth this distinction: *Quos nos hariolos, cæteri* ἐπῳδοὺς *(id est) incantatores interpretati sunt, videntur mihi esse qui verbis rem peragunt; Magi, qui de singulis philosophantur; Malefici, qui sanguine utuntur, & victimis, & sæpe contigunt corpora mortuorum: porro in* Chaldæis *Genethlaicos significari puto, quos vulgo Mathematicos vocant. Consuetudo autem communis Magos pro maleficis accipit, qui aliter habentur apud gentem suam, eo quòd sunt Philosophi* Chaldæorum: *& ad artis hujus scientiam, Reges quoq; & Principes ejusdem gentis omnia faciunt; unde & in nativitate domini Salvatoris, ipsi primum ortum ejus intellexerunt, & venientes sanctam* Bethlehem, *adoraverunt puerum, stella desuper ostendente; They whom we call Sorcerers, and others interpret Inchanters, seem to me, such as perform things by words; Magicians, such as handle every thing Philosophically; Witches, that use blood and sacrifices, and often lay hands on the body of the dead: further, among the* Chaldæans, *I take them to be signified by the name of Conjecturers upon nativities, whom the vulgar call Mathematicians. But common custom takes Magicians for Witches, who are otherwise reputed in their own Nation: for they are the Philosophers of the* Chaldæans: *yea, King and Princes of that Nation do all that they do, according to this Art: whence, at the nativity of the Lord our Saviour, they first of all understood his birth, & coming unto holy* Bethlehem, *did worship the Child: the Star from above shewing him unto them.* By this therefore it appeareth, that there is great difference between the doctrine of a *Magician*, and the abuse of the word. For though some Writers affirm, that *Magus hodie dicitur, qui ex fœdere facto utitur diaboli opera ad rem quamcunque; That he is called a Magician now-a-days, who having entred league with the Devil, useth his help to any matter*: yet (as our Saviour said of *Divorce*) it was not so from the beginning. For the Art of *Magick* is of the wisdom of Nature; other Arts which undergo that Title, were invented by the falshood, subtilty, and envy of the Devil. In the latter, there is no other doctrine, than the use of certain ceremonies, *Per malam fidem; By an evil Faith*: in the former, no other ill, than the investigation of those virtues and hidden properties which God hath given to his creatures, and how fitly to apply things that work, to things that suffer. And though by the *Jews* those excellent *Magicians, Philosophers*, and *Divines*, which came to worship our Saviour *Christ*, were tearmed *Mechaschephim*, or *Mecasphim*; yet had they no other reason than common custom therein. *Consuetudo autem communis Magos pro maleficis accipit*; Common custom (saith S. *Hierom*) understandeth Witches, under the name of Magicians: And Antiquity (saith Peter Martyr) by the word (*Magi*) understood good and wise men. *Quid igitur expavescis Magi nomen formidolose, nomen Evangelio gratiosum, quod non maleficum & veneficum, sed sapientem sonat, & Sacerdotem? O thou fearful one* (saith *Ficinus*) why doubtest thou to use the name of Magus, *a name gratious in the Gospel, which doth not signifie a Witch or a Conjurer, but a wise man, and a Priest?* For what brought this slander to that Study and profession, but onely idle Ignorance, the Parent of causless admiration? *Causa fuit mirificentia quorundam operum, quæ (re vera) opera naturalia sunt: veruntamen quia procuratione dæmonorum, naturas ipsas vel conjungentiam, vel commiscentium, vel aliter ad operandum expedientium facta sunt, opera dæmonum credebantur ab ignorantibus hæc. De operibus hujusmodi est Magia naturalis, quam Necromantiam multi impropriè vocant. The marvellousness of some works, which (indeed) are natural, hath been the cause of this slander: but because these works have been done by procurement of devils, joyning the natures together, or mingling them, or howsoever fitting the natures to their working, they were thought the works of the devils by the ignorant. Among these works is natural Magick, which men call very improperly, Necromancy.*

Hierom. in Daniel. Pet. Mart. Loc.

Mar. Ficin. per prim. fol. 573.

Gul. Parisien de Lege, cap. 14.

Mirandula in his Apology goeth further: *For by understanding* (saith he) *the uttermost activity of natural agents, we are assisted to know the Divinity of Christ*: for otherwise (to use his own words) *Ignoratis terminis potentiæ, & virtutis rerum naturalium, stat nos dubitare illa eadem opera, quæ fecit Christus, posse fieri per media naturalia; The terms or limits of natural power and virtue not understood, we must needs doubt, whether those very works which Christ did, may not be done by natural means*: after which he goeth on in this sort: *Ideo non hæreticè, non superstitiosè dixi, sed verissimè & Catholicè per talem Magiam adjuvari nos in cognoscenda divinitate Christi: Therefore I said not heretically, not superstitiously, but most truly and Catholickly, that by such Magick we are furthered in knowing the Divinity of Christ.* And seeing the *Jews* and others, the enemies of *Christian Religion*, do impudently and impiously object, that those Miracles which *Christ* wrought, were not above nature, but by the exquisite knowledge thereof performed: *Mirandula*, a man for his years, fuller of knowledge than any that this latter Age hath brought forth, might with good reason avow, That the uttermost of Nature's works being known, the works which *Christ* did, and which (as himself witnesseth) no man could do, do manifestly testifie of themselves, that they were performed by that hand which held Nature herein but as a Pencil, and by a power infinitely Supreme and Divine; and thereby those that were faithless, were thereby converted, or put to silence.

Fol. 80.

SECT.

SECT. III.

That the knowledge in the antient Magick is not to be condemned: though the Devil here, as in other kinds, hath sought to obtrude evil things, under the name and colour of good things.

SEeing therefore it is confessed by all of understanding, that a *Magician* (according to the *Persian* word) is no other than, *Divinorum Cultor, & Interpres: A studious Observer and Expounder of Divine things*: and the Art of it self (I mean the Art of Natural *Magick*) no other, *Quàm naturalis Philosophiæ absoluta consummatio; than the absolute perfection of natural Philosophy*: Certainly then, it proceeds from ignorance, and no way sorteth with wise and learned men, *promiscuè*, and without difference and distinction, to confound lawful and praise-worthy knowledge with that impious, and (to use S. *Pauls* words) *with those beggerly rudiments*, which the Devil hath shuffled, and by them bewitcheth and befooleth graceless men. For, if we condemn natural *Magick*, or the wisdom of Nature, because the Devil (who knows more than any man) doth also teach Witches and Poisoners the harmful parts of Herbs, Drugs, Minerals, and Excrements: then may we, by the same rule, condemn the *Physician*, and the Art of Healing. For the Devil also in the Oracles of *Amphiaraus*, *Amphilochus*, *Trophonius*, and the like, taught men in Dreams, what Herbs and Drugs were proper for such and such Diseases. Now, no man of judgment is ignorant, that the Devil from the beginning hath sought to thrust himself into the same employment among the Ministers and Servants of God, changing himself for that purpose into an Angel of Light. He hath led men to Idolatry as a Doctrine of Religion; he hath thrust in his Prophets among those of the true God; he hath corrupted the Art of *Astrology*, by giving a divine power to the Stars, teaching men to esteem them as gods, and not as instruments. *Bunt in Chro.* And (as *Bunting* observeth) it is true, that judicial *Astrologie* is corrupted with many superstitions: but the abuse of the thing takes not away the Art, considering that heavenly bodies (as even general experience sheweth) have, and exercise their operation upon the inferiour. For the Sun and the Star of *Mars* do drie; the Moon doth moisten, and govern the Tides of the Sea. Again, the Planets, as they have several and proper names, so have they several and proper virtues: the Stars do also differ in beauty, and in magnitude; and to all the Stars hath God given also their proper names, which (had they not influences and virtues different) *Psal.* 147. needed not: *He counteth the number of the Stars, and calleth them by their names.* But, into the good and profitable knowledge of the celestial influences, the Devil ceaseth not to shuffle in his Superstitions: and so to the knowledge of the secret virtues of Nature hath he fastened his doctrine of *Characters*, Numbers, and incantations; and taught men to believe in the strength of Words and Letters (which, without Faith in God, are but Ink or common breath) thereby either to equal his own with the All-powerful Word of God, or to diminish the glory of God's creating Word, by whom are all things.

Moreover, he was never ignorant, that both the wise and the simple observe when the Sea-birds forsake the shores, and flie into the Land, that commonly some great storm followeth; that the high flying of the Kite and the Swallow, betoken fair weather; that the crying of Crows, and bating of Ducks, foreshew Rain: for they feel the Air moistened in their quils. And it is written in *Hieremy* the Prophet, *Even the Stork in the Air knoweth her appointed times, and the Turtle, and the Crane, and the Swallow.* *Cap.* 8. *v.* 7. Hereupon, this enemy of Man-kind, working upon these as upon the rest of Gods creatures, long time abused the *Heathen*, by teaching them to observe the flying of Fowls, and thereby to judge of good or ill success in the War: and (withall) to look into their entrails for the same, as if God had written the secrets of unsearchable providence in the Livers and Bowels of Birds, and Beasts. Again, because it pleased God sometimes by Dreams, not only to warn and teach his Prophets and Apostles, but *Heathen* Princes also; as *Abimelech* to restore *Sarah* to *Abraham*; because he admonished *Joseph*, and by a Dream informed *Jacob*, *Laban*, *Pharao*, *Solomon*, *Paul*, *Ananius*, the *Magi* of the East, and others. *Gen.* 12. *v.* 17. For as it is remembred in *Job*: *In Dreams and Visions of the night, when sleep falleth upon men, &c. then God openeth the ears, that he might cause man to return from his enterprise*; therefore, I say, doth the Devil also practise his Divinations by dreams, or (after *Parisiensis*) *divinitatis imitationes, his mock-Divinity.* This in the end grew so common, as *Aristides* compiled an *Ephimerides* of his own Dreams: *Mithridates* of those of his *Concubines*. Yea, the *Romans*, finding the inconvenience hereof, because all Dreams (without distinction of cases) were drawn to Divination, forbad the same by a Law, as by the words of prohibition (*aut narrandis somniis occultam aliquam artem divinandi*) it may appear. Likewise by the Law of God, in *Deuteronomy*, *Chap.* 13. seducing Dreamers were ordered to be slain. Yet it is to be contemned, not that *Marcus Antonius* was told a remedy in his Dream for two grievous diseases that oppress him; nor that of *Alexander Macedon* for the cure of *Ptolemie's* poisoned Wound; nor that which Saint *Augustine* reporteth of a *Millanoise*, whose Son (the Father dead) being demanded a debt already paid, was told by his Father in a Dream, where the Acquittance lay to discharge it: not that of *Astyages* of his Daughter, and many others of like nature. Of the reason of all which, for as much as the cause is not in our selves, this place denieth dispute.

Job. 33. 17.

G. Parisien. de leg. 24. *cap.*

Codex. de malefic. & Mathemat. leg. & ſi accepta.

Aug. de cura pro mortuis agenda.

SECT. IV.

That Daniel's *misliking* Nebuchodonosor's *condemning of the Magicians, doth not justifie all their Practices.*

BUt it may be objected, that if such Divinations as the *Heathens* commonly used, were to be condemned in them, who took on them very many and strange Revelations; how came it to pass, that *Daniel* both condemned the hasty sentence of *Nebuchodonosor* against the *Magicians* of *Chaldæa*, and in a sort forbad it? especially considering that such kind of people God himself commanded to be slain. To this, divers answers may be given.

Deut. 13. *and* 18. *Levit.* 20.

First, It seemeth that *Daniel* had respect to those *Chaldæans*, because they acknowledged that the Dream of the King, which himself had forgotten,

could not be known to any man by any Art, either Natural or Diabolical: *For there is none other* (said the *Chaldæans*) *that can declare it before the King, except the Gods, whose dwelling is not with flesh:* and herein they confessed the Power of the Ever-living God.

Secondly, It may be conjectured (and that upon good reason) that among so many learned men, some of them did not exercise themselves in any evil or unlawful Arts, but were merely *Magicians* and *Naturalists:* and therefore when the King commanded to kill all, *Daniel* perswaded the contrary, and called it a hasty judgment, which proceeded with fury without examination. And that some of those mens studies and professions were lawful, it may be gathered by *Daniel*'s instruction: for himself had been taught by them, and was called chief of the Inchanters: of which some were tearmed *Sooth-sayers*, others *Astrologians*, others *Chaldæans*, others *Magi*, or *Wise-men:* and therefore of distinct professions.

Thirdly, *Daniel* misliked and forbad the execution of that judgment, because it was unjust. For howsoever those men might deserve punishment for the practice of unlawful Arts (though not unlawful according to the Law of that State) yet herein they were altogether guiltless. For it exceeded humane power to pierce the King's thought, which the Devil himself could not know. So then, in *Daniel*'s dislike, and hindring of the execution of sentence of death pronounced against the *Magicians*, there is no absolute justifying of their practice and profession.

SECT. V.

The abuse of things which may be found in all kinds, is not to condemn the right use of them.

NOtwithstanding this mixture every where, of good with evil, of falshood with truth, of corruption with cleanness and purity: the Good, the Truth, the Purity in every kind may well be embraced: As in the ancient worshipping of God by Sacrifice, there was no man knowing God among the Elders, that therefore forbare to offer Sacrifice to the God of all power, because the Devil, in the Image of *Baal*, *Astaroth*, *Chemoth*, *Jupiter*, *Apollo*, and the like, was so adored.

Eust. ex Artapan. & Polybi. Neither did the abuse of *Astrologie* terrifie *Abraham* (if we may believe the most ancient and religious Historians) from observing the motions and natures of heavenly bodies; neither can it dehort wise and learned men in these dayes from attributing those virtues, influences, and inclinations to the Starrs and other lights of Heaven, which God hath given to those his glorious creatures.

The Sympathetical, and Antipathetical working of Herbs, Plants, Stones, Minerals, with their other utmost virtues, sometimes taught by the Devil, and applied by his Ministers to harmful and uncharitable ends, can never terrifie the honest and learned *Physitians* or *Magician* from the using of them to the help and comfort of Man-kind: neither can the illusions, whereby the Devil betrayeth such men as are fallen from God, make other men reject the observations of Dreams; so farr as with a good Faith and a Religious caution they may make use of them.

Lastly, The prohibition to mark flying of Fowls (as signs of good or evil success) hath no reference at all to the crying of Crows against Rain, or to any observation not superstitious, and whereof a reason or cause may be given. For, if we confound Arts with the abuse of them, we shall not onely condemn all honest Trades and enterchange amongst men (for there are that deceive in all Professions) but we shall in a short time bury in forgetfulness all excellent knowledge & all learning, or obscure and cover it over with a most scornful and beggarly ignorance: and (as *Pliny* teacheth) we should shew our selves, *Ingratos erga eos, qui labore curaque lucem nobis aperuerent in hac luce: Unthankful towards towards those, who with pains and care have discovered unto us light in this light.* *Deut. 18. 20.*

Indeed, not only these natural knowledges are condemned by those that are ignorant; but the *Mathematicks* also, and Professors thereof: though those that are excellently learned, judge of it in this sort: *In speculo Mathematico verum illud, quod in omni scibili quæritur, elucet; non modo remota similitudine, sed fulgida quadam propinquitate; In the Glass of the Mathematicks, that Truth doth shine, which is sought in every kind of knowledge; not in an obscuring, but in a neer and manifest representation.* *Cusa. Com. Theol. c. 1.*

SECT. VI.

Of the divers kinds of unlawful Magick.

IT is true, that there are many Arts, if we may so call them, which are covered with the Name *Magick*, and esteemed abusively to be branches of that Tree, on whose root they never grew. The first of these hath the name of *Necromancy*, or *Goetia:* and of this again there are divers kinds. The one is an Invocation at the Graves of the dead, to whom the Devil himself gives answer in stead of those that seem to appear. For certain it is, that the immortal souls of men do not inhabit the dust and dead bodies, but they give motion and understanding to the living: death being nothing else but a separation of the body and soul: and therefore the soul is not to be found in the Graves.

A second practice of those men, who pay Tribute, or are in league with Satan, is that of conjuring, or raising up Devils, of whom they hope to learn what they list. These men are so distract, as they believe, that by terrible words they make the Devil to tremble; that being once impaled in a Circle (a Circle which cannot keep out a Mouse) they therein (as they suppose) insconce themselves against that great Monster. Doubtless, they forget that the Devil is not terrified from doing ill, and all that is contrary to God and goodness, no, not by the fearful Word of the Almighty: and that he feared not to offer to sit in Gods seat, that he made no scruple to tempt our Saviour *Christ*, whom himself called the Son of God. So, forgetting these proud parts of his, an unworthy wretch, will yet resolve himself, that he can draw the Devil out of Hell, and terrifie with a Phrase: whereas in very truth, the obedience which the Devils seem to use, is but thereby to possess themselves of the bodies and souls of those which raise them up; as *His Majesty* in his Book afore-named hath excellently taught: *That the Devils obidience is onely, secundum quid, scilicet ex pacto; respectivè*, that is, *upon bargain.* *Sunt in mundo genius quoddam potestatum valde divisum, indiscretum, & inconsideratum; & quod neque verum à falso, neque possibile discernit ab impossibili, L. Vivus. in cap. 11. lib. 10. Aug. de Civit. Dei, & ea. exercit. a.*

I cannot tell what they can do upon those simple and

and ignorant Devils, which inhabit *Iamblicus* imagination; but sure I am, the rest are apt enough to come uncalled: and always attending the cogitations of their servants and vassals, do no way need any such inforcement.

Or, it may be that these Conjurers dealt altogether with *Cardans* mortals Devils, following the Opinion of *Rabbi Avornathan* and of *Porphirius*, who taught that these kind of Devils lived not above a Thousand years; which *Plutarch* in his Treatise *de Oraculorum defectu* confirmeth, making example of the great god *Pan*. For, were it true, that the *Devils* were in awe of wicked men, or could be compelled by them, then would they alway fear those words and threats, by which at other times they are willingly mastered. But the Familiar of *Simon Magus*, when he had lifted him up in the Air, cast him headlong out of his claws, when he was sure he should perish with the fall. If this, perhaps, were done by S. *Peter*'s Prayers (of which S. *Peter* no where vaunteth) yet the same pranks at other times, upon his own accord, the Devil played with *Theodotus*; who transported (as *Simon Magus* was supposed to have been) had the same mortal fall that he had. The like success had *Budas*, a principal Pillar of the *Manichæan* Heresie, as *Socrates* in his Ecclesiastical History witnesseth: and for a manifest proof hereof, we see it every day, that the Devil leaves all Witches and Sorcerers at the Gallows, for whom at other times he maketh himself a *Pegasus*, to convey them in haste to places far distant, or at least makes them so think: *For those that received not the truth* (saith St. *Paul*) *God shall send them strong illusions*: Of these their supposed transportations (yet agreeing with their confessions) *His Majesty* in the Second Book, and the Fourth Chapter of the *Demonologie*, hath confirmed by unanswerable reasons, that they are meerly illusive. Another sort there are, who take on them to include *Spirits* in Glasses and Crystals; of whom *Cusanus*: *Fatui sunt Incantatores, qui in ungue & vitro volunt spiritum includere, quia Spiritus non clauditur corpore*: *They are foolish Inchanters, which will shut up their spirits within their nails, or in Glass: for a spirit cannot be inclosed by a body.*

Euseb. hist. Eccl. lib. 5. cap. 16.

Lib. 1. c. 21.

2 Thess. 2.

Exercit. lib. 2.

There is also another art besides the afore-mentioned, which they call *Theurgia*, or *White Magick*; a pretended conference with good Spirits or Angels, whom by Sacrifice and Invocation they draw out of Heaven and communicate withal. But the administring Spirits of God, as they require not any kind of adoration due unto their Creator; so, seeing they are most free Spirits, there is no man so absurd to think (except the Devil have corrupted his understanding) that they can be constrained or commanded out of Heaven by threats. Wherefore let the Professours thereof cover themselves how they please by a professed purity of life, by the ministery of Infants, by fasting and abstinence in general; yet all those that tamper with immaterial substances, and abstract natures, either by Sacrifice, Vow, or Inforcement, are men of evil faith, and in the power of *Satan*. For good Spirits or Angels cannot be constrained; and the rest are Devils, which willingly obey.

Others sorts there are of wicked Divinations; as by Fire, called *Pyromantia*: by Water, called *Hydromantia*: by the Air, called *Mataeotechnia*, and the like.

The last, and (indeed) the worst of all other, is *Fascination* or *Witchcraft*: the Practicers whereof are no less envious and cruel, revengeful and bloody, than the Devil himself. And these accursed creatures, having sold their souls to the Devil, work two wayes; either by the Devil immediately, or by the Art of poisoning. The difference between *Necromancers* and *Witches*, *His Majesty* hath excellently taught in a word: that the one (in a sort) command; the other obey the Devil.

There is another kind of petty *Witchery* (if it be not altogether deceit) which they call charming of Beasts and Birds, of which *Pythagoras* was accused, because an Eagle lighted on his shoulder in the *Olympian*-fields. But if the same exceeded the Art of Falconry, yet was it no more to be admired then *Mahomet*'s Dove, which he had used to feed with Wheat out of his ear: which Dove, when it was hungry, lighted on *Mahomet*'s shoulder, and thrust his Bill therein to find his breakfast: *Mahomet* perswading the rude and simple *Arabians*, that it was the Holy Ghost that gave him advice. And certainly, if *Banks* had lived in elder times, he would have shamed all the *Inchanters* of the World: for whosoever was most famous among them, could never master or instruct any Beast as he did his Horse.

Ælian. l. 6. Nat. Hist.

For the drawing of Serpents out of their Dens, or killing of them in the holes by Inchantments (which the *Marsians*, a people of *Italy*, practised: *Colubros disrumpit Marsia cantu*: *inchanting* Marsia *makes the Snakes to burst.*) That it hath been used, it appears, *Psal.* 58. 6. though I doubt not, but that many Impostures may be in this kind, and even by natural causes it may be done. For, there are many fumes that will either draw them out, or destroy them; as womens hair burnt, and the like. So many things may be laid in the entrance of their holes that will allure them: and therein I find no other *Magick* or Inchantments than to draw out a piece of tosted Cheese.

Lucil. in Satyr.

SECT. VII.

By divers wayes by which the Devil seemeth to work his Wonders.

But to the end that we may not dote with the *Manichees*, who make two powers of gods: that we do not give to the Devil any other dominion than he hath (not speak of his ability, when he is the Minister of Gods vengeance; as when *Egypt*, according to *David*, was destroyed by evil Angels) he other wise worketh but three wayes. The first is, by moving the cogitation and affections of men: The second, by the exquisite knowledge of Nature: and the third by deceit, illusion, and false semblance. And, that they cannot work what they would, *G. Parisiensis* giveth three causes: the first, a natural impotency: the second, their own reason disswadeth them from daring overmuch, or indeed (and that which is the onely certain cause) the great mercy of the Creator, *Tenens eos ligatas* (saith the same Author) *velut immanissimas belluas.* St. *Augustine* was of opinion, that the Frogs which *Pharaoh*'s Sorcerers produced, were not natural, but that the Devil (by betraying of their senses that looked on) made them appear to be such. For, as *Varius* observeth, those Frogs of the Inchanters were not found corrupted as those of *Moses* were, which might argue that they were not creatures indeed. Hereof, saith Saint *Augustine*:

Sinl. paris. de universo p. 2. cap. 70.

Nec sanè Dæmones naturas creant, sed quæ à Deo creatæ sint commutant, ut videantur esse quod non sunt. *The Devils create not any creatures, but so change those that are created by God, as they seem to be that which they be not:* of which in the 83. Question he giveth the reason. *Dæmon quibusdam nebulis implet omnes meatus intelligentiæ, per quos aperire lumen rationis radius mentis solet* (that is) *The Devil fills with certain clouds all passages of the understanding, by which the beam of the minde is wont to open the light of reason.*

Maxima vis est phantasiæ ad errores.

And, as *Tertullian* in his Book *de Anima* rightly conceiveth, if the Devil can possess himself of the eyes of our minds, and blind them, it is not hard for him to dazel those of the body. For (out of doubt) by the same way that God passeth out, the Devil entreth in, beginning with the fantasie, by which he doth more easily betray the other faculties of the soul: for the fantasie is most apt to be abused by vain apprehensions.

Aquinas, on the contrary, held, that those Frogs were not imaginary, but such indeed as they seemed: not made *Magicæ artis ludibrio*, which indeed agreeth not with the Art, but (according to *Thomas*) *Per aptam & idoneam agentium & patientium applicationem: By an apt and fit applying of agents and patients.* And this I take to be more probable. For *Moses* could not be deceived by that sleight of false semblance; and St. *Augustine* in another case like unto this (to wit) of the turning of *Diomedes* his companions into Birds, *per activa cum passivis*, inclineth rather to this opinion: though I am not perswaded that St. *Augustine* doth believe that of *Diomedes*. And this opinion of *Thomas*, *G. Parisiensis*, a man very learned also, confirmeth. For, speaking of natural *Magick*, he useth these words: *De hujusmodi autem operibus, & subita generatio ranarum, & pediculorum, & vermium, aliorumq; animalium quorundam: in quibus omnibus sola natura operatur, verùm adhibitis adjutoriis, ipsâ seminanaturæ confortant, & accuunt, ita ut opus generationis tantum accelerent, ut eis qui hoc nesciunt non opus naturæ videatur (quæ tardius talia efficere consuevit) sed potentia Dæmonum, &c.* to which he addeth: *Qui autem in his docti sunt, talia non mirantur, sed solem Creatorem in his glorificant:* *In such works* (saith he) *the sudden generation of Frogs and Lice, and Worms, and some other creatures is: in all which, Nature alone worketh; but by means strengthening the seeds of Nature, and quickning them; in such wise, that they so hasten the work of generation, that it seemeth to the ignorant, not to be the work of Nature, which usually worketh more leisurely, but they think it done by the powers of Devils. But they who are learned in these Arts, marvel not at such working, but glorifie the Creator.* Now, by these two wayes the Devils do most frequently work (to wit) by knowing the uttermost of nature, and by illusion: for there is no incomprehensible or unsearchable power, but of God onely.

For, shall we say, he causeth sometimes thunders, lightnings, and tempests: and can infect the air, as well as move it or compress it; who knows not that these things are also natural? Or, may it be objected that he foretelleth things before they happen, which exceedeth nature, and is no illusion. It is true, that he sometimes doth it; but how? In elder Ages he stole his knowledge out of the Predictions of the Prophets: and foretold the death of *Saul*, at such time as he was in his own possession and power to dispose of. And he that hath lived from the infancy of the World to this day, and observed the success of every counsel: he that by reason of his swift motions can inform himself of all places, and preparations; he that is of counsel with all those that study and practise subversion and destruction: he that is a Prince of the air, and can thence better judge, than those that inhabite the earth: if he should not sometimes, yea, if he should not very oftentimes ghess rightly of things to come (where God pleaseth not to give impediment) it were very strange. For we see, that wise and learned men do oftentimes by comparing like causes, conceive rightly of like effects before they happen: and yet, where the Devil doubteth, and would willingly keep his credit, he evermore answereth by Riddles: as.

Eph. 2. 2. & 6. 12.

Diabolus magnum habet rerum usum quæ res multum habet momenti in quovis negotio Aug. de Anima, cap. 26. 27. &c.

Crœsus *Halym penetrans magnam subvertit opum vim:*

If *Crœsus* over Halys go,
Great Kingdoms he shall overthrow.

Which answer may be taken either way: either for the overthrow of his own Kingdom, or of his Enemies. And thus farr we grant the Devil may proceed in Predictions, which otherwise belong to God only, as it is in *Esay*: *Shew the things that are to come hereafter, that we may know that ye are Gods; shew us at all times, and certainly what is to come.* *Solius enim divinæ intelligentiæ est, occulta nosse & revelare; It is onely proper to Gods understanding and wisdom to know and reveal hidden things.*

Gui. Parisiensis de legib. c. 24.

SECT. VIII.

That none was ever raised from the dead by the power of the Devil: and that it was not the true Samuel *which appeared to* Saul.

TO conclude, It may be objected, that the Devil hath raised from the dead: and that others by his power have done the like, as in the example given of *Samuel*, raised by the Witch of *Endor*; which, were it true, then might it indeed be affirmed, that some of the Devil's acts exceeded all the powers of Nature, false semblance, and other illusions. *Justin Martyr* was sometime of the opinion, that it was *Samuel* indeed; and so was *Ambrose*, *Lyra*, and *Burgensis*; from which Authorities those men borrow strength which so believe. But *Martyr* changed his opinion; and so did S. *Augustine*, who at first seemed to be indifferent: For, in his Questions upon the Old and New Testament, he accounteth it detestable to think it was *Samuel* which appeared: and these be his words elsewhere to the same effect: *In requie sunt animæ piorum à corpore separatæ, impiorum autem pœnas luunt, donec istarum ad vitam æternam, illarum verò ad æternam mortem quæ secunda dicitur, corpora reviviscant; The souls of the godly separated from their bodies, are at rest, but those of the wicked suffer punishment, till the bodies of the just rise to eternal life, and of the wicked to an eternal and second death.*

Just. Mart. in colloq. cum Tryphone in resp. ad Ortho. quæst. 55. Ambr. in Luc. l. 1. c. 1. Lyra in Reg. 1. Aug. ad Simp. l. 2. q. 3. De Civit. Dei. l. 13. cap. 8.

Aug. de ver. Apost. 18. Just. Mart. ad Orthod. q. 75. Hilar. Psal. in fine. Tertul. de anima in fin. Athanas. q. 13. Chrysost. hom. 9. in Evang. Matth.

And (besides S. *Augustine*) *Justin Martyr*, *Helarius*, *Tertullian*, *Athanasius*, *Chrysostom*, and others, believed firmly, and taught it: that the souls of men, being once separate from their bodies, did not wander on the earth at all: *Credere debemus* (saith *Cyril*) *quum à corporibus sanctorum animæ abierint,*

rint, tanquam in manus charissimi patris bonitati divinæ commendari; *We must believe, when the souls of holy men are departed from their bodies, that they be commended to the divine Goodness, as into the hands of a most dear Father.* If then they be in Heaven, the power of the Devil cannot stretch so high: if in Hell, *Ab inferno nulla est redemptio*; *From Hell there is no redemption.* For, there are but two habitations after death: *Unum* (saith *Augustine*) *in igne æterno*; *alterum in regno æterno*; *The one in eternal Fire*; *the other in Gods Eternal Kingdom.* And though it be written in *Jure Pontificio*, that many there are who believe, that the dead have again appeared to the living; yet the *Gloss* upon the same Text finds it ridiculous: *Credunt, & male, quia sunt Phantasmata* (saith the Gloss) *They believe, and they believe amiss, because they be but Phantasmes*, or *apparitions.* For, whereas any such voice hath been heard, saying, I am the Soul of such a one: *Hæc oratio à fraude atque deceptione diabolica est*; *That speech is framed by the fraud and deception of the Devil*, saith *Chrysostom.* Likewise of the same, saith *Tertullian*; *Absit ut animam cujuslibet sancti, nedum Prophetæ, à dæmonio credamus extractam*; *God forbid that we should think that the Soul of any holy man, much less of a Prophet, should be drawn up again by a Devil.*

26. 15. Episcopi.

It is true, that the Scriptures call that apparition, *Samuel*; so do they the wooden Images, *Cherubims*: and false brazen gods are gods, and the like. And whereas these of the contrary opinion build upon that place of the 26. of *Ecclesiasticus* (a Book not numbred among the *Canonical* Scriptures, as S. *Augustine* himself in this Treatise, if it be his, *De cura pro mortuis agenda*, confesseth) yet *Syracides*, following the literal sence and phrase of the Scriptures, proveth nothing at all: For, though the Devil would willingly perswade, that the souls (yea, even of just men) were in his power; yet so farr is it from the promises of the Scriptures, and from Gods just and mercifull nature, and so contrary to all divine reason, as S. *Augustine* (or whosoever wrote that Book before cited) might rightly tearm it a detestable opinion so to think. For, if God had so absolutely forsaken *Saul*, that he refused to answer him, either by *Dreams*, by *Urim*, or by his *Prophets*: it were sottish to conceive, that he would permit the Devil, or a wicked Witch, to raise a Prophet from the dead in *Saul*'s respect; it being also contrary to his divine Law, to ask counsel of the dead; as in *Deut.* 18. and elsewhere. Therefore it was the Devil, and not the Soul of a dead body, that gave answer and advice.

1 *King.* 17. 22. 2 *King.* 4. 34.

But because *Helias* and *Helizeus* had raised some from the dead by the power of God; those Devils which Saint *Augustine* calleth *Ludificatores animantium sibi subjectorum*; *Mockers of their own vassals*, casting before their eyes a semblance of humane bodies, and framing sounds to their ears, like the voices of men, do also perswade their graceless and accursed attendants, that themselves both possess, and have power over, the souls of men. *Eludit Diabolus aciem tum spectantium, tum etiam cogitantium* saith L. Vives; *The Devil beguileth the sence both of the beholders, and of those that so imagine.* These then are the bounds of the Devil's power, whom, if we will not fear, we must fear to sin. For, when he is not the instrument of God's vengeance, he can touch no man that makes not himself his voluntary vassal: *Potest ad malum invitare, non potest trahere*, saith S. *Augustine*; *He can allure, but he cannot enforce to evil.* Such as think otherwise, may go into the number remembred by *Lucretius*:

Nullus enim magus aut dæmon mortuum vere unquam excitavit vivum de fascin.

Nam veluti pueri trepidant, atque omnia cæcis
In tenebris metuunt: sic nos in luce timemus.

We fear by light, as children in the dark.

CHAP. XII.

Of the memorable buildings of Ninus, *and of his Wife* Semiramis, *and of other her Acts.*

SECT. I.

Of the magnificent building of Ninive *by* Ninus: *and of* Babylon *by* Semiramis.

BUT to come back to *Ninus*, the amplifier and finisher of *Ninive*: whether he performed it before or after the overthrow of *Zoroaster*, it is uncertain. As for the City it self, it is agreed by all profane Writers, and by the Scriptures, that it exceeded all other in circuit, and answerable magnificence. For it had in compass 440. *stadia*, or furlongs; the walls whereof were an hundred foot upright, and had such a breadth, as three Chariots might pass on the Rampire in front: these walls were garnished with 1500. Towers, which gave exceeding beauty to the rest, and strength, no less admirable for the nature of those times.

Justin. l. 2. Diod. l. 2. Sabel. l. 11. c. 1.

But this City (built in the Plains of *Assyria*, and on the banks of *Tygris*, and in the region of *Eden*) was founded long before *Ninus* time; and (as antient Historians report, and more lately, *Nauclerus*) had the name of *Campsor*, at such time as *Ninus* amplified the same, and gave it a wall, and called it after his own name.

For these works of *Babylon* and *Ninive* begun by *Nimrod* in *Chaldæa*, and in *Assyria*, *Ninus* and *Semiramis* made perfect. *Ninus* finished *Ninive*, *Semiramis Babylon*: wherein she sought to exceed her husband by far. Indeed, in the first Age, when Princes were moderate, they neither thought how to invade others, nor feared to be invaded: labouring

Herod. l. 1. Justin. l. 1. Diod. l. 2. and 3.

ing

ing to build Towns and Villages, for the use of themselves and their people, without either Walls or Towers; and how they might discharge the earth of Woods, Briars, Bush-ments, and Waters, to make it more habitable and fertile. But *Semiramis* living in that Age, when Ambition was strong in youth: and purposing to follow the Conquest which her husband had undertaken, gave that beauty and strength to *Babylon* which it had.

SECT. II.

Of the end of Ninus; *and the beginning of* Semiramis *Reign.*

THis she did after the death of her husband *Ninus*; who, after he had mastered *Bactria*, and subjected unto his Empire all those Regions between it and the *Mediterranean Sea* and *Hellespont* (*Asia* the less excepted) and finished the work of *Ninive*; he left the world in the year thereof 2019. after he had reigned 25. years. *Plutarch* reporteth, that *Semiramis* desired her husband *Ninus*, that he would grant unto her the absolute soveraign power for one day. *Diod. Siculus*, out of *Athenæus*, and others, speaks of five days. In which time (moved either with desire of Rule, or licentious liberty, or with the memory of her husband *Menon*, who perished for her) she caused *Ninus* her husband to be slain. But this seemeth rather a scandal cast on her by the *Greeks*, than that it had any truth.

Howsoever *Ninus* came to his end, *Semiramis* took on her, after his death, the sole Rule of the *Assyrian* Empire: of which *Ninus* was said to be the first *Monarch*, because he changed his seat from *Babylon* in *Chaldæa*, to *Ninive* in *Assyria*. *Justine* reports, that *Semiramis* (the better to invest her self, and in her beginning without murmure or offence to take on her so great a charge) presented her self to the people in person of her Son *Ninias*, or *Zameis*, who bare her external form and proportion without any sensible difference.

Ælian. lib. 7. ex Dino.

This report I take also to be feigned, for which many arguments might be made. But as she ruled long, so she performed all those memorable Acts which are written of her by the name of *Semiramis*, and subscribed that Letter which she sent to the King of *India* (her last challenge and undertaken conquest) by her own name. And were it true that her Son *Ninias* had such a stature at his fathers death, as that *Semiramis* (who was very personable) could be taken for him; yet it is very unlikely that she could have held the Empire from him 42. years after by any such subtilty (for so long she reigned after the death of her husband:) but it may be true, that *Ninus*, or *Zameis* (being wholly given to his pleasures, as it is written of him) was well pleased with his mothers prosperous government and undertakings.

SECT. III.

Of Semiramis *Parentage and Education, and Metamorphosis of her Mother.*

SOme Writers (of which *Plutarch* is one) make this famous woman to have been of base Parentage, calling her after the name of her Country, a *Syrian*. *Berosus* calls her after the name of her City wherein she was born, *Semiramis Ascalonitis*, of *Ascalon*, the antient City and *Metropolis* of the *Philistims*. Others report her to be the Daughter of *Derceta*, a *Curtizan* of *Ascalon*, exceeding beautifull. Others say, that this *Derceta* or *Darcetis*, the mother of *Semiramis*, was sometimes a Recluse, and had profest a holy and a religious life; to whom there was a Temple dedicated, seated on the bank of a Lake adjoyning to *Ascalon*; and afterward falling in love with a goodly young man, she was by him made with child, which (for fear of extreme punishment) she conveyed away and caused the same to be hidden among the high Reeds which grew on the banks of the Lake: in which (while the child was left to the mercy of wild Beasts) the same was fed by certain Birds, which used to feed upon or neer those Waters. But I take this tale to be like that of *Lupa* the Harlot that fostered *Romulus*. For some one or other adjoining to this Lake, had the charge and fosteridge of this child, who being perchance but some base and obscure creature, the mother might thereby hope the better to cover her dishonour and breach of Vow; notwithstanding which, she was cast from the top of her Temple into the Lake adjoining, and (as the Poets have feigned) changed by *Venus* into a Fish, all but her face, which still held the same beauty and humane shape. It is thought, that from this *Derceta*, the invention of that Idol of the *Philistims* (called *Dagon*) was taken: for it is true, that *Dagon* had a Mans face, and a Fishes body; into whose Temple when the *Ark* of God was brought, the Idol fell twice to the ground: and at the second fall there remained only the trunk of *Dagon*, the head being broken off: For so S. *Hierom* hath converted that place. *Vatablus*, *Pagninus*, and *Junius*, write it by *Dagon* onely, which signifieth a Fish, and so it onely appeared: the head thereof by the second fall being sundred from the body.

For my self, I rather think, that this *Dagon* of the *Philistims*, was an Idol representing *Triton*, one of those imaginary Sea-gods under *Neptune*. For this City being maritimate (as all those of the *Philistims* were, and so were the best of *Phœnicia*) used all their devotions to *Neptune*, and the rest of the petty gods which attended him.

SECT. IV.

Of her Expedition into India, *and death after discomfiture: with a note of the improbability of her vices.*

BUT for her Pedigree, I leave it to *Assyrian Heralds*; and for her vicious life, I ascribe the report thereof to the envious and lying *Grecians*. For delicacy and ease do more often accompany licentiousness in men and women, than labour and hazzard do. And if the one half be true which is reported of this Lady, then there never lived any Prince or Princess more worthy of Fame than *Semiramis* was, both for the works she did at *Babylon*, and elsewhere, and for the Warrs she made with glorious success: all but her last enterprise of *India*, from whence both *Strabo* and *Arianus* report, that she never returned: and that of all her most powerfull Army, there survived but onely twenty persons; the rest, being either drowned in the River of *Indus*, dead of the Famine, or slain by the Sword of *Stanrobates*. But, as the multitude which went out are more than reason hath numbred; so were those that returned, less than could have escaped of such an Army, as consisted of four Millions and upwards.

wards. For these numbers, which she levied by her Lieutenant *Dercetæus* (saith *Suidas*) did consist of Foot-men three Millions; of Horse-men one Million; of Chariots, armed with hooks on each side, one hundred thousand; of those which fought upon Camels as many; of Camels for burthen, two hundred thousand; of raw Hides for all uses, three hundred thousand; of Gallies with brazen heads, three thousand, by which she might transport over *Indus* at once, three hundred thousand souldiers: which Gallies were furnished with *Syrians*, *Phœnicians*, *Cilicians*, and men of *Cyprus*. The incredible and impossible numbers, which no one place of the earth was able to nourish (had every Man and Beast but fed on grass) are taken from the Authority of *Ctesias* whom *Diodorus* followeth. But as the one may be taxed with many frivolous reports: so *Diodorus* himself hath nothing of certainty, but from *Xerxes* Expedition into *Greece* and afterwards; whose Army (though the same was farr inferiour to that of *Semiramis*) yet it had weight enough to over-load the belief of any reasonable man. For all Authours consent; that *Xerxes* transported into *Greece*, an Army of 1700000. and gathered together (therein to pass the *Hellespont*) three thousand Gallies, as *Herodotus* out of the several Provinces whence those Gallies were taken, hath collected the number.

Suid. f. 8. 45. lit. S.

But of what multitude soever the Army of *Semiramis* consisted, the same being broken, and overthrown by *Staurobates*, upon the banks of *Indus*, *Canticum cantavit extremum*; *She sang her last Song*; and (as Antiquity hath feigned) was changed by the gods into a Dove (the Bird of *Venus*) whence it came, that the *Babylonians* gave a Dove in their Ensigns.

SECT. V.

Of the Temple of Belus *built by* Semiramis; *and of the* Pyramides *of* Egypt.

AMong all her other memorable and more than magnificent works (besides the wall of the City of *Babylon*) was the Temple of *Bel*, erected in the middle of this City, invironed with a wall carried foursquare of great heighth and beauty, having on each square, certain brazen Gates curiously engraven. In the *Core* of the square, she raised a Tower of a furlong high, which is half a quarter of a mile; and upon it again (taking a *Basis* of a less circuit) she set a second Tower; and so eight in all, one above another, upon the top whereof the *Chaldæan* Priests made the Observation of the Starrs; because this Tower over-topped the ordinary clouds.

By beholding the ruines of this Tower, have many Travellers been deceived, who suppose that they have seen a part of *Nimrod*'s Tower, when it was but the foundation of this Temple of *Bel* (except this of *Bel* were founded on that of *Nimrod*.) There were burnt in this Temple, one hundred thousand talents of Frankincense every year (saith *Herodotus*.) This Temple did *Nebuchodonosor* adorn with the spoils of *Hierusalem*, and of the Temple of *Solomon*: all which vessels and ornaments *Cyrus* re-delivered. This Temple *Xerxes* evened with the soil; which *Alexander* is said to have repaired, by the perswasions of the *Chaldæans*. I deny not that it might have been in his desire so to do; but he enjoyed but a few years after *Babylon* taken, and therefore could not perform any such work. The *Egyptians* (saith *Proclus*) inhabiting a low and level ground, and given to the same superstition of the Stars that the *Chaldæans* were, erected in imitation, and for the same service and use, the *Pyramides* by *Memphis*, which were *conspicuæ undique navigantibus*, saith *Pliny*. Of these *Pyramides*, *Bellonius*, a careful observer of Rarities (who being in *Egypt*, mounted by steps to the top of the highest) maketh this report: *Le meilleur archer qui seroit a sa sommite, & tirant une fleche in l' air, a peine pouroit l' envoyer hors de sa base q' elle ne se tombast sur les degrez; The best Archer standing on the top of one of these Pyramides, and shooting an arrow from thence into the air, as far as he can, with great difficulty shall be able so to force the same, but that it will fall upon some of the degrees or steps.*

Procl. in Timæo lib. 1.

Bellon. l. 2.

Finis Libri primi.

THE

THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD:

Intreating of the TIMES, from the Birth of *Abraham*, to the Deſtruction of *Solomon*'s Temple.

THE SECOND BOOK.

CHAP. I.

Of the Time of the Birth of Abraham : *and the uſe of this Queſtion, for the ordering of the Story of the* Aſſyrian *Empire.*

SECT. I.

Of ſome of the Succeſſors of Semiramis : *with a brief tranſition to the Queſtion, about the time of the Birth of* Abraham.

AFter the death of *Semiramis*, *Ninias*, or *Zameis*, ſucceeded her in the Empire, on whom *Beroſus Annianus* beſtows the conqueſt of *Bactria*, and the overthrow of *Zoroaſter*; contrary to *Diodorus*, *Juſtine*, *Oroſius*, and all other approved Writers. For *Ninias* being eſteemed no man of War at all, but altogether feminine, and ſubjected to eaſe and delicacy, there is no probability in that opinion. Now, becauſe there was nothing performed by this *Ninias* of any moment, other than that out of jealouſie he every year changed his Provincial Governors, and built Colledges for the *Chaldæan* Prieſts, his Aſtromers: nor by *Arius* his ſucceſſor, whom *Suidas* calleth *Thuras*; but that he reduced again the *Bactrians* and *Caſpians*, revolted (as it ſeemeth) in *Ninias* his time: nor of *Aralius*, the ſucceſſor of *Arius*; but that he added ſumptuoſity, invented Jewels of Gold and Stone, and ſome Engines for the War: I will, for this preſent, paſs them over, and a while follow *Abraham*, whoſe ways are warrantable (till we meet theſe *Aſſyrians* again in this Story) by whom, and by whoſe iſſues, we ſhall beſt give date to the Kings of *Babylon*: *Abraham* living at once with *Ninus*, *Ninias*, *Semiramis*, *Arius*, *Aralius*, and *Xerxes*, or *Balanius*. For, otherwiſe, if we ſeek to prove things certain by the uncertain, and judg of thoſe times, which the Scriptures ſet us down without errour, by the reigns of the *Aſſyrian* Princes; we ſhall but patch up the Story at adventure, and leave it in the ſame confuſion in which to this day it hath remained. For, where the Scriptures do not help us, *Mirum non eſt in rebus antiquis, Hiſtoriam non conſtare*; *No marvel if then in things very ancient, Hiſtory want aſſurance.* *Plutarch in Theſe.*

The better therefore to find out, in what Age of the World, and how long theſe *Aſſyrian* Kings reigned, as alſo for other good cauſes, we muſt firſt aſſure the time of *Abraham*'s Birth, and in what year the ſame happened after the Flood. Now, ſince all agree that the three and fortieth year of *Ninus*, was the birth-year of *Abraham*; by proving directly out of the Scriptures, in what year after the Flood the birth of *Abraham* happened, we ſhall thereby ſet all the reſt in ſquare and order. But of this time there is much jangling between thoſe *Chronologers*, which follow the *Hebrew* account, and others: the moſt part making 292 or 293 years; others 352 years between *Abraham's* Birth and the Flood: a matter often diſputed, but never concluded.

Archilocus de temporibus (as we find him in *Anneus*) makes but 250 years from the Flood to *Ninus*: then ſeeing that *Abraham* was born in the three and fortyeth year of *Ninus*, according to *Euſebius* and Saint *Auguſtine*, it followeth, by the addition of thoſe two numbers, that the year of *Abraham*'s Birth was in the year after the Flood 293; or, as the moſt part of all *Chronologers* gather, the year 292.

Now, ſince I do here enter into that never reſolved Queſtion, and Labyrinth of times, it behoveth me to give Reaſon for my own Opinion: and with ſo much the greater care and circumſpection, becauſe I walk aſide, and in a way apart from the multitude: yet not alone, and without companions, though the fewer in number: with whom I rather chooſe to endure the wounds of thoſe darts, which Envy caſteth at Novelty, than to go on ſafely and ſleepily in the eaſie ways of ancient miſtakings: ſeeing to be learned

in many errors, or to be ignorant in all things, hath little diversity.

SECT. II.

A Proposal of Reasons or Arguments, that are brought to prove Abraham *was born in the year 292 after the Flood, and not in the year 352.*

THose who seek to prove this account of 292 years, between the general Flood and *Abraham*'s Birth, ground themselves, first, on these words of the Scripture: *So* Terah *lived* 70 *years, and begat* Abraham, Nahor, *and* Haran: Secondly, upon the Opinion of *Josephus*, Saint *Augustine*, *Beda*, *Isidore*, and many of the ancient *Hebrews* before them: Authorities (while they are slightly looked over) seeming of great weight.

From the place of Scripture last remembred, the later *Chronologers* gather these Arguments. First, out out of the words as they lie; That Terah *at* 70 *years begot* Abraham, Nahor, *and* Haran: and that *Abraham* being the first named, *Abraham* being the worthiest, *Abraham* being the Son of the Promise, ought in this respect to be counted the eldest Son of *Terah*, and so necessarily born in the seventieth year of his life. Secondly, it was of *Abraham* that *Moses* had respect, in whom the Church of God was continued, ~~who was heir of the Blessing~~; and not of *Nahor* and *Haran*: for the scope of this Chapter, was to set down the Genealogie of *Christ* from *Adam* to *Abraham*, without all regard of *Nahor* and *Haran*.

It is thirdly objected, that if *Abraham* were not the eldest Son, then there can be no certainty of his age, and so are all future times made doubtful. For it cannot then be proved, that *Abraham* was born more assuredly in the 130th year of *Terah* his age, than in the 131, 132, &c. *Moses* having no where set down precisely that *Abraham* went into *Canaan* that very year in which his Father died.

Fourthly, it is thought improbable, that *Terah* begat *Abraham* at 130 years: seeing *Abraham* himself thought it a wonder to be made a Father at 100 years.

SECT. III.

The Answer to the Objections proposed, shewing that Abraham *made but one journey out of* Mesopotamia *into* Canaan; *and it, after his Father's death.*

TO answer all which Objections, it is very easie, the way being prepared thereto by divers learned Divines long since, and to which I will add somewhat of mine own, according to the small Talent which God hath given me. Now, for as much as the state of the Question cannot well be scanned, unless the time of *Abraham*'s journey into *Canaan* be first considered of; before I descend unto the particular examination of these Arguments, I will make bold with order and method so far, as to search into a strange tradition concerning his travels, that serveth as a ground for this Opinion, and a bulwark against all that can be said to the contrary.

But it is conceived, that *Abraham* made two journeys into *Canaan*: the later after his Father's death, the former presently upon his calling; which he performed without delay, not staying for his Father's death at *Haran*: a conjecture drawn from a place in the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, where it is written, *By faith Abraham (when he was called) obeyed God, to go out into a place which he should afterward receive for inheritance: and he went out, not knowing whither he went.* Heb. 11.8. This Supposition (if it be granted) serves very well to uphold the opinion that can ill stand without it. Let us therefore see whether we may give credit to the Supposition it self.

Surely, that *Abraham* first departed *Charran* or *Haran*, after the death of *Terah* his Father, the same is proved, without the admission of any distinction, by these words of Saint *Stephen*: *And after his Father was dead, God brought him into this land, where ye now dwell*, that was, out of *Haran* into *Canaan*. Acts 7.4. Against which place, so direct and plain, what force hath any Man's fancy or supposition, perswading, that *Abraham* made two journies into *Canaan*; one before *Terah's* death, and another after: no such thing being found in Scriptures, nor any circumstance, probability or reason to induce it? For, if any man out of this place before alledged can pick any argument, proving, or affording any strong presumption, that *Abraham* past into *Canaan*; and then returned unto *Haran*, from whence he departed a second time: then I think it reason, that he be believed in the rest. But, that he performed the Commandment of God after his Father's death, leaving *Ur* and *Haran* for *Canaan*, it is as true as the Scriptures themselves are true. *For after his Father was dead* (saith Martyr *Stephen*) *God brought him into this Land.* And as *Beza* noteth, if *Abraham* made a double journey into *Canaan*, then must it be inferred, that *Moses* omitted the one, and *Stephen* afterwards remembred the other: and whence had *Stephen*, saith *Beza*, the knowledg of *Abraham's* coming into *Canaan*, but out of *Moses*? For, if *Stephen* had spoken any thing of those times, differing from *Moses*, he had offered the *Jews*, his adversaries, too great an occasion both of scandalizing himself, and the Gospel of *Christ*. Indeed, we shall find small reason to make us think, that *Abraham* passed and re-passed those ways, more often then he was enforced so to do, if we consider, that he had no other guide or comforter in this long and wearisom journey, than the strength of his Faith in Gods Promises: In which, if any thing would have brought him to despair, he had more cause than ever man had to fall into it. For he came into a Region of strong and stubborn Nations: a Nation of valiant and resolved Idolaters. He was besieged with famine at his first arrival, and driven to flie into *Egypt* for relief. His wife was old, and he had no Son to inherit the Promise: And when God had given him *Isaac*, he commanded him to offer him up to himself for sacrifice; all which discomforts he patiently and constantly underwent. Heb. 11.8.

Secondly, let us consider the ways themselves which *Abraham* had to pass over; the length whereof was 300 *English* miles; and through Countreys of which he had no manner of experience. He was to transport himself over the great River of *Euphrates*, to travel through the dangerous and barren Desarts of *Palmyrena*, and to climb over the great and high mountains of *Libanus*, *Hermon*, or *Gilead*: and whether these were easie walks for *Abraham* to march twice over, containing, as aforesaid, 300 miles in length, let every reasonable man judg. For, if he travelled it twice; then was his journey in all, 1800 miles from *Ur* to *Haran*; and from *Haran* twice into *Canaan*. But were there no other argument to disprove

prove this fancy; the manner of *Abraham*'s departing from *Haran* hath more proof (that he had not *animum revertendi*, *not any thought of looking backward*) than any man's bare conjecture, be he of what antiquity or authority soever. For thus it is written
Gen. 12. 7. of him, *Then* Abraham *took* Sarah *his wife, and* Lot *his brother's Son, and all their substance that they possest, and the souls that they had gotten in* Haran: *and they departed to go to the land of* Canaan, *and to the land of* Canaan *they came.* Now, if *Abraham* brought all with him that was dear unto him; his Wife and Kinsmen, and his, and their goods: it is not probable that he meant to walk it back again for his pleasure, in so warm, dangerous, and barren a Countrey as that was: or, if he could have been thereto moved, it is more likely, that he would have then returned, when he was yet unsettled, and prest with extreme famine at his first arrival. For had his Father been then alive, he might have hoped from him to receive more assured comfort and relief, than among the *Egyptians*, to whom he was a mere stranger, both in Religion and Nation.

What the cause might be of *Abraham*'s return to *Haran*, as I will not enquire of them, that without warrant from the Scriptures have sent him back thither, about the time of his Father's death: so they, perhaps, if they were urged, could say little else, than that without such a second voyage, their opinion were not maintainable. One thing in good reason they should do well to make plain, if it be not over-troublesome. They say, that *Abraham* was in *Haran* at his Father's death, or some time after, being then, by their account, 135 years old, or a little more. How then did it happen, that he left quite undone the business, which, as we read, was within four or five
Gen. 24. years after that time, his greatest, or (as may seem) his only care? Did not he bind with a very solemn oath his principal servant, in whom he reposed most confidence, to travel into those parts, and seek out a Wife for *Isaac* his Son? and doth it not appear by all circumstances, that neither he nor his servant were so well acquainted in *Mesopotamia*, that they could particularly design any one woman, as a fit match for *Isaac*? Surely, if *Abraham* had been there in person so lately, as within four or five years before, he would not have forgotten a matter of such importance; but would have trusted his own judgment, in choosing a woman, fit for her piety, vertue, and other desirable qualities, to be linked in marriage with his only Son, who was then five and thirty years old; before which age, most of the Patriarchs after the Flood had begotten children; rather than have left all at random to the consideration of a servant, that neither knew any, nor was known of any, in that Countrey. But, let it be supposed (if it may be believed) that either *Abraham* forgot his business when he was there, or that somewhat happened,
Gen. 24. 35, 36, &c. which no man can devise; What might be the reason, that *Abraham*'s man, in doing his Masters errand, was fain to lay open the whole Story of his Master's prosperity, telling it as news, that *Sarah* had born to him a Son in her old age, if *Abraham* himself, a more certain Author, had so lately been among them? would not all this have been an idle tale? It were needless to stand long upon a thing so evident. Whether it were lawful for *Abraham* to have returned back to *Haran*, would perhaps be a question hardly answerable; considering how averse he was from permitting his Son to be carried thither, even though a Wife of his
Gen. 24. 6. & 8. own kindred could not have been obtained without his personal presence. *Jacob* indeed was sent thither
Gen. 28. by his Parents, to take a Wife of his own Linage; not without God's especial approbation, by whose blessing he prospered in that journey; yet he lived there as a servant; suffered many injuries; and finally, was driven to convey himself from thence by flight. For although it be not a sentence written, yet out of all written Examples it may be observed, that God alloweth not in his servants any desire of returning to the place, from whence he hath taken, and transplanted them. That brief saying, *Remember* Lot's *Wife*, contains much matter. Let us consider *Mesopotamia*, from whence *Abraham* was taken, and *Egypt*, out of which the whole Nation of the *Israelites* were delivered; we shall find, that no blessing issued from either of them, to the Posterity of the *Hebrews*. When *Hezekiah* was visited with an honourable Embassie from *Babel*, it seems that he conceived great 2 *King.* 20. pleasure in his mind, and thought it a piece of his prosperity; but the Prophesy which thereupon he heard by *Esay*, made him to know, that the counsel of God was not agreeable to such thoughts; which more plainly appeared in a following generation, when by the Waters of *Babylon* they sate down and *Psal.* 137. wept. Concerning *Egypt* we read, that *Sesac* and 1 *King.* 14. *Neco*, Kings of *Egypt*, brought calamity upon *Israel*: 25. *and* also that their confidence in the *Egyptian* succours 2 *King.* 23. was the cause of their destruction. Where they were v. 29. forbidden to return into *Egypt*, I do not remember, nor can readily find; but it is found in *Deuteronomy*, *Deut.* 17. that God had said, *They should no more return that way*; v. 16. which is given, as the reason, why their King might not cause the people to return to *Egypt*, for the multiplying of his Horses. Whether the Lord had laid any such injunction upon *Abraham* of not returning to *Mesopotamia*, I cannot say; many things do argue it probably: That he never returned, all circumstances do (to my understanding) both strongly and necessarily conclude.

But, because this double passage of *Abraham* is but an imagination; and that imaginations of men are rather valuable among children, than that they can perswade those of judgment or understanding: I I take it sufficient, that St. *Stephen* hath directly taught us, that *Abraham* left *Haran*, his Father being dead. And for the rest, when they shew any one Scripture to prove it, I will believe as they do. For all the travels of *Abraham* are precisely set down in the Scriptures: as first from *Ur*, or *Camerina* in *Chaldæa* to *Haran*, or *Charran*: and then from *Haran* (after his Father's death) to *Sichem*; from *Sichem* he removed to a mountain between *Bethel* and *Hai*: thence into *Egypt*; from *Egypt* he returned thither again, where *Lot* and he parted, because their flocks and herds of Cattel were more then could be fed in that part: from thence the second time he removed to *Mamre*, near *Hebron*: and thence, having pursued *Amraphel*, and rescued *Lot*, he after inhabited at *Gerar*, in the border of *Idumæa* under *Abimelec*: and after, near unto it at *Bersabe*, at which time he was ready to offer up his Son *Isaac* on the mountain *Moriah*. But this fiction of his retreat to *Haran*, or *Charran*, appeareth not in any one Story, either divine or humane. Now, if it may be supposed, that *Abraham* had made any former journey into *Canaan*, as *Levita* his *Cabala* hath feigned, it should in reason, therewithall be believed, that he would in those his first travels have provided himself of some certain seat, or place of abiding: and not have come a second time with his Wife, Kinsmen, Family, Goods, and Cattel, not knowing whereon to rest himself. But *Abraham*, when he came from *Charran*, passed through the North part of *Canaan*, thence to *Sichem*, and *Gen.* 12. 6. the plain of *Moriah*; where, finding no place to inhabit, he departed thence to *Bethel*, and *Hai*: and so from Nation to Nation, to discover and find out

ſome fit habitation: from whence again, as it is written in *Geneſis* the eleventh, *He went forth, going and journying towards the South*: and always unſetled. By reaſon of which wandring to and fro, ſome ſay, the *Egyptians* gave him and his the name of *Hebræi*.

Mont. in Cald.

Further, to prove that he had not formerly been in the Countrey, we may note, that ere he came into *Bethel* and *Hai*, and at his firſt entrance into *Canaan*, God appeared unto him, ſaying, *Unto thy ſeed will I give this Land*, ſhewing it him, as unto a ſtranger therein, and as a Land to him unknown. For, *Abraham*, without any other provident care for himſelf, believed in the Word of the living God: neither ſending before, nor coming firſt to diſcover it; but being arrived, he received a ſecond Promiſe from God, that he would give thoſe Countries unto him and his ſeed to inhabit and inherit.

Laſtly, what ſhould move any Man to think, that *Moſes* would have omitted any ſuch double journey of *Abraham*'s, ſeeing he ſetteth down all his paſſages elſewhere, long and ſhort? as when he moved from *Sichem*, and ſeated between *Hai* and *Bethel*, the diſtance being but 20 miles: and when he moved thence to the Valley of *Mamre*, being 24 miles; and when he left *Mamre*, and ſet down at *Gerar*, being leſs than ſix miles; No, *Moſes* paſt over all the times of the firſt Age with the greater brevity, to haſten him to the Story of *Abraham*: ſhutting up all between the Creation and the Flood in ſix Chapters; which Age laſted 1656 years: but he beſtoweth on the Story of *Abraham*, fourteen Chapters, beginning with his Birth in the eleventh, and ending with his Death in the five and twentieth; and this time endured but 175 years. It hath therefore no face of truth, that *Moſes* forgot or neglected any thing concerning *Abraham*'s travels, or other actions; or that he would ſet down thoſe ſmall removes of five miles, and omit thoſe of three hundred. For ſuch a journey in going and coming would have miniſtred ſome variety of matter, or accident, worthy the inſerting and adding to *Abraham*'s Story.

SECT. IV.

The Anſwer to another of the Objections propoſed, ſhewing, that it was not unlikely that Terah *ſhould beget* Abraham *in his hundred and thirtieth year.*

NOw, touching the Objection, where it is ſaid, that it was very unlikely that *Terah* ſhould beget *Abraham* in his hundred and thirtieth year, ſeeing *Abraham* himſelf thought it a wonder to have a Son at a hundred; this is hardly worth the anſwering. This wonder is indeed miſ-caſt, and miſ-taken: *Abraham* having reſpect only to *Sarah* his Wife, when he ſpake of their many years. For, when the Angel ſaid unto *Abraham* in his Tent door at *Mamre*, *Loe*, Sarah *thy Wife ſhall have a Son*, it followeth in the next Verſe, *Now* Abraham *and* Sarah *were old, and ſtricken in age, and it ceaſed to be with* Sarah *after the manner of women: therefore* Sarah *laughed*, &c.

So then, in that it is ſaid, *it ceaſed to be with* Sarah *after the manner of Women*, it appeareth that the wonder was wrought on her, and not on *Abraham*. For *Abraham* by his ſecond Wife *Keturah*, had many Sons after *Sarahs* death, as *Zimron*, *Jockshan*, *Medan*, *Ishbak*, and *Shuah*: and the eldeſt of theſe was born 37 years after *Iſaac*; and the youngeſt 40 years after. What ſtrangeneſs then, that *Terah*, being 130 years old, ſhould beget *Abraham*, will they ſay, may be gathered from this ſuppoſed deſpair of *Abraham* at 100 years? For *Sarah* died in the year of the world 2145, and *Iſaac* was born in the year 2109, and *Abraham* did not marry *Keturah* till *Sarah* was buried. So if we deduct the number of 2109 out of 2145, there remaineth 36. And therefore if *Abraham* begat 5 Sons 36 years after this ſuppoſed wonder, and when *Abraham* was 137 years old; it is not ſtrange, that his Father *Terah* ſhould beget *Abraham* at 130. And if *Booz*, *Obed*, and *Jeſſe*, who lived ſo many years and Ages after *Abraham*, begat Sons at 100 years, or neer it, it cannot be marvelled at, that *Terah* begat *Abraham* at 130, and *Abraham* others at the ſame age, and ſeven years after.

Origen. hom. 11. in Gen. Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. 16. c. 34. Cajet. & Perer. in Gen.

SECT. V.

The Anſwer to two more of the Objections, ſhewing that we may have certainty of Abrahams *age from the Scripture, though we make not* Abraham *the eldeſt Son; and that there was great cauſe, why in the Story of* Abraham *his two Brethren ſhould be reſpected.*

IT follows now, to ſpeak ſomething to the Objection, which brings *Abraham's* age altogether in doubt, except we allow him to be the eldeſt Son of *Terah*, and born when *Terah* was 70 years old. For *Abraham*'s age being made uncertain, all ſucceeding times are thereby without any perfect rule or knowledg.

But this Propoſition, That we cannot be certain of *Abraham* his age, unleſs we make him the eldeſt Son, is falſe. For it is plain in the Scripture, that when *Terah* was 205, which was the year of his death; then was *Abraham* 75. And if you ask, how I can judg of times, either preceeding or ſucceeding, by knowing that *Abraham* departed *Haran* at that age: I anſwer, That St. *Stephen* hath told us, that *Abraham*'s departure followed the death of his Father *Terah*; and *Terah* died at 205; ſo as the 75th year of *Abraham* was the 205th year of *Terah*; which known, there can be no errour in the account of times ſucceeding. Now, to come to the Objection, where it is ſaid, That *Moſes* had no reſpect unto *Nahor* and *Haran*, becauſe they were out of the Church, but to *Abraham* only, with whom God eſtabliſhed the Covenant, and of whom *Chriſt* deſcended according to the the fleſh, &c. I anſwer, That *Moſes*, for many great and neceſſary cauſes had reſpect of *Nahor* and *Haran*. For the ſucceſſion of God's Church is not witneſſed by *Abraham* alone, but by the iſſues of *Nahor* and *Haran*, were they Idolaters, or otherwiſe. For *Nahor* was the Father of *Bethuel*, and *Bethuel* of *Rebeka*, the Mother of *Iſrael*; and *Haran* was the Parent of *Lot*, *Sarah*, and *Milcah*; and *Sarah* was Mother to *Iſaac*, and Grandmother to *Jacob*: *Milcah* alſo, the Wife of *Nahor*, and Mother of *Bethuel*, was *Jacobs* great Grandmother; and the age of *Sarah*, the Daughter of *Haran*, is eſpecially noted, in that it pleaſed God to give her a Son at 90 years, and when by nature ſhe could not have conceived. And therefore, though it were not in regard of themſelves, yet, becauſe both *Nahor* and *Abraham* married the Daughters of their brother *Haran*; and becauſe *Iſaac* married *Rebeka* the grand-child of *Nahor*; and *Jacob* *Lea* and *Rachel*, the Daughters of *Laban*, the grand-child alſo of *Nahor*; it was not ſuperfluous in

Moſes

Moſes to give light of thoſe mens times and ages. And though ſometime they worſhipped ſtrange gods, as it is, *Joſ.* 24. 2. yet I ſee no cauſe to think, that they ſtill continued Idolaters. For they believed and obeyed the calling of *Abraham*, leaving their natural Countrey and City of *Ur* in *Chaldea*, as *Abraham* did, and removed thence all, except *Haran*, who died before his Father *Terah*, ere they left *Chaldea*; but *Lot*, his Son, followed *Abraham* into *Canaan*; and *Sarah*, the ſiſter of *Lot*, *Abraham* married. *Nahor* alſo, who remained at *Charran*, gave his Sons Daughters to *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, his own kinſmen: he himſelf having alſo married in his own Family; not thinking it pleaſing unto God, to mix themſelves with Strangers and Idolaters. And that theſe men at length believed in the God of *Abraham*, it can no way be doubted. For, when *Laban* had ſeen the ſervant of *Abraham* ſtanding at the Well beſide *Charran*, he invited him to his Fathers houſe in this manner, *Come in, thou bleſſed of* Jehovah, *&c.* And when this ſervant of *Abraham*'s demanded an anſwer as touching *Rebekah*, then anſwered *Laban* and *Bethuel*, and ſaid, *This thing is proceeded of* Jehovah: meaning, that it was the Will of the true God it ſhould be ſo; wherein he acknowledged Gods providence. Likewiſe in the following verſe, it is written; *Take, go, that ſhe may be thy Maſters Sons Wife, even as* Jehovah *hath ſaid.* This their often uſing of the name of *Jehovah*, which is the proper name of the true God, is a ſign that they had the knowledg of him.

Gen. 24. 31.

Gen. 24. 50.

Now, although it be the opinion of *Chryſoſtom*, and ſome late Writers, as *Cajetan*, *Oleaſter*, *Muſculus*, *Calvin*, *Mercer*, and others, that *Laban* was an Idolater, becauſe he retained certain Idols, or Houſhold-gods, which *Rachel* ſtole from him; yet, that he believed in the true God, it cannot be denied. For he acknowledgeth the God of *Abraham* and of *Nahor*, and he called *Abraham*'s ſervant, bleſſed of *Jehovah*, as aforeſaid. So as, for my ſelf, I dare not avow that theſe men were out of the Church, who, ſure I am, were not out of the Faith.

SECT. VI.

That the naming of Abraham *firſt of the three brethren,* Gen. 11. v. 26. *doth not prove that he was the eldeſt; together with divers reaſons, proving that* Abraham *was not the eldeſt Son of* Terah.

TO the main Objection; which I anſwer laſt, becauſe it ſeemeth of moſt ſtrength, by which, thoſe that ſtrive to ſhorten the times, endeavour to prove that *Abraham* was the eldeſt Son of *Terah*, and born in the 70 year of *Terah*'s life; grounding themſelves firſt and chiefly on this place of the Scripture; *And* Terah *lived ſeventy years, and begat* Abraham, Nahor, *and* Haran: To this I ſay, that although *Abraham* in this verſe be firſt named, yet the ſame is no proof at all that he was the eldeſt and firſt-born Son of *Terah*. For it is no neceſſary conſequent, that the firſt named in Scriptures was therefore eldeſt in bloud and birth; neither doth in appear, that it pleaſed God to make eſpecial choice of the firſt Sons in nature and time: for *Seth* was not the firſt-born of *Adam*; nor *Iſaac* of *Abraham*; nor *Jacob* of *Iſaac*; nor *Judah* and *Joſeph* of *Jacob*; nor *David* the eldeſt of *Jeſſe*; nor *Solomon* of *David*; as it is formerly remembred.

Gen. 11. 26.

But it is written of *Noah*; *Noah* was 500 *years old, and* Noah *begat* Shem, Ham, *and* Japhet: ſhewing, that at the 500 year of his age he began to beget the firſt of thoſe three Sons. For, according to St. *Auguſtine*, ſpeaking generally, *Nec attendendus eſt in his ordo nativitatis, ſed ſignificatio futuræ dignitatis; in qua excelluit* Abraham: *The order of Nativity is not here to be reſpected, but the ſignification of the future dignity; in which* Araham *was preferred.* And therefore, as in the order of the Sons of *Noah*, ſo is it here; where it is ſaid, *That* Terah *lived* 70 *years, and begat* Abraham, Nahor, *and* Haran: For it was late ere *Terah* began to beget Sons, himſelf being begotten by his Father *Nahor* at 29, as other his Anceſtors were at 30. The like alſo happened to *Noah*; for whereas *Adam* begat *Seth* at 133, *Enoſh Kenan* at 90, *Kenan Mahalaleel* at 70, *Mahalaleel Jarad* at 60; *Noah* was yet 500 years old when he began to beget the firſt of his three Sons, as aforeſaid. And Saint *Auguſtine*, in the place before cited, rather inclineth to the Opinion, that *Abraham* was the youngeſt of *Terah*'s Sons, than otherwiſe, though for his excellency he was worthily named firſt; his own words are theſe: *Fieri enim ut potuit poſterior ſit generatus* Abraham; *ſed merito excellentiæ, qua in Scripturis valde commendatur, prior fuerit nominatus: It might be,* ſaith he, *that* Abraham *was begotten later; but was firſt named, in regard of his excellency, for which in Scripture he is much commended.* So as the naming firſt or laſt, proveth nothing who was firſt or laſt born; either in thoſe iſſues of *Noah*, or in theſe of *Terah*. Neither hath God any reſpect of the eldeſt in nature, as touching his election or ſpiritual bleſſing; for *Moſes* nameth firſt the Children of the promiſe, and the eldeſt and firſt in Gods favour. *Pietas ergo, vel ipſa potius electio divina, quæ comitem ſecum trahit pietatem, & Dei timorem, primas partes dat* Semo *in liberis* Noa, *&* Abrahamo *in liberis* Thare: *Piety,* ſaith he, *or rather divine election, which doth evermore draw with it, or after it, Piety, and the fear of God, gave place and precedency to* Sem *among the Children of* Noah, *and to* Abraham *among thoſe of* Thare.

Aug. queſt. ſuper Gen. 25.

For the reſt, it is manifeſt, that *Abraham* entred *Canaan* in the 75 year of his age. And it was in *Canaan* that *Hagar* bare him *Iſhmael*, when *Abraham* had lived 86 years. It was at *Gerer* (the South border of *Canaan*) that *Sarah* bare *Iſaac*, when *Abraham* had conſumed 100 years. It was from the valley of *Mamre* in *Canaan* that *Abraham* roſe out, when he reſcued *Lot*, and overthrew *Amraphel*; and he had then but the age of 83 years: and it is as manifeſt, that he parted from *Haran* after his Father *Terah* was dead. But, if *Terah* begat *Abraham* at 70 years old, then muſt *Abraham* have been 135 years when he firſt ſet his foot in *Canaan*, ſeeing *Terah* muſt be dead ere he parted, and ſo 70 added to 135, make 205, the true age of *Terah*; which is contrary to all thoſe places of Scripture before remembred. For he entred at 75, he reſcued *Lot* at 83, he had *Iſmael* at 86, he had *Iſaac* at 100, proved by the former places.

Gen. 12. 4.

Gen. 16. 16.

Acts 7. 4.

Gen. 14.

Moreover, if *Abraham* were the eldeſt Son of *Terah*, and born in the 70 year of his age: then had *Terah* lived till *Iſaac* had been 35 years old, and *Iſhmael* 49; both which muſt then have been born in *Meſopotamia*, and therein foſtered to that age: unleſs we ſhould either deny credit to St. *Stephen*, who ſaith that *Abraham* departed from *Meſopotamia* after his Fathers death, or elſe believe the interpretation of *Daniel Angelocrator*, who in his *Cronologia antoptica*, ſaith, it was about his Fathers death, becauſe the Greek word μετὰ may be tranſlated by the Latin *ſub*, as well as by *poſt*: which, though elſewhere it may be, yet cannot be ſo in this place. For it were moſt improperly ſpoken, to ſay, that

that those things were done about *Terah*'s death, which were sixty years before. Wherefore, supposing *Abraham* to have been born in the seventieth year of *Terah*; we must give those times and places of birth to *Abraham*'s children, which no Authority will warrant; For *Abraham* had no Children in *Ur* of *Chaldæa*, nor in *Haran*, nor in ten years after his arrival into *Canaan*. For the year of *Terah*'s Death, in which *Abraham* left *Haran*, was the year of the World 2083; and the year of *Ishmael*'s Birth was the World's year 2094; which maketh ten years difference. And that *Isaac* was born in *Canaan*, and was to be offered upon the Mountain *Moriah* therein, thirty nine miles from *Bersabe*, where *Abraham* then inhabited: and that three *Angels* first of all appear'd to *Abraham* in the valley of *Mamre*, no man doubteth.

And therefore it cannot be, that any of *Abraham's* Sons were born in *Mesopotamia*; nor while *Terah* lived; nor in less than ten years after *Terah*'s Death; and then consequeutly was not *Abraham* the eldest Son of *Terah*, nor born in the seventieth year of *Terah*'s Age. *Gen.* 12.

Thirdly, whereas *Abraham* came into *Canaan* at 75; if *Terah* had begotten him at 70, then had *Terah* lived but 145: for 70 and 75 make 145, which must also have been the full age of *Terah*; but *Terah* lived 205 years, and therefore was not *Abraham* born in the 70 year of *Terah*.

Fourthly, the ages of *Lot* and *Sarah* make it manifest, that *Haran* was the elder, if not the eldest Brother of *Abraham*; for *Sarah*, or *Iscah*, wanted but ten years of *Abraham*'s age: *Isaac* being born when *Abraham* was a hundred, and *Sarah* ninety years old.

It followeth then, that, if *Abraham* had been the elder Brother of *Haran*, *Haran* must have begotten *Sarah* at nine years old: for granting that *Haran* was born but one year after *Abraham*, and *Sarah* within ten years as old as *Abraham*, then of necessity must *Haran* beget her, when he had lived but nine years; which were too ridiculous to imagine.

And, that *Iscah* was *Sarah*, *Rab. Solomon* affirmeth; both names, saith he, bearing the same signification; and names of principality. Again, to what end was the word *Iscah* of *Jishcah* inserted in this place, if *Sarah* were not meant thereby? For, to speak of any thing superfluous, it is not used in God's Book: and if *Iscah* had not belonged to the Story, it had been but an idle name, to no purpose remembred.

Now, if it had been true (as those of the contrary opinion affirm) that *Moses* had no respect of *Nahor* and *Haran*, who were notwithstanding the Parents of *Bethuel* and *Rebeka*, the Mother of *Israel*, and of *Christ*: what regard then had *Moses* of *Iscah* in this place, were she not *Sarah*, but otherwise an idle name, of whom there is nothing else first or last?

The age also of *Lot* disproveth the eldership of *Abraham*; for *Lot* was called an old Man, when *Abraham* was but 83 years old: And if *Lot* were of a greater age than *Abraham*, and *Haran* were Father to *Lot*, *Sarah*, and *Milcah*; *Abraham* marrying one of *Haran*'s Daughters, and *Nahor* the other, *Sarah* also being within ten years as old as *Abraham*; it may appear to every reasonable Man (not obstinate and prejudicate) that *Haran* was the eldest Son of *Terah*, and not *Abraham*; who also died first, and before his Father left *Ur* in *Chaldea*. Also *Lyra* reasoneth against this opinion of *Abraham*'s eldership, upon the same place of *Genesis*; drawing arguments from the age of *Sarah*, who was but ten years younger than *Abraham* himself. *Lyra* his words are these: *Si igitur* Haran *fuit jũnior ipso* Abraham, *sequitur quòd non habebat decem annos quando genuit* Saram: *imò nec octo, &c.* and afterward, *& ideò melius videtur dicendum, quod* Abraham *fuit ultimò natus de tribus filiis* Thare, *tamen nominantur primò, propter ejus dignitatem: & ponendus erat caput stirpis, & generationis sequentis: & quia primò facta est ei repromissio expressa de* Christo, *sicut supra dictum est de* Sem, *&c. If therefore (saith* Lyra) Haran *was younger than* Abraham *himself, it followeth, that he was not ten years old when he begat* Sarah: *And therefore it seemeth better to be said, that* Abraham *was the last born of the three Sons of* Thare, *nevertheless he is named first for his dignity, both because he was to be ordained Head of the Stock and Generation following, and because the Promise of* Christ *was first made unto him, as before it is said of* Sem.

SECT. VII.

A Conclusion of this Dispute, noting the Authors on both sides; with an Admonition, that they which shorten the times, make all antient Stories the more unprobable.

IT therefore agreeth with the Scriptures, with Nature, Time, and Reason, that *Haran* was the eldest Son of *Terah*, and not *Abraham*: and that *Abraham* was born in the 130th year of *Terah*'s Life, and not in the 70th year. For *Abraham* departing *Charran* after *Terah* died, according to St. *Stephen*, and that journey by *Abraham* performed, when he was 75 years old; these two numbers added, make 205 years, the full age of *Terah*: seeing that when *Terah* died, then *Abraham* entred *Canaan*. For my self, I have no other end herein, than to manifest the World's Story. I reverence the judgment of the Fathers: but I know they were mistaken in particulars. Saint *Augustine* was doubtful, and could not determine this controversie. For, whatsoever is borrowed out of his sixteenth Book *de Civitate Dei*, cap. 15. the same may be answered out of himself in his five and twentieth Question upon *Genesis*. But St. *Augustine* herein followed *Josephus* and *Isidor*; and *Beda* followed St. *Augustine*. And it was out of a foolish pride and vanity, that the *Hebrews* and *Josephus* sought to make *Abraham* the first born: as if God had had respect to the eldest in nature. So did *Josephus*, together with *Nicholas Damascenus* (thinking thereby to glorifie the *Jewish Nation*) make *Abraham* a King, entitling *Sarah* by the name of *Queen Sarah*; and said, that *Abraham* was followed with 318 Captains, of which every one had an infinite multitude under him; *trecentos & octodecim præfectos habuit, quorum singulis infinita multitudo parebat.* And that *Pharaoh* invaded him with a great Army, took from him his Wife *Sarah*: Such Fables argue that *Josephus* is not to be believed, but with discreet reservations. *Act.* 7. 4. *Gen.* 12. 4.

This account of times, allowing no more than 292 years from the Flood to *Abraham*, is upheld by many of the *Hebrews*. But how should we value the opinion of such *Chronologers*, as take *Amraphel* for *Nimrod*? Surely, if their judgment in such matters were worthy to be regarded, it would have appeared in setting down the succession of the *Persian* Kings under whom they lived, whose History was not so far remote in time, as these Antiquities, nor wanting the light of many good Writers. Yet grosly have they erred therein, and so familiar are their mistakings

mistakings in all things of like nature, that we seldom find their opinion rehearsed without the confutation treading on the heels of it. They of the *Roman* Religion are also generally on the same side; it being a thing usual among them, to maintain whatsoever they have been formerly known to hold and believe. Contrariwise, of the more antient, *Theodoret*, and some following him; of later times, *Beroaldus*, *Bucer*, *Calvin*, *Junius*, *Beza*, *Broughton*, Dr. *Gibbons*, and *Moore*, with divers of the *Protestants*, hold *Abraham* to have been born in the 130 year of his father *Terah*. From these (as in a case not concerning any point in Religion) divers of the same Religion, and those nevertheless good Authors, as *Bucholcerus*, *Chitræus*, *Functius* and others, are very averse herein, especially *Josephus Scaliger* with his *Sethus Calvisius*, proclaiming *Beroaldus* an arch-heretick in *Chronology*, and condemning this opinion of his as poisonous. Contrariwise, *Augustinus Torniellus*, a Priest of the Congregation of S. *Paul*, a judicious, diligent, and free Writer, whose *Annals* are newly set forth, very earnestly defends the opinion, which I have already delivered; not alleging *Beroaldus*, nor any *Protestant* Writer, as being perhaps unwilling to owe thanks to Hereticks. For my self, I do neither mislike the contrary opinion, because commonly those of the *Romish* Religion labour to uphold it; nor favour this later account of times, because many notable men of the *Protestant* Writers have approved it; but for the truth it self. To strengthen which, after all these former reasons, and testimonies of Scripture, I will add thus much more to the rest. First, it is apparent to all men of judgment, that the best approved Historians, divine, and prophane, labour to investigate the truth of times, thereby to approve the Stories, and fore-past actions of the World; and not the truth of Histories to approve the times by. Let us then make judgment to our selves, which of those two accounts give the best reputation to the Story of the Scriptures; teaching the World's new plantation, and the continuance of God's Church: either that of *Josephus*, and those which follow him; who makes but 292 years, or thereabouts, between the Floud and Birth of *Abraham*: or this other account, which makes 352 years between the one and the other: the one making *Abraham* to be the first-born of *Thare*, in the 70th year of his life; the other a younger Son of *Thare*, and born when he had lived 130 years. And, if we look over all, and do not hastily satisfie our understanding with the first things offered, and thereby being satiated do slothfully and drowsily sit down; we shall find it more agreeable, rather to allow the reckoning of the *Septuagint*, who, according to some Editions, make it above 1072 years between the Floud and *Abraham*'s Birth; than to take away any part of those 352 years given. For, if we advisedly consider the state and continuance of the World, such as it was in *Abraham*'s time, yea, before *Abraham* was born, we shall find, that it were very ill done of us, by following opinion without the guide of reason, to pare the times over deeply between *Abraham* and the Floud: because in cutting them too near the quick, the reputation of the whole Story might perchance bleed thereby, were not the testimony of the Scriptures supreme, so as no objection can approach it: and that we did not follow withall this Precept of S. *Augustine*, That whersoever any one place in the Scriptures may be conceived disagreeing to the whole, the same is by ignorance of interpretation mis-understood. For, in *Abraham*'s time, all the then known parts of the World were peopled: all Regions and Countries had their Kings. *Egypt* had many magnificent Cities; and so had *Palestina*, and all the bordering Countries, yea, all that part of the World besides, as far as *India*; and those not built with sticks, but of hewn stone, and defended with walls and rampires; which magnificence needed a Parent of more antiquity, than those other men have supposed. And therefore, where the Scriptures are plainest, and best agreeing with reason and nature, to what end should we labour to beget doubts and scruples, or draw all things into wonders and marvels? giving also strength thereby to common cavillers, and to those mens apish brains, who onely bend their wits to find impossibilities, and monsters, in the Story of the World and Man-kind.

SECT. VIII.

A Computation of the times of the Assyrians, *and others, grounded upon the times noted in the Story of* Abraham.

IN this sort therefore, for the reasons before alleged, I conclude, that from the general Floud, to the birth of *Abraham*, 352 years were consumed; and taking the *Assyrian* History with us, the same number of years were spent from the Floud to the 43. year of *Ninus*: in which 43 year of *Ninus*, *Abraham* was born; which hapned in the year of the World, 2009. *An mundi 2008. dil. 352. natus Abraham, Euf. Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. 16. c. 17.*

Now, of this time of 352 years, we must give one part as well to the increase of those people which came into *Shinaar*, as to those that stayed in the East, to wit, 30 years to *Chus*, ere he begat *Seba*; of which though the Scriptures are silent, yet, because those of the same time had that age when they begat their first Sons, we may the more safely give the like allowance to these. For *Eber* begat *Peleg* at 34. *Peleg Regu* at 30. *Regu Serug* at 32. Now, after *Seba*, *Chus* begat *Havilah*, *Sabta*, *Raama* and *Sabtecha*: and *Raama* begat *Sheba* and *Dedan*, before *Nimrod* was born, as it appeareth, *Gen.* 10. which S. *Augustine* approveth. Giving then 30 years more to *Raama* ere he begat *Sheba*, and five years to the five elder brothers of *Nimrod*, it may be gathered, that 65 years were consumed ere *Nimrod* himself was born; and that *Raama* had that age before any of his Sons were begotten, it may be gathered by example and comparison: for *Peleg* the fourth from *Noah*, as *Raama* was, begat *Reu* in the same year of his life. *Aug. de Civit. Dei.* *Gen.* 11. 18

Let us then allow 60. years more after the birth of *Nimrod*, for two other generations to be brought forth, or else we shall hardly find people to build *Babel*; for sure we are, that it was done by hands, and not by miracle: because it displeased God. These two numbers of 65 and 60 make 125. The rest of the time of 131 (in which year they arrived in *Shinaar*, whereof there are six years remaining) we may give them for their travels from the East; because they were pestered with women, children and cattel: and, as some ancient Writers have conceived, and *Berosus* of later times, they kept always the mountain sides, for fear of a second floud. Now, if we take this number of 131 out of 352, there remains 221; of which number *Berosus* bestoweth 65 on *Belus*, and 42 on *Ninus* before *Abraham* born: both which S. *Augustine* approveth: which two numbers taken again out of 221, there remaineth 114 years of the 352, from the Floud to *Abraham*'s birth; which number of 114 necessity bestoweth on *Nimrod*. *An à salute humani generis ab aquis centessimo primo cœpit regnum Babyloniorum sub nostro Saturno patre Jovis Beli, qui imperavit annis 65. Berosus.*

And if it be objected, that this time given to *Nimrod* is overlong; sure, if we compare the age of *Nimrod* with the rest of the same descent from *Noah*, it will rather

rather appear over short. For *Nimrod*, by this account, lived in all but 179 years, whereof he reigned 112; whereas *Sale*, who was the Son of *Arphaxad*, the Son of *Sem*, lived 403 years: and of the same age of the World was *Nimrod* the Son of *Chus*, the Son of *Cham*.

Now, after *Abraham* was born,

Ninus reigned 9 years, which added to 43 make 52. *Ninus* dieth, and leaveth *Semiramis* his Successour.

Of the World, 2017. Of the Floud, 961. 2059. *mundi*. 403. *à dil.* 2083.

Semiramis governed the Empire of *Babylon* and *Assyria* 42 years, and died in the 52 year complete of *Abraham*'s life.

Ninias, or *Zameis*, succeeded *Semiramis*, and ruled 38 years; in the second year of whose reign *Abraham* left *Mesopotamia*.

When *Abraham* was 85 years old, he rescued his Nephew *Lot*, and overthrew by surprize *Amraphel*, King of *Shinaar*, or *Babylonia*. *Ninias* reigned 38 years, and *Abraham* came into *Canaan* but 23 years after *Semiramis* died: which was the 75 year of his age; so that *Amraphel* may seem to have been this *Ninias*, the son of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*, whose 23 years, as aforesaid, being the 75 year of *Abraham*, he and his fellow-kings might have received this overthrow in the 85 year of *Abraham*, and the 33 year of his own reign: after which he reigned five years, which make in all 38. But the truth is, that the reasons to the contrary, urging that this *Amraphel* could not be *Ninias*, are not easily answered. Howbeit, for the times of the *Assyrian* Kings, that they are to be ordered as we have set down, according to the times noted by *Moses* in the Story of *Abraham*, it is most certain; unless we will either derogate from the truth of *Moses* his computation, which were impiety, or account the whole History of *Ninus* and *Semiramis* to be but a fiction; which were to condemn all ancient Historians for Fablers.

417. 2093. 437.

SECT. IX.

That Amraphel, *one of the four Kings whom* Abraham *overthrew*, Gen. 14. *may probably be thought to have been* Ninias *the Son of* Ninus.

AND now, touching this *Amraphel*, whom *Moses* makes King of *Shinaar*, or *Babylonia*, in the 85 year of *Abraham*'s life, that is, in the 33 year of the reign of *Ninias Zameis* the King of the *Assyrians*, the Son of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*, it is hard to affirm what he was, and how he could be at this time King of *Babylonia*, *Ninias Zameis* then reigning there. To this doubt the answer which first offereth it self as most probable, is that which hath been already noted, that this *Ninias*, or *Zameis*, was no other than our *Amraphel*; who invaded *Traconitis*, or *Basan*, and overthrew those five Kings of *Pentapolis*, or the Valley of *Siddim*. For the Scriptures tell us, that *Amraphel* was King of *Shinaar*, which is *Babylonia*; and the times before accounted make him to be the successor of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*: and it falleth out with the 85 year of *Abraham*'s life, wherein he rescu'd *Lot*, slew *Chedorlaomer*, and overthrew the rest. True it is, that this *Amraphel* was not at this time the greatest *Monarch*; for *Chedorlaomer* commanded in chief, though *Amraphel* be first named by *Moses* in the first Verse of the fourteenth Chapter of *Genesis*. For the Kings of the Valley of *Siddim*, or of *Pentapolis*, or the five Cities, were the vassals of *Chedorlaomer*, and not of *Amraphel*; as it is written, *Twelve years were they subject to* Chedorlaomer, *but in the thirteenth year they rebelled, and in the fourteenth year came* Chedorlaomer, *and the Kings that were with him*; and therefore was *Chedorlaomer* the principal in this enterprise, who was then King of *Elam*, which is *Persia*. Now, *Persia* being seated over *Tygris*, and to the East of *Amraphel*'s Countrey; and the other two Kings, which were companions with *Amraphel*, being seated to the West of *Shinaar*, or *Babylonia*: *Amraphel*, who held *Babylonia* it self, seemeth at this time to have had no great scope or large Dominion. For, had *Amraphel* been so great a Prince as prophane Historians make *Ninus* or *Semiramis*, whom he succeeded, he should not have needed the assistance of three or four Kings for this Expedition. But though *Chedorlaomer* were the first and greatest of those four Kings (as it is manifest that he was: For these little Kings of *Sodom*, *Gomorrah*, &c. were his vassals, and not *Amraphel*'s) yet this makes not the conjecture less probable, but that this *Amraphel* might be *Ninias*. For it may be that the great and potent Empire of *Assyria* had now (as we shall shew more plainly in that which followeth) received a down-right fall at the time of this War: though not long before it commanded all the Kingdoms between *India* and the *Phœnician* Sea; to wit, in the times of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*.

Gen. 14. 4.

SECT. X.

Of Arioch, *another of the four Kings, and that* Ellas, *whereof he is said to have been King, lies between* Cœlosyria *and* Arabia Petræa.

NOw the two other Kings joyned with *Amraphel* and *Chedorlaomer*, were *Arioch* and *Tidal*; the one King of *Ellassar*, the other of the Nations. For *Ellassar*, *Aquila* and *Hierom* write *Pontus*: so *Tostatus* thinketh that it should be *Hellespont*: which opinion *Pererius* favoureth. But this is onely to defend the *Latine* translation. For as *Pontus*, so is *Hellespont* far distant, and out of the way to send any Armies into *Arabia Petræa*, or into *Idumæa*; which Countries these four Kings chiefly invaded: Besides that, it is certain that the *Assyrians* (when they were greatest) had never any dominion in *Asia* the less. For at such time as the *Assyrians* feared the invasion of the *Medes* and *Persians*, they sent not into *Asia* the less as Commanders; but used all the Art they had to invite *Crœsus* to their assistance; perswading him, that nothing could be more dangerous for himself, and the other Kings of those parts, than the success of the *Medes* against the *Assyrians*. But examine the enterprize, what it was. *These Kings* (saith the Text) *made War with* Bera, *King of Sodom*, Birsha *King of Gomorrah*, Shinab *King of Admath*, and Shemebar *King of Zeboim, and the King of* Bela, *which is Zoar*. All which five Kings had not so much ground as *Middlesex*; being such a kind of *Reguli*, as *Josua* found in the Land long after: namely, Lords of Cities and small Territories adjoyning; of which *Canaan* had three and thirty, all slain or hanged by *Josua*. Neither can the other Countries, which in the Text they are said also to have invaded, be imagined to have been at that time of any great power; and therefore to call in Kings from *Pontus*, or *Hellespont*, had manifested a great impotence and weakness in the Kings of *Babylon* and *Persia*.

Xenophon.

Gen. 14.

And though it be alleged for an Example, that divers Kings far off came to assist *Pompey* against *Cæsar*; yet these same examples, without like occasions and circumstances, do neither lead nor teach. For there was no cause to fear the greatness of these petty

petty Kings, or of the other Countries: But the eyes of the World were fixed on *Cæsar*; and his undertakings and intents were to all other Princes no less doubtful than fearful: But the whole Country by these four Kings mastered in their passage, was afterward given to the half Tribe of *Manasse*, *Gad*, and *Reuben*; a narrow Valley of ground, lying between *Jordan* and the Mountains of *Seir*; inclosed by the River of *Arnon* on the South side, and by *Lybanus* on the North; consisting of two small Provinces of *Traconitis*, or *Basan*, and the Region of the *Moabites*; a conquest far unvaluable, and little answering to the power of the *Assyrian* Empire, if the same had remained in any comparable estate with the times of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*, who subjected all the great Kings of that part of the World, without the assistance of any of the Kings of *Hellespont*, or any other part of *Asia* the less. But as the Vulgar, and *Aquila*, convert *Ellassar* by *Pontus*: So *Symmachus* makes *Arioch*, a King of the *Scythians*, a King indeed, as far fetched to join with the *Assyrians* in this Warr, as the World had any at that time.

The *Septuagint* do not change the word of *Ellassor* at all, but as they keep the word *Ararat*, on the Mountains whereof the Ark did rest; so do they in this place retain the word *Ellassor*, being doubtful to give it a wrong interpretation. And *Pererius* himself remembreth other opinions far more probable than this of *Pontus* or *Hellespont*: yet he dares not avow his liking of them, because the *Latine* translation hath it otherwise. For *Stephanus de Urbibus*, a *Grecian Cosmographer*, findeth the City of *Ellas* in the border of *Cœlosyria*; and St. *Hierom* calleth *Ellas* the City of *Arioch*, as in truth it was. Now, although the same be seated by *Stephanus* in *Cœlosyria*, yet it standeth on the border of *Arabia*, of which *Arioch* was King; who formerly joyned with *Ninus* in all his Conquests, being of the same Family, and descended from *Cham* and *Chus*; after whom the name of *Arius* was by the *Hebrew* written *Arioch*; and afterward again *Aretas*; as in the *Machabees*: the Kings of *Arabia* holding that name even to the time of St. *Paul*, who was sought to be betrayed by the *Lieutenant* of *Aretas*, commanding in *Damascus*. They were Princes, for the most part confederate and depending upon the *Assyrian* Empire. It is true that we find in *Daniel*; that in the time of *Nebuchodonosor*, one *Arioch* was *General* of his Army, and the principal Commander under him, who was a King of Kings; which makes it plain, that *Arioch* here spoken of, the Son of that *Arioch*, *Confederate* of *Ninus*, was no King of *Pontus*, nor of *Scythia*, Regions far removed from the *Assyrians* and *Babylonians*. The name also of *Arioch*, who commanded under *Nebuchodonosor*, is mentioned in *Judith*, by the name of *King of the* Elymeans; who are a Nation of *Persians*, bordering on *Assyria*, according to *Stephanus*, though *Pliny* sets it between the Sea-coast and *Media*: and if any Brother of the *Arabian* Kings, or other of that House (known by the name of *Arius*, *Arioch*, *Areta*, or *Aretas*) had the Government of that *Persian* Province, called *Elymais* (as it seemeth they had, by the places of *Daniel* and *Judith*) yet the same was in *Nebuchodonosor*'s time. But this *Arioch* here spoken of, may with more reason be taken for the King of *Arabia*, the Son of *Arius*, the Confederate of *Ninus*, whose Sons held league, as their Fathers did, being the next bordering Prince of all on that side towards the West unto *Babylonia*, and *Chaldæa*; and in amity with them from the beginning, and of their own House and Blood; which *Diod. Siculus* also confirmeth.

Mac. 2. c. 5. v. 2.
Cor. 2. 11.
Dan. 2.
Diod. Siculus. l. 2. c. 1.

SECT. XI.

Of Tidal, *another of the four Kings.*

THe fourth King by *Abraham* overthrown, was *Tidal*, King of the Nations. The *Hebrew* writes it *Gojim*, which *Vatablus* takes to be a proper name: *Lyra* of mixt People; *Calvin* of Runnagates without habitation. *Pererius* out of *Strabo*, finds that *Galilæa* was inhabited by divers Nations, which were a mixt People: namely, of *Egyptians*, *Arabians*, and *Phœnicians*. *Nam tales sunt qui* Galilæam *habitant*; *Such are the inhabitants of* Galilee, saith *Strabo*; and therefore was *Tidal* called King of these Nations, as they suppose. And so it may be; but the authority of *Strabo* is nothing in this Question. For *Galilæa* was not peopled at this time, as it was in the time of *Strabo*. For, when *Abraham* came into *Canaan*, the *Canaanite* was then in the Land, howsoever they might be afterwards mixt; which I know not but there are many petty Kingdoms adjoyning to *Phœnicia*, and *Palestina*; as *Palmyræna*, *Batanea*, *Laodicene*, *Apamena*, *Chalcidice*, *Cassiotis*, *Calibonitis*, and all these do also joyn themselves to *Mesopotamia* on the North, and to *Arabia* on the East. And that these Nations gathered themselves together under *Tidal*, I take to be the probablest conjecture.

Strab. l. 16. fol. 523.
Gen. 12. 6.

SECT. XII.

That Chedorlaomer, *the chief of the four Kings, was not of* Assyria, *but of* Persia; *and that the* Assyrian *Empire at this time was much impaired.*

LAstly, whereas it is conceived that *Chedorlaomer* was the *Assyrian* Emperor, and that *Amraphel* was but a *Satrope*, *Viceroy*, or *Provincial* Governour of *Babylonia*, and that the other Kings named, were such also, I cannot agree with *Pererius* in this. For *Moses* was too well acquainted with the names of *Assur* and *Shinaar*, to call the *Assyrian* a King of *Elam*: those Kings being in the Scriptures evermore called by the name of *Chaldea*, *Shinaar*, *Babylonia*, or *Assyria*; but never by *Elam*: and *Chedorlaomer*, or *Kedarlaomer* was so called of *Kidor*, from *Cidarim*, which in the *Hebrew* signifieth *Regale*: for so *Q. Curtius* calleth the garment which the *Persian* Kings wore on their heads.

Neither do I believe, that the *Assyrian* or *Babylonian* Empire stood in any greatness at the time of this invasion; and my reasons are these: First, example and experience teach us, that those things which are set up hastily, or forced violently, do not long last. *Alexander* became Lord of all *Asia*, on this side of *Indus*, in a time of so short a life, as it lasted not to over-look what it self had brought forth. His fortunes were violent, but not perpetual. For his Empire died at once with himself: all whose chief Commanders became Kings after him. *Tamberlain* conquered *Asia* and *India*, with a storm-like, and terrible success: but to prevalent fury, God hath adjoined a short life; and whatsoever things Nature her self worketh in haste, she taketh the least care of their continuance. The fruit of his Victories perished with him, if not before.

Ninus, being the first whom the madness of boundless dominion transported, invaded his neigh-

bour-Princes, and became victorious over them: a Man violent, insolent and cruel. *Simiramis* taking the opportunity, and being more proud, adventurous, and ambitious than her *Paramour*; enlarged the *Babylonian* Empire, and beautified many places therein, with buildings unexampled. But her Son, having changed Nature and Condition with his Mother, proved no less feminine than she was masculine. And as wounds and wrongs, by their continual smart, put the Patient in mind how to cure the one, and revenge the other: so those Kings adjoining (whose subjection and calamities incident, were but new, and therefore the more grievous) could not sleep, when the advantage was offered by such a successour. For, *In Regno* Babylonico *hic parùm resplenduit*; *This King shined little* (saith *Nauclerus* of *Ninias*) *in the* Babylonian *Kingdom*. And likely it is, that the necks of mortal Men, having been never before galled with the yoak of foreign dominion, nor having ever had experience of that most miserable and detested condition of living in slavery; no long descent having as yet invested the *Assyrian* with a right; nor any other title being for him pretended, than a strong hand; the foolish and effeminate Son of a tyrannous and hated Father, could very ill hold so many great Princes and Nations his Vassals, with a powerless mastering, and a Mind less industrious than his Father and Mother had used before him. And he that was so much given over to licentious idleness, as to suffer his Mother to reign forty two years, and thereof the greatest part after he came to Man's estate; witnessed thereby to the World, that he so much preferred Ease before Honour, and bodily Pleasures before Greatness, as he neither endeavoured to gain what he could not govern, nor to keep what he could not without contentious peril enjoy.

These considerations being joined to the Story of *Amraphel*, delivered by *Moses*, by which we find that *Amraphel* King of *Shinaar* was rather an inferiour to the King of *Persia*, than either his superiour, or equal; make it seem probable, that the Empire of *Ninus* and *Semiramis* was at that time broken asunder, and restrained again to *Babylonia*.

For conclusion, I will add these two arguments confirming the former: First, that at such time as it pleased God to impose that great travel upon *Abraham*, from *Ur* in *Chaldæa* to *Charran*, and then to *Canaan*, a passage of 700 miles, or little less, with Women, Children, and carriages; the Countries through which he wandred were then settled, and in peace. For it was the twenty third year of *Ninias*, when *Abraham* obeying the voice of God, took this great journey in hand: in which time of twenty three years after the death of *Semiramis*, the neighbour Princes had recovered their liberty and former estates. For *Semiramis* Army of four Millions, with her self, utterly consumed in *India*, and all her Armies and Engins of War at the same time lost, gave an occasion and opportunity even to the poorest Souls and weakest hearted of the World, to repurchase their former liberty.

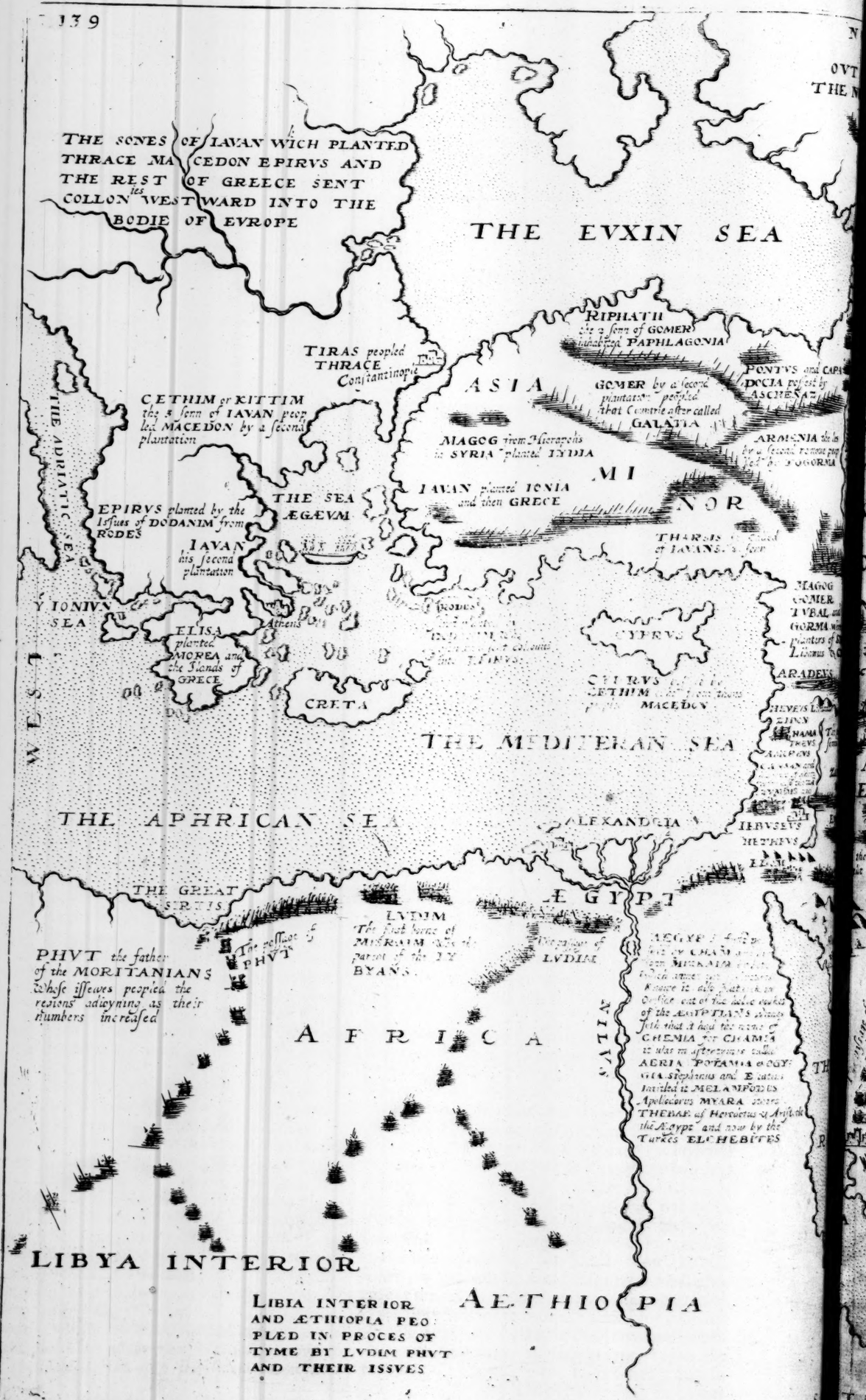
Strab. l. 15.

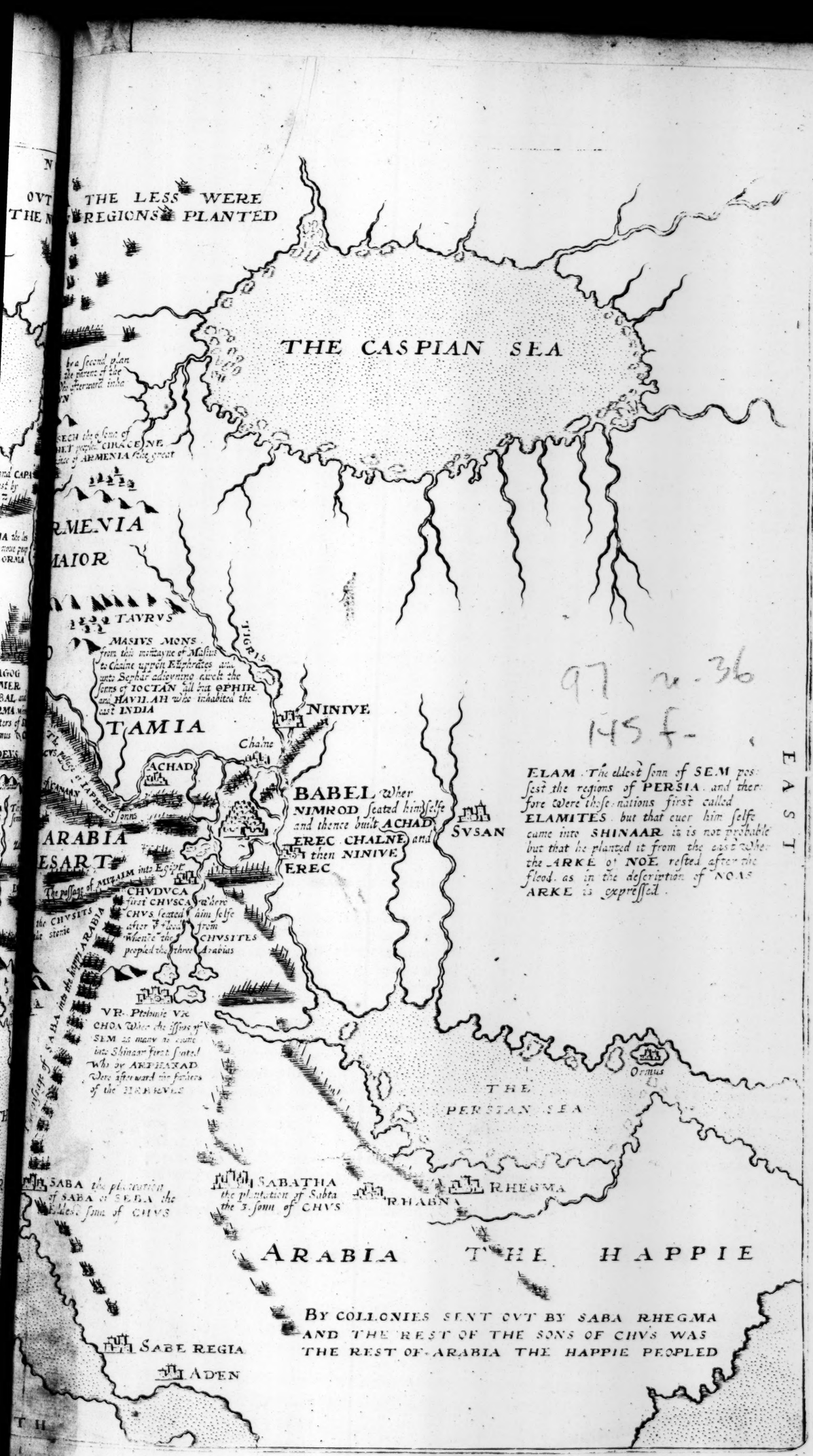
Secondly, it is affirmed by the best and antientest Historians, that *Arius* the Son of *Ninias* or *Amraphel*, invaded the *Bactrians*, and *Caspians*, and again subjected them: which needed not, if they had not been revolted from *Ninias*, after *Ninus* Death. And as *Arioch* recovered one part, so did *Baleus*, or *Belaneus*, otherwise *Xerxes*, reduce the rest revolted, to their former obedience. Of whom it is said, that he conquered from *Egypt* to *India*; and therefore was called *Xerxes*, *id est*, *Victor & Triumphator*, *A Conqueror and Triumpher*; which undertakings had been no other than the effects of madness, had not those Countries freed themselves from the *Babylonian* subjection. Now, if we shall make any doubt thereof, that is, of the conquest of *Arius* and *Xerxes*, both which lived after *Ninus* and *Ninias*, we may as well think the rest of *Ninus* and *Semiramis* to be but feigned; but if we grant this conquest, then it is true, that while *Ninias* or *Amraphel* ruled, the *Assyrian* Empire was torn asunder, according to that which had been gathered out of *Moses*, as before remembred.

SECT. XIII.

That it is not unprobable that the four Kings had no dominion in the Countries named, but that they had elsewhere with their Colonies planted themselves; and so retained the names of the Countries whence they came: which if so, we need not say, that Amraphel *was* Ninias, *nor trouble our selves with many other difficulties.*

THe consent of all Writers, whose works have come to my perusal, agreeing as they do, that these four Kings, *Amraphel* of *Shinaar*, *Chedorlaomer* of *Elam*, and their fellows, were Lords of those Regions, whereunto they are, or seem intituled; doth almost inforce us to think, that the History must so be understood, as I have delivered. But, if in this place, as often elsewhere in the Scriptures, the names of Countries may be set for People of those Lands; or if (as *Hierom* hath it) *Chedorlaomer* was King of the *Elamites*, as *Tidal* was said to be of the Nations, that is, of People, either wanting a fixed habitation, or gathered out of sundry Regions; then may we otherwise conceive of this History: removing thereby some difficulties, which Men, perhaps, have been unwilling to find, because they could not find how to resolve them. For, as it had been a strange conjecture to think that *Arioch* was drawn to assist the *Persian* against the *Sodomite*, as far as from *Pontus*, where it is very unlikely that *Chedorlaomer* was known, and almost impossible that the vale of *Siddim* should have been once named: so in true estimation, it is a thing of great improbability, that *Chedorlaomer*, if he were King of *Persia* alone, should pass through so great a part of the World, as the Countries of *Assyria*, *Chaldea*, *Mesopotamia*, *Syria*, and part of *Arabia*, and *Canaan*, to subdue those five Towns, whose very names how they should come to his Ear, being disjoyned by so man great Nations of different Languages, a wise Man could hardly conjecture. And if all the Countries bordering *Persia*, together with the *Babylonian* himself, yea, the Kingdom of *Ellasar* and that of *Tidal*, so far off removed, were become his dependences; what reason can we find that might have induced him to hearken after *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*? and when he should have sought the establishment of his new-gotten Empire, by rooting out the Posterity of *Ninus* (as *Ninus* had dealt by *Pharnus* of *Media*, and *Zoroaster* of *Bactria*) then to employ the forces of *Amraphel*, and those other Kings, against five petty Towns, leaving *Tyrus* and *Sidon*, and the great City *Damasco*, with many other places of much importance, and far nearer unto him, unsubdued? Now, as these doubts, which may be alledged against the first conquest of the vale of *Siddim*, are exceeding vehement: so are the objections to be made against his conquest of these five Cities, when they had revolted, as forcible; yea, and more, as being grounded upon the Text it self. For first, what madness had it been in that


THE SONES OF IAVAN WICH PLANTED THRACE MACEDON EPIRVS AND THE REST OF GREECE SENT COLLONies WESTWARD INTO THE BODIE OF EVROPE
THE EVXIN SEA
RIPHATH the 2 sonn of GOMER inhabiteth PAPHLAGONIA
TIRAS peopled THRACE
Constantinople
ASIA
GOMER by a seconde plantation peopled that Countrie after called GALATIA
PONTVS and CAPPADOCIA possest by ASCHENAZ
CETHIM or KITTIM the 3 sonn of IAVAN peopled MACEDON by a second plantation
MAGOG from Hierapolis in SYRIA planted LYDIA
ARMENIA the lesse by a second remove peopled by TOGORMA
MINOR
IAVAN planted IONIA and then GREECE
THE SEA ÆGÆVM
EPIRVS planted by the Issues of DODANIM from RODES
IAVAN his seconde plantation
THARSIS a sonn of IAVANS 3 sonn
THE ADRIATIC SEA
Y IONIVN SEA
Athens
ELISA planted MOREA and the Iles of GRECE
CRETA
CYPRVS
CITTIRVS CETHIM
MACEDON
MAGOG GOMER TVBAL GORMA
ARADEVS
THE MEDITERAN SEA
THE APHRICAN SEA
ALEXANDRIA
IEBVSEVS
HETHEVS
THE GREAT SIRTIS
ÆGYPT
LVDIM The first borne of MISRAIM
PHVT the father of the MORITANIANS whose issewes peopled the regions adioyning as their numbers increased
AFRICA
NILVS
LIBYA INTERIOR
AETHIOPIA
LIBIA INTERIOR AND ÆTHIOPIA PEOPLED IN PROCES OF TYME BY LVDIM PHVT AND THEIR ISSVES


THE LESS WERE
REGIONS PLANTED
THE CASPIAN SEA
RMENIA
MAIOR
TAVRVS
MASIVS MONS
TIGRIS
NINIVE
TAMIA
Chalne
ACHAD
BABEL Wher
NIMROD seated himselfe
and thence built ACHAD
EREC CHALNE and
then NINIVE
EREC
SVSAN
ELAM The eldest sonn of SEM pos-
sest the regions of PERSIA and ther-
fore were these nations first called
ELAMITES but that euer him selfe
came into SHINAAR it is not probable
but that he planted it from the east Whe-
the ARKE of NOE rested after the
flood as in the description of NOAS
ARKE is expressed
EAST
ARABIA
ESART
CHVDVCA
first CHVSCA
CHVS seated
after the flood
peopled the three
CHVSITES
Arabias
VR Ptolomie VR
CHOA Where the issue of
SEM as many as came
into Shinaar first sated
Who by ARPHAXAD
Were afterward the feeders
of the HEBREVS
THE
PERSIAN SEA
Ormus
SABA the plantation
of SABA or SEBA the
eldest sonn of CHVS
SABATHA
the plantation of Sabta
the 3. sonn of CHVS
RHEGMA
RHABN
ARABIA THE HAPPIE
BY COLLONIES SENT OVT BY SABA RHEGMA
AND THE REST OF THE SONS OF CHVS WAS
THE REST OF ARABIA THE HAPPIE PEOPLED
SABE REGIA
ADEN

that ſmall Province, or rebel againſt ſo powerful a Monarch? Or if it were ſo, that they dwelling far from him, hoped rather to be forgotten, than that he ſhould come or ſend to reclaim them; was it not more than madneſs in them, when his terrible Army approached, ſtill to entertain hope of evaſion; yea, to make reſiſtance (being themſelves a diſſolute, and therefore unwarlike people) againſt the power of all the Nations between *Euphrates*, yea, between themſelves and the River *Indus*? Likewiſe, on the part of *Chedorlaomer*, we ſhould find no great wiſdom, if he, knowing the weakneſs of this People, had raiſed ſuch a World of Men againſt them: whom by any Leivetenant, with ſmall forces he might have ſubdued. For the perpetual inheritance of that little Countrey, was not ſufficient to countervail one Month's charges of ſo huge an Army. How ſmall then muſt his valour have been, who with ſo mighty preparations effected no more than the waſting of that Valley, wherein he left the Cities ſtanding, taking no one of them; but returned well contented with a few Priſoners, and the pillage of the Countrey, although he had broken their Army in the Field? Now, the Scriptures do not of this invaſion (ſuppoſed ſo great) make any fearful matter; but compoſe the two Armies as equally matcht, ſaying, they were four Kings againſt five; yea, if
Gen. 14.17. the place be literally expounded, we ſhall find that *Abraham* ſlew all theſe Kings; of which great ſlaughter no Hiſtory makes mention: Neither will the reign of *Ninias*, who lived four or five years longer, permit that he ſhould have died ſo ſoon; neither would Hiſtories have forgotten the manner of his death, if he had ſo ſtrangely periſhed in *Syria*. Whereby it appears, that theſe four Kings were not the ſame that they are commonly thought; nor their forces ſo great as opinion hath made them. It may therefore well be true, that theſe Kings were ſuch as many others, who in that age carried the ſame Title; Lords and Commanders every one of his own Company, which he carried forth as a Colony, ſeeking place where to ſettle himſelf and them, as was the uſual manner of thoſe times,

Neither is it improbable, that *Chedorlaomer* leading a troup of *Perſians*, *Amraphel* ſome people out of *Shinaar*, and *Tidal* others gathered out of ſundry places, might conſort together, and make the weakeſt of the Countrey which lay about them, to pay them tribute. Whoſoever will conſider the beginning of the firſt Book of *Thucydides*, with the manner of Diſcoveries, Conqueſts and Plantations in the infancy of *Greece*; or the manner of the *Saracens* invading *Africa* and *Spain*, with almoſt as many Kings as ſeveral Armies; or the proceedings of the *Spaniards* in their new diſcoveries, paſſages, and conqueſts in the *Weſt-Indies*; may eaſily perceive, that it was neither unuſual for the Leaders of Colonies to receive title from the people whom they conducted; nor to make alliances together, and break them again, diſturbing ſometimes one the other, ſometimes helping in purſuit of a conqueſt. That *Amraphel* and his aſſociates were ſuch manner of Commanders, it may ſeem the more likely, by the ſlothful quality of *Ninias* then reigning in *Aſſyria*; whoſe unmanlike temper was ſuch, as might well give occaſion to ſuch undertaking Spirits, as wanted the employments whereunto they were accuſtomed in the Reign of *Semiramis*, rather to ſeek adventures abroad, than to remain at home unregarded, whilſt others, more unworthy than themſelves, were advanced. If the conſent of the whole ſtream of Writers upon this place, make this conjecture diſagreeable to the Text, to the authority whereof all humane reaſon muſt ſubſcribe, then we may hold our ſelves to the former conjecture, *Amraphel* was *Ninias*; and that the power of his Anceſtors being by his ſloth decayed, he might well be inferiour to the *Perſian Chedorlaomer*: or if this do not ſatisfie, we may ſay that *Amraphel* was an under-King, or *Satrapa* of *Shinaar*, under *Ninias*; who may be ſuppoſed to have had his Imperial Seat in his Father's City, *Nineve*; and to have preferred it before *Shinaar* and *Babylon* the City of his Mother, whom he hated as an Uſurper of his right. But, if it were poſſible that in a caſe not concerning any Man's Salvation, and wherein therefore none hath cared to take great pains, all might err; then can I think that the opinion, that thoſe four Kings were Leaders of Colonies, ſent out of the Countries named in the Text, and not Kings of the Countries themſelves, is moſt conſonant, both to the condition of thoſe times, and to the Scripture. And hereto add, that *Chedorlaomer* ſeems rather called a *Perſian* King, than King of *Perſia*: And that *Arioch* (whoſe Kingdom undoubtedly was between *Syria* and *Arabia*) having been a Man of Action, or being a worthy Man's Son, was very well pleaſed to give paſſage and aſſiſtance to theſe Captains or petty Kings. Theſe, and ſuch like things here to urge, were but with circumſtances to adorn a ſuppoſition, which either may ſtand without them, or if it muſt fall, is unworthy to have coſt beſtowed upon it; eſpecially conſidering, that it is not my intent to employ any more time in making it good, but to leave it wholly to the Reader's pleaſure, to follow any of theſe opinions, or any other, if he find any that ſhall ſeem better than theſe. But of what countries or people ſoever theſe four were Kings, this Expedition is the only publick action that we know of performed by *Abraham*. And as for other things belonging to this Story, and of his Sons, and of his Nephews, *Eſau*, and *Jacob*, as they are regiſtred by *Moſes*, becauſe it is not our purpoſe, either to ſtand upon things generally known to all *Chriſtians*, nor to repeat what hath been elſewhere already ſpoken, nor to prevent our ſelves in things that may hereafter in due place be remembred, we paſs them here in ſilence. And becauſe in the Story of *Abraham* and his Poſterity, there is much mention of *Egypt*, by which it appears, that even in the time of *Abraham*, it was a ſettled and flouriſhing Kingdom; it will not be amiſs in the next place to ſpeak ſomewhat of the Antiquities and firſt Kings thereof.

CHAP. II.

Of the Kings of Egypt, *from the first Peopling of it after the Floud, to the time of the delivery of the* Israelites *from thence.*

SECT. I.

A Brief of the names and times of the first Kings of Egypt; *with a note of the causes of difficulty in resolving of the truth in these points.*

SOon after the confusion at *Babel* (as it seems) *Cham*, with many of his issue and followers (having doubtless known the fertility of *Egypt* before the Floud) came thither and took possession of the Countrey; in which they built many Cities; and began the Kingdom one hundred ninety one years after the Deluge. The antient Governours of this Kingdom, till such time as *Israel* departed *Egypt*, are shewn in the *Table* following.

An. Mundi.	*An. dil.*	
1847.	191.	*Cham.*
2008.	352.	*Osiris.*
2269.	613.	*Typhon* } *Hercules.*
2276.	620.	*Orus.*
2391.	735.	*Sesostris* the great.
2424.	768.	*Sesostris* the blind.
2438.	782.	*Busiris*, or *Osiris* the second.
2476.	820.	*Acencheres*, or *Thermutis*, or *Meris.*
2488.	832.	*Rathoris*, or *Athoris.*
2497.	841.	*Cenchres*, drowned in the Red Sea.

The *Table*, and especially the *Chronology*, is to be confirmed by probabilities and conjectures, because in such obscurity manifest and restless truth cannot be found. For S. *Augustine*, a man of exceeding great judgment, and incomparable diligence, who had sought into all Antiquities, and had read the Books of *Varro*, which now are lost, yet omitted the succession of the *Egyptian* Kings, which he would not have done, if they had not been more uncertain than the *Sicyonians*, whom he remembreth, than whom doubtless they were more glorious. One great occasion of this obscurity in the *Egyptian* Story, was the ambition of the Priests; who, to magnifie their Antiquities, filled the Records (which were in their hands) with many leasings, and recounted unto strangers the names of many Kings, that never reigned. What ground they had for these reports of supposed Kings, it shall appear anon. Sure it is, That the magnificent Works, and royal Buildings in *Egypt*, such as are never found but in States that have greatly flourished, witness that their Princes were of marvelous greatness, and that the reports of the Priests were not altogether false. A second cause of our ignorance in the *Egyptian* History, was the too much credulity of some good Authors, who believing the manifold and contrary reports of sundry *Egyptians*, and publishing in their own names such as pleased them best, have confirmed them, and as it were inforced them upon us by their Authority. A third and general cause of more than *Egyptian* darkness in all antient Histories, is the Edition of many Authors, by *John Annius*, of whom (if to the censures of sundry very Learned I may add mine) I think thus; that *Annius* having seen some fragments of those Writers, and added unto them what he would, may be credited, as an avoucher of true Histories, where approved Writes confirm him; but otherwise is to be deemed fabulous. Hereupon it cometh to pass, that the account of Authors, either in the *Chronology* or *Genealogy* of the *Egyptian* Kings, runs three altogether different ways. The *Christian* Writers, such as are antient, for the most part follow *Eusebius*: Many late Writers follow the Edition of *Annius* his Authors; The profane Histories follow *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, and such others.

SECT. II.

That by the account of the Egyptian *Dynasties, and otherwise, it appears that* Cham's *reign in* Egypt *began in the year after the Floud,* 191.

TO reconcile these, or gather out of them the times of the antient Kings about whom is most controversie, the best mean is by help of the *Dynasties*; of whose continuance there is little or no disagreement. The account of the *Dynasties* (besides the authority of approved Authors) hath this good ground, that it agreeth for the most part, if not altogether, with the Histories of the *Assyrians*, *Trojans*, *Italians*, &c. and others. The beginning of the 16th *Dynastie* is joyned by general consent with the 43 year of *Ninus*, in which *Abraham* was born. The twelve first *Dynasties* lasted each of them seven years, under the twelve which were call'd the greater gods: so that all the years of their continuance were 84. The 13th *Dynastie* endured 14 years; the fourteenth 26, the fifteenth 37. These three last, are said to have been under the three younger gods. So the fifteen first *Dynasties* lasted 161 years. As I do not therefore believe that the continuance of these *Dynasties*, was such as hath been mentioned, because *Annius* in such wise limits out their time: so I cannot reject the account upon this onely reason, that *Annius* hath it so; considering, that both hitherto, it hath passed as current, and is greatly strengthened by many good reasons. For, whereas *Eusebius* placeth the beginning of the sixteenth *Dynastie*, in the year of *Abraham*'s birth, as aforesaid, the reckoning is easily cast; by which the sum of 161 years, which, according to our account, were spent in the fifteen former, being subducted out of the sum of 352 years, which were between the Floud and *Abraham*'s birth, shew that the beginning of the first *Dynastie*, which was the beginning of *Cham*'s reign in *Egypt*, was in the year 191. As also by other probabilities the same may appear: For it is generally agreed, that the multitude of man-kind

which

which came into *Shinaar*, arrived at *Babel*, *Anno à Diluvio* 131. In building the Tower were consumed 40 years, as *Glycas* recordeth; whose report I have elsewhere confirmed with divers probabilities. That *Cham* was long in passing with his company, their Wives, Children, Cattel, and Substance through all *Syria*, then desolate, and full of Boggs, Forests and Bryers (which the Deluge, and want of culture, in one hundred seventy one years had brought upon it) no reasonable man will doubt. To this his passage therefore, and the seating of himself in *Egypt*, we allow twenty years; and these sums being added together, to wit, one hundred thirty one years after the Floud, before they arrive at *Babel*, fourty years for their stay there, and twenty for *Cham*'s passage into *Egypt*, and settling there, make up the sum of 191 years; at which time we find that *Cham* began his reign in *Egypt*, in the beginning of the first *Dynastie*. And to this sum of 191 years, if we add the 161 years of the 15 first *Dynasties*, as they are numbred in common account, we shall fall right with the year of *Abraham*'s birth, which was *An. Dil.* 352. And hereto omitting many other reasons, which might be brought to prove that these first *Dynasties* must needs have been very short, and not containing in the whole sum of their several times above 161 years; Let it suffice, that had they lasted longer, then either must *Egypt* have been peopled as soon as *Babel* after the Floud, or the *Dynasties* (as *Mercator* thinks) must have been before the Floud. That the arrival at *Babel* was many years before the plantation of *Egypt* after the Floud, enough hath been said to prove; and that the *Dynasties* were not before the Floud, the number of the long-liv'd Generations between *Adam* and the Floud, which was less than the number of the *Dynasties*, may sufficiently witness. Or, if we will think, that one life might (perhaps) be divided into many *Dynasties*, then may this have been as well after the Floud, as before; considering that the Sons of *Noah* did not in every Countrey erect such form of Policy, as had been used in the same ere the Deluge; but such as the disposition of the people, the authority and power of the Conductor, together with many other circumstances, did induce or enforce them to.

SECT. III.

That these Dynasties *were not divers Families of Kings, but rather Successions of Regents, oft-times many under one King.*

THe short continuance of the *Dynasties* doth shew that they were not several races of kings, as the vaunting *Egyptians* were wont to stile them. What they were, it cannot certainly be warranted: For in restitutions of decayed Antiquities, it is more easie to deny than to affirm. But this may be said, partly upon good circumstance, partly upon the surest proof, That it was the manner of the *Egyptian* Kings, to put the Government of the Country into the hands of some trusty Counsellor, onely reserving the Soveraignty to themselves, as the old Kings of *France* were wont to the Masters of the Palace, and as the *Turk* doth to the chief *Visier*. This is confirmed, first, by the number of the *Dynasties*, whereof many are under *Cham*, and more than one under *Osiris*, or *Misraim*; and must therefore have been successions, not of Kings, but rather of Counsellors and Regents. Secondly, by custom of such Princes borderers to *Egypt*, as are mentioned in the Scriptures, of whom *Abimelech* the *Philistim*, in his dealing with *Abraham* and *Isaac* about confederation, did nothing without *Phicol*, Captain of his Host; though in taking *Abraham*'s Wife, and in his private carriage, he followed his own pleasure. Likewise of *Abimelech*, the Son of *Gideon*, it was said: *Is not he the Son of* Jerubbaal? *and* Zebul *is his Officer.* Also *Ishbosheth*, the Son of *Saul*, feared *Abner* the Captain of the Host. Yea, *David* himself hating *Joab* for his cruelty, did not punish him in regard of his greatness, which was such, as was feared even of *Hadad* the *Edomite*, living then in *Egypt*. Thirdly, this is confirmed by the temper and disposition of *Cham*, who was lewd, as appears by the Scriptures: therefore likely, both by his own idleness and pleasure, to have laid the burthen of the Government upon others; and upon jealousie, the companion of unworthiness, to have changed his Lieutenants often. Above all other proofs is the advancement of *Joseph* by *Pharaoh*. For *Pharaoh* said to *Joseph*; *Onely in the King's Throne will I be above thee: behold, I have set thee over all the Land of* Egypt. *William Archbishop of* Tyre, who flourished about the year of our Lord, one thousand one hundred eighty, affirms that the like, or very same form of Government by *Viceroys*, was in his time practised in *Egypt*, having there been in use (as he believed) ever since the time of *Joseph*. He plainly shews, that the *Soldans* of *Egypt* were not Lords of the Countrey, however they have been so deem'd; but that they acknowledg'd and humbly performed the duty of subjects unto the *Caliph*; who residing in a most magnificent Palace in *Cairo*, did commit the charge, not onely of Civil Government, but the power of making War and Peace, with the whole Office and Authority Royal, into the *Soldans* hands. He that shall read in *William* of *Tyre*, the state of the *Caliph*, or *Meulene Edhadech*, with the form of his Court, shall plainly behold the Image of the antient *Pharaoh*, ruling by a Lieutenant, as great in authority as *Joseph* was, though far inferiour in Wisdom.

Will. Tyr. de bell. Sacro. l. 19. *c.* 17, 18, 19, & 20.

Lib. 19. *c.* 22.

To think that many names of such *Regents*, or Lieutenants, as *Joseph* was, have crept into the List of the *Egyptian* Kings, were no strange imagination. For *Joseph*'s brethren call him, *The man that is Lord of the Land, and the Lord of the Country*; besides, it is not unlikely, that the vain-glorious *Egyptian* Priests would as easily report him a King to posterity, as ignorant men and strangers deem him such, under whose hand all dispatches of importance, and royal managing of the State had passed, whilest that the King himself, intending his quiet, had given his Office to another. How strangers have mistaken in this kind, the example already cited of *Joseph*'s brethren doth sufficiently witness. The reports of Priests do appear in *Diodorus*, and *Herodotus*; each of whom, citing their relations, as good Authority, say; *Diodorus*, and *Sesostris* was the nineteenth King after *Menas*; *Herodotus*, that he was the 332 after *Menas*; which could not have been, if *Menas* had been *Adam*. Therefore we may well conclude, That the *Dynasties* were not so many Races of Kings, but successions of *Regents*, appointed by the Kings of so many sundry Linages or sorts of men. Now, by whatsoever means a *Dynastie*, or *Regencie* continued; whether in one Family, as being made an hereditary Office; or in one order of men, as held by faction: sure it is, that was the King's gift and free choice, that gave the Office. But the Crown royal always passed by descent, and not by election; which (besides consent of Authors) the Scriptures also prove. For whereas *Joseph* bought all the Land of *Egypt* for *Pharaoh*, if the Crown had passed by election, then should *Pharaoh*'s children hereby, either have been inthralled amongst the rest of the people, to the

Gen. 42. 30. & 33.

next

next ſucceſſor: or enjoying their father's Land, though not his Eſtate, have been more mighty than the King: as Land-lords of all *Egypt*, and the King himſelf their Tenant. Likewiſe we find in *Exod.* 12. that *God ſmote the firſt-born of* Pharaoh, *that was to ſit on his Throne.* And in *Eſay*, it is ſaid of *Pharaoh*, *I am the Son of the antient King.* *Eſa.* 19.

SECT. IV.

Of Cham, *and his Son* Mizraim, *or* Oſiris.

THat the ſucceſſion of Kings began, and continued in ſuch wiſe as the Table hath ſhewed from *Cham* to *Chenares*, now it followeth to ſhew. *Egypt* is called in the Scripture *the Land of* Ham. That this name is not given to it, becauſe the Poſterity of *Cham* did reign there, but for that himſelf did firſt plant it, we may gather by many circumſtances. For I think it is no-where found, that the Countries of *Chuſh*, *Put*, or *Canaan*, as well as *Egypt*, were called the Land of *Ham*. Further, it is found in *Diodorus Siculus*, that *Oſiris* calleth himſelf the eldeſt Son of *Cham*, ſaying, *Mihi pater* Saturnus *deorum omnium junior*: alſo, *Sum* Saturni *filius antiquior, germen ex pulchro & generoſo ortum*; which muſt needs be underſtood of *Cham*; for this *Saturnus Egyptius* was *Cham*: as it is ſaid, that on the Monument of *Ninus* was an Inſcription, wherein *Cham* was called *Saturnus Egyptius*. Likewiſe the Temple of *Hammon*, not far from *Egypt*, doth teſtifie, that *Ham* reſided in thoſe parts: And S. *Hierom*, *in queſtionibus Hebraicis*, ſaith, that the *Egyptians* themſelves did in his days, call their Country *Ham*; as in four ſeveral places in the *Pſalms* this Countrey is called the Land of *Cham*. And *Ortelius*, noting out of *Plutarch* in *Oſiride*, that in the ſacrifices of the *Egyptians* this Countrey of *Egypt* was called *Chemia*, expounds it for *Chamia*, *ut puto* (ſaith he) *à Chamo Noes filio*, to which alſo he addeth out of *Iſidore*, *Ægyptum uſque hodie Ægyptiorum lingua* Kam *vocari*; *that* Egypt *unto this day in the tongue of the* Egyptians *is called* Kam. For the beginning and continuance of *Cham*'s reign, the ſame reaſons may ſuffice to be alleged, which I have already given in proof of the time ſpent in the 15 firſt *Dynaſties*: Neither is it ſhange, that the reign of *Cham* ſhould laſt ſo long as 161 years; conſidering that *Sem* lived 600, *Arphaxſhad* and *Shelah* each above 400. But ſtrange it had been, if one *Salis* created by *Manetho*, had in thoſe long-lived generations reigned there 19 years, and with *Baon*, *Apachnas*, *Apochis* and others of the ſame brood, obſcured the fame and glory of *Oſiris*, *Orus* and *Seſoſtris*. *Reineccius in Hiſt. Julia*, placeth *Mizraim* next, otherwiſe called *Oſiris*, according to *Diodorus*; who, ſaith he, was the Son of *Hammon*: *Krentzhemius* ſaith, that *Mizraim* and *Oſiris*, are words of near affinity and ſound in the *Hebrew* tongue. Howſoever it be, we know that *Mizraim* the Son of *Cham*, was Lord of *Egypt*; and *Reineccius*, citing good authority in this caſe, affirmeth that *Egypt* is now called by the naturals in their own language, *Mezre*. Neither do I ſee cauſe of doubt whether *Oſiris* were the ſame with *Mizraim*. It is more neceſſary, and hard to ſhew manifeſtly, how long *Mizraim*, or *Oſiris* reigned: For whereas the year of his death is no where preciſely ſet down, we muſt be fain to follow probabilities. That he is not vainly ſaid by *Annius* his *Beroſus*, to have begun his reign at the birth of *Abraham*, when the *Dynaſtie* of the *Thebæi* began, it appeareth, firſt, by the authority of *Euſebius*, who avoucheth as much; next, by *Diodorus*, who ſaith, that he inhabited *Thebes*; which habitation of *Oſiris* there, that it might be cauſe of that *Dynaſtie*, I can well believe; aſſenting ſo far to *Reineccius*, who thinks the *Dynaſties* were named onely according to the ſeveral feats of the Kings. *Pſa.* 78. 51. 105. 23, 27. 106. 22. *Diod. Sic. l.* 1.

SECT. V.

Of the time when Oſiris *reign ended; and that* Jacob *came into* Egypt *in the time of* Orus *the Son of* Oſiris.

THe death of *Oſiris*, when it was, none can certainly affirm. The onely conjecture that I know is made thus: *Lebabim* the Son of *Mizraim*, called *Hercules Lybius*, made war in *Italy*, to revenge his father's death on the aſſociates of *Typhon*, in the 41 year of *Baleus* King of *Aſſyria*; before which year he had made many great Wars in *Egypt*, *Phœnicia*, *Tygris*, *Phrygia*, *Crete*, *Lybia* and *Spain*; and having ended his *Egyptian* Wars, left the Kingdom to *Orus*. Thus far *Beroſus*, or Authors following *Beroſus*. That *Orus*, laſt of all the gods (as they were ſtyled) held the Kingdom of *Iſis*, *Diodorus Siculus* plainly ſaith; and *Plutarch* as much, to which all Hiſtories agree. *Krentzhemius* hereupon infers, that ſix years may be allowed to the Wars, which *Hercules* made in ſo many Countries, after the *Egyptian* Wars were ended: ſo ſhould the death of *Oſiris* have been the 34 of *Baleus*, when himſelf had reigned 297 years. I think that *Krentzhemius* was a greater Scholar than Souldier. For ſurely, in thoſe days, when commerce was not ſuch as now, but all Navigation made by coaſting, a far longer time would have been required, to the ſubduing of ſo many Countries. An allowance of more time, though it would alter his computation, yet would it well agree with his intent; which was (doubtleſs) to find the truth. If according to his account the death of *Oſiris* had been the 34 of *Baleus*, then muſt *Iſrael* have come into *Egypt* but 7 years before the death of *Oſiris*; and have lived there in the reign of *Typhon*: A thing not eaſily believed. For it was the ſame King who advanced *Joſeph*, bad him ſend for his father, and gave him leave to go into *Canaan*, to the performance of his father's Funeral; as may eaſily be gathered out of the Book of *Geneſis*. Whereas therefore the reign of *Oſiris* cannot be extended by any poſſible allowance in account of times, beyond the 7 year of *Iſrael*'s coming into *Egypt*, we muſt needs cut off 23 years from that number, which *Krentzhemius* conjectures his reign to have continued; namely, ſeven which he ſhould have lived after *Jacob*'s coming into *Egypt*; nine, in which *Joſeph* had there flouriſhed, ere his fathers coming; and other ſeven, in which *Typhon* and *Hercules* had reigned after the death of *Oſiris*, yet before *Joſeph*'s advancement. *Diod. Sic. l.* 2. *c.* 1. *Plut. l. de Iſid. & Oſirid.*

Neither will this diſagree with the time of *Hercules Lybius* his Wars. For the War which *Hercules* made in *Italy*, is ſaid to have indured ten years: After which proportion, we may well give not only ſix years, as *Krentzhemius* doth, but 23 more to ſo many Wars, in ſo many, and ſo far diſtant Countries, as are named before; yea, by this proportion, we may attribute unto *Orus* the 13 years, which paſſed between the time of *Joſeph*'s being ſold into *Egypt*, unto his advancement, conſidering that *Potiphar*, who bought him, and whoſe daughter he may ſeem to have married, continued all that while chief Steward unto *Pharaoh*; a thing not likely to have been, if ſo violent alterations had hapned the whilſt in *Egypt*, as the tyrannous uſurpation of *Typhon* muſt needs have brought

brought in. If citing some fragment of a lost old Author, I should confidently say, that *Potiphar*, for his faithfulness to *Orus* the Son of *Osiris*, was by him in the beginning of his reign, made his chief Steward, at which time, buying *Joseph*, and finding him a just Man, and one under whose hand all things did prosper, he rather committed his estate into *Joseph's* hands, than unto any of his *Egyptian* followers (many of whom he had found either false-hearted, or weak and unlucky in the troublesom days of *Typhon*) I know not what could be objected against this. Perhaps, I might proceed further, and say, That when the saying of *Joseph* pleased *Pharaoh*, and all his servants; then *Potiphar*, Priest of *On*, being chief Officer to *Pharaoh*, did acknowledg in *Joseph*, the antient graces of God, and his injurious imprisonment: whereupon he gave him his Daughter to Wife; and being old, resigned his Office of chief Steward unto him, who afterward, in regard of *Potiphar*, did favour the Priests, when he bought the Lands of all other *Egyptians*. This might appear to some a tale not unlike the Friarly book of *Asenath*, *Potiphar's* Daughter: but, unto such as consider God works usually by means; and that *Potiphar* was the Steward of that King, under whom *Jacob* died, it would seem a matter more probable, had it an Author of sufficient credit to avouch it. Concerning the Wars of *Hercules*, in which, by this reckoning, he should have spent forty two years after he left *Egypt*, ere he began in *Italy*, it is a circumstance which (the length of his *Italian* Wars considered, and his former enterprises and atchievments proportioned to them) doth not make against us, but for us; or, if it were against us, yet could it not so weaken our supposition, as these probabilities collected out of the indisputable truth of Scripture do confirm it. Nevertheless, I freely grant, that all these proofs are no other, than such as may be gathered out of Authors, not well-agreeing, nor to be reconciled in such obscurity, otherwise than by likelihoods, answerable to the holy Text.

SECT. VI.

Of Typhon, Hercules, Ægyptus, Orus, *and the two* Sesostres, *successively reigning after* Mizraim; *and of divers Errors about the former* Sesostres.

CONcerning the reign of *Typhon*, and of *Hercules*, I find none that precisely doth define how long either of them continued. *Daniel Angelocrator* giveth three years to *Typhon*, omitting *Hercules*. But he is so peremptory without proof, as if his own word were sufficient authority, in many points very questionable; alledging no witness, but as it were, saying, *Teste me ipso*; yet herein we may think him to speak probably, for as much as the learned *Krentzhemius* affirmeth, that *Hercules* did very soon undertake his Fathers revenge; and was not long in performing it: and that leaving *Egypt* to his Brother, he followed other Wars in the same quarrel, as hath been shewed before. True it is, that I cannot collect (as *Krentzhemius* doth) out of *Berosus*, that *Hercules* reigned after *Typhon*; yet, seeing *Aventinus*, a follower of *Berosus*, hath it so, I will also believe it. That in the reign of *Typhon* and *Hercules*, seven years were spent, howsoever divided between them, I gather out of *Krentzhemius* only, who placeth the beginning of *Orus* seven years after the death of *Osiris*; forgetting to set down his reasons, which in a matter so probable, I think he wanted not. Now, whereas he alloweth ninety years of the eighteen *Dinastie* to *Osiris*, *Typhon*, *Hercules*, and *Orus*; it seems that the reign of *Orus* lasted a hundred and fifteen years. From the death of *Orus*, to the departure of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, there passed a hundred twenty two years by our account; who (according to *Beroaldus* and others) think that *Abraham* was born in the hundred and thirtieth year of *Terah*, and thereupon reckon thus: From the end of the Flood to the Birth of *Abraham* 352

From that vocation of *Abraham* time to the departure out of *Egypt* 75 430

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which Sum divers other ways may be collected. Since therefore to the departure out of *Egypt*, there do remain (as is aforesaid) only a hundred twenty two years from the death of *Orus*, we are now to consider, how many of them are to be allowed unto *Sesostris*, or *Sesonchosis*, who is placed next unto *Orus*, by authority of the *Scholiastes Apollonii*; not without good probability. For this great King or Conqueror, is by many Historics recorded to have over-run a great part of *Asia*; to have built a Fleet of Ships on the Red-Sea, and so to have entred into *India*; like wise with another Fleet on the middle-Earth Seas, to have passed into *Europe*, and subdued many Nations. This is he (as *Reineccius* judgeth) whom *Justine*, erring in account of his time, calleth *Vexoris*; For *Justine* placeth *Vexoris* in Ages before *Ninus*; whereby it would follow that *Sesostris*, if he were *Vexoris*, was more antient then was *Osiris* (otherwise *Mizraim*) a thing altogether unlikely. Certain it is, that after the departure of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, no one *Pharaoh* came into the Land of *Canaan* (which lieth in the way from *Egypt* into *Asia*) till the Father-in-law of *Solomon*, *Pharaoh Vaphres*, took *Gezar*, and gave it to his Daughter (as we may read more at large in the holy History of the Bible) after which time, *Sesac* oppressed *Rehoboam*, and *Necho* sought passage through the Land of *Israel*, when he made his Expedition against the *Chaldeans*. Of King *Vaphres*, and *Necho*, it is out of question, that neither of them was the great King *Sesostris*. Of *Sesac*, it is doubted by some, for as much as he came into *Judea* with a great Army. *Reineccius* propounding the doubt, leaveth it undecided; unless it be sufficient proof of his own opinion, that he himself placeth *Sesostris* next to *Orus*, following the *Scoliastes Apollonii*. But further answer may be made, to shew that they were not one. For, as *Justine* witnesseth, *Sesostris*, otherwise *Vexoris*, made War on people far removed, abstaining from his neighbours. *Sesac* came up purposely against *Hierusalem*. *Sesostris*, as *Diodorus* witnesseth, had but 24000 Horse, *Sesac* had 60000. *Sesostris* had 8020 Chariots, *Sesac* 1200. *Sesostris* made his Expedition for no private purpose, but to get a great name: *Sesac*, as most agree, had no other purpose than to succour *Jeroboam*, and give him countenance in his new reign; whom he had favoured even against *Solomon*: therefore *Sesostris* must needs have reigned whilst *Israel* abode in *Egypt*.

Whereas *Krentzhemeus* collecteth out of *Herodotus*, and *Diodorus*, that one *Menas*, or *Menis*, was next to *Orus*; because those Historians affirm that he reigned next after the Gods; it moveth me nothing. For *Osiris* did succeed those fifteen Gods; namely, the twelve greater, and three lesser; himself also (as the learned *Reineccius* noteth) being called *Menas*. Which name, as also *Menæus*, and *Menis*, were titles of Dignity; though mistaken by some, as proper names, *Krentzhemius* doth very probably gather, that *Menus* was *Mercurius Ter-maximus*, the *Hebrew* word *Meni* signifying an *Arithmetician*; which name *Ter-maximus* might

might well be attributed to *Osiris*, who was a great Conqueror, Philosopher, and Benefactor to mankind, by giving good Laws, and teaching profitable Arts. In prowess and great undertakings, *Sesostris* was no whit inferiour to *Osiris*: For he sought Victory not for Gain, but Honour only; and being well contented, that many Nations had acknowledged his power, and submitted themselves to his will and royal disposition, leaving them in a manner to their liberty, returned into *Egypt*. Soon upon his return he was endangered by a great Treason, the House in which he was, being by his own Brother purposely Fired; which nevertheless, he is said to have escaped, and to have reigned in all thirty years; after which time, he chose rather to die than to live, because he fell blind. Both *Herodotus* and *Diodorus* affirm, that *Sesostris* left a Son, whose name was *Pheron*, or *Pherones*; who afterwards took the name of *Sesostris*, but was nothing like to his Father in Glory; for he shortly fell blind. The cause of his blindness, *Herodotus* attributes to his assaulting the River *Nilus* with a Javelin; which tale *Diodorus* having like wise heard, yet reports as a fable, saying, that perhaps he took the disease naturally from his Father. How long this Man reigned, it is no where expressed; yet, for as much as *Orus* the second (otherwise *Busiris*) who succeeded him, began fourteen years after this *Sesostris* had been King, it must needs be that this reigned fourteen years at least. That *Busiris* began not until these fourteen years at least were expired, the very account of time from the first *Busiris* to the departure of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, plainly shews, being almost generally agreed upon, to have been seventy five years. That none came between *Sesostris* the second, and *Busiris*, or *Orus* the second, it stands only upon probabilities, which are these: After *Sesostris* had reigned some while he fell blind; after certain years, he recovered his sight, as is said, which may have been true, but is more like to have been a Fable; surely the manner of his recovery, as it is set down, is very fabulous; namely, that by looking upon a Woman, or washing his Eyes with her Water, who had only known her own Husband, he got his sight again. As the time of his reign before his blindness, and when he was well again (if ever he were) may have taken up a good part of fourteen years; so his works, which were great, do much more strongly argue, that his reign was not very short. His works are largely set down by *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*; a part of which may seem to have been the finishing of that which his Father had begun, about the Chanels and Sluces of *Nilus*; whom, I think, he rather frighted (as his Father had done) with Spades and Shovels, than with Darts and Javelins; and by his diligent over-sight of that work, was like enough to lose both his Eye-sight and his Peoples love; whom his Father had very busily employed in excessive labour about it.

SECT. VII.

Of Busiris, *the first oppressor of the* Israelites; *and of his successour Queen* Thermutis, *that took up* Moses *out of the Water.*

And herein (if I may presume to conjecture) *Busiris*, who was afterwards King, is like to have dealt with him, as *Jeroboam* did with the Son of *Solomon*. For that *Busiris* himself was much addicted to magnificent works, it well appeared by the drudgery wherewith he wearied the Children of *Israel* in his buildings: If therefore he were employed by the great *Sesostris*, as *Jeroboam* was by *Solomon*, in the oversight of those businesses, he had good opportunity to work his greatness with the King by industry; and afterward with the People, by incensing them against their new King, as *Jerobobum* did. For what the multitude will endure at one Princes hands, they will not at anothers; unless he have either an equal Spirit, or a surer Foundation. If moreover he sought to derive all the pain and labour of publick works from the *Egyptians* to the *Israelites*: he surely did that to his own People which was very plausible; who (as appears in *Exodus*) were nothing slack in fulfilling the Kings cruelty. Now, that *Orus* the second, or *Busiris*, was the King that first oppressed *Israel*, and made the *Edict* of drowning the *Hebrew* Children, which (saith *Cedrenus*) lasted ten Months; it is a common opinion of many great and most learned Writers; who also think that hereupon grew the Fable of *Busiris* sacrificing strangers. It is also a common interpretation of that place, *Exod.* 1. that the King who knew not *Joseph*, was a King of a new Family. That *Busiris* was of a new Family, *Relneccius* doth shew; who also thinks him an Author of the bloody *Edict*. Nevertheless, true it is, that *Busiris*, according to all Mens computation, began his reign five years after the Birth of *Moses*; before whose Birth it is most manifest, that the Law was made, and much more, that the persecution began; which *Bunting* thinks to have lasted eighty seven years, ere the departure out of *Egypt*. Let us therefore consider, besides the blindness of *Sesostris* the second, how great the power of the *Regents* or *Vice-roys* in *Egypt* was; and how great confidence the King did put in them, seeing *Joseph* ruled with such full power, that he bought all *Egypt*, and all the *Egyptians* for Bread; giving at the same time the best of the Land to his own Father and Brethren for nothing; seeing also that when the *Egyptians* cried out upon *Pharaoh* for Bread, *Pharaoh* said to all the *Egyptians*, *Go to* Joseph, *what he saith to you, do ye.* If to a stranger born, lately fetcht out of Prison, a King well able to have governed himself, would give such trust, and soveraign Authority: it is not unlikely that a blind Prince should do it to a Man of especial Reputation. For God often prospers, not only the good (such as *Joseph* was) but wicked Men also, as his instruments against the day of Wrath. Therefore, perhaps, the King did (as many have done) resign his Kingdom to him, though his reign was not accounted to have begun till the Death of *Sesostris*. But whether *Busiris* did usurp the Kingdom, or protection of the Land by violence; or whether the Blind King resigned it, keeping the Title; or whether *Busiris* were only *Regent* whilst the King lived, and afterwards (as it is acknowledged by all) King himself; it might well be said that *Pharaoh*'s Daughter took up *Moses*, and that *Pharaoh* vexed *Israel*; seeing he both at that time was King in effect, and shortly after, King in deed and title both. It were not absurd for us to say, that the blind King *Sesostris* the second oppressed *Israel*: But, for as much as it may seem that the wicked Tyrant shewed his evil nature, even when he first arose; I think it more likely, that *Busiris* did it, using at first the Power of a King, and shortly after the Stile. Thus of the 122 years which passed between the beginning of *Sesostris* his Reign, and the departure of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, forty seven being spent, the seventy five which remain, are to be accounted to *Busiris*, or *Orus* the second, and his Children. *Busiris* himself reigned thirty years, according to *Eusebius*; whom very many judicious Authors herein approve. After him his Daughter,

Daughter, who took *Moses* out of the Water, is said, by all that I have read, to have reigned twelve years. Her name was *Thermutis Pharis*, or *Muthis*, according to *Cedrenus*: *Eusebius* calls her *Acencris*; and out of *Artabanus* his History, *Meris*: *Joseph* calls her both *Acenchre*, and *Thermutis*. *Epiphanius* in *Panario*, saith, that she was honoured afterward of the *Egyptians*, by the name of *Thermutis* the Daughter of *Amenoph*, the Son of *Pharaoh*. Of this last title question might be made, and much spoken; for the Scriptures call her not *Pharaohs* Son's Daughter, but *Pharaoh's* Daughter. *Amenophis* indeed is set next before *Busiris*, or *Orus* the second, by *Eusebius* and others; but whether he were a King, or only a *Regent*, I cannot conjecture. For *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, and the antient Historians, name the Son of *Sesostris*, *Pheron*. Perhaps his name was *Pharaoh Amenophis*; and his Daughter by the *Egyptians* called rather the Neece or Grandchild, than the Daughter of *Pharaoh*, because of the Glory of *Sesostris*, and the disreputation of his Son. If so, and if that *Busiris*, or *Orus* the second, marrying her, pretended any Title by her, then is our conjecture strengthened, and then was she both Daughter, Grand-child, and Wife unto *Pharaoh*; and surviving him, Queen of the Land twelve years. But if she was Daughter of *Orus* the second, and Sister of *Athoris*, or *Rathoris*, as many think, to whose conjecture I will not oppose mine, then may it seem, that either her Brethren were degenerate, or too young to rule when her Father died.

SECT. VIII.

Of the two Brethren of Queen Thermutis; *and what King it was, under whom* Moses *was born; and who it was that perished in the Red Sea.*

SHe had two Brethren; the one was *Rathoris*, or *Athoris*, who succeeded her; the other *Telegonus*, who is only named by *Eusebius*; but his linage and off-spring described by *Reinaccius*. *Rathoris*, after his Sisters Death, reigned nine years; after whom *Chencres*, thought to be his Son, reigned ten years, and then perished in the Red Sea. During the reign of *Chencres*, *Eusebius* saith, that *Telegonus* begat *Epaphus* upon *Io*; of which History elsewhere he reporteth otherwise. After the death of *Chencres* (whom some call *Acenchres*, but all, or most do stile Θόμαχον, a fighter against God) *Acherres* reigned eight years; and then *Cherres* fifteen. This descent seems from Father to Son. In the eleventh year of *Cherres*, it is said by *Eusebius*, that *Epaphus* reigning in the lower part of *Egypt*, built *Memphis*. This is an argument of that which otherwise was not unlikely; *viz.* That *Egypt* was greatly brought out of order by the plagues which God had laid upon it, and the destruction of her King and Army in the Red Sea; else could it not have had two reigning in it at once; the latter of whom, or his Posterity, seems to have taken all from *Cherres*, the Grand-child of *Chencres*. For whereas *Armais* is said to have reigned four years after *Cherres*; and *Armesis* one after *Armais*: these two Kings are by *Eusebius* and others, accounted as one, and his Reign said to have been five years. His name is called *Armeus*, otherwise *Danaus*; and his Pedigree thus described by *Reineccius* in *Histor. Julia.*

Telegonus:
Epaphus:
Lybia, who had

Agenor, *Belus*, and *Busiris*.

T

Ægyptus or *Rameſſes*, who gave name to the Country, having expell'd his Brother *Danaus*, reigned, and begat *Lynceus*, married to *Hypermneſtra*.	*Danaus*, or *Armeus*, expelled by his Brother *Ægyptus*, after he had reigned five years, became King of *Argos* in *Greece*: was Father to *Hypermneſtra*.

How it might come to pass, that the Nephews Sons of *Epaphus* should have occupied the Kingdom after *Cherres*, it is hard to say; considering that *Epaphus* himself is reported by *Eusebius*, to have been born in the time of *Chencres*. But for as much as the History of *Epaphus* his Birth, is diversly related by *Eusebius*, it may suffice, that *Belus* the Father of *Danaus* and *Ægyptus*, otherwise called *Armeus* and *Rameſſes*, was equally distant from *Busiris*, or *Orus* the second, with *Cherres* the Grand-child of *Chencres*. And that the Posterity of *Telegonus* did marry very young, it appears by the History of these two Brethren, *Danaus* and *Ægyptus*; of whom the former had fifty Daughters, the latter fifty Sons; perhaps, or rather questionless, by divers Women: yet surely they began to beget Children in their first Youth: Howsoever it were, the general consent of Writers is, that *Armeus*, or *Danaus*, did succeed *Cherres*; and (according to *Eusebius*, and good Authors approving him) reigned five years. *Rameſſes* followed, who reigned 68 years. This *Rameſſes*, or *Ægyptus*, is that *Armeſeſmiamum*, or *Armeſesmianus*, under whom, in the opinion of *Mercator*, and of *Bunting* that follows *Mercator*, *Moses* was born; and the cruel Edict made of drowning the *Hebrew* Children. The length of his reign seems to me the chief, if not the only ground of *Mercator's* opinion. For, whereas the Lord said to *Moses*, *Go, return to* Egypt, *for they are all dead which went about to kill thee*: *Mercator* hereupon conceives, that it was one and the same King under whom *Moses* was born, and under whom he slew the *Egyptian* at the fortieth year of his age; and fled into the Wilderness, and there abode for fear: all which circumstances could agree with none, but this *Rameſſes* who reigned so long; wherefore, desirous rather to hold a true Parodox, than a common Errour, he placeth one *Alisfragmuthosis* (whose name is found in the List of *Egyptian* Kings, but the time uncertain wherein he reigned) in an Age 112 or 113 years, more antient than others left him in: and so continuing the Catalogue of his Successours from *Themosis* (whom *Eusebius* calls *Amasis*) downwards, with no other variation of the length of each Man's reign than is the difference between *Manetho* and *Eusebius*; he finds *Moses* born under *Armeſeſmiamum*, and *Israel* delivered in the days of his Son *Amenophis*. The very name of *Alisfragmuthosis* seems to him with little alteration to sound like *Pharaates*, of which name one was thought to have flourished, either as a King, or as a wise Man, about the time of *Isaac*. For (saith he) from *Alisfragmuthosis* to *Phragmuthosis*, *Pharmuthosis*, or *Pharaates*, the change is not great. *Mercator* was a Man of excellent Learning and Industry; and one to whom the World is bound for his many notable Works: yet my assent herein is with-held from him by these Reasons. First, I see all other Writers agree, that *Chencres* was King, who was drowned in the Red

Sea. Secondly, the place, *Exod.* 4. *All are dead*, &c. may better be understood of *Busiris*, and all his children, than of one King alone. Thirdly, S. *Cyril* in his first Book against *Julian* the *Apostate*, saith, that *Dardanus* built *Dardania*, when *Moses* was 120 years old, which was this *Armesesmiamum*, being then King of *Egypt*. After *Ramesses*, *Amenophis* reigned 19 years; who is thought by *Mercator*, and peremptorily by *Bunting* pronounced, to be the King that perished in the Red Sea; of which our Opinion being already laid open, I think it most expedient to refer the Kings ensuing to their own times (which a *Chronological Table* shall lay open) and here to speak of that great deliverance of *Israel* out of *Egypt*; which for many great considerations depending thereupon, we may not lightly over-pass.

CHAP. III.

Of the Delivery of Israel *out of* Egypt.

SECT. I.

Of the time of Moses *Birth, and how long the* Israelites *were oppressed in* Egypt.

TRue it is, that the History it self is generally and well known; yet concerning the time of *Moses* his Birth, who was the excellent and famous Instrument of this, and other great Works of the *Highest*, the different opinions are very near as many, as the men that have written of that *Argument*.

L. Vives, in his Annotations upon S. *Augustine*, cites very many of their conjectures: as that of *Porphyrie* out of *Sanchoniato*, that *Moses* lived in the time of *Semiramis*: But, if he did mean the first *Semiramis*, it was but a fond conceit; for besides that the same is contrary to all Stories, divine and humane; while that *Semiramis* lived, she commanded *Syria*, and all the parts thereof absolutely; neither were the *Ammonites*, or *Moabites*, or *Edomites*, while she ruled, *in rerum natura*.

A second Opinion he remembreth out of *Appion*, taken from *Ptolemy*, a Priest of *Mendes*, who saith, that *Moses* was born while *Inachus* did rule the *Argives*, and *Amesies* in *Egypt*.

The third Opinion is taken out of *Ptolemon*, in his *Greek* History, the first Book; that *Moses* was born while *Apis* the third King ruled *Argos*.

A fourth is borrowed from *Tatianus Assyrius*, who, though he cite some Authorities, that *Moses* lived after the *Trojan* War, is himself of opinion, that *Moses* was far more antient, proving it by many arguments.

Fifthly, he setteth down the testimony of *Numinius* the Philosopher, who took *Museus* and *Moses* to be one; confirming the same out of *Artapanus*, who confesseth that *Moses* was called *Museus* by the *Grecians*; and who farther delivereth, that he was adopted by *Chenephis*, or *Thermutis*, the Daughter of *Egypt*; the same which *Eupolemus* calleth *Meris*; others (as *Rabanus Maurus*) *Thermothes*. *Eusebius* also affirmeth, that by *Eupolemus*, in his first Book, *de Bono*. Moses, *vir Deo conjunctissimus*, is called *Museus Judæorum*. *Eusebius*, in his Chronologie, finds that *Moses* was born while *Amenophis* ruled *Egypt*. The antient *Manethon* calls that *Pharaoh*, which lived at *Moses* birth, *Thuthmosis*, or *Thmosis*: the same, perchance, which *Appion* the *Grammarian* will have to be *Amosis*, and else-where *Amenophis*, the father of *Sethosis*: to whom *Lysimachus*, and *Cornelius Tacitus*, gave the name of *Bocchoris*. To me it seems most probable, that while *Saphrus*, called also *Spherus*, or *Iphereus*, governed *Assyria*; *Orthopolis*, *Sicyonia*; and *Criasus* the *Argives*; that then (*Sesostris* the second, ruling in *Egypt*) *Moses* was born. For, if we believe S. *Augustine*, it was about the end of *Cecrop*'s time, that *Moses* led *Israel* out of *Egypt*. *Eduxit* Moses *ex Ægypto populum Dei novissimo tempore* Cecropis *Atheniensium Regis*; Moses (saith he) *led the people of God out of* Egypt, *about the end of* Cecrop's *time, King of* 2514. *the* Athenians. In this sort therefore is the time of *Moses* birth, and of his departure out of *Egypt* best proved. S. *Augustine* affirms (as before remembred) that *Moses* was born, *Saphrus* governing *Assyria*; and that he left *Egypt* about the end of *Cecrop*'s time. Now, *Saphrus* ruled twenty years; his successour *Mamelus* thirty years; *Sparetus* after him forty years: in whose fourth year *Cecrops* began to goven in *Attica*: *Ascatades* followed *Sparetus*, and held the Empire one and forty years. So as *Moses* being born while *Saphrus* ruled *Assyria*; *Orthopolis Sicyonia*, and *Criasus Argos* (for these three Kings lived at once at his birth, saith S. *Augustine*, as *Cecrops* did when he departed *Egypt*) it will follow that the birth of *Moses* was in the nineteenth year of the *Assyrian Saphrus*; for take one year remaining of twenty (for so long *Saphrus* reigned) to which add the thirty years of *Mamelus*, and the fourty years of *Sparetus*, these make seventy one, with which there were wasted three years of *Cecrops*'s fifty years: then take nine years out of the reign of *Ascatades*, who was *Sparetus* successor, those nine years added to seventy one, make eighty, at which age *Moses* left *Egypt*; and add these nine years to the three years of *Cecrops* formerly spent, there will remain but four years of *Cecrops* his fifty, and so it falleth right with S. *Augustine*'s words, affirming, that towards the end of *Cecrops*'s time, *Moses* led the people of *Israel* out of *Egypt*.

Now, the time in which the *Hebrews* were oppressed in *Egypt*, seemeth to have had beginning some eight or nine years before the birth of *Moses*, and fifty four years, or rather more, after *Joseph*; between whose death, and the birth of *Moses*, there were consumed sixty four years, some of which time, and eighty years after, they lived in great servitude and misery. For, as it is written in *Exodus*: *They set task-masters* *Exod.* 1. *over them, to keep them under with burthens; and they built the Cities*, Pithom *and* Rameses, *&c. And by cruelty, they caused the children of* Israel *to serve, and made them weary of their lives, by sore labour in Clay and Brick, and in all work of the field, with all manner of bondage.* All which laid upon them by a mastering power, and strong hand, they endured to the time by the wisdom of God appointed; even from fifty four years, or not much more, after the death of *Joseph*, who left the World when it had lasted 2370 to 2370. the eightieth year of *Moses*, and until he wrought his miracles in the field of *Zoan*, which he performed in the Worlds age 2514 towards the end thereof, according 2514.

Euseb. de prap. Evan. l. 3. c. 3.

Aug. l. 18. c. 11. de Civit. Dei.

cording to *Codoman*, or after our account, 2513. And becauſe thoſe things which we deliver of *Egypt*, may the better be underſtood, I think it neceſſary to ſpeak a few words of the principal place therein named in this Diſcourſe.

SECT. II.

Of divers Cities and Places in Egypt, *mentioned in this Story, or elſewhere in the Scriptures.*

THis City, which the *Hebrews* call *Zoan*, was built ſeven years after *Hebron*. *Ezekiel* calleth it *Taphnes*, and ſo doth *Jeremy*; the *Septuagint*, *Tanais*; *Joſephus*, *Protaidis*, after the name of an *Egyptian* Queen; *Antonius* gives it the name of *Thanis*; *Hegeſippus*, *Thamna*; and *William Tyrius*, *Tapius*. It adjoyneth to the Land of *Goſen*, and is the ſame, wherein *Jeremy* the Prophet was ſtoned to death, for preaching againſt the *Egyptian* and *Jewiſh* Idolatry.

Num. 33. *Ezech.* 30. *Jer.* 2. 43. 44. 46. *Joſeph. l.* 1. *c.* 9. *Tyr. de Bel. ſac. l.* 19. *c.* 23.

Zoan, or *Taphnes*, was, in *Moſes* time, the *Metropolis* of the lower *Egypt*, in which their *Pharaohs* then commonly reſided; and not unlikely to be the ſame City, where *Abraham* in his time found him. But *Euſebius* out of *Artapanus* affirmeth, that *Abraham* did read Aſtronomy in *Heliopolis*, or *On*, to *Pharetates* King of *Egypt*. *Alex. Polyhiſtor*, out of *Eupolemus*, hath it otherwiſe, ſaying, that *Abraham* inſtructed the *Egyptian* Prieſts, and not the King; both which authorities *Euſebius* citeth. The *Septuagint* and the Vulgar Edition, for *Zoan*, write *Heliopolis*. *Pagnin*, *Vatablus*, *Junius*, and our *Engliſh* call it *On*; and *Ptolomie*, *Onium*. There are two Cities of that name; the one on the frontier of the lower *Egypt*, toward the South; the other ſomewhat lower on the Eaſter-moſt branch of *Nilus*, falling into the Sea at *Peluſium*. And it may be, that *Heliopolis*, to the South of the River *Trojan*, was the ſame which *Vatablus* and our *Engliſh* call *Aven*. Of the latter it is, that the Scriptures take certain knowledge; the ſame which *Pomp. Mela* and *Plinie* call *Solis oppidum*; *Tyrius* in the *Holy War*, *Malbec*; the *Arabians*, *Bahalbeth*; and *Simeon Sethi*, *Fons Solis*. Of this *Heliopolis*, or *On*, was *Potiphar* Prieſt, or Prince, whoſe Daughter *Joſeph* married. In the Territory adjoyning, *Jacob* inhabited, while he lived in *Egypt*. In the confines of this City, *Onias*, the High Prieſt of the *Jews*, built a Temple, dedicated to the Eternal God; not much inferiour to that of *Jeruſalem* (*Ptolomy Philopater*, then governing in *Egypt*) which ſtood in the time of *Veſpaſian*, 333 years after the foundation by *Onias*, whom *Joſephus* falſly reporteth herein, to have fulfilled a Prophecy of *Eſay*, Chap. 19. *In die illa erit Altare Domini in medio terræ* Egypti; *In that day ſhall the Altar of the Lord be in the midſt of the Land of* Egypt. *Antiochus Epiphanes*, at the time of the building tyrannizing over the *Jews*, gave the occaſion for the erecting of this Temple in *Egypt*. Laſtly, there it was that our Saviour *Chriſt Jeſus* remained, while *Joſeph* and the Virgin *Mary* feared the violence of *Herod*: near which (ſaith *Brochard*) the Fountain is ſtill found, called *Jeſus Well*, whoſe ſtreams do afterward water the Gardens of *Balſamum*, no where elſe found in *Egypt*. And hereof ſee more in *Brochard*, in his Deſcription of *Egypt*.

Euſeb. de prap. Evang. l. 9. *c.* 4. *Gen.* 12. 15 *Eſa.* 19. 11

There is alſo in that City of *Noph*, remembred by *Eſay* and *Ezechiel*, the ſame which *Hoſea* the Prophet calleth *Moph*; which later name it took from a Mountain adjoyning, ſo called; which Mountain *Herodotus* remembreth. And this is that great City, which was called *Memphis*; and ſo the *Septuagint* write it. It is known to the *Arabians* by the name of *Mizar*. The *Chaldæans* name it *Alchahyr*; and *Tudalenſis Mizraim*.

Eſay 19. 13. *Ezech.* 34. *Hoſ.* 9 6. *Lib.* 2.

Peluſium, which *Vatablus*, *Pagnin*, *Junius*, and our *Engliſh*, write *Sin*; the *Septuagint* call *Sais*; and *Montanus*, *Lebna*; is not the ſame with *Damiata*, as *Gul. Tyrius* witneſſeth. In the time of *Baldwin* the third, *Peluſium* was called *Belbeis*. *Belbeis* (ſaith *Tyrius*) *quæ olim dicta eſt* Peluſium; Belbeis *that in times paſt was called* Peluſium.

G. Tyr. l. 20. *c.* 17. *l.* 2. *c.* 5.

The City of *No*, the *Septuagint* call *Dioſpolis*. Of which name there are two or three in *Egypt*. *Hierom* converts it *Alexandria*, by anticipation, becauſe it was ſo called in the future.

Ezech. 30. 15, 16.

Bubaſtus (for ſo *Hierome* and *Zeigler* do write it) is the ſame which the *Hebrews* call *Pibeſeth*.

Ezech. 30. 17.

To make the Story more perceivable, I have added a Deſcription of the Land of *Goſen*, in which the *Iſraelites* inhabited; with thoſe Cities and places ſo often remembred in the Scripture: as of *Taphnes*, or *Zoan*, *Heliopolis*, or *Bethſemes*, *Balſephon*, *Succoth*, and the reſt; together with *Moſes* paſſage through the Deſarts of *Arabia the Stony*. For all Story, without the knowledge of the places wherein the actions were performed, as it wanteth a great part of the pleaſure, ſo it no way enricheth the knowledge and underſtanding of the Reader; neither doth any thing ſerve to retain, what we read, in our memories, ſo well as theſe Pictures and Deſcriptions do. In which reſpect I am driven to digreſs in many places, and to interpoſe ſome ſuch Diſcourſe, otherwiſe ſeeming impertinent; taking for my authority, after many others more antient, that great learned man, *Arias Montanus*; who, in his Preface to the Story of the Holy Land, hath theſe words: *Si enim abſque locorum obſervatione res geſtæ narrentur, aut ſine Topographiæ cognitione Hiſtoriæ legantur, adeo confuſa atque perturbata erunt omnia, ut ex iis nihil non obſcurum, nihil non difficile elici poſſit; If narration* (ſaith he) *be made of thoſe things which are performed, without the obſervation of the places wherein they were done; or if Hiſtories be read without Topographical knowledge; all things will appear ſo intricate and confuſed, as we ſhall thereby underſtand nothing but obſcurely, nor draw thence any knowledge, but with the greateſt difficulty.*

SECT. III.

Of the cruelty againſt the Iſraelites *young Children in* Egypt; *and of* Moſes *his Preſervation and Education.*

BUt to return to the Story it ſelf. It appeareth, that notwithſtanding the labour and ſlavery which the *Iſraelites* endured, yet they decreaſed not in numbers: in ſo much as *Pharaoh*, conſidering the danger of diſcontented povetty, and the able bodies of an oppreſſed multitude, how perillous they might be to his eſtate, by ſuggeſtion of the Devil, reſolved to ſlaughter all the male Children of the *Hebrews*, as ſoon as they ſhould be born. To which end he ſent for *Sephora* and *Thura*, women the moſt famous and expert amongſt them, *Quæ præerant* (ſaith *Comeſtor*) *multitudini obſtetricum, who had command given them over all Mid-wives*; by whom (as it ſeemeth) he gave order to all the reſt for the execution of his *Edict*. For, to have called all the Mid-wives of *Egypt* togegether, had been a ſtrange Parliament. Now, whether theſe two (before named) were of the *Hebrews*, or of the *Egyptians*, it is diverſly diſputed. S. *Auguſtine*

Verſ. 16. Joſeph. ant. l. 2. c. 5. Abul. & Perer. in Exod.

ſtine calls them *Hebrews*, becauſe it is written *Exod.* 1. *The King of* Egypt *commanded the Mid-wives of the* Hebrew *women*, &c. But *Joſephus*, *Abulenſis* and *Pererius* believe them to be *Egyptians*. Whoſoever they were, when it pleaſed God to fruſtrate the execution of that ſecret murther, to the end the World might witneſs both the wickedneſs of the *Egyptians*, and the juſt cauſe, thereby made manifeſt, of his future indignation and revenge: *Pharaoh* finding theſe Women filled with piety, and the fear of God, commanded others of his people to execute his former intent; and publickly, or howſoever, to deſtroy all the male *Hebrew* children born within his Dominions.

Now, beſides the doubts which *Pharaoh* had of multitudes of the *Hebrews*, the greateſt part of whom he might have aſſured, by affording them the juſtice which every King oweth to his vaſſals, and the reſt he might have employed, or ſent away, at his pleaſure;

Joſ. ant. l. 2. c. 5.

Joſephus giveth another cauſe of his rage againſt them, namely, That it was prophetically delivered him by an *Egyptian* Prieſt, that among the *Hebrews* there ſhould be born a child, who growing to mans eſtate, ſhould become a plague and terror to his whole Nation. To prevent which (and preſuming that he could reſiſt the Ordinance of God, by a mean, contrary to the Laws of Heaven and of Nature) he ſtretched out his bloudy and mercileſs hand to the execution of his former intent. The ſame prevention *Herod* long after practiſed, when fearing the ſpiritual Kingdom of *Chriſt*, as if it ſhould have been temporal, he cauſed all the male children at that time born, to be ſlaughtered. And that *Pharaoh* had ſome kind of foreknowledg of the future ſucceſs, it may be gathered by his own words, in the tenth Verſe of the fifth of

Exod. 5. 10.

Exodus: Come, let us work wiſely with them, leſt they multiply; and it come to paſs, that if there be War, they joyn themſelves alſo unto our enemies, and fight againſt us, and get them out of the Land. But we ſee, and time hath told it us from the beginning, how God derideth the wiſdom of the worldly men, when forgetting the Lord of all power, they rely on the inventions of their own moſt feeble, and altogether darkened, underſtanding. For even by the hands of the dearly beloved daughter of this Tyrant, was that great Prophet and Miniſter of Gods marvellous works taken out of *Nilus*, being thereinto turned off, in an Ark of Reeds, a ſucking and powerleſs Infant. And this Princeſs having beheld the child, his form and beauty, though but yet in the blouth, ſo pierced her compaſſion, as ſhe did not only preſerve it, and cauſe it to be foſtered; but commanded that it ſhould be eſteemed as her own, and with equal care to the Son of a King nouriſhed. And for memory that it was her deed, ſhe called the child *Moſes*, as it were, *extractus*, or *exptus*, *taken out*, to wit, out of the Water; or, after

Strom. l. 1.

Joſephus and *Glycas*, *Moy*, a voice expreſſing Water; and *Hiſes*, as much as to ſay, as that which is drawn out of Water, or thence taken. *Clemens Alexandrinus* was of opinion, that *Moſes* was circumciſed before he was put into the Ark of Reeds, and that *Amram* his father had named him *Joachim*. In his youth he was carefully bred, by the care, and at the charge of *Pharaoh*'s Daughter, and by men of the moſt underſtanding, taught and inſtructed: *Quem regio more educavit, præfectis ei ſapientibus* Ægyptiorum *Magiſtris, à quibus erudiretur*, ſaith *Baſil*; *unto whom ſhe gave Princely education, appointing over him wiſe Maſters of the* Egyptians *for his inſtructers*. Thereby (ſay *Joſephus* and *Philo*) he became excellently learned in all the doctrine of the *Egyptians*; which alſo the Martyr *Stephen* in the ſeventh of the *Acts* confirmeth; *And* Moſes *was learned in all the wiſdom of the* Egyptians. Which Wiſdom, or Sapience, ſuch as it was, or at leaſt ſo much thereof as *Six. Senenſis* hath gathered, we have added, between the death of *Moſes* and the reign of *Joſua*.

Phil. de Vita Moyſi.

SECT. IV.

Of Moſes *his flying out of* Egypt; *and the opinions of certain antient Hiſtorians of his War in* Æthiopia; *and of his Marriage there:* Philo *his judgment of his Paſtoral life; and that of* Pererius *of the Books of* Geneſis *and* Job.

WHen *Moſes* was grown to mans eſtate, *Joſephus* and *Euſebius*, out of *Artapanus*, tell us of ten years War that he made againſt the *Æthiopians*; of the beſieging of *Seba*, afterward by *Cambyſes* called *Meroe*; and how he recovered the City by the favour of *Tharbis*, a Daughter of *Æthiopia*, whom he took to Wife. So hath *Comeſtor* a pretty tale of *Moſes*, how after the end of that War, *Tharbis* reſiſting his return into *Egypt*, *Moſes*, moſt skilful in *Aſtronomy*, cauſed two Images to be engraven in two precious Stones, whereof the one increaſed memory, the other cauſed forgetfulneſs: Theſe he ſet in two Rings; whereof he gave the one, to wit, that of oblivion, to his Wife *Tharbis*, reſerving the other of memory for himſelf; which Ring of forgetfulneſs, after ſhe had a while worn, ſhe began to neglect the love ſhe bare her Husband: and ſo *Moſes*, without danger, returned into *Egypt*. But leaving theſe fancies to the Authors of them: It is true, that about the fourtieth year of *Moſes* age, when he beheld an *Egyptian* offering violence to one of the oppreſſed *Hebrews*, moved by compaſſion, in reſpect of his brother, and ſtirred up by diſdain againſt the other, in the contention he ſlew the *Egyptian*. Soon after which fact, finding a diſpoſition in ſome of his own Nation to accuſe him, for whoſe defence he had thus greatly endangered his own life: by the ordinance and advice of God, whoſe choſen ſervant he was, he fled into *Arabia Petræa*, the next bordering Countrey to *Egypt*; where wandering all alone, as a man left and forſaken, in a place unknown unto him, as among a Nation of barbarous ſtrangers; and who in future times, were the irreconcileable enemies of the *Hebrews*: it pleaſed God (working the greateſt things by the weakeſt worldly means) to make the watering of a few ſheep, and the aſſiſting of the Daughter of *Raguel* the *Madianite*, an occaſion whereby to provide him a Wife of one of thoſe, and a father-in-law, that fed him, and ſuſtained him in a Countrey neareſt *Egypt*, fitteſt to return from; neceſſary to be known, becauſe interjacent between *Egypt* and *Judæa*, through which he was to lead the *Iſraelites*; and wherein God held him, till the occaſion which God preſented beſt ſerved. And laſtly, where the glory of the world ſhined leaſt, amidſt mountainous Deſarts, there the glory of God, which ſhineth moſt, covered him over, and appeared unto him, not finding him as a Kings Son, or an adopted child of great *Pharaoh*'s Daughter, but as a meek and humble Shepherd, ſitting at a mountains foot, a keeper and commander of thoſe poor Beaſts onely.

In that part of *Arabia* near *Madian*, he conſumed 40 years; and though (as *Philo* in the Story of *Moſes* life obſerveth) he did not neglect the care of thoſe flocks, commited to his charge, but that he excelled all others in that Paſtoral knowledge; yet in that ſolitary Deſart, he enjoyed himſelf: and being ſeparate from the preaſs of the world, and the troubleſome affairs thereof, he gave himſelf to contemplation, and to make perfect in himſelf all thoſe knowledges, whereof

whereof his younger years had gathered the grounds and principles: the ſame Author alſo judging that his Paſtoral life did excellently prepare him for the execution of the Principality, which he afterward obtained. *Eſt enim* (ſaith *Plato*) *ars Paſtoralis, quaſi præludium ad regnum, hoc eſt, ad regimen hominum, gregis manſuetiſſimi. Quemadmodum bellicoſa ingenia præexercent ſe in venationibus, experientia in feris, quod poſtea in militia, & bello perfectura ſunt; brutis præbentibus materiam exercitii, tam belli quàm pacis tempore. At verò præfectura manſueti pecoris, habet quiddam ſimile cum regno in ſubditis; ideoque Reges cognominantur Paſtores populorum, non contumeliæ, ſed honoris gratia; The art of keeping Sheep is, as it were, an introductory exerciſe unto a Kingdom, namely, the ruling over men, the moſt gentle flock: Even as warlike natures do before-hand exerciſe themſelves in hunting, practiſing on wild beaſts thoſe things which after they will accompliſh in warfare: thoſe brute beaſts affording matter wherein to train themſelves both in time of war and of peace. But the government of gentle cattel, hath a kind of reſemblance unto a Kingly rule over ſubjects; therefore Kings are ſtiled Shepherds of the people, not in way of reproach, but for their honour.*

That *Moſes*, in the time of his abode at *Madian*, wrote the Book of *Job*, as *Pererius* ſuppoſeth, I cannot judge of it, becauſe it is thought, that *Job* was at that time living. Neither dare I ſubſcribe to *Pererius* opinion, That *Moſes*, while he lived in that part of *Arabia*, wrote the Book of *Geneſis*; although I cannot deny the reaſon of *Pererius* conjecture, That by the example of *Jobs* patience he might ſtrengthen the oppreſſed *Hebrews*: and by the promiſes of God to *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, put them in aſſurance of their delivery from the *Egyptian* ſlavery, and of the Land of reſt, and plenty, promiſed.

Perer in c. 3. Exod.

Of his calling back into *Egypt* by the Angel of God, and the marvels and wonders which he performed, thereby to perſwade *Pharaoh* that he was the Meſſenger of the moſt High, the particulars are written in the firſt fourteen Chapters of *Exodus*; and therefore to treat of all the particulars therein contained, it were needleſs. But for the firſt, it is to be noted, that when *Moſes* deſired to be taught of God, by what name he ſhould make him known, and by whom he was ſent; he received from God ſo much, as man could comprehend of his infinite and ever-being Nature. Out of which he delivered him in the firſt part of his Anſwer, a name to be conſidered of by the wiſeſt; and in his ſecond, to be underſtood by all. For, there is nothing that is, or hath being of it ſelf, but the Eternal: which truly is, which is above all, which is immutable. The bodies of men are changed every moment; their ſubſtance waſteth, and is repaired by nutriment; never continuing at one ſtay, nor being the ſame ſo long as while one may ſay, Now. Likewiſe, whatſoever is conſumed in the longeſt continuance of time, the ſame, in every ſhorteſt piece of time ſuffereth decay; neither doth any thing abide in one ſtate. *Una eſt Dei, & ſola natura quæ verè eſt: id enim quod ſubſiſtit, non habet aliundè, ſed ſuum eſt. Cætera quæ creata ſunt, etiamſi videntur eſſe, non ſunt, quia aliquando non fuerunt, & poteſt rurſum non eſſe, quod non fuit; It is the one and onely nature of God, which truly is: for he hath his being of himſelf, and not from any thing without him. Other things that are created, although they ſeem to be, yet they are not; for ſometimes they were not; and that which hath not been, may again want being.* And with this, in reſpect of the divine Nature, the ſaying of *Zeno Eleates* excellently agreeth: *Tota rerum natura umbra eſt, aut inanis, aut fallax; The whole nature of things is but a ſhadow, either empty or deceitful:* in compariſon of whom (ſaith *Eſay*) all Nations are nothing, leſs than nothing, and meer vanity.

Exod. c. 3. v. 13, 14, & 15.

Hier. ad Dam.

Cap. 40. v. 13.

Of the ten Plagues wherewith the *Egyptians* were ſtrucken, the firſt was by changing the Rivers into bloud; God puniſhing them by thoſe waters, into which their forefathers had thrown, and in which they had drowned, the innocent children of the *Hebrews*. To which this place of the *Revelation* may be fitly applied: *And I heard the Angel of the water ſay, Lord, thou art juſt, which art, and which waſt; and holy, becauſe thou haſt judged theſe things; for they ſhed the bloud of thy Saints and Prophets, and therefore haſt thou given them bloud to drink.*

Cap. 16. v. 5.

The reſt of the Plagues by Froggs, Lice, Flies, or ſtinging Waſps; by the death of their Cattel; by leprous Scabs; by Hail and Fire; by Graſhoppers; by Darkneſs; after which, *Pharaoh* forbad *Moſes* his preſence: moved the hardened heart of the unbelieving King, no longer than the pain and peril laſted; till ſuch time as his own firſt-bon, and the firſt-born of all his Nation periſhed. He then, while he feared his own life (a time wherein we remember God perforce) ſtood upon no condition; whereas before, he firſt yielded but to the departure of the men; then of the men, women, and children, reſerving their beſtial; but he was now content for the preſent, that the *Iſraelites* ſhould not onely depart with all their own, but with a part of the Silver, Gold, and Jewels of his own people: of which (the fear being paſt) he ſuddenly repented him, as his purſuit after them proved. For, when every one of the *Hebrews* had (according to direction from *Moſes* received) ſlain a Lamb, without ſpot or blemiſh, for the *Paſſover* (a *Sacrament* of the moſt clean and unſpotted Saviour) and with the bloud thereof coloured the poſt and lintern of the doors; the Angel of God in the night ſmote every firſt-born of *Egypt*, from the Son of the King, to that of the Beggar and Slave, the children of the *Iſraelites* excepted. At which terrible judgement of God, *Pharaoh* being more than ever amazed, yielded, as before is ſaid, to their departure. The *Egyptians* (ſaith *Epiphanius*) did, in after-times, imitate this colouring with bloud, which the *Iſraelites* uſed after the *Paſſover*; aſcribing an exceeding virtue to the Red Colour: and therefore they did not onely mark their Sheep and Cattel, but their Trees bearing Fruit, to preſerve them from lightning, and other harms.

Epiph. l. 1. cont. Hæreſ.

SECT. V.

Of Pharaoh's *purſuit of the* Iſraelites; *and of their paſſage towards the Red Sea, ſo far as* Succoth.

NOw, when the people were removed, and on their way (his heart being hardned by God) he bethought him as well of the honour loſt, as of the ſhame remaining after ſo many Calamities and Plagues, in ſuffering them to depart with the ſpoils of his people, and in deſpight of himſelf. And having before this time great Companies of Souldiers in readineſs, he conſulted with himſelf, what way the *Iſraelites* were like to take. He knew that the ſhorteſt and faireſt paſſage was through the Countrey of the *Philiſtims*. But becauſe theſe people were very ſtrong, and a warlike Nation, and (in all probability) of his Allies, he ſuſpected that *Moſes* meant to find ſome other out-let, to wit, through the Deſart of *Etham*; and there, becauſe the Countrey was exceeding mountainous, and of hard acceſs, and that *Moſes* was peſtered with multitudes of Women, Children, and Cattel,

Cattel, he thought impossible for the *Israelites* to escape him that way. In the mean while, having gathered together all the Chariots of *Egypt*, and six hundred of his own, and Captains over them; he determined to set upon them in the plains of *Gosen*, which way soever they turned themselves. For it was the antient manner to fight in those Chariots, armed with broad and sharp hooks on both sides, in fashion like the Mowers Sythe. Which kind of fight in Chariots, but not hooked, the *Britains* used against the *Romans*, while they made the War for the conquest of this Land. Of this Army of *Pharaoh*, *Josephus* affirmeth, that it consisted of 50000 Horse, and 20000 Foot; which, were it true, then it cannot be doubted, but that *Pharaoh* intended long before to assail the *Hebrews* at their departure, or to destroy them in *Gosen*; and refused them passage, till such time as he had prepared an Army to set on them. For, as it is written in the first of *Exodus*, he doubted two things, either that the *Hebrews* might join themselves to his Enemies within the Land; or, being so multiplied, as they were, might leave his service, and get themselves thence at their pleasure. But the Plagues which God grieved him withal, enforced him, at this time, to give an assent to their departure; perchance fore-running his intent. But were it otherwise, and *Josephus* partial in this affair, yet, by the words of the Text it appeareth, that he gathered all the Chariots of *Egypt*, which could not be done in haste. For *Moses* made but three days march, ere *Pharaoh* was at his heels; and yet the last day, he went on sixteen miles: which in so hot a Countrey, and to drive their Cattel and Sheep with them, pestered with a world of Women and Children, was a march witnessing the dread of a powerful Enemy at hand. Now, as *Moses* well knew that he went out with a mighty hand, and that God guided his understanding in all his enterprizes; so he lay not still in the Ditch, crying for help, but using the understanding which God had given him, he left nothing unperformed becoming a wise Man, and a valiant and Skilful Conductor; as by all his Actions and Counsels, from this day to his Death, well appeared.

Exod. 14. 7.

Ios. ant. l. 2. c. 6.

Exod. 14. 7.

When *Moses* perceived that *Pharaoh* was enraged against him, and commanded him not to dare to come thenceforth into his presence: after that he had warned *Israel* of the *Passover*, he appointed a general Assembly, or *Rendezvous* of all the *Hebrews* at *Rameses*, in the Territory of *Gosen*; a City standing indifferent to receive from all parts of the Countrey the dispersed *Hebrews*; and gave commandment, that every Family should bring with them such store as they had of Dough, and Paste, not staying to make it into Bread; knowing then that *Pharaoh* was on foot, and on his way towards them. Which done, and having considered the great strength of *Pharaoh*'s Horse-Men and Chariots, of which kind of defence *Moses* was utterly unprovided (though as it is written, the *Israelites* went up armed) he marched from *Rameses* East-ward, towards the Desarts of *Etham*, and encamped at *Succoth*; which he performed on the fifteenth day of the Month *Abib*; which Month, from that time forward, they were commanded to account as the first Month of the Year. Whether in former times they had been accustomed to begin their Year in some other Month, following the manner of the *Egyptians*, and were now re-called by *Moses* to the rule of their fore-fathers, it is uncertain. Certain it is, that they had, and retained another beginning of their Politick Year, which was not now abrogated, but rather, by some solemnities thereunto annexed, was confirmed, and still continued in use.

The Territory of *Gosen* was afterward called *Rameses* after the name of this City, as appeareth in *Gen.* 47. & *Numb.* 33. *Exod.* 13.

Exod. 23. 16. & 34. 22.

Wherefore in referring things done, or happening among them, unto the beginning, middest, or ending of the Year; that distinction of the Sacred and the Politick Year is not to be neglected. Concerning the number of days in every Month, and the whole form of their Year, like enough it is, that *Moses* himself in forty Years space, did sufficiently instruct the Priests, to whose care the ordering thereof (as common opinion holds) was given in trust; but that any rule of framing their Kalendar was made publick, before the captivity of *Babylon*, I do not find. Now, because time and motion begin together, it will not, I think, be any great breach of order, to shew here, at their first setting forth, what was the form of the *Hebrew* Year; with the difference between them and other Nations, in ordering the account of Time.

SECT. VI.

Of the Solary and Lunary Years; and how they are reconciled; with the form of the Hebrew *Year, and their manner of intercalation.*

The *Hebrew* Months are thus named.

The First Month, *Nisan*, or *Abib*.	1. *March*.
II. *Jar*, or *Tiar*, *Zio*, or *Zin*.	2. *April*.
III. *Sivan*, or *Sinan*, or *Siban*.	3. *May*.
IV. *Tamuz*.	4. *June*.
V. *Ab*.	5. *July*.
VI. *Ehul*.	6. *August*.
VII. *Tisri*, or *Ethavin*, or *Ethanim*.	7. *September*.
VIII. *Marcheſuan*, or *Mechaſuan*, or *Bul*, or with *Joſephus*, *Morſonane*.	8. *October*. *Ant.* 1. 3.
IX. *Chiſleu*, or *Caſleu*.	9. *November*.
X. *Tebeth*, or *Thobeth*.	10. *December*.
XI. *Sebeth*, or *Sabeth*.	11. *January*.
XII. *Adar*, and *Ve Adar*.	12. *February*.

VE *Adar*, was an intercalary Month, added some years unto the other twelve, to make the Solary and Lunary Year agree; which (besides the general inconvenience that would otherwise have risen, by casting the Months of Summer into the Winter season, to the great confusion of all account) was more necessarily to be regarded of the *Hebrews*, because of the divine Precept. For God appointed especial Feasts to be celebrated precisely in such a Month of the Year, and withall on a set day, both of the Moon, and of the Month: as the Feast of the First-fruits, the New-Moons, and the like; which could not have so been kept, if either the day of the Moon had fallen in some other part of the Month, or the Month it self been found far distant from his place in the season of the Year. *Deut.* 16.

Other Nations, the better to observe their Solemnities in the due time, and to ascertain all reckonings and remembrances (which is the principal commodity of time that is, the measure of endurance) were driven in like manner to make their years unequal, by adding sometimes, and sometimes abating one or more days, as the errour committed in foregoing Years required. The errour grew at first, by not knowing what number of days made up a compleat Year. For though by the continual course of the Son, causing Summer and Winter duly to succeed each other, it is plain enough, even to the most savage of all People, when a Year hath passed over them;

them; yet the neceſſity of ordinary occurences, that are to be numbred by a ſhorter Tally, makes this long meaſure of whole Years inſufficient for the ſmaller ſort of more daily Affairs. Therefore Men obſerved the Monthly conſpicuous revolution of the Moon, by which they divided the Year into twelve parts, ſubdividing the Month into twenty nine Days and Nights, and thoſe again into their Quarters and and Hours. But as the marks of Time are ſenſibly
30. & 29. and eaſily diſcerned; ſo the exact calculation of it is very intricate, and worketh much perplexity in the underſtanding. Twelve revolutions of the Moon, containing leſs time by eleven days, or thereabout, than the yearly courſe of the Sun through the Zodiak, in the ſpace of ſixteen Years, every Month was found in the quite contrary part of the Year to that wherein it was placed at the firſt. This cauſed them to add ſome days to the Year, making it to conſiſt of twelve Months, and as many days more, as they thought would make the courſes of the Sun and Moon to agree. But herein were committed many new errours. For neither did the Sun determine his yearly revolution by any ſet number of whole days; neither did the Moon change always at one Hour; but the very Minutes and leſſer Fractions were to be obſerved by him, that would ſeek to reduce their motions (which motions alſo were not ſtill alike) into any certain rule.

Here lay much Wiſdom, and deep Art, which could not ſoon be brought to perfection. Yet, as making an eſtimate at random, the *Athenians* held the Year to contain three hundred and ſixty days; wherein moſt of the *Greeks* concurred with them. That three hundred and ſixty days filled up the *Grecian* Year (beſides many collateral proofs) it is
Plin. l. 34. *cap.* 6. manifeſt by that which *Pliny* directly affirmeth, telling of the *Statues*, erected in the honour of *Demetrius Phalerius*, which were (ſaith he) 360, whilſt as yet the Year exceeded not that number of days. By this account, neither did any certain age of the Moon begin or end their Months; neither could their Months continue many Years in their own places; but muſt needs be ſhifted by little and little, from Winter to Summer, and from Summer to Winter, as the days forgotten to be inſerted into the *Almanack* by Men, but not forgotten by the ſuperiour Bodies in their courſes, ſhould occupy their own rooms in their due turns. Now, becauſe the ſolemnity of the *Olympian* Games was to be held at the full Moon, and withall on the fifteenth day of the Month *Hecatombæon* (which anſwereth in a manner to our *June*) they were careful to take order, that this Month might ever begin with the new Moon; which they effected by adding ſome two days to the laſt Month of every Year; thoſe Games being held once in four Years. This intercalation ſufficed not to make the matter even; which cauſed them ſometime to omit one day in the fourth year, which was the ſecond of the Month *Bædromion* (agreeing nearly with our *Auguſt*) ſometimes not to omit it, or (which is all one) to inſert another for it in their fourth Lunary Year, accounting by the Moon, after a manner that was not vulgar. All this notwithſtanding, their Month of *June* would every Year have grown colder and colder, had they not ſought to keep all upright, by intercalating into each other *Olympiad*, that is, each eight Year, one whole Month, which they called the ſecond *Poſideon*, or *December*; which was the device of *Harpalus*, who alſo taught them to make one Month of twenty nine days, another of thirty days, and ſo ſucceſſively through the whole year. Thus, with much labour, they kept their Year, as near as they could, unto the high way of the *Planets*; but theſe marks, which they obſerved, were found at length to be deceitful guides. For it was not poſſible ſo to faſhion this eighth Years intercalation, that it ſhould not deceive them in eleven hours and eighteen minutes at the leaſt, or ſome ways in thirty four Hours and ten Minutes, or thirty ſix and forty one Minutes; which differences, would in few Ages have bred much confuſion. The firſt that introduced a good method, likely to continue, was *Meton* the *Athenian*, who, not regarding the *Olympiads*, and the eighth Years intercalation, deviſed a *Cycle* of nineteen years, within the Moon, having 235 times run out her circuit, met with the Sun in the ſame place, and on the ſame day of the Year; as in the nineteenth Year before paſt ſhe had done. This invention of *Meton*, was entertained with great applauſe, and paſſing from *Greece* to *Rome*, was there inſerted into the Kalendar in Golden Letters, being called, The Golden Number: which name it retaineth unto this day. Hereby were avoided the great and uncertain intercalations that formerly had been uſed; for by the intercalation of ſeven Months in the nineteen Years, all was ſo even, that no ſenſible difference could be found. Yet that error which in one Year could not be perceiv'd, was very apparent in a few of thoſe *Cycles*; the new Moons anticipating in one *Cycle* ſeven Hours, and ſome Minutes of the preciſe rule. Therefore *Calippus* deviſed a new *Cycle*, containing four of *Metons*, that is to ſay, ſeventy ſix Years; and afterwards, *Hipparchus*, a noble *Aſtrologer*, framed another, containing four of *Calippus* his Periods, each of them finding ſome errour in the former Obſervations, which they diligently corrected. The laſt reformation of the Kalendar, was that which *Julius Cæſar* made, who, by advice of the beſt *Mathematicians* then to be found, examining the courſes of thoſe Heavenly Bodies, reduced the Year unto the form which is now in uſe with us, containing 365 Days and ſix Hours, which Hours in four Years make up one whole day, that is intercalated every fourth Year, the 24 of *February*. The correction of the *Julian* Year by *Pope Gregory* the 13th, *Anno Dom.* 1582, is not as yet entertained by general conſent; it was indeed but as a Note added unto the Work of *Cæſar*; yet a Note of great importance: For whereas it was obſerved, that the Sun, which at the time of the *Nicene Council*, *An. Dom.* 234, entred the *Æquinoctial* on the twenty one day of *March*, was in the Year 1583 ten days ſooner found, in that time *Pope Gregory* ſtruck out of the Kalendar ten days, following the fourth of *October*; ſo that in ſtead of the fifth day, was written the fifteenth; by which means the movable Feaſts depending on the Sun's entrance into *Aries*, were again celebrated in ſuch time, as at the *Nicene Council* they had been. And the better to prevent the like alterations, it was by the *Council* of *Trent* ordained, that from thence-forward, in every hundred year, the Leap-day ſhould be omitted, excepting ſtill the fourth hundred; becauſe the Sun doth not in his yearly courſe take up full ſix hours above the 365 days; but faileth ſo many minutes, as in 400 years make about three whole days.

But the *Cycle* of twenty nine Years, which the *Hebrews* uſed, was ſuch as neither did need any nice curioſity of hours, minutes, and other leſſer fractions to help it; neither did in ſumming up the days of the whole Year, neglect the days of the Moon, confounding one Month with another. For with them it fell out ſo, that always the *Kalends*, or firſt day of the Month, was at the new Moon; and becauſe that day was Feſtival, they were very careful, as well to obſerve the ſhort Year of the Moon, paſſing through all the twelve Signs in one Month, as that longer of the

the Sun, which is needfully regarded in greater accounts. First, therefore they gave it to *Nisan*, their first Month, which is about our *March*, or *April*, thirty days; to *Jar*, their second Month twenty nine days; and so successively thirty to one, twenty nine to another. Hereby it came to pass, that every two Months of theirs contain'd somewhat evenly two revolutions of the Moon, allowing twenty nine days twelve hours, and odd minutes, from change to change. The spare minutes were bestowed among the superfluous, or *Epacti* days; which made up seven Months in nineteen years; to six of which seven were commonly given thirty days, to one of them twenty nine days, or otherwise, as was found requisite. Their common Year (as appeareth by the several days of each Month) contained 354 days, which fail of the Year, wherein the Sun finisheth his course, eleven whole days, with some Fractions of time. But these days, and other broken pieces, howsoever they were neglected in one Year, yet in the *Cycle* of nineteen Years, were so disposed of by convenient intercalations, that still at the end of the *Cycle*, both the Sun and Moon were found on the same day of the Year, Month, and Week, yea, commonly on the same Hour of the Day, where they had been at the beginning of it nineteen years before.

Sig. derep. Heb. lib. 3. cap. 1. Divers have diversly set down the form of the *Hebrew* Year, with the manner of their intercalations. *Sigonius* tells us, that every second Year, they did add a Month of twenty two days; every fourth Year a Month of twenty three, in regard of eleven days and a half wanting in twelve Moons, to fulfil a Year of the Sun. But herein *Sigonius* was very much deceived. For the Moon doth never finish her course in twenty two or twenty three days; and therefore to have added so many days to the end of the Year, had been the way to change the fashion of all the Months in the Years following, which could not have begun, as they ought, with the new Moon.

Genebrard Chron. l. 2. *Ginebrard* saith, that every third Year, or second Year, as need required, they did intercalate one Month, adding it at the years end unto the other twelve. This I believe to have been true; but in which of the Years the intercalation was (if it be worthy of consideration) me-thinks they do not probably deliver, who keep all far from evenness, until the very last of the nineteen Years. For (to omit such as grosly) some there are who say, that after three Years, when besides the days spent in thirty six courses of the Moon, thirty three days are left remaining, that is, eleven days of each Year; then did the *Hebrews* add a Month of thirty days; keeping three days, as it were, in plussage unto the next account. The like, say they, was done at the end of the sixth Year; at which time, besides the intercalary Month, remained six days, namely, three surmounting that Month, and the *Epact* of three Years, besides the three formerly reserved. Thus they go on to the eighteenth Year; at which time they have eighteen days in hand: all which, with the *Epact* of the nineteenth Year, make up a Month of twenty nine days, that being intercalated at the end of the *Cycle*, makes all even.

Whether this were the practice, I can neither affirm nor deny; but surely it must needs have bred a great confusion, if in the 18th Year every Month were removed from his own place by the distance of 48 days, that is half a quarter of a Year and more; which inconvenience, by such a reckoning, was unavoidable. Wherefore I prefer the common opinion, which prevents such dislocation of the Months, by setting down a more convenient way of intercalation in the eighth Year. For the six days remaining after the two former intercalations made in the third and sixth Years, added unto the twenty two days, arising out of the *Epacts* of the seven and eight Years, do fitly serve to make up a Month, with the borrowing of one day or two from the Year following; and this borrowing of two days is so far from causing any disorder, that indeed it helps to make the Year ensuing vary the less from the proper season of every Month. This may suffice to be spoken of the *Hebrew* Months and Years, by which they guided their Accounts.

SECT. VII.

Of the passage of Israel *from* Succoth *towards the* Red-Sea; *and of the divers ways leading out of* Egypt.

FRom *Succoth*, in the morning following, *Moses* led the *Israelites* towards the Desart of *Etham*, to recover the Mountain foot, by the edge of that Wilderness, though he intended nothing less than to go out of that way, of all other the neerest. But being assured of the multitude of Horse-Men and armed Chariots that followed him, he kept himself from being encompassed, by keeping the rough and mountainous ground on his left hand. At *Etham* he rested but one night, and then he reflected back from the entrance thereof, and marched away directly towards the South; the distance between it and *Succoth* being about eight miles. That he forbare to enter *Arabia*, being then in sight thereof, it seemeth to proceed from three respects: the first two, natural; the third, divine. For *Pharaoh* being then at hand, and having received intelligence of the way which *Moses* took, perswaded himself, that the numbers which *Moses* led, consisting of above a Million, if not of two Millions of Souls (for it is written, *Exod.* 12. *Great multitudes of sundry sorts of people went out with them*) could not possibly pass over those Desart and high Mountains with so great multitudes of Women, Children, and Cattel, but that at the very entrance of that fastness he should have overtaken them, and destroyed the greatest number of them. For these his own words, *They are tangled in the Land, the Wilderness hath shut them in*, do shew his hopes and intents; which *Moses*, by turning another way, did frustrate. Secondly, *Moses* by offering to enter *Arabia* that way, drew *Pharaoh* toward the East-side of the Land of *Gosen*, or *Rameses*: from whence (missing *Moses* there) his pursuit after him with his Chariots was more difficult, by reason of the roughness of the way; and howsoever, yet while the *Hebrews* kept the Mountain foot on the left hand, they were better secured from the over-bearing violence both of Horse and Chariots. Thirdly, *Moses* confidence in the All-powerful God was such, by whose Spirit, onely wise, he was directed, as he rather made choice to leave the glory of his deliverance and victory to Almighty God, than either by an escape the next way, or by the strength of his multitude, consisting of 600000 men, to cast the success upon his own understanding, wise conduction, or valour. The third day he marched with a double pace from *Etham* towards the Valley of *Pihacheroth*, sixteen miles distant; and sate down between two ledges of Mountains adjoyning to the *Red Sea*, to wit, the Mountains of *Etham* on the North, and *Baalzephon* towards the South; the same which *Orosius* calleth *Climax*: on the top whereof there stood a Temple, dedicated to *Baal*. And, as *Phagius* noteth, the word so compounded, is as much to say, as,

It is probable that all those *Egyptians*, and others brought by the *Hebrews* to the knowledg of the true God, followed *Moses* at his departure.

Dominus

Climax is rather so called in respect of a passage up and down, than that it is any proper name.

Dominus speculæ, sive custodiæ; *Lord of the watch-tower.* For the *Egyptians* believed, or at least made their slaves believe, that if any of them offered to escape that way into *Arabia*, this Idol would both arrest them, and force them to return to their Lords and Masters. For the *Egyptians* had gods for all turns. Egyptii *diis fœcundi*; *The* Egyptians *were fruitful in gods*, saith S. *Hierom.* But *Moses*, who encamped at the foot of this Mountain with a million of Souls, or, as others conceive, with two millions, found this Lord of the Watch-tower asleep, or out of countenance.

Exod. 13. 17. Now, these two passages leading out of *Egypt* into *Arabia* upon the firm Land, *Moses* refused, as well that of *Pelusium* and *Casiotis*, the fairest and shortest of all other, in respect of *Judæa*, as the other by *Etham*, from which he reflected, for the reasons before remembred, and took the way by the Valley of *Pihacheroth*, between the Mountains, which made a streight entrance towards the Sea. After whom *Pharaoh* made so great speed with his Horse-men and Chariots, as he gave the *Hebrews* no time at all to rest them after so long a march; but got sight of them, and they of him, even at the very brink and wash of the Sea; in so much as the *Hebrews* being terrified with *Pharaoh*'s sudden approach, began to despair, and to mutiny, at that time when it behooved them most to have taken courage for their own defence; laying it to *Moses* charge, that themselves foresaw those perils in which they were wrapped.

Chap. 17. 11. And fear, *Which*, saith the Book of *Wisdom*, *is the betraying of those succours which reason offereth*, made them both despair in God's former Promises, and to be forgetful of their own strength and multitudes.

SECT. VIII.

Of their passage over the Red Sea; and of the Red Sea it self.

But *Moses*, who feared nothing but God himself, perswaded them to be confident in his goodness, who hath never abandoned those that assuredly trusted in him; using this comfortable and resolved speech:

Exod. 14. 13. *Fear not*, &c. *for the* Egyptians *whom ye have seen this day, ye shall never see them again. The Lord shall fight for you.* After which, *Moses* called on God for succour, received encouragement, and commandment

Exod. 14. 16. to go on, in these words; *Wherefore cryest thou unto me? Speak unto the children of* Israel *that they go forward; and lift thou up thy Rod, and stretch out thy hand upon the Sea, and divide it, and let the children of* Israel *go on dry ground through the midst of the Sea.* *Moses* obeying the voice of God, in the dark of the night, finding the sands uncovered, past on towards the other side and coast of *Arabia*; two parts of the night being spent ere he entred the Foord, which it pleased God by a forcible Eastern Wind, and by *Moses* Rod, to prepare.

Pharaoh followed him even at the heels, finding the same dry ground which *Moses* trod on. Therefore, as it is written, *The Angel of God which went before the Host of* Israel, *removed, and went behind them;*

Josua 24. 7. *also the Pillar of the cloud went from before them, and stood behind them*; which is, that it pleased God therein, either by his immediate Power, or by the ministry of his Angel, to interpose his defence between the *Hebrews* and their Enemies; to the end that the *Egyptians* might hereby be blinded, in such sort, as they could not pursue *Israel* with any harmful speed. But in the morning-watch, *Moses* seized the other bank of *Arabia* side; and *Pharaoh* (as the dawn of the day began to enlighten the obscure air) finding a beginning of the Sea's return, hastened himself towards his own Coast: *But* Moses *stretched forth his hand, and the Sea returned to his force*, that is, the Sea, moved by the power of God, ran back towards the Land with unresistable fury and swiftness, and overwhelmed the whole Army of *Pharaoh*, so as not one escaped. For, it is written, that *God took off their Chariot wheels*, that is, when the waters began to cover the sands, the *Egyptians* being strucken with fear of death, ran one a-thwart another, and missing the path by which they had past on after the *Hebrews*, their wheels stuck fast in the mud and quick-sands, and could not be drawn out; the Sea coming against them with supernatural violence. *Exod.* 14. 27.

Lyranus, upon *Exod.* 14. and others, following the Opinions or old Traditions of the *Hebrews*, conceived, that after *Moses* had by the power of God divided the *Red Sea*, and that the Children of *Israel* were fearful to enter it, *Aminadab*, Prince, or Leader of the Tribe of *Judah*, first made the adventure; and therefore was that *Tribe* ever after honoured above the rest, according to the Prophecie of *Jacob*, *Gen.* 49. 8. *Thy fathers Sons shall bow down unto thee.* But *Hierom*, upon *Hosea* 11. condemns this Opinion: And though it be true, that *Judah* had the first place in all their miracles in the Desart, and, as we now call it, led the Van-guard (whereupon it may be inferred, that he also led the way through the *Red Sea*) yet, that *Moses* himself was the Conducter of *Israel* at that time, it is generally received. For, it is written in the 77. *Psalm*; *Thou didst lead thy people, like Sheep, by the hand of* Moses *and* Aaron.

The *Hebrews* have also another fancie, that the *Red Sea* was divided into twelve parts, and that every *Tribe* past over in a path apart, because it is written in the 135 *Psalm*, according to the vulgar: *Divisit Mare Rubrum in divisiones*; *He divided the Red Sea in divisions.* Also that the bottom of the Sea became a green Field, or Pasture. But *Origen*, *Epiphanius*, *Abulensis*, and *Genebrard*, favouring this conceit, had forgotten to consider, that there were not twelve Pillars, nor twelve Armies of the *Egyptians*. It is written, *Psalm* 77. *v.* 16. *Thy way is in the Sea*; not *thy ways*: and in the last Book of *Wisdom*, vers. 7. *In the Red Sea there was a way.*

Now, this Sea, through which *Moses* past, and in which *Pharaoh*, otherwise called *Chencres*, perished in the 16 year of his reign, is commonly known by the name of the *Red Sea*, though the same differ nothing at all in natural colour from other Waters. But, as *Philostratus* in his third Book noteth, and our selves know by experience, it is of a bluish colour, as other Seas are. It entreth at a narrow strait, between *Arabia* the *Happy*, and *Æthiopia*, or the Land of the *Abyssins*: the mouth of the indraught from the Cape, which *Ptolemy* calleth *Possodium*, to the other Land of *Æthiopia*, hath not above six leagues in breadth, and the same also filled every where with Islands, but afterwards it extendeth it self 58 leagues from coast to coast, and it runneth up between *Arabia* the *Happy*, and *Arabia Petræa* on one side, and *Æthiopia* and *Egypt* on the other, as far as *Sues*, the uttermost end and indraught of that Sea; where the *Turk* now keeps his fleet of Gallies. The *Cosmographers* commonly give it the name of the *Arabian Gulf*; but the North part towards *Sues*, and where *Moses* past, is called *Heropolites*, of the City *Hero*, sometime *Troy*, and of later times *Sues*. *Pliny* calls it *Cambisu*, by which name it was known, saith he, before it was called *Hero*, many years. The *Arabians* call this Sea towards the North, *Apocopa*, *Eccant*, and *Eant*. *Artemidorus* writes it *Æleniticum*; King *Juba*, *Læniticum*; others *Plin. l. 6. c. 23.*

2 *King.* 19. *Jos. An.* 8. *cap.* 2.

more properly, *Elaniticum*, of the Port and City *Elana*, which the *Septuagint* call *Elath*; *Ptolemy*, *Elana*; *Pliny*, *Læna*; *Josephus*, *Ilana*; and *Marius Niger*, *Aila*: there is also *Ilalah* in *Assyria*, to which *Salmanasser* carried the *Israelites* captive, 2 *King.* 8. 11. which *Ilalah* in *Assyria*, the *Septuagint* call *Elæa*; and in the first of *Chron.* 5. *Ala*. But, as for the *Red Sea*, on the parts thereof, thus diversly named, the *Moors*, and *Arabians* (Vassals to the *Turk*) know it by no other appellation, than the *Gulf* of *Meca*, after the name of *Mahomet*'s Town *Mecca*. The *Greeks* write it the Sea *Erythræum*, of a King called *Erythras*, or *Erythræus*: and because *Erythros* in the *Greek* signifieth Red; hence it is, that, being denominated of this *Erythræus*, the Son of *Perseus* and *Andromeda*, it took the name of the *Red Sea*, as *Q. Curtius* conjectureth; which *Arianus* and *Strabo* confirm. But it seems to me, by the view of a Discovery of that Sea, in the year 1544. performed by *Stephen Gama*, *Viceroy* of the *East-India* for the King of *Portugal*, that this Sea was so called from a reflection of a redness, both from the banks, cliffs, and sands of many Islands, and part of the Continent bordering it. For, I find by the report of *Castro*, a principal Commander under *Gama* (which Discourse I gave Mr. *Richard Hacluit* to publish) that there is an Island called *Dalaqua*, sometime *Leques*, containing in length 25 leagues, and 12 in breadth; the earth, sands, and cliffs, of which Island, being of a redish colour, serve for a foil to the waters about it; to make it seem altogether of the same colour. Secondly, the same *Castro* reporteth, that from 24 degrees of *Septentrional* latitude to 27 (which make in length of Coast 180 miles, lying as it doth, Northerly and Southerly) all the cliffs, and banks are of red earth, or stone, which by reflection of the Sun-beams give a kind of redish lustre to the waters. Thirdly, those *Portugals* report, and we know it by many testimonies, that there are found in the bottom of this Sea, towards the shore, great abundance of red stones, on which the greatest store of Corral grows, which is carried into most parts of *Europe*, and elsewhere. There are also on the Islands of this Sea many red Trees, saith *Strabo*, and those, growing under water, may also be a cause of such a colour. Of these appearances of redness by the shadow of these stones, sands, earth, and cliffs, I suppose that it first took the name of the *Red Sea*, because in so many places it seemeth to be such; which *Johannes Barros* in his second *Decade*, eighth Book, and first Chapter, confirmeth.

Arrian. de gest. Alex. Mag. l. 8. Strabo. l. 6.

The breadth of this Sea from *Elana*, or *Ezion-Gaber* adjoyning, now *Toro*, called by the antient *Cosmographers Sinus Elaniticus*, which washeth the banks of *Madian*, or *Midian*, is for 16 or 17 leagues together, along Northward toward *Sues*, some three leagues, or 9 *English* miles over, and from this Port of *Toro* to *Sues*, and the end of this Sea, it is in length about 28 leagues, of which, the first 26 have 9 miles breadth, as aforesaid, and afterward, the Lands, both from *Egypt* and *Arabia*, thrust themselves into the Sea, and strengthen it so fast, as for 6 miles together, it is not above 3 miles over; from thence upward the Land on *Egypt* side falleth away, and makes a kind of *Bay*, or *Cove*, for some 10 miles together, after which the Land grows upon the Sea again, and so binds it into the very end thereof, at 4 miles breadth, or there about, in which Tract it was that *Moses* past it over, though others would have it to be over against *Elana*, or *Toro*, but without judgment; for from *Rameses* to *Pihacheroth*, and *Baalzephon*, there is not above 30 miles interjacent, or 35 miles at most, which *Moses* past over in three days; and between the Land of *Egypt*, opposite to *Elana*, or *Toro*, the distance is above 80 miles. For *Rameses*, to which City *Moses* came (being the *Metropolis* of *Gosen*) when he left *Pharaoh* at *Zoan*, and took his last leave, standeth in 30 degrees 5 minutes of *Septentrional* latitude; and *Migdol*, or the Valley of *Pihacheroth*, at the foot of the Mountain *Climax*, or *Baalzephon*, in nine and twenty and a half, which make a difference of five and thirty *English* miles, the way lying, in effect, North and South.

SECT. IX.

That the passage through the Red Sea was miraculous, and not a low ebb.

THe *Egyptians*, and of them the *Memphites*, and other *Heathen* Writers, who, in hatred of the *Hebrews*, have objected that *Moses* past over the *Red Sea* at a low ebb, upon a great Spring-tyde, and that *Pharaoh*, conducted more by fury than discretion, pursued him so far, as before he could recover the coast of *Egypt*, he was overtaken by the floud, and therein perished; did not well consider the nature of this place, with other circumstances. For, not to borrow strength from that part of the Scriptures, which makes it plain, that the Waters were divided, and that God wrought this miracle by an Easterly Wind, and by the hand and rod of *Moses* (which authority to men that believe not therein, perswadeth nothing) I say, that by the same natural reason unto which they fastened themselves, it is made manifest, that had there been no other working power from above, or assistance given from God himself to *Moses* and the children of *Israel*, than ordinary, and casual, then could not *Pharaoh* and all his Army have perished in that pursuit.

For whersoever there is any ebbing of the Sea in any gulf, or indraught, there do the waters fall away from the Land, and run downwards toward the *Ocean*, leaving all that part towards the Land, as far as the Sea can ebb, or fall off, to the dry land. Now, *Moses* entring the Sea at *Migdol* under *Baalzephon* (if he had taken the advantage and opportunity of the tide) must have left all that end of the *Red Sea* towards *Sues*, on his left hand, dry and uncovered. For if a passage were made by falling away of the water 10 or 12 miles farther into the Sea than *Sues*, and between it and where *Moses* past, who entred the same so far below it, and towards the body of the same Sea; it followeth then, that if all that part of the Sleeve, or Strait, had ben by the ebb of a Spring-tide discovered, when *Pharaoh* found the floud increasing, he needed not to have returned by the same way toward *Egypt* side, but might have gone on in his return before the tide, on his right hand; and so taken ground again at the end of the Sea, at *Sues* it self, or elsewhere. But the Scriptures do truly witness the contrary, that is, That the Sea did not fall away from the Land, as naturally it doth, but that *Moses* past on between two Seas, and that the waters were divided. Otherwise, *Pharaoh*, by any return of waters, could not have perished, as he did; and therefore the effects of that great Armies destruction prove the cause to have been a power above nature, and the miraculous work of God himself. Again, those words of the Scriptures, that *God caused the Sea to return back by a strong East-wind*, do rather prove the miracle, than that thereby was caused an ebb more than ordinary; for that Sea did not ly East and West, but, in effect, North and South. And it must have been a West and North-West-wind, that must have driven those waters away through their proper Channels, and to the South-East into the Sea. But the East-Wind blew a-thwart the Sea, and

cut

cut it asunder: so as one part fell back towards the South and main body thereof, the other part remained toward *Sues*, and the North. Which being unknown to *Pharaoh*; while he was checkt by that Sea, which used in times before to ebb away, the floud prest him, and over-welm'd him. Thirdly, seeing *Josephus* avoweth, that *Moses* was not onely of excellent judgment, generally, but also, so great a Captain, as he over-threw the *Æthiopians* in battels, being imployed by *Pharaoh*, and wan divers Cities, seeming impregnable: it were barbarous to condemn him of this grosnes, and distraction: that rather then he would have endured the hardnes of a Mountainous passage at hand (had not God commanded to take that way, and fore-told him of the honour which he would there win upon *Pharaoh*) he would have trusted to the advantage of an ebbing water. For he knew not the contrary, but that *Pharaoh* might have found him, and prest him, as well when it flowed, as when it ebbed, as it seemeth he did. For the people, beholding *Pharaoh*'s approach, cried out against *Moses*, and despaired altogether of their safety; and when *Moses* prayed unto God for help, he was answered by God; *Wherefore crieſt thou unto me? Speak unto the children of* Israel, *that they go forward, and lift thou up thy Rod, and ſtretch out thy hand upon the Sea, and divide it*: which proves that there was not at that time of *Pharaoh*'s approach any ebb at all, but that God did disperse and cut through the weight of waters by a strong East-wind, whereby the sands discovered themselves between the Sea on the left hand toward *Sues*, from whence the Waters moved not, and the Sea which was towards the South on the right hand,

Cap. 14. *v.* 21. *so that the Waters were a Wall unto them on the right hand, and on the left hand*, that is, the Waters so defended them on both sides, as the *Egyptians* could onely follow them in the same path, not that the Waters stood upright as walls do, as some of the School-men have fancied. For, had *Pharaoh* and the *Egyptians* perceived any such buildings in the Sea, they would soon have quitted the chase and pursuit of *Israel*. Furthermore, there is no man of judgment, that can think, that *Pharaoh* and the *Egyptians*, who then excelled all Nations in the observations of heavenly motions, could be ignorant of the fluxes and refluxes of the Sea, in his own Countrey, on his own Coast, and in his own most traded and frequented Ports and Havens; and wherein, his people having had so many hundreds of years experience of the Tides, he could not be caught, as he was, through ignorance, nor by any fore-known or natural Accident, but by God's powerful Hand only; which then falleth most heavily on all men, when, looking through no other spectacle but their own prosperity, they least discern it coming, and least fear it. Lastly, if the Army of the *Egyptians* had been over-taken by the ordinary return of the floud, before they could recover their own coast; their bodies drowned would have been carried with the floud, which runneth up to *Sues*, and to the end of that Sea, and not have been cast a-shore on the coast of *Arabia*, where *Moses* landed, to wit, upon the Sea-bank over against *Baalzephon*, on *Arabia* side; where it was that the *Israelites* saw their dead bodies, and not at the end of the *Red Sea*, to which place the ordinary floud would have carried them; Which floud doth not any where cross the Channel, and run a-thwart it, as it must have done from *Egypt*-side to *Arabia*, to have cast the bodies there; but it keeps the natural course towards the end of that Sea; and to which their carkasses should have been carried, if the work had not been supernatural and miraculous. *Apollonius*, in the lives of the Fathers, affirmeth, that those of the *Egyptians* which stayed in the Country, and did not follow *Pharaoh* in the pursuit of *Israel*, did ever after honour those beasts, birds, plants or other creatures, about which they were busied at the time of *Pharaoh*'s destruction; as he that was then labouring in his Garden, made a God of that Plant or Root about which he was occupied, and so of the rest. But how those multitudes of Gods were erected among them, a more probable reason shall be given elsewhere. *Orosius*, in his first Book and tenth Chapter against the *Pagans*, tells us, that in his time, who lived some 400 years after *Christ*, the prints of *Pharaoh*'s Chariot-wheels were to be seen at a low water, on the *Egyptian* sands; and though they were sometime defaced by wind and weather, yet soon after they appeared again. But hereof I leave every man to his own belief.

CHAP. IV.

Of the journying of the Israelites *from the* Red Sea, *to the place where the Law was given them; with a discourse of Laws.*

SECT. I.

A transition, by way of recapitulation of some things touching Chronologie; with a continuation of the Story, untill the Amalekites *met with the* Israelites.

But to go on with the Story of *Israel*, in this sort I collect the times. *Moses* was born in the Year of the World, 2434, *Saphrus* then governing *Assyria*; *Orthopolis*, *Sycionia*, or *Peloponnesus*; *Crioſus*, the *Argives*; *Orus*, *Egypt*; and *Deucalion*, *Thessaly*. He fled into *Midian*, when he had lived forty years, in the Year of the World, 2474; and two years after that was *Caleb* born. He returned by the commandment and ordinance of God into *Egypt*, and wrought his miracles in the fields of *Zoan*, in the year, 2514, the last Month of the Year. On the fourteenth day of the first *Hebrew* Month *Abib*, or the fifteenth of that Month, beginning the day (as they) at Sun-setting, in the Year of the World, 2514 was the celebration of the *Passover*; and in the dead of the night of the same day, were all the first-born slain through *Egypt*, or in all those parts where the *Hebrews* inhabited not. the fifteenth day of the first Month

Acts 7. *Josua* 14. 2474. 2514. *Pag.* 254.

Exod 12. Numb. 33. Month of the *Hebrews*, called *Abib*, being about the beginning of the year of the World 2514. *Moſes*, with the Children of *Iſrael* removed from the general Aſſembly at *Rameſes*, and marched to *Succoth*.

Exod. 13. And departing thence, they made their third ſtation at *Etham*: and journying from *Etham*, they encamped in the Valley of *Pihacheroth*, or *Migdol*, under the Mountain *Baalzephon*; and in the ſame night, Numb 33. Exod. 14. after midnight, they paſt the *Red Sea*; *Pharaoh* and his Army periſhing in their return, about the firſt dawn of the day. *Moſes* having recovered the banks of *Arabia*, gave thanks unto God for the delivery of *Iſrael*; and making no ſtay on that coaſt, entred the Deſarts of *Arabia Petræa*, called *Sur*. But finding no water in that paſſage, he encamped at *Marah*, in the Exod. 15. Deſart of *Etham*, which in *Exod.* 15. 22. is called *Sur*, 25 miles from the Sea; where the Children of *Iſrael*, Numb. 33. preſt with extreme thirſt, murmured againſt *Moſes* the ſecond time; firſt, at *Pharaohs* approach at *Pihacheroth*, and now in *Arabia*. But *Moſes* taking the branches of a Tree, growing near a Lake of bitter Water, and caſting the ſame thereinto, made the ſame ſweet: a plain type and figure of our Saviour; who, upon the Tree of the Croſs, changed the bitterneſs of everlaſting Death, into the ſweetneſs of eternal Life. *Pliny* remembers theſe bitter Fountains in his ſixth Book, twenty ninth Chapter. From whence to *Delta* in *Egypt*, *Seſoſtris* firſt, *Darius* after him, and laſtly, *Ptolomy* the ſecond, began to cut an artificial River, thereby by Boats and ſmall Shipping to Trade and Navigate the *Red Sea*, from the great Cities upon *Nilus*. From *Marah* he removed to *Elim*, the ſixth Manſion, a march of eight miles: where Exod. 15. finding twelve Fountains of ſweet Water, and three-Numb. 33. ſcore and ten Palmtrees, he reſted divers days.

Whether this *Helim* were the name of a Town or City in *Moſes* time, I cannot affirm. And yet the ſcarcity of Waters in that Region was ſuch, as *Helim*, which had twelve Fountains, could hardly be left unpeopled. *William* Archbiſhop of *Tyre*, in his Hi- William Tyre. l. 15. cap. 16. ſtory of the *Holy Warr*, found at *Helim*, the ruines of a great and antient City. And at ſuch time as *Baldwin* the firſt paſt that way into *Egypt*. *Ingreſſus* (ſaith he) Helim *Civitatem antiquiſſimam*, *populo* Iſraelitico *aliquando familiarem*; *ad quem cum perveniſſet*, *loci illius incolæ*, *Regis adventu præcognito*, *naviculam ingredientes*, *in Mare vicinum ſe contulerunt*; *Entring* Helim, *a very antient City*, *well known ſometime to the people of* Iſrael; *whither*, *when he came*, *the Inhabitants*, *forewarned of the Kings approach*, *took Boat*, *and ſhifted themſelves into the Sea lying near them*. From *Elim* he returned again towards the South, and ſat down by the banks of the *Red Sea*; the ſeventh Manſion. For it ſeemeth, that he had knowledg of *Amalech*, who repaired to reſiſt his paſſage through part of *Arabia*. And *Moſes*, who had not as yet trained the *Hebrews*, appointed to bear Arms; nor aſſured the minds of the reſt, who encountring with the leaſt miſery, were more apt to return to their quiet ſlavery, than either to endure the wants and perils which every way accompanied them in that paſſage, or at this time to undertake or ſuſtain ſo dangerous an Enemy: he therefore made ſtay at this Manſion, until the fifteenth of this ſecond Month, called *Zim*, or Exod. 16. *Jiar*; and made the eighth Manſion in the Deſart of *Zin*; where the Children of *Iſrael* mutinied againſt *Moſes* the third time, having want of Food. In the ſixteenth Chapter of *Exodus*, *Moſes* omitteth this retreat from *Elim* to the *Red Sea*, but in the collection of every ſeveral encamping, in the thirty third of *Numbers*, it is ſet down.

Here it pleaſed God to ſend ſo many flights of Quails, as the Country about their encamping was covered with them. The Morning following, it alſo rained Manna, being the ſixteenth of their Month, which ſerved them in ſtead of Bread. For now was the ſtore conſumed which the people carried with them out of *Egypt*. And though they had great num- Exod. 16. bers of Cattel and Sheep among them, yet it ſeemeth, that they durſt not feed themſelves with many of thoſe; but reſerved them, both for the Milk to relieve the Children withal, and for Breed to ſtore themſelves when they came to the Land promiſed.

From hence towards *Raphidim*, they made two removes of 20 miles; the one to *Daphca*, the other to *Alus*, diſtant from *Raphidim* ſix miles. Here, being again preſt with want of Water, they murmured the fourth time, and repented them of their departure from *Egypt*, where they rather contented themſelves to be fed and beaten after the manner of Beaſts, than to ſuffer a caſual, and ſometime neceſſary want, and to undergo the hazards and travels which every manly mind ſeeks after for the love of God, and their own freedoms. But *Moſes*, with the ſame Rod which he divided the Sea withall, in the ſight of the *Elders* of *Iſrael*, brought waters out Exod. 17. of the Rock, wherewith the whole multitude were ſatisfied.

SECT. II.

Of the Amalekites, Madianites, *and* Kenites, *upon occaſion of the battel with the* Amalekites, *and* Jethro's *coming; who, being a* Kenite, *was Prieſt of* Madian.

AND while *Moſes* encamped in this place, the *Amalekites*, who had knowledge of his approach, and gueſſed that he meant to lead the children of *Iſrael* through their Countrey (which being barren of it ſelf, would be utterly waſted by ſo great a multitude of People and Cattel) thought it moſt for their advantage to ſet upon them at *Raphidim*, where the want of water, and all other things needful for the life of Man, enfeebled them. On the other ſide, *Moſes* perceiving their reſolutions, gave charge to *Joſua*, to draw out a ſufficient number of the ableſt *Hebrews*, to encounter *Amalech*. Between Exod. 17. whom and *Iſrael* the victory remained doubtful for the moſt part of the day; the *Hebrews* and the *Amalekites* contending with equal hopes and repulſes for many hours. And had not the ſtrength of *Moſes* Prayers to God been of far greater force, and more prevalent than all reſiſtance and attempt made by the bodies of Men; that valiant and warlike Nation had greatly endangered the whole enterpriſe. For thoſe bodies which are unacquainted with ſcarcity of Food, and thoſe minds whom a ſervile education hath dulled, being beaten, and deſpaired in their firſt attempts, will hardly, or never, be brought again to hazard themſelves.

After this Victory, *Jethro* repaired to *Moſes*, bringing with him *Moſes* his Wife, and his two Sons, which either *Jethro* forbare to conduct, or *Moſes* to receive, till he had by this overthrow of *Amalech* the better aſſured himſelf of that part of *Arabia*. For it is written in *Exod.* 18. 1. *When* Jethro, *the Prieſt of* Madian, Moſes *Father-in-law*, *heard all that God had done for* Moſes, &c. of which, the laſt deed, to wit, the overthrow of *Amalech*, gave *Jethro* courage and aſſurance, he then repaired to his Son-in-law, *Moſes*, at *Sinai*; where, among other things he adviſed *Moſes* to appoint *Judges*, and other *Officers* over *Iſrael*,

rael, being himself unable to give order in all causes and controversies, among so many thousands of People, full of discontentment and private controversie.

This *Jethro*, although he dwelt amongst the *Madianites*, yet he was by Nation a *Kenite*, as in the fourth of *Judges*, 11, 17. it is manifest: where it is written, *Now* Heber *the* Kenite, *which was of the children of* Hobab, *to wit, the Son of* Jethro, *the Father-in-law of* Moses, *was departed from the* Kenites, *and pitched his Tent unto the Plain of* Zaanaim, *which is by* Kadesh. Likewise, in the first of *Samuel*, *Saul* commanded the *Kenites* to depart from among the *Amalekites*, lest he should destroy them with the *Amalekites*. For the *Kenites* inhabited the mountains of *Sin Kadesh*; and the *Amalekites* dwelt in the Plains, according to the saying of *Balaam*, speaking of the *Kenites*; *Strong is thy dwelling place, and thou hast put thy nest in the Rock.* And that *Saul* spared this Nation, he giveth for cause, that they shewed mercy to all the Children of *Israel*, when they came up from *Egypt*. For these *Kenites* were a Nation of the *Madianites*, and the *Madianites* were of the issues of *Madian*, one of the six Sons which *Abraham* begat on *Kethura*: and might also take that name of *Kenites* from *Kethura*, of whom they descended by the Mother, who (as it seemeth) kept the knowledg of the true God among them, which they received from their Parent *Abraham*. For *Moses*, when he fled out of *Egypt* into *Madian*, and married the Daughter of *Jethro*, would not (had he found them Idolaters) have made *Jethro*'s Daughter the Mother of his Children. And although the *Kenites* are named amongst those Nations, which God promised, that the seed of *Abraham* should root out, and inherit their lands; yet it cannot be meant by these, who are descended from *Abraham* himself: but by some other Nation, bearing the same name; and in all likelihood of the race of *Chus*. For, in the fifteenth of *Genesis*, *vers.* 19. these *Kenites*, or *Chusites*, are listed with the *Hittites* and *Perizzites*, with the *Amorites*, *Canaanites*, *Gergesites*, and *Jebusites*, which were indeed afterwards rooted out. But these *Kenites* descended from *Abraham*, had separated themselves from among the rest, which were altogether Idolatrous. For, as it is before remembred, *Heber* the *Kenite*, which was of the Children of *Hobab*, was departed from the *Kenites*; that is to say, from those *Kenites* of *Canaan*, and inhabited in *Zaanaim*, which is by *Kedesh* or *Cadesh*. Again, *Moses* nameth that Nation of the *Kenites*, before *Midian*, or any of *Abraham*'s other Sons were born; which he did (referring my self to better judgments) rather, because they were more antient, than by anticipation,

And as of the *Kenites*, so we may consider of the *Madianites*, parted by *Moses* into five Tribes. For some of them were corrupted, and Heathens; as those of *Madian* by the River *Zared*, afterwards destroyed by *Moses*. But the *Madianites*, neer the banks of the *Red Sea*, where *Moses* married his Wife *Zippora*, and with whom he left her and his Children, till after the overthrow of *Amalech*, seem likewise not to have been corrupted. For these *Madianites*, with the *Kenites*, assisted *Israel*, and guided them in the Desarts. But the *Madianites* in *Moab*, and to the North of the *Metropolis* of *Arabia*, called *Petræa*, were by *Israel* rooted out, when those adjoining to the *Red Sea* were not touched.

And though it may be doubted, whether those of *Madian*, of whom *Jethro* was Priest, and the other Cities in *Moab* were the same, yet the contrary is more probable. For *Moses* would not have sent 12000 *Israelites*, as far back as the *Red Sea*, from the Plains of *Moab*, to have destroyed that *Madian*, where his Wives kindred inhabited; seeing himself coming with 600000 able Men, was encountred by *Amalech* in that passage. Neither could *Moses* forget the length of the way through those discomfortable Desarts, wherein himself and *Israel* had wandered forty years.

That *Jethro*, or *Jothor*, *Raguel*, or *Revel*, and *Hobab*, were but one person, the Scriptures teach us. For the *Vulgar*, and *Septuagint*, which call him *Raguel*, and our *English Revel*, *Exod.* 2. 18. calls him *Jethro*, or *Jothor*, *Exod.* 3. 1. and 4. 18. & 18. 1. & 6. 9, 10, 12. & in *Numb.* 10. 29. *Hobab*. Others take *Jethro* and *Hobab* to be the same, but not *Raguel*.

Chap. 15. v. 18.

Numb. 24. 21. 1 Sam. cap. 15. Gen. 25.

Gen. 15.

Judg. 4.

Gen. 25. 4.

SECT. III.

Of the time when the Law was given; with divers commendations of the invention of Laws.

THe rest of the Months of this Year 2515 were spent in the Desart of *Sinai*, neer the Mountain of *Sinai*, or *Horeb*, the twelfth Mansion. *Eusebius* thought that *Sinai* and *Horeb* were distinct Mountains: *Hierom*, to be but one, of a double name. And so it appeareth by many Scriptures: For, in *Exod.* 3. 1. it is called *Horeb*: and in *Exodus* 24. 19. it is written *Sinai*. In the 106. *Psalm*, *vers.* 19. *Horeb*: in *Exodus* 19. 11. *Sinai*. And so it is called, *Galatians* 4. *vers.* 24. And again, *Deut.* 4. 10. and 15. and *Deut.* 5. 2. *Horeb*. And so it is in the first of *Kings* 8. 6. and the second of *Chronicles* 5. 10. and in *Malachi* 4. 4. Finally, in *Ecclesiasticus*, 48. 7. they are named as one. *Which heardest* (saith *Ecclesiasticus*) *the rebuke of the Lord in* Sinai, *and in* Horeb *the judgment of the Vengeance.* Somewhat they are dis-joined at the top, by the report of *Peter Belonius*; who, in the year 1588 past out of *Egypt* into *Arabia*, with *Monsier de Fumet* of *France*, and travelled to the top both of *Sinai* and *Horeb*: *Sinai* being by far the higher Hill. From the side of *Horeb* (saith he) there falleth a very fair Spring of Water into the Valley adjoining: where he found two *Monasteries* of *Christian Marronites*, containing some hundred Religious Persons of divers Nations, who had pleasant Gardens, delicate Fruits, and excellent Wine. These (saith the same Author) give entertainment to all strangers which pass that way.

Pet. Bel. l. 2. cap. 62.

Now, that there was some such Torrent of Water neer *Sinai*, in *Moses* time, it is very probable: First, because he encamped thereabout almost a Year, and drew no Water, as in other places, by miracle: Secondly, because it is written, *Exod.* 32. 20. that when *Moses* had broken the golden Calf to Powder, which *Aaron* set up in his absence, he cast the Powder thereof into the Water, and made the Children of *Israel* to drink thereof.

On this Mountain, the Law by the Angel of God was given to *Moses*, where he stayed a whole Year, wanting some ten or twelve days: for he removed not till the twentieth day of the second Month of the second Year; he arrived about the five and fortieth day after the egression; the Law being given the fiftieth day.

At

At this Mansion all was done, which is written from the beginning of the 29th Chapter of *Exodus*, to the end of that Book; all in *Leviticus*; and all in *Numbers*, to the 10th Chapter. Whereof (because there is no Story nor other Passage) I will omit the repetition, and in place thereof speak somewhat of the Law, and the kinds and use thereof: whereby, if the Reader find the Story any way dis-joyned, he may turn over a few leaves, and, omitting this, find the continuation thereof. We must first consider, that as there can be neither foundation, building, nor continuance of any Common-wealth, without the rule, level, and square of Laws: so it pleased God to give thereby unto *Moses* the powerfullest man (his miraculous grace excepted) to govern that multitude which he conducted; to make them victorious in their passage, and to establish them assuredly in their conquest. For, as the North Star is the most fixed Director of the Sea-man to his desired Port: so is the Law of God the Guide and Conductor of all in general to the haven of eternal life. The Law of Nature, from God his eternal Law deduced, the rule of all his Creatures; the Law humane, depending on both these, the guard of Kings, Magistrates, and vertuous Men; yea, the very spirit, and the very sinews of every Estate in the World, by which they live and move: the Law, to wit, a just Law, being resembled to an Heart without affection, to an Eye without lust, and to a Mind without passion; a Treasurer, which keepeth for every man what he hath, and distributeth to every man what he ought to have. This benefit the *Antient*, though barbarous, esteemed so highly, that among them, those which were taken for the first makers of Laws were honoured as Gods, or, as the Sons of Gods: and the rest, that made either additions, or corrections, were commended to all Posterity for men of no less vertue, and no less liberally beneficial to their Countreys, than the greatest and most prosperous Conquerors that ever governed them. The *Israelites*, the *Lacedæmonians*, and the *Athenians*, received their Laws from one; as the *Israelites*, from *Moses*; the *Lacedæmonians*, from *Lycurgus*; the *Athenians*, from *Solon*; the *Romans*, sometime from their first Kings, from their *Decem viri*, from their *Senators*, from their *Lawyers*, and from the peoples themselves: others from the Prince, Nobility, and People; as in *England*, *France*, and in other *Christian Monarchies* and *Estates*.

SECT. IV.

Of the name and meaning of the words, Law *and* Right.

THe word *Lex*, or *Law*, is not always taken alike, but is diversly, and in an indifferent sence used. For, if we consider it at large, it may be understood for any rule prescribing a necessary mean, order, and method, for the attaining of an end. And so the Rules of *Grammar*, or other Arts, are called Laws. Or, it is taken for any private Ordinance of Superiours or Inferiours: for the Commandments of Tyrants, which they cause to be observed by force, for their Decrees do also usurp that Title, according to the general acceptation of the word *Law*: of which *Esay*, *Wo unto them that decree wicked Decrees, and write grievous things*. Likewise, the word is used for the tumultuary resolutions of the People. For such constitutions doth *Aristotle* also call Laws, though evil and insufficient: *Mala lex est, quæ tumultuarie posita est*; *It is an evil Law that is made tumultuously*. So as all Ordinances, either good or evil, are called by the name of Laws.

Esay 10.

Ethic. l. 4. cap. 1.

The word *Law* is also taken for the moral habit of our mind, which doth (as it were) command our thoughts, words, and actions: framing and fashioning them according to it self, as to their pattern and plat-form. And thus the Law of the flesh, which the Divines call *legem fomitis*, is to be understood. For every Law is a kind of pattern of that which is done according unto it: in which sence, as elsewhere, this moral habit or disposition of the heart, is called the frame, or *figmentum* of the heart: so in S. *Paul* to the *Romans* it is called a *Law*; *But I see another law in my members, rebelling against the law of my mind, and leading me captive unto the law of sin.* Again, the nature and inclinations of all creatures, are sometime called (*a*) *Laws*, so far as they agree with the reason of the Law eternal; as the law of a *Lyon*, to be fierce or valiant.

Gen. 6. 5. Item 8. 2.

(*a*) So *Virgil*, *Continuo has leges æternaque fœdera certis imposuit natura locis*; where also it is to be noted, that he joyns *Leges* and *Fœdera* together, as in the Scripture the Laws is oftentimes called the Covenant. *Arist. Ethic. 5. c. 5.*

Also private contracts among Merchants, and other Tradesmen, do often put on the name of Laws. But Law, commonly and properly, is taken for a right Rule, prescribing a necessary mean, for the good of a Common-wealth, or Civil Community. The rest, to wit, the commandments of Tyrants, &c. which have not the common good for their end, but being *leges iniquæ*, are by *Thomas* called *violentiæ magis quàm leges*; *rather compulsions than laws*: And whatsoever is not just, S. *Augustine* doth not allow for Laws, howsoever established: for he calls them *iniqua hominum constituta, quæ nec jura dicenda, nec putanda sunt*; *The unjust constitutions of men, which are neither to be termed nor thought Laws*. For, saith *Aristotle*, *Legalia justa sunt factiva, & conservativa fœlicitatis*; *Just Laws are the workers and preservers of happiness*: because by them we are directed *ad vitam quietam, to a quiet life*, according to *Cicero*: Yea, *to life everlasting*, according to the Scriptures. For the end of the Law, saith *Plato*, is God, and his Worship: *Finis legis Deus & cultus ejus*. *Lex*, or the Law, is so called by the *Latines*, *à legendo*, or, *à ligando*, *of reading*, or *binding*: *Leges quia lectæ & ad populum latæ*, saith *Varro*; For, after Laws were written and published, all men might read them, and behold in them whereto they were bound. The other *Etymologie*, *à ligando*, is no less agreeable with the nature of a Law: whence in the Scripture it is called also a yoak, and a band: as *confregerunt jugum, diruperunt vincula*; *they have broken the yoak, they have broken the bands*. And in the second *Psalm*, *Dirumpamus vincula eorum, & projiciamus à nobis funes ipsorum*; *Let us break their bands asunder, and let us cast away their cords from us*.

Plato in Dial. 1. de Leg.

Jer. 5. 5.

Psal. 2.

The *Covenant* it is called, because of the conditional promises of God; and because of God's peoples voluntary submission of themselves unto it: for which word the *Septuagint*, and the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, use the word διαθήκη, a *Testament*, or *last Will*: which name it hath, because it is not otherwise effectual for our salvation, but in respect of the death of the Testator; for without the death of the Testator, the Testament is of no force, as *Heb. 9. 17.* it is said, *Testamentum in mortuis ratum est*.

The *Hebrews* call the Law *Thorah*, of teaching, because every man is thereby taught his duty, both to God and Men. The *Greeks* call it *Nomos*, of distributing, because it distributeth to every man his own due; the power of the Law is the power of God: Justice being an attribute proper unto God himself. *Imperium Legis, imperium Dei est*; *The reign of the Law, is the reign of God*.

Law in general is thus defined by the *Philosophers*; *Lex est vitæ regula, præcipiens quæ sunt sequenda, & quæ fugienda*;

fugienda; *Law is the rule of life, commanding what to follow, and what to ſhun*: or, *Lex eſt omnium divinarum & humanarum rerum Regina*; *Law is the Queen*, or *Princeſs of things both humane and divine*. But this deſcription is grounded upon the opinion of inevitable fate. Law is the very wiſdom of Nature: the reaſon and underſtanding of the prudent; and the rule of right and wrong. For, as a right line is called, *Index ſui, & curvi*, the demonſtrance of it ſelf, and of the crooked; ſo is the Law the judge and meaſure of right and wrong.

Mr. *Hooker* calls the *Law* a directive rule to goodneſs of operation; and though Law, as touching the ſubſtance and eſſence, conſiſts in underſtanding: *Concludit tamen actum voluntatis*; *Yet it comprehends the act of our will*. The word *Jus* is alſo diverſly taken, as ſometime for the matter of the Law, and for common right: ſometime for the Law it ſelf; as *Jus civile*, or *Jus gentium*. *Iſidore* diſtinguiſheth the two general words, *Jus* and *Fas*; whereof *Jus*, *Iſid. Etym.* ſaith he, hath reference to men, *Fas* to God. *Fas lex divina, Jus lex humana*. To go over another man's field is permitted by Gods Law, not by Mans; and therefore in a thing out of controverſie *Virgil* uſed both theſe words: as *Fas & jura ſinunt*, God and men permit.

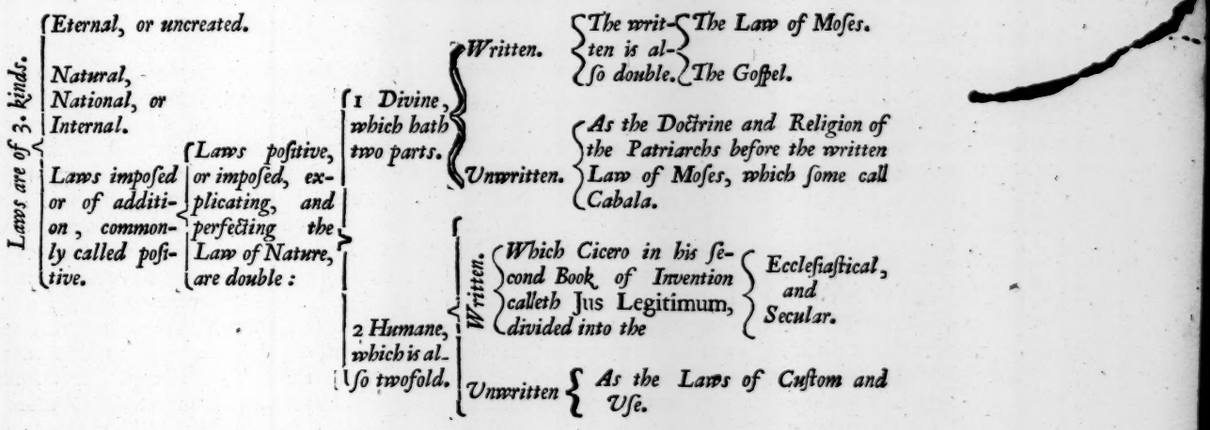
The word *Jus*, or Right, is derived or taken from the old Subſtantive Noun *juſſus*, a bidding or commandment: or, perhaps, from the *Greek* Ζεὺς, which is the name of *Jupiter*, or of the *Latine* Genitive caſe *Jovis*; becauſe, as the Scripture ſpeaks, the *judgment is Gods*. For, as it is certain that *jus-jurandum* came of *Jovis-jurandum* (for ſo we find it written in *Nonius* out of the antient, in which ſenſe the Scripture calls it *juramentum Jehovæ*): ſo alſo we may ſay, that *Jus* came of *Jovis, quia Jovis eſt*; becauſe as God is the Author, and Pattern, and Maintainer of Right, ſo alſo in his *Vicegerents*, the *Magiſtrates*, he is the Pronouncer and Executor of Right. Of this *Jus* the juſt are denominated, *Juſtus à Jure*, and *Juſtitia à Juſto*; *The Right gives name to the Righteous*; and *Juſtice takes her name from the Juſt*.

Deut. 1. 17 *2 Chron.* 19. 6. *Exod.* 22. 11. *1 Reg.* 2. 43.

SECT. V.

Of the definition of Laws, and of the Law eternal.

But, becauſe Laws are manifold, and that every kind hath a proper and peculiar definition, it agreeth with order, firſt to divide and diſtinguiſh them. I mean, thoſe ſorts of Laws from whence all other particulars are drawn: leaving the individuals of humane Laws to their infinite and horrible confuſion.



The Law Eternal is thus defined by *Thomas*. *Lex* *P. 2. q. 2. art. 1.* *æterna eſt æternus divinæ ſapientiæ conceptus, ſecundum quod ordinatur ad gubernationem rerum ab ipſo præcognitarum*; *The eternal Law is the eternal conceit of God's Wiſdom, as it is referred to the government of things* *Th. q. 36. art. 1.* *foreknown by himſelf*. Or, *Lex æterna eſt ſumma atque æterna ratio divinæ ſapientiæ: quatenus res omnes ad deſtinatos fines ita dirigit, ut illis juxta conditionem ipſarum modum aliquem neceſſitatis adferat*; *It is high and eternal reaſon of divine ſapience: as it directeth all things in ſuch ſort to their proper ends, impoſing a kind of neceſſity, according to their ſeveral natures, or conditions*. Now, the difference lies in this: That as the ſame divine underſtanding directs all theſe to their proper ends; ſo it is called Providence: but, as it impoſeth a neceſſity, according to the nature of all things which it directs, ſo it is called a Law.

Of this Eternal Law *Cicero* took knowledge, when in his Book of Laws he wrote in this manner: *Erat ratio perfecta, rerum natura, & ad rectè faciendum impellens & à delicto avocans: quæ non tum incipit lex eſſe cum ſcripta eſt, ſed tum orta eſt. Orta autem ſimul eſt cum mente divina: quamobrem lex vera atque princeps, apta ad jubendum & ad vetandum, ratio eſt recta ſummi Jovis*; *That perfect reaſon and nature of things, incouraging or impelling to rightful actions, and calling us back from evil, did not* (ſaith he) *then begin to be a law when it was written, but when it had Being. Being and beginning it had together with divine underſtanding*; *and therefore a true Law, and a fit Princeſs to command and forbid, is the right Reaſon of the moſt high God*. This eternal Law (if we conſider it in God, or as God) is always one and the ſame; the nature of God being moſt ſimple: but as it is referred to divers objects, ſo the reaſon of man finds it divers and manifold. It alſo ſeemeth one Law in reſpect of things neceſſary, as the motions of the heavens, ſtability of the earth, &c. but it appeareth otherwiſe to things contingent: another Law to men, another to other creatures having life, and to all thoſe that be inanimate.

By this eternal Law all things are directed, as by the counſel and providence of God: from this Law all Laws are derived, as from the rule univerſal, and thereto referred, as the operation of the ſecond to the firſt.

The eternal, and the divine Law, differ only in conſideration; the eternal directing more largely: *Tho. & Aug.*

as

as well every creature, to their proper and natural ends, as it doth Man to his ſupernatural; but the divine Law to a ſupernatural end onely: the natural Law is thence derived, but an effect of the eternal; as it were a ſtream from the fountain.

The Law humane or temporal is alſo thence drawn, in that it hath the form of right Reaſon; from which if it differ, it is then *impoſitio iniqua, a wicked impoſition*; and onely borroweth the name of a Law.

To this eternal Law all things are ſubjected, as well Angels and Men, as all other creatures, or things created; whether neceſſary or contingent, natural or moral, and humane. For the Law eternal runneth through all the univerſal, and therefore it is the Law alſo of things which are ſimple, natural and inanimate.

Hence it is, that all things created are commanded to praiſe God their Creator and Director: as, *Praiſe him all ye his Angels: praiſe him Sun and Moon, all bright Stars: Heavens of heavens, for he hath eſtabliſhed them for ever and ever. He hath made an ordinance which ſhall not paſs: Praiſe ye the Lord from the earth ye Dragons and all Deeps; Fire and Hail, Snow and Vapours, ſtormy Winds which execute his Word: Mountains and Hills, fruitful Trees, and all Cedars; Beaſts and all Cattel*, &c. Now, as the reaſonable creatures are by this eternal Law bound, by the glory and felicity propoſed unto them (beatitude being both the attractive, and the end) ſo all other natural things and creatures have in themſelves, and in their own natures, an obedience formal to it, without any proper intention, known cauſe, or end propoſed. For Beaſts are led by ſenſe, and natural inſtinct: things without life by their created form, or formal appetites, as that which is heavy to fall downward; things light to mount upward, *&c.* and fire to heat whatſoever is appoſed. This kind of working, the *Ariſtotelians* aſcribe to common Nature; others to Fate; a difference uſed in terms only; it being no other than God's general providence: for, as it is truly ſaid of God, that he is *omnia ſuper omnia*: ſo are all things which appear in themſelves thence derived, there-under ſubjected, thence-from by his eternal Law and Providence directed, even from the greateſt to the leaſt of his creatures, in heaven and in earth.

Pſal. 148.

The School-men are very curious and ample in the conſideration of theſe Laws: and in diſcourſe of the profit, and of the matter, and object of the eternal Law. But, as the profit is manifeſt in the good of all creatures, who have thence-from, either reaſon, ſenſe, vegetation, or appetitions, to conduct them: ſo is the object and matter of the Law, the whole creature. For, according to S. *Auguſtine*, *Lex æterna eſt, qua juſtum eſt, ut omnia ſint ordinatiſſima*; *The Law eternal is that, whereby it is juſt, that all things ſhould be diſpoſed in the beſt and goodlieſt order.*

Laſtly, it is diſputed, whether the eternal Law be immutable, yea or no? But the reſolution is, that it changeth not; for which S. *Auguſtine* uſeth a ſufficient argument in his firſt Book of *Free-will*, the ſixth Chapter. For the Law of *Moſes*, which had a time prefixed, was eternally by God ordained to laſt until the time of the Pædagogie of Gods people, or Introduction to Chriſt, ſhould be expired; which time of expiration, ſome think our Saviour noted to be come, when on the Croſs he ſaid, *Conſummatum eſt*. But I rather think theſe words of our Saviour to have no other ſignification, than that now the Prophecy of their giving him Vinegar to drink was fulfilled. For ſo S. *John* expounds it, when he ſaith, *v.* 28. *That Chriſt ſeeing all* (other) *things to be fulfilled, Ut conſummaretur Scriptura, That the Scripture* in this alſo *might be fulfilled*, ſaid, *I thirſt*: though I deny not, but at the ſame time alſo the date of the Law was expired, to wit, of the Law Ceremonial, and of ſo much of the Judicial, as appertained peculiarly to the *Jews*, and agreeth not with the Law of the New *Teſtament* and Goſpel of Chriſt. For the immutable Law of God, though preſcribing things mutable, is not therefore changed in it ſelf; but the things preſcribed change according to this eternal Ordinance, of which the *Wiſdom* of *Solomon*, *And being one, ſhe can do all things, and remaining in her ſelf, reneweth all.*

L. 1. de lib. arb. cap. 6.

John 18. 30. *Pſal.* 69. 22.

SECT. VI.

Of the Law of Nature.

OF the Law of Nature, as it is taken in general, I find no definition among the School-men; only as it is conſidered in Man, it is called *The impreſſion of divine Light, and a participation of the eternal Law in the reaſonable creature. Lex Naturalis eſt impreſſio divini luminis in nobis, & participatio Legis æternæ in rationali creatura.* *Ulpian* defines *the natural Law to be the ſame which Nature hath taught all living creatures: Jus naturale eſt quod Natura omnia animalia docuit*: and he afterward addeth, *Jus iſtud non humani generis proprium, ſed omnium animalium quæ terra marique naſcuntur, avium quoque commune eſt*; *The Law of Nature is not proper to man alone, but the ſame is common to all living creatures, as well Birds, as to thoſe the Land and Sea produceth.* But this definition is not general, but of the natural Law in things of life.

Aug. in Ep. ad Hil. 89. & in Evang. Joh. tract. 49.

Ulp. de juſtitia & jure. l. 1. tit. 1.

The Law of Nature in general, I take to be that diſpoſition, inſtinct, and formal quality, which God in his eternal Providence hath given and imprinted in the nature of every creature, animate, and inanimate. And as it is *divinum lumen* in men, inlightning our formal reaſon; ſo it is more than ſenſe in Beaſts; and more than vegetation in Plants. For it is not ſenſe alone in Beaſts, which teacheth them at firſt ſight, and without experience or inſtruction, to flie from the enemies of their lives: ſeeing that Bulls and Horſes appear unto the ſenſe more fearful and terrible, than the leaſt kind of Dogs; and yet the Hare and Deer feedeth by the one, and flieth from the other; yea, though by them never ſeen before, and that as ſoon as they fall from their Dams. Neither is it ſenſe, which hath taught other Beaſts to provide for Winter, Birds to build their Neſts high or low, according to the tempeſtuous or quiet ſeaſons: or the Birds of *India*, to make their Neſts on the ſmalleſt twigs which hang over Rivers, and not on any other part of the Tree, or elſewhere, to ſave their Eggs and young ones from the Monkies, and other Beaſts, whoſe weight ſuch a twig will not bear, and which would fear to fall into the Water. The inſtances in this kind are exceeding many which may be given. Neither is it out of the vegetable or growing nature of Plants, that ſome Trees, as the female of *Palmitto*, will not bear any fruit, except the male grow in ſight. But this they do by that Law, which the infinite and unſearchable Wiſdom of God had in all eternity provided for them, and for every nature created. In Man this Law is double, corrupt, and incorrupt: corrupt, where the reaſon of Man hath made it ſelf ſubject, and a Vaſſal to Paſſions, and Affections Brutal: and incorrupt, where time and cuſtom hath bred in Men a new nature, which alſo, as is aforeſaid, is a kind of Law. For it

was

was not by the Law of Nature incorrupt, which St. *Augustine* calleth the Law of Reason, but by a nature blinded and corrupted: that the *Germans* did anciently allow of theft: and that other Nations were by Law constrain'd to become Idolaters; that by the Laws of *Lycurgus* it was permitted to Men to use one another's Wife, and to the Women, to choose them others besides their Husband, to beget them with Child: which Law in those parts hath lasted long, and is not forgotten to this day.

Supra sect. 4. cap. 1. loco ad Rom. 7. 23.

Theod. l. 9. de curandis affect. Graecorum.

The *Scythians*, and the People of both *Indies*, hold it lawful to bury with them the best beloved Wives: as also they have many other customs remembred by *G. Valentia*, against nature and right reason.

Acosta.

And I know not from what authority it is, that these Laws some Men avow to be natural: except it be of this corrupt nature, as (among others) to pay guile with guile: to become faithless among the faithless: to provide for our selves by another Man's destruction: that Injury is not done to him that is willing; to destroy those whom we fear, and the like. For taking the definition of natural Laws, either out of St. *Augustine*, or *Aquinas* (the one calling it *the impression of divine Light*; the other, *the dictate* or sentence of *practick Reason*) the same can teach us, or incline us to no other thing, than to the exercise of Justice and uprightness: and not to offer or perform any thing toward others, save that which we would be content should be offered or performed toward our selves. For, such is the Law of Nature to the Mind, as the Eye is to the Body; and that which, according to *David*, sheweth us good, that is, the observation of those things which lead us thereby to our last end; which is eternal life; though of themselves not sufficient without Faith and Grace.

Nemo jure naturae cum alterius detrimento locupletior fieri debet.

Psal. 4.

Now, that which is truly and properly the Law of Nature, where the corruption is not taken for the Law, is, as aforesaid, the impression of God's divine light in Men, and a participation of the Law increated and eternal. For without any Law written, the right reason and understanding, which God hath given us, are abilities within our selves, sufficient to give us knowledg of the good and evil, which by our gratitude to God and distribution of right to Men, or by the contrary, we prepare and purchase for our selves. *For when the Gentiles* (saith St. *Paul*) *which have not the Law, do by nature those things contained in the Law: they having not the Law, are a Law unto themselves.* Now, to love God, by whom we are, and to do the same right unto all Men, which we desire should be done unto us, is an effect of the purest Reason; in whose highest Turrets, the quiet of Conscience hath made her resting-place and habitation; *In arce altissima rationis quies habitat.* Therefore the *Gentiles* (saith St. *Paul*) *which shew the effects of the Law written in their hearts, have their consciences for a witness of those effects: and the reprobate their thoughts to accuse them.*

Rom. 2. 11.

Rom. 2. 11.

And it is most true, that whosoever is not a Law unto himself (while he hopeth to abuse the World by the advantage of hypocrisie) worketh nothing else, but the betraying of his own Soul, by crafty unrighteousness, purchasing eternal perdition. For it helpeth us not to hide our corrupt Hearts from the World's Eye, seeing from him, who is an infinite Eye, we cannot hide them: some Garlands we may gather in this May-game of the World, *Sed Flos ille, dum loquimur, arescit: Those Flowers whither, while we discourse of their Colours, or are in gathering them.* That we should therefore inhabit and dwell within our selves, and become fearful Witnesses of our secret evils, did that reverend Philosopher *Pythagoras* teach in this golden Precept: *Nil turpe committas, neque coram aliis, neque tecum; maximè omnium verere teipsum; Commit nothing foul or dishonest*, saith he, *neither to be known to others, nor to thine own Heart; but above all Men, reverence thine own Conscience.* And this may be a Precept of Nature and right Reason; by which Law, Men and all Creatures, and Bodies, are inclined to those Operations, which are answerable to their own form; as Fire to give heat. Now, as the reasonable Mind is the form of Man, so is he aptly moved to those things which his proper form presenteth unto him; to wit, that which right Reason offereth; and the Acts of right Reason, are the acts of Vertue; and in the breach of the rules of this Reason, is a Man least excusable; as being a reasonable Creature. For all else, both sensitive, growing and inanimate, obey the Law which God imposed on them at their first Creation.

The Earth performeth her office, according to the Law of God in Nature: for it bringeth forth the bud of the Herb, which seedeth seed, *&c.* and the Beast, which liveth thereon. He gave a Law to the Seas, and commanded them to keep their bounds; which they obey. He made a decree for the Rain, and a way for the Lightning of the Thunders. He caused the Sun to move, and to give light, and to serve for signs, and for seasons. Were these as rebellious as Man, for whose sake they were created, or did they once break the Law of their natures and forms; the whole World would then perish, and all return to their first *Chaos*, darkness, and confusion.

Gen. 1.

Job c. 28.

By this natural Law, or Law of humane Reason, did *Cain* perceive his own wickedness and offence, in the murther of *Abel*: for he not only feared the displeasure of God, but the revenge of Men, it being written in his reason, that whatsoever he performed towards others, the same by others might be done unto him again. And that this judgment of well and evil doing was put into our natures by God, and his eternal Law, before the Law written; *Moses* in the person of God witnesseth, *Gen. 4. If thou do well, shalt thou not be accepted? and if thou do not well, sin lieth at thy door.*

The *School-men* are large also in this Question of the natural Law; the same being opened amply by *Reinerius*, *Antonius*, and *Valentia*. But it is not my purpose to write a Volume of this Subject.

But this Law which *Thomas Aquinas* calleth *An act of Reason taken properly*; and not a habit, as it is an evident natural judgment of practick reason; they divide into indemonstrable, or needing no demonstration (as that Good is to be followed, and Evil eschewed) and demonstrable, which is evidently proved out of higher and more universal propositions. Again, as it answereth the natural appetite, prescribing things to be desired as good, or to be avoided as evil (as of the first, to desire to live, and to satisfie hunger, *&c.* and of the second, to eschew pains, sorrow, and death) in this consideration they divide it, according to the divers kinds of appetites that are in us. For in every Man there are three sorts of Appetites, which answer the three degrees of natural Law. The first is, to be that which we are; in which is comprehended the desire, both to live, and to preserve our being and life, as also the desire of issue, with care to provide for them: for the Father, after his death, lives in his Children; and therefore the desire of life comprehends the desire of Children. And to these appetites are referred the first indemonstrable Laws of Nature, for the most part. For it needs no proof, that all Creatures should desire to be, to live, and to be defended, and to live in their issue, when they cannot in themselves. And as Man is a Being, *Ens* or *Res*; so he doth desire good, and shun evil. For it is common

Tho. 2. 47. a. 2.

to all things, to desire things agreeable to their own natures, which is, to desire their own good. And so is good defined by *Aristotle*, to be that which all desire. Which definition *Basil* upon the 44. *Psalm* approveth: *Rectè quidem bonum definierant, quod omnia expetunt; Rightly have some Men defined good, or goodness, to be that which all things desire.*

Ethic. l. 1. c. p. 1.

The second kind of Appetite, is of those things which appertain unto us, as we have sence. Whence, by the Law of Nature, we desire the delights of every sense; but with such moderation, as may neither glut us with satiety, nor hurt us with excess. For, as Sense it self is for the preservation of life and being; so is it meet, even by the Law of Nature, that the sensitive Appetite should not carry us to the destruction either of our life or being. And although (seeing both these kinds of appetites are in Beasts) we may well say, that Nature hath given divers Laws unto them: In which sense the *Civilians* define *natural Right*, or *Jus naturale*, to be the same which Nature hath taught all living Creatures: Yet the *School-men* admit not, that the instincts of Beasts can properly be called a Law, but only a *Jus*, or *Right*, which is the matter, and aim of every Law. For so they distinguish it; where *Ulpian* affirmeth, that *Jus naturale* is that, which Nature hath taught all living Creatures. In this place (saith *Valentia*) *Jus* is not to be taken for a Law, but for the matter of the Law. And yet where *Ulpian* also distinguisheth the right belonging to living Creatures in general, from the right belonging to Men; calling the one *Jus Naturæ*, the other *Jus Gentium*: the Divines understand the Law of Nature more largely, that is, for all evident dictates, precepts, or biddings of divine Reason, both in Beasts and Men; and restrain the Law of Nations to a kind of humane Right.

The third appetite is of those things which appertain properly to Man, as he is a living Creature reasonable: as well with relation to God, and to our Neighbour, as for our selves: and the Laws of this Appetite are the Commandments of our Religion.

Now, although there are many other branches and divisions of this Law of Nature answering the division of matter, which it prescribeth, and as manifold, as the moral actions are which it commandeth or forbiddeth; yet is the Law of Nature but one Law, according to *Aquinas*; first, because it hath one Fountain or Root in the natural or motive Faculty, which is but one, stirring up to good, and declining the contrary: secondly, because all is contained in that general natural precept, That good is to be followed, and ill avoided: and thirdly, because all the parts are reduced to one and the same last end.

That this Law of Nature binds all Creatures, it is manifest, and chiefly Man; because he is endued with Reason: in whom as Reason groweth, so this band of observing the Law of Nature increaseth; *Basil.* *Postquam ratio ad perfectum venit, tunc fit quod scriptum est, Adveniente mandato, peccatum revixit; When reason grew to perfection, then it came to pass which was written by* St. Paul, *When the commandment came, sin revived.* *Rom. 7. 9.* Neither is it a small warrant for this Law of Nature, when those that break the same, are said by St. *Paul*, *To be delivered over into a reprobate sense* (or mind) *to do those things which are not convenient:* *Rom. 2. 15.* And again, *that their consciences bear witness, and their thoughts accuse them.* For though this Law of Nature stretch not to every particular; as to command fasting, and the like; yet it commandeth in general all good, and whatsoever is agreeable to Right and Reason. And therefore said *Damascene*; *Homines facti sunt mali, declinando in id quod contra naturam est; Men* (saith he) *are made evil, by declining unto that which is contrary to Nature:* And St. *Augustine*, *Omne vitium naturæ nocet, ac per hoc contra naturam est; Every vice doth wrong to nature, and is therefore contrary unto it.* *L. 2. Fid. ortho. c. 30.*

Neither yet are the rules of this Law of Nature so streight, but that they suffer exceptions in some particulars. For, whereas by this Law, all Men are born Lords of the Earth, yet it well alloweth inequality of portions, according to unequal merit: by taking from the evil and giving to the good; and by permitting and commanding that all Men shall enjoy the fruits of their labours to themselves: according to the rules of Justice and Equity.

And though the Law of Nature command, that all things be restored which are left in trust, yet in some cases, this her Law she suffereth to be broken: as to deny a mad Man his Weapons, and the like, which he left in keeping while he was sober. But the Universal principles can no more be changed, than the Decrees of God are alterable: who according to St. *Paul*, *abideth faithful, and cannot deny himself.* *2 Tim. 7.*

SECT. VII.

Of the written Law of God.

After the Eternal, and Natural, the Law *Positive*, or imposed is the next in order, which Law, being nothing but an addition, or rather an explication of the former, hath two kinds; Divine, and Humane. Again, the Divine positive Law is double; the Old, and New: The Old was given unto *Moses* in Mount *Sinai*, or *Horeb*, at such time as the World had stood 2513 whole years: and in the 67 day of this year, when as *Ascatades*, or *Ascades* governed the *Assyrians*, *Marathus* the *Sycionians*, *Triopus* the *Argives*, *Cecrops Attica*, and *Acherres Egypt*: to wit, after the promise to *Abraham*, 430 years. And this, it seems, was the first written Law which the World received. For the very word *Nomos*, signifying a Law, was not then, nor long after, invented by the *Græcians*; no, not in *Homer*'s time, who lived after the fall of *Troy* eighty years at least; and *Troy* it self was cast down 335 years after *Moses* led *Israel* out of *Egypt*. This Law, it pleased God to engrave in Stone, that it might remain a lasting Book of his expressed Will in the Church: and that the Priests and People might have whereof to meditate, till the coming of Christ: and that so these Children of *Israel* though bred among an Idolatrous People in *Egypt* might be without excuse, the slight defences of ignorance being taken from them. *Aug. de Civit. Dei. l.*

The reason known to us, why this Law was not written before, is, that when the People were few, and their lives long, the *Elders* of Families might easily, without any written Law, instruct their own Children; and yet, as they increased, so doubtless they had, besides the Law of Nature, many precepts from God, before the Law written. But now at length, for as much as the Law of Nature did not define all kinds of good, and evil; nor condemn every sin in particular; nor sufficiently terrifie the consciences of offenders; nor so expound Divine Worship, as for those after-ages was required, who gave every day less authority than other to the natural Law; In these respects it was necessary, that the Law should be written,

ten, and set before the eyes of all Men; which before, they might, but would not, read in their own Consciences. The *School-men*, and the Fathers before them, inlarge the causes and necessity, why the Law was written; whereof these are the chiefest:

The first for restraining of sin, directly grounded upon this place of *David*, *The Law of the Lord is undefiled, converting Souls: The Testimonies of the Lord are faithful, giving wisdom to Children.* For, the humane Law, saith St. *Augustine*, meeteth not with all offences, either by way of prohibition or punishment; seeing thereby it might take away something seeming necessary, and hinder common profit; but the divine Law written, forbiddeth every evil, and therefore, by *David*, it is called *undefiled*.

Secondly, it serveth for the direction of our minds. For the Laws of Men can only take knowledg of outward actions, but not of internal motions, or of our disposition and will: and yet it is required, that we be no less clean in the one, than in the other. And therefore were the words, *converting our Souls*, added by *David*: wherein are all our outward acts first generated, according to the *Cabalists*; *Actiones hominum nullæ essent, nisi prius in mente dicerentur*; *The actions of Men* (say they) *would be none at all, were they not first conceived in the Mind.*

Thirdly, it leadeth us to the knowledg of Truth, which by reason of diversity of Opinion, and difference of peculiar Laws among sundry Nations, we cannot be assured of; but the Law of God bindeth all Men, and is without errour; and therefore also said *David*, *That the Testimony of the Law of God is faithful, giving Wisdom to Children.*

SECT. VIII.

Of the unwritten Law of God, given to the Patriarchs by Tradition.

NOw, that in all this long tract of Time, between the Creation and the written Law, the World and People of God were left altogether to the Law of Reason and Nature, it doth not appear. For the *Patriarchs* of the first Age received many *Precepts* from God himself; and whatsoever was first imposed by *Adam*, the same was observed by *Seth*, who instructed *Enos*; from whom it descended to *Noah*, *Sem*, *Abraham*, *Isaac*, *Jacob*, *Joseph*, and *Moses*. Yea, many particulalar Commandmens afterward written, were formerly imposed and delivered over by tradition; which kind of teaching the *Jews* afterward called *Cabala*, or *Receptio*; Precepts received from the Mouth of their *Priests* and *Elders*; to which the *Jews* after the Law written, added the interpretation of secret Mysteries, reserved in the bosoms of their *Priests*, and unlawful to be uttered to the People. But the true *Cabala* was not to be concealed from any; as being indeed the Divine Law revealed to the *Patriarchs*, and from them delivered to their Posterity, when as yet it was unwritten. The Commandments which God gave unto *Adam* in the beginning, were, that he should impose names to all Beasts, according to their natures; to whose perfection of understanding, they were sufficiently known. For, finding the reason of his own name *Adam*, or *Adamah*, Earth, or red clay, he gave other names significant, not only to Beasts, but to his Children and Nephews, which afterward his issues imitated; as the name of *Seth* signifieth, as some take it, one that was laid for the Ground or Foundation of the Church, or rather, one given in recompence for *Abel* that was slain; and *Enosh* signifieth Man, or miserable, *&c.* Further, God commanded *Adam* to till the Ground, and to live by the labour thereof: God also gave him the choice of all Fruits, but the forbidden; and in *Adam* also was Marriage first instituted, all Men thence-after being commanded to co-habit with their Wives, rather than with their Father or Mother.

That Murder and Cruelty was also forbidden, both before the Law written, and before the Flood it self, is manifest. God himself making it appear, that it was one of the greatest causes of the destruction of Mankind by the general Flood. For God said unto *Noah*, *An end of all Flesh is come before me; for the Earth is filled with cruelty through them: and behold I will destroy them* from the Earth.* That offence therefore, for which all perished, could not be unknown to all that perished: God's Mercy and Justice interposing between the Untaught and Revenge. This Commandment God repeated to *Noah*, after the Waters were dried up from the Earth: *Whoso sheddeth Man's Blood, by Man shall his Blood be shed; for in the Image of God hath He made Man.*

Also the Law of honouring and reverencing our Parents, was observed among the faithful, and the contrary punished by the Father's curse: as, *Cursed be Canaan, a Servant of Servants shall he be unto his Brethren.* Again, we find that the unnatural sin of the *Sodomite* was punished in the highest degree, as with fire from Heaven. The sin of Adultery and Ravishment, was before the Law no less detested than the rest, as appeareth by that revenge taken for *Dina*'s forcing: and by the judgment which *Juda* gave against *Tamar*, That she should be burnt; and by the repentance of *Pharaoh* and *Abimelech*, against whom this sentence was pronounced, *Thou art but dead, because of the Woman which thou hast taken; for she is a Man's Wife.* To these we may add the Ordinance of Sacrifice, of distinction of clean and unclean Beasts, of Circumcision, of the Brother to raise up Seed to his Brother that left a Widow Childless, and divers other Constitutions, partly Moral, and partly Ceremonial, which being delivered before the written Law, were after by it confirmed. So that this *Divine Law imposed*, of which the Law of *Moses* containeth that which is called, *The Old Testament*, may be said, not only to have been written in the Hearts of Men, before it was engraven in Stone, but also in substance to have been given in Precept to the *Patriarchs*. For, as St. *Paul* witnesseth of himself, *I knew not sin, but by the Law*; so ever the Law naturally preceded, and went before offences, though written after offences committed. It is true, that all the Creatures of God were directed by some kind of unwritten Law; the Angels intuitively; Men, by Reason; Beasts by sense and instinct, without discourse; Plants by their vegetative Powers; and things Inanimate, by their necessary motions, without sense or perception.

* The common reading is *eam terra*: but God did not destroy the Earth: And why may not this Proposition in this place have the same force which it hath, according to *Junius*? *Gen.* 4. 1. *Item.* 44 4. & *Deut.* 34. 1. especially, seeing these words are but a repetition of that which is said, *ver.* 7. *Delebo hominem de superficie terræ. Gen.* 9. 6. *Gen.* 9 25. *Gen.* 34 15. *Gen* 38. 14.

SECT. IX.

Of the Moral, Judicial, and Ceremonial Law; with a note prefixed, how the Scripture speaketh not alway in one sence, when it nameth the Law of Moses.

NOw, as the word [*Law*] in general, as is aforesaid, hath divers significations, and is taken for all doctrine which doth prescribe and restrain; so the Law, called *the Law of Moses* in particular, is taken by St. *Paul* diversly; as sometime for the *Old Testament*; as, *Now we know that whatsoever the Law saith, it saith to them which are under the Law.* Rom. 3.19.

When it is opposed, or differenced from the *Prophets* and *Psalms*, it is there taken for the five Books of *Moses*: For so St. *Luke* hath distinguished them; as, *All must be fulfilled which are written of me in the Law, in the Prophets, and in the Psalms.* Luke 24. 44.

When it is opposed to the *Gospel*, then it is taken for the Law Moral, Ceremonial, and Judicial; as, *Therefore we conclude, that a Man is justified by Faith, without the works of the Law.* Rom. 3.28.

When it is opposed to *Grace*, it signifieth the declaration of God's wrath, and our guilt of condemnation; or the extremity of the Law, and *Summum Jus*: as, *For ye are not under the Law, but under Grace.* Rom. 6.4. Gal. 3.18.

When it is opposed to the Truth, namely, where the Ceremonies or Signs are taken for the things signified; as the *Sacrifice* for *Christ*, and the like; then it signifieth but shadows and figures; as, *The Law was given by* Moses, *but Grace and Truth came by Jesus Christ.* John 1.17.

Lastly, when it is opposed to the time of *Christ's* coming, it signifieth the whole policy of the *Jews* Common-wealth; as, *Before Faith came, we were kept under the Law*, &c. Or the Law of the Order and Institution of the *Aaronical Priesthood*; as, *All the Prophets and the Law*, or the Priests, *prophesied unto John.* And if the *Priesthood* be changed, the Law also, to wit, of the *Priesthood*, must needs be changed. Gal. 3.23. Luke 16.6. Heb. 7.12. & 10.1.

The word [*Law*] is sometime also taken by the Figure *Metonymia*, for Interest, Authority, and Empire, or for constraining force; as, *The Law of the Spirit of Life, the Law, or the force of sin and death, the enforcements of concupiscence*, &c. Rom. 8.2. Rom. 7.23.

But the *Written Law of Moses*, or the Law of the *Old Testament*, of which we now speak, is thus defined. The Law is a doctrine, which was first put into the minds of Men by God, and afterwards written by *Moses*, or by him repeated, commanding Holiness and Justice, promising eternal life conditionally, that is, to the observers of the Law, and threatning Death to those which break the Law in the least. For, according to St. *James*, *Whosoever shall keep the whole Law, and fail in one point, is guilty of all.* The definition used by the *School-men*, in which both the Old and New Law are comprehended, is thus given: *Lex divina est, divinum decretum, hominibus præscribens modum necessarium, ut aptè pervenire possint ad supernaturalem beatitudinem, quæ est ultimus humanæ vitæ finis*; *the divine Law* (say they) *is the Decree of God, prescribing unto Men a necessary mean, whereby they may aptly attain supernatural beatitude, which is the last end of Man's Life.* James 2. 10.

The Law of *Moses* hath three parts: Moral, Ceremonial, and Judicial. The Moral part commandeth this or that good to be done, and this or that evil to be avoided, in particular; as also it declareth, for whose sake it is to be done; as, *Do this, for I am the Lord*; whereas the Law of Nature commands it but in general. Again, the Moral Law entreateth of Vertue and Goodness; the Ceremonial of divine Service, and of Holiness; (for external Worship, and the order of hallowing our selves unto God, is called Ceremony) and the Judicial teacheth the particular Government, fit for the Common-wealth of the *Jews*, and prescribeth orders for Justice and Equity. And therefore was it said of St. *Paul*, *the Commandment is just, holy, and good:* Just, or Justice being referred to Judicial: Holy, or Holiness to the Ceremonial; Good, or honest, to the Moral. The Judicial part is touching the Government of the Common-wealth of the *Jews*, in which many things must needs be proper to that estate, as such as were instituted either in respect of place or persons. Rom. 7.12.

The Ceremonial is divided into four parts, according to the four kinds of things of which it speaketh, to wit, Sacrifice, Holy things, Sacraments, and Observances. To Sacrifices belong Beasts, and the Fruits of the Earth; to Holy things, the Tabernacle, Temple, Vessels, Altars, and the like; to Sacraments, Circumcision, the Passover, and such like. For Observances, they consisted either in prohibition of certain Meats, as not to eat the Blood and fat of Beasts; or in some other outward things, as in washings, purifyings, anointings, and attire; as not to wear mix'd Garments of Linnen and Woollen: as also it prohibiteth other unnatural and unproper commixtion; as, *Thou shalt not yoak together in a Plough an Ox and an Ass*, or cast mingled Seed in one Field. It also exhorteth to natural compassion, and forbiddeth cruelty, even to Beasts, Birds, and Plants, whereby the Creatures of God might be destroyed without any profit to Man. For so some refer these Precepts, *Thou shalt not kill the Bird sitting on her Nest, nor beat down the Buds of the Tree, nor muzzle the Labouring Ox*, and the like, to the Ceremonial Law.

Neither is there any of these three parts of the Law of *Moses*, but it hath as yet in some respect the same power which it had before the coming of *Christ*. For the Moral liveth still, and is not abrogated or taken away; saving in the ability of justifying or condemning: for therein are we commanded to love and worship God; and to use charity one towards another; which for ever shall be required at our hands. Therein also are we in particular directed, how this ought to be done; which power of directing by special Rules and Precepts of life, it retaineth still. For these things also are commanded in both Testaments to be observed: though principally for fear of God in the one, and for the love of God in the other.

The Ceremonial also lived in the things which it fore-signified. For the shadow is not destroyed, but perfected, when the body it self is represented to us. Besides, it still liveth, in that it giveth both instruction and testimony of *Christ*, and in that it giveth direction to the Church, for some Ceremonies and Types of holy signification, which are still expedient; although in a far fewer number than before *Christ's* coming, and in a far less degree of necessity.

Lastly, the Judicial liveth in substance, and concerning the end, and the natural and universal Equity thereof.

But the Moral faileth in the point of Justification, the Ceremonial as touching the use and external observation (because *Christ* himself is come, of whom the Ceremonies were signs and shadows) and the Judicial is taken away, as far forth as it was peculiar to the *Jews* Common-weal and Policy.

SECT.

SECT. X.

A Proposal of nine other points to be considered, with a touch of the five first.

AS for that which remaineth in general consideration of the divine Written Law, it may in effect be reduced into these nine points.

1. The dignity and worth of the Law.
2. The Majesty of the Law-giver.
3. The property and peculiarity of the People receiving it.
4. The conveniency of the time in which it was given.
5. The efficacy and power thereof.
6. The difference and agreement of the Old and New Testament.
7. The end and use of the Law.
8. The sence and understanding of the Law.
9. The durance and continuance thereof.

1. The dignity of the Law is sufficiently proved by S. *Paul*, in these words: *Wherefore the Law is holy, and the Commandment is holy, and just, and good:* which three Attributes are referred, as aforesaid, to the Moral, Ceremonial, and Judicial.

2. The Majesty of the Law-giver is approved in all his creatures; who, as he hath given all things their lives and beings, so he only gave the Law, who could onely give the end and reward promised, to wit, the salvation of Mankind; but he gave it not to *Moses* immediately, but by the ministry of Angels, as it is said: *And the Law was ordained by Angels, in the hand of a Mediator:* And in the *Acts*, *He gave the Law by the Ordinance of Angels.* Gal. 3. 19.

3. The Propriety and Peculiarity of the People receiving the Law, is in three respects. First, in that they were prepared. Secondly, in that they were a Nation apart and dissevered. Thirdly, in that they were the Children of the Promise made to *Abraham*. Prepared they were, because they had the knowledge of one God, when all other Nations were Idolaters. A Nation apart and severed they were, because of Gods choice and election. Children of the Promise they were, for the Promise was made by God unto *Abraham* and his seed; not unto his seeds, as to *Esau* and *Jacob*, but to his seed, as to *Jacob* or *Israel* singularly, of whom *Christ*. *Now,* to Abraham *and his seed was the Promise made; he saith not, to the seeds, as speaking of many; but, to thy seed, as of one, which is Christ.* Gal. 3. 16.

4. The conveniency of the time, in which it was given, is noted by S. *Augustine*; that it was about the middle time, between the Law of Nature and Grace: the Law of Nature continued from *Adam* to *Moses:* the Law written in the Commandments received by *Moses* in the Worlds year, 2514. continued to the Baptism of *John*; from which time, began the Law of Grace, which shall continue to the worlds end. Other reasons for the conveniency are formerly given.

5. The fifth consideration is of the efficacy of this Law, the same being a disposition to, or sign of our Justification; but not by it self sufficient, but as a figure of *Christ* in Ceremonies, and a preparation to Righteousness in moral Precepts. For through the Passion of *Christ* were sins forgiven, who taketh away the sins of the World: and therefore S. *Paul* calleth the Rudiments of the Law, *beggarly and weak*; beggarly, as containing no Grace; weak, as not able to forgive and justifie. The bloud of Goats and Bulls, and the Ashes of an Heifer could onely cleanse the body; but they were figures of *Christs* bloud, which doth cleanse the inward Soul. *For if the Law could justifie, then Christ died in vain.* Gal. 4. Heb. 9. Gal. 8.

SECT. XI.

Of the sixth Point, to wit, of the difference and agreement of the old and new Testament.

THe old and new Testament differ in name, and in the mean and way proposed for attaining to salvation; as the old by Works, the new by Grace; but in the thing it self, or object and remote end, they agree; which is, mans happiness and salvation.

The old Testament, or Law, or Letter, or the Witness of Gods Will, was called the Old, because it preceded the New Testament; which is an explication of the Old: from which the New taketh witness. Yet the New is of more excellency, in that it doth more lively express, and openly and directly delineate, the ways of our Redemption. It is also called the Old, to shew that in part it was to be abrogated: *In that he saith, the New Testament, he hath abrogated the Old.* For the Old Law, though greatly extolled by the *Prophets*, and delivered with wonderful miracles, yet was it constituted in a policy perishable; but the New was given in a promise of an everlasting Kingdom, and therefore called in the *Apocalyps*, a Testament and Gospel for ever during. Heb. 8. 13.

The Old Testament is called the Law, because the first and chief part is of the Law of *Moses*, of which the *Prophets* and *Psalms* are Commentaries, explicating that Law.

The New Testament is called the Gospel, because the first and chief part thereof, is the glad-tidings of our Redemption: the other Books, as the Epistles, or Letters of the *Apostles*, and the *Acts* or Story of the *Apostles*, are plentiful Interpreters thereof: The word *Evangelion*, signifying a joyful, happy, and prosperous message, or (as *Homer* used it) the reward given to the Messenger bringing joyful news. It is also sometime taken for a sacrifice, offered after victory, or other pleasing success, as by *Xenophon*. In the Scriptures it hath three significations. First, for glad-tidings in general, as in *Esay* 52. *v.* 7. concerning peace. Secondly, by an excellency it is restrained, to signifie that most joyful message of Salvation, as in *Luke* 2. 10. whence also by figure it is taken for the History of *Christ*; and so we understand the four Gospels. Acts 1.

Lastly, for the preaching and divulging the Doctrine of *Christ*, as 1 *Cor.* 9. 14. and 2 *Cor.* 8. 18.

The agreement of both Testaments (taken, I think, as they are divided in Volumes) is by *Daneus* comprised in these four.

In their Author.
In the substance of the Covenant, or things promised.
In the foundation, to wit, *Christ*.
In the Effects, that is, in Righteousness and Justification.

In the Author they agree, because both are of God, and therefore both one Testament and Will of God in substance of Doctrine. For as there was ever one Church, so was there one Covenant and Adoption, and one Doctrine. As the old Law doth point at *Christ*, so doth the new Law teach *Christ*; the old proprosing him as to come, the new as already come; one and the same thing being promised in both; both tending to one and the same end, even the salvation of

of our Souls; which, according to S. *Peter*, is the end of our Faith. For although it be said, that *Moses* did promise by observing the Law, an earthly Kingdom, a Land flowing with Milk and Honey, the propagation of Children, and other worldly blessings; yet all these were but figures to teach, and pledges to assure the Fathers of those spiritual blessings by *Christ*; for by the earthly, he raised their minds to the hope of heavenly. And the Fathers, notwithstanding these worldy goods, did yet acknowledge themselves stranges, and pilgrims, expecting the heavenly *Jerusalem*; according to this place of the *Hebrews*; *All these died in faith, and received not the promises, but saw them afar off, and believed them; confessing that they were strangers and pilgrims on the earth.* To which purpose also S. *Augustine*, *Omnino pauci veterem legem intelligunt, non attendentes per promissa terrena, æterna promitti; Few* (saith he) *do understand the old Law; not attending that by things earthly, eternal are promised.* And S. *Jerom*; *Noluit Deus pascere* Judæos *more pecorum corporalibus donis opibusque, ut* Judæi *somniant; God would not feed the* Jews *as beasts with corporal gifts and riches, as themselves dream.* And this may be gathered out of Gods own words, *Ego sum Deus tuus, & ero vobis in Deum; I am thy God, and I will be your God.* For the words, *I will be your God*, prove that it was not for the present, or for perishable things, that God gave them this promise, but in respect of the future; to wit, the safety of their Souls. For as God created both Body and Soul, so hath he of his goodness, not left the better part uncared for, which liveth ever.

Cap. 11. *v.* 13.

Lib. de Civit. Dei, l. 18. *c.* 15.

In Sophon. c. 3. *v.* 9.

The agreement between the old and new Testament in substance, infers also the agreement in foundation. For *Christ* is called the foundation of the Law laid by the *Apostles* and *Prophets*; in whom all the Promises of God in the old and new, are assured: the Fathers having eaten the same spiritual food, which we eat in our Sacraments.

The agreement in effects, is, in that the knowledge of our sin and misery, which is taught us by the Law, maketh way, and, as it were, serveth in subordination to the Gospel, the proper effects whereof are mercy and salvation; to which the Law serving as an introduction (for to those which acknowledge their sin and misery, God sheweth his mercy and salvation) may be said to agree with the Gospel in the effect. For otherwise, if we sever the Law from subordination to the Gospel, the effects are very different; the one sheweth the way of Righteousness by Works, the other by Faith; the Law woundeth, the Gospel healeth; the Law terrifieth, the Gospel allureth; *Moses* accuseth, *Christ* defendeth; *Moses* condemneth, *Christ* pardoneth. The old restrained the hand, the new, the mind. *Data est lex quæ non sanaret* (saith S. *Augustine*) *sed quæ ægrotantes proharet; The Law was given, not to help, but to discover sickness:* and S. *Chrysostom*; *Data est Lex, ut se homo inveniret; non ut morbus sanaretur, sed ut medicus quæreretur; The Law was given, that man might find and know his own imperfection; not that his disease was thereby holpen, but that he might then seek out the Physician.* For Christ came to save the World, which the Law had condemned. And as *Moses* was but a Servant, and *Christ* a Son; so the greatest benefit was reserved to be brought, as by the *worthiest* person, saith *Cyril*; for this Law made nothing perfect, but was an introduction of a better hope.

Homil ad Rom.

Heb. 7.

SECT. XII.

Of the rest of the points proposed.

THe seventh Consideration is of the end, and use of the Law; which is, to bring us to *Christ*; for finding no righteousness in our own works, we must seek it in some other. But this is the last, and remote, and utmost end; the next and proper end of the Law, is to prescribe righteousness, and to exact absolute and perfect obedience to God. *Cursed is he that continueth not in all the things of this Law.*

Lev. 18. 5.

The second end of the Law, is, to render us inexcusable before God; who knowing so perfect a Law, do not keep it; the Law requiring a perfect and entire, not a broken or half obedience; but both inward and outward righteousness, and performance of duty to God and Men.

The third and chief end of the Law, is, as hath been said, to send us to *Christ*, and his Grace, being in our selves condemned and lost. For the Law was delivered with thunder, and with a most violent and feaful tempest, threatning eternal death.

The fourth end of the Law was to design, and preserve the place of the Church and true People of God; and to hold men in one Discipline, and aw, till the coming of *Christ*; after whom the Church was to be dispersed over the whole World.

These be the ends of the Moral Law. The end and use of the Ceremonial Law, is to confirm the truth of *Christ*, and the new Testament. The use of the Judicial, to teach us natural equity and right, whereto we must conform our selves.

The sence and understanding of the Law is double, literal, and spiritual: by the literal, we are taught the worship and service of God; by the spiritual, the figures and mystical fore-speakings of *Christ*.

Lastly, for the durance or continuance of the Law, the same had being until the Passion of *Christ*; before which time, and while *Christ* taught in the World, both the old and the new were in force. But after that the true Sacrifice was offered upon the Altar of the Cross, then the *Jewish* Sacrifices and Ceremonies, which were Types and Figures of *Christ* (*Christ* being the Body of those shadows) ceased to bind the conscience any longer; the mystery of our Redemption being now by *Christ*, and in him, finished. In token whereof the veil of the Temple rent asunder; noting that the Ceremonial veils and shadows were now to be removed, not that the Moral Law of the Commandments was hereby abolished, or weakned at all; otherwise than that it had not power to condemn according to the *Jewish* doctrine, as aforesaid. For the observing of the Law was by *Christ* himself severely commanded; our love towards God being thereby to be witnessed. And herein *David* so much rejoyced, as he preferred the observation of the Law before all that the World could yield. *In via testimoniorum tuorum delectatus sum, sicut in omnibus divitiis; I have been delighted in thy Law, as in all manner of riches:* And again, *The Law of thy mouth is good for me above thousands of gold and silver. This is the love of God* (saith S. *John*) *that we keep his Commandment.* And that there is no excuse for the neglect of the things commanded in the Law, God himself in *Deuteronomy* witnesseth. *This Commandment* (saith he) *which I command thee this day, is not hid from thee, neither is it far off. It is not in heaven, that thou shouldest say, Who shall go up for us to heaven, and bring it us, and cause us to hear it, that we may do it? Neither is it beyond the Sea, that thou shouldest say, Who shall*

Gen. 49. 10. The Scepter shall not depart from *Judah*, nor a Law-giver from between his feet, until *Shilo* come.

1 *Joh.* 5.

Deut. 30. 11, 12, 13, & 14. *Rom.* 10. *v.* 6, 7, 8.

shall go over the Sea for us, and bring it us? &c. *but the word is very near unto thee, even in thy mouth, and in thy heart for to do it. Behold* (saith *Moses*) *I have set before thee this day life and death, good and evil, in that I command thee this day, to love the Lord thy God, to walk in his ways, and to keep his Commandments, and his Ordinances, and his Laws, that thou mayst live,* &c. Neither is it said in vain in S. *Matthew*: *Si vis ad vitam ingredi, serva mandata*; *If thou wilt enter unto life, keep the Commandments*; and in S. *John*, *Scio quia mandatum ejus vita æterna est*; *I know that his Commandment is life everlasting.* And if this be the charity of God, or of Men towards God, as S. *John* hath taught, to wit, that we keep his Commandments; certainly, he is but a lyar, that professeth to love God, and neglecteth to observe the word of his Will, with all his Power. And, though I confess it not in mans ability, without the special grace of God, to fulfil the Law (*Christ* only as man excepted) yet, if we rightly consider the merciful care which God had of his people in those his Commandments, we shall find in our selves, how we borrow liberty, and rather let slip our affections, and voluntarily loosen them from the chains of obedience, to which the Word of God, and Divine Reason hath fastened them, than that we are excusable by those difficulties and impossibilities, which our mind (greedy of liberty) proposeth to it self. *For, this is the love of God, that we keep his Commandments, and his Commandments are not grievous*, 1 Joh. 5. 12. and if we examine every Precept apart, and then weigh them each after other, in the ballance of our consciences; it is not hard for any man to judge, by what ease perswasions, we steal away from our own power, as unwilling to use it against our pleasing desires.

Cap. 9. 17. Cap. 12. 50

SECT. XIII.

Of the several Commandments of the Decalogue; *and that the difficulty is not in respect of the Commandments, but by our default.*

FOr by the first, we are commanded to acknowledge, serve, and love one God. Now, whereby are we enticed to the breach of this Precept? seeing every reasonable man may conceive and know, than an Infinite power cannot be divided into many infinities: and that it is of necessity, that by this Almighty Unity, all things have been caused, and are continued. And if brute Beasts had this knowledge of their Creator, and how in his Providence he hath also provided for every of them, *Which giveth to Beasts their food*, &c. there is no doubt, but they would also serve and love him onely.

Psa. 149. 9.

The second Precept is the forbidding of Idolatry, and worship of Images; the making whereof, out of doubt, was not the invention of an ill intent in the beginning, seeing this is generally true; *Omnia mala exempla bonis initiis orta sunt*; *All ill examples did spring and arise from good beginnings.* For their first erection was to keep the memory of men famous for their vertue; until (saith *Lactantius*) the Devil crept into them, and (having blotted out the first intent) working in weak and ignorant Souls, changed the nature of the one, and the reason of the other, to serve himself thereby. For what reasonable man, if he be not forsaken of God, will call on those blind, deaf, dumb, and dead stocks, more worthless than the most worthless of those, that having life and reason, implore their help, which have neither; yea, of more vile price and baser, than the basest of Beasts, who have sense and estimation? For what do we thereby (saith the Wisdom of *Solomon*) but call to the weak *for help, pray to the dead for life, require aid of him that hath no experience, assistance in our journeys of him that cannot go, and success in our affairs of him that hath no power?* And whether the Idolater, or the Block to which he prayeth, be more senseless, *David* maketh a doubt. *For* (saith he) *they that make them are like unto them, and so are all the rest that trust in them.*

Gloss. in verb. Calum.

Wisd. 13. v. 19.

Psa. 35. 18.

The branch of the third Commandment, is neither perswaded by worldly pleasure, nor worldly profit; the two greatest inchanters of mortal men. No, we are no way allured to this horrible disdain of God, unless the hate of good men, and Gods curse, be accounted an advantage. For, as our corruptest nature gives us nothing towards it, so can it satisfie no one appetite, except everlasting sorrow, and Hell dwell in our desire. And therefore this strange custom hath the Devil brought up among men, without all subtilty of argument, or cunning perswasion, taking thereby the greatest and most scornful advantage over us. For slaughter satisfieth hatred, Theft gives satisfaction to need, Adultery to lust, Oppression to covetousness; but this contemptuous offence of Blasphemy, and the irreverent abuse of Gods Name, as it giveth no help to any of our worldly affections, so the most salvage Nations of the World do not use it.

The fourth Commandment, to keep the *Sabbath day* holy, hath neither pain, burthen, nor inconvenience. For it giveth rest to the Labourer, and consolation to their Masters. And, that this Law was imposed on Man for his benefit, *Moses* teacheth in the reason of the Law: as in *Exod.* 23. 12. *And in the seventh day thou shall rest, that thine Ox, and thine Ass may rest, and the Son of thy Maid, and the Stranger may be refreshed.*

The first of the second Table, to honour our Parents, with whom we are one and the same, is a gratitude which Nature it self hath taught us towards them, who, after God, gave us life and being, have begotten us, and born us, cherished us in our weak and helpless infancy, and bestowed on us the harvest and profit of their labours and cares. Therefore, in Temporal and Judicial Ordinances, cursing of Parents, or the offering them violence, was made death.

The next is, That thou shalt not Murther, that is, Thou shalt not do the acts following the affections of hatred. For the Law of God, and after it, our own Laws, and, in effect, the Law of all Nations, have made difference between slaughter casual, and furious. *Affectio enim tua* (saith *Bracton*) *imponit nomen operi tuo*; *It is the affection and will that makes the work such as it is.* And certainly, whosoever cannot forbear to commit Murther, hath neither the grace of God, nor any use of his own will.

The third of the second Table, commands us from Adultery. Now, if the preservation of Virginity have been possible for thousands of Men and Women, who in all Ages have mastered their fleshly desires, and have returned chaste to their Grave: It cannot be accounted a burthen, to forbear the dishonour and injury, which we offer to others by such a violation, seeing Marriage is permitted by the Laws of God and men, to all that affect it. And there is no man living, whom the desire of beauty and form hath so constrained, but he might with ease forbear the prosecution of this ill, did not himself give suck to this Infant, and nourish warmth, till it grow to strong heat, heat till it turn to fire, and fire to flame.

Nuptiæ replent terram, Virginitas Paradisum.

The fourth of the second Table, is, That we shall not steal. And, if that kind of violent robbery had been used in *Moses* time, which many Ruffians practise now a-days in *England*, and, to the dishonour

of

of our Nation, more in *England*, than in any Region of the World among *Christians*; out of doubt, he would have censured them by Death, and not by restitution, though quadruple. For, I speak not of the poor and miserable Souls, whom hunger and extreme necessity inforceth; but of those detested Thieves, who, to maintain themselves Lord-like, Assault, Rob, and Wound the Merchant, Artificer, and Labouring-Man; or break by violence into other Mens Houses, and spend in Bravery, Drunkenness and upon Harlots, in one day, what other Men have sometime laboured for all their lives; impoverishing whole Families, and taking the Bread and Food from the Mouths of their Children. And that this Commandment might easily be observed, it would soon appear, it Princes would resolve, but for a few years, to pardon none. For, it is the hope of life, and argument of sparing the first offence, that incourageth these Hell-hounds. And if every Man presume to be pardoned once, there is no State or Common-Wealth, but these Men would in a short time impoverish or destroy it.

The fifth Commandment of this second Table, is, the prohibition of false witness: from which, if Men could not forbear, all surety of estate and life were taken away. And so much did God detest a false witness, and a false accuser, especially, in matters criminal, that the Law ordained him to suffer the same death or punishment, which he sought by falshood to lay on his Brother.

The last of the ten Commandments, forbiddeth us to covet any thing, which belongeth to another Man, either the bodies of their Wives for concupiscence, or their goods for the desire of gain. And this Precept seemeth the hardest for Men to observe; so esteemed by reason of our frail affections; and yet, if we judg hereof rightly, it may be doubted, whether it extend to all our inconsiderate fancies, and vain thoughts. For, although it be not easie to master all our sudden passions, yet we may restrain and hinder the growing, and farther encrease, if we please to intend our strength, and seek for Grace. How the word *Coveting*, reacheth to all those, it is to be considered. For, *Concupiscentia*, according to some, *Est effrænatus habendi appetitus: An unbridled, or unrestrained Appetite of having:* And, as touching such an Appetite, we cannt excuse our selves by any our natural frailty, or unadvised error; But, as I suppose, the word *Concupiscence* is more largely taken, either for a determinate and unbridled evil intent, or for some urging inclination thereunto. All the question is of the later sort; which is, *Actus imperfectus, id est, non deliberatus ratione, quæ est principium proprium actus boni aut vitiosi; Such passions, or inclinations, are imperfect Acts, that is, not deliberated upon by reason, which is the proper Principle of a good or vicious action.* And sure, it may seem, that so long as we resist such motions, they harm us not: as they say, *Quamdiu refragamur, nihil nocent: nocent autem cum eis dominari permittimus; As long as we give no assent unto them, it is thought by some, that they hurt us not; and that then only they hurt, when we suffer them to bear sway.* But these Men, as it seems, make nothing forbidden in the tenth Precept, but what hath been forbidden in the other: for in every Commandment, not only the outward act, but also the inward assent unto evil, though it break not out into act, is forbidden; therefore, that we may know the difference between this Commandment and the rest, the distinction of desires is to be held; that some are with assent, and unbridled; others bridled, and without assent. For, even so the Moral *Philosopher* can tell us, that the continent Man hath evil desires, but without assent (for they are bridled by the strength of right Reason) as, on the other side, the Incontinent hath good desires, but restrained and suppressed by contrary passions. The evil desires, when they are accompanied with assent, are in every Commandment forbidden, together with the outward act: and therefore, if we will have any thing proper to this Commandment, we must needs say, that the evil desires of the continent Man (that is, even those which we resist and bridle) are here forbidden. For though he that bridled his evil desires, be much better than he that yieldeth unto them; yet, such a Man according to the Heathen *Philosopher*, is not worthy the name of a virtuous Man. For *Aristotle* himself makes *Continentia*, not to be vertue, but only a degree unto it; confessing, that though the Continent Man do well in bridling his evil affections, yet he doth not all, seeing he ought not so much as to have them at all. Neither is it much more, that true Divinity delivereth touching this matter. For, as he saith, that in the Continent Man the having of these evil desires, though he resist them, is the cause that he cannot be called a Virtuous Man: so we, that the having of them is a sin. Only in this we excel him here; that we are able out of Divinity, to give the true reason of this Doctrine; which is, that every one sinneth, that doth not love God with his whole heart and affection: whence it followeth, that the evil desires of the Continent Man; that is, of him which bridleth them, must needs be sin: seeing such desires, though bridled, are a pulling away of a part of our heart and affection from God.

Seeing therefore it hath pleased God, to make us know, that by our faithful endeavours to keep his Commandments, we witness our love toward himself; we may not safely give liberty to our vanities, by casting back upon God (who is Justice it self) that he hath given us Precepts altogether beyond our power, and Commandments impossible for us to to keep. For, as he is accursed (saith St. *Hierom*) that avows that the Law is in all things possible to be observed: so he hath made this addition: *Maledictus qui dicit impossibilia Deum præcepisse; Accursed is he that saith, that God hath commanded things* (in themselves, and not through our fault) *impossible.* Now, as the places are many which command us to keep the Law; so is our weakness also in the Scriptures laid before us, and therefore it is thus safely to be understood, that we should without evasion, or without betraying of our selves, do our faithful endeavours to observe them: which if we do unfeignedly, no doubt, but God will accept our desires therein. For that there is no Man Just, *David* witnesseth: *Enter not into Judgment with thy Servant, for in thy sight no flesh that liveth shall be justified.* And in the first of *Kings*, *There is no Man that sinneth not*; And again, *Who can say, I have made my Heart clean?* But, seeing there is no sin grievous without deliberation; let every Man's Conscience judg him, whether he give way willingly, or restrain himself in all that he can, yea, or no? For when a King gives to his subject a commandment upon pain of loss of his love, to perform some service: if the subject, neglecting the same, seek to satisfie his *Sovereign* with shifting excuses, out of doubt such a Prince will take himself to be derided therein.

Psal. 143. Cap. 8. v. 46. *Prov.* 20. 9.

SECT.

SECT. XIV.

If there were not any Religion, nor Judgment to come, yet the Decalogue *were moſt neceſſary to be obſerved.*

AND if we conſider adviſedly, and ſoberly, of the Moral Law, or ten Commandments, which God by the hand of *Moſes* gave unto his People, it will appear, that ſuch was his merciful Providence in the choice of them, as, were there neither pain nor profit adjoined to the obſerving, or not obſerving of them; were there no Divine Power at all, nor any Religion among Men; yet, if we did not for our own ſakes ſtrive to obſerve theſe Laws, all Society of Men, and all endeavours, all happineſs and contentment in this life would be taken away, and every State and Common-weal in the World fall to the ground and diſſolve. Therefore the Laws were not impoſed as a burthen, but as a bleſſing: to the end that the innocent might be defended, that every Man might enjoy the Fruits of his own tarvel, that Right might be done to all Men, from all Men: that by Juſtice, Order, and Peace, we might live the lives of reaſonable Men, and not of Beaſts; of Free-men, and not of Slaves; of Civil Men, and not of Salvages. And hereof making our humane Reaſon only Judg, let us ſee the inconveniencies in this life, which would follow by the breach and neglect of theſe Laws.

As firſt, what would the iſſue be, if we acknowledged many Gods? would not a far greater Hatred, Warr and Blood-ſhed follow, than that which the difference of Ceremony, and diverſity of interpretation, hath already brought into the World, even among thoſe Nations which acknowledg one *God*, and one *Chriſt*?

And what could it profit Mankind to pray to Idols, and Images of Gold, Metal, dead Stones, and rotten Wood, whence nothing can be hoped, but the loſs of time, and an impoſſibility to receive thence-from, either help or comfort?

The breach of the third Commandment bringeth therewith this diſadvantage, and ill to Man, that whoſoever taketh the Name of God in vain, ſhall not at any time benefit himſelf by calling God to witneſs for him, when he may juſtly uſe his Holy Name.

The obſerving the *Sabbath* Holy, giveth reſt to Men and Beaſts, and Nature her ſelf requireth intermiſſion from labour.

If we deſpiſe our Parents, who have given us being, we thereby teach our Children to ſcorn and neglect us, when our aged years require comfort and help at their hands.

If Murther were not forbidden, and ſeverely puniſhed, the race of mankind would be extinguiſhed; and whoſoever would take the liberty to deſtroy others, giveth liberty to others to deſtroy himſelf.

If Adultery were lawful, and permitted, no Man could ſay unto himſelf; This is my Son: there would be no Inheritance proper, no Honour deſcend to Poſterity, no endeavour by vertue and undertaking to raiſe Families; Murthers and Poiſonings between Man and Wife would be daily committed; and every Man ſubject to moſt filthy and unclean Diſeaſes.

If Stealth and violent Rapine were ſuffered, all Mankind would ſhortly after periſh, or live as the Salvages, by Roots and Acorns. For no Man laboureth but to enjoy the Fruits thereof. And ſuch is the miſchief of Robbery, as where *Moſes* for leſſer crimes appointed Reſtitution four-fold, Policy of State, and Neceſſity, hath made it death.

To permit falſe Witneſſes, is to take all Mens lives and eſtates from them by corruption; the Wicked would ſwear againſt the Vertuous; the Waſter againſt the Wealthy; the idle Begger and Loyterer, againſt the careful and painful Labourer; all trial of Right were taken away, and Juſtice thereby baniſhed out of the World.

The coveting of that which belongs to other Men, bringeth no other profit than a diſtraction of Mind, with an inward vexation; for while we covet what appertains to others, we neglect our own: our appetites are therein fed with vain and fruitleſs hopes, ſo long as we do but covet; and if we do attain to the deſire of the one, or the other, to wit, the Wives, or Goods of our Neighbours; we can look for no other, but that our ſelves ſhall alſo, either by theft or by ſtrong hand, be deprived of our own.

Wherein then appeareth the burthen of God's Commandments, if there be nothing in them, but rules and directions for the general and particular good of all living? Surely, for our own good, and not in reſpect of himſelf, did the moſt merciful and provident God ordain them; without the obſervation of which, the vertues of heavenly bodies, the fertility of the Earth, with all the bleſſings given us in this life, would be unto us altogether unprofitable, and of no uſe. For we ſhould remain but in the ſtate of brute Beaſts, if not in a far more unhappy condition.

SECT. XV.

Of humane Law, written, and unwritten.

HUmane Law, of which now it followeth to ſpeak, is firſt divided into two, (*viz.*) Written, and unwritten. The unwritten conſiſts of Uſage, approved by time; which *Iſidore* calls *Mores*; and he defines *Mores* to be *Conſuetudines vetuſtate probatæ*; to be *Cuſtoms approved by Antiquity, or unwritten Laws.* Now Cuſtom differeth from Uſe, as the cauſe from the effect; in that Cuſtom is by uſe and continuance eſtabliſhed into a Law; but yet there, where the Law is defective, ſaith *Iſidore.*

And of Cuſtoms there are two general natures, containing innumerable particulars; the firſt are written Cuſtoms, received, and exerciſed by Nations, as the Cuſtoms of *Burgundy* and *Normandy*, the antient general Cuſtom of *England*, and the Cuſtoms of *Caſtile*, and other *Provinces.*

The ſecond are theſe petty Cuſtoms, uſed in particular Places, Cities, Hundreds, and Mannors. The general or National Cuſtoms are ſome written, others unwritten.

The particular or petty Cuſtoms are ſeldom written, but witneſſed by teſtimony of the Inhabitants. The Cuſtom of the *Dutchy* of *Cornwal*, comprehending alſo the *Stannary* of *Devon*, as touching *Tinn*, and *Tinn* Cauſes are written in *Devon*, but not in *Cornwal.* But howſoever, uſe and time hath made theſe Cuſtoms as Laws, yet ought every Cuſtom to be *rationabilis*, as well as *præſcripta. Non firmatur tractu temporis, quod de jure ab initio non ſubſiſtit; That which at firſt was not grounded upon good right, is not made good by continuance of time.* And (ſaith *Ulpian*) *quod ab initio vicioſum eſt, non poteſt tractu temporis convaleſcere; Courſe of time amends not that which was naught from*

In Reg. Jur. v. 2. q. 117. art. 1.

Ulp. l. 29.

from the first beginning. For these two defences are necessary in all Laws of Custom; the one, that it be not repugnant to the Law Divine, and Natural; the other, that the cause and reason be strong, proving a right birth, and necessary continuance; it being manifest that every Custom which is against the Law, had its beginning from evil deeds, and therefore not without the former considerations to be allowed. And it is true, that all customs of this nature, were but tolerated for a time, by the Law-makers, though they have been since continued; because posterity is not bound to examine by what cause their Ancestors were thereto moved. For, *Non sufficit simplex toleratio.* And it is in this sort over-ruled in the Law; *Per populum Consuetudo contra Legem induci non potest, nisi de voluntate illius qui novam Legem & novam Constitutionem statuere potest, qui solus Princeps est; The People cannot bring in a new custom against Law, save by his will, who hath power to make a new Law and Ordinance, which is only the Prince.*

Humane Law generally taken, to wit, humane Law written, is by some defined to be the decree or doom of practick Reason; by which humane actions are ruled and directed. *Papinian* calls the Law a common Precept, the advisement of wise Men, and the restraint of offences committed, either willingly or ignorantly. *Isidore* calls the Law, a Constitution written, agreeing with Religion, fittest for government and common profit; And more largely, *Omne id quod ratione constitit; All that stands with reason.*

Greg. de Val. ex Tho 9.91. art. 3 & 94. art. 2.

Lastly, and more precisely, it is thus defined. Humane Law is a righteous decree, agreeing with the Law natural and eternal, made by the rational discourse of those that exercise publick Authority; prescribing necessary observances to the subject. That every Law ought to be a righteous decree, S. *Augustine* teacheth, saying, *Mihi Lex esse non videtur, quæ justa non fuerit; It seems to be no Law at all to me, which is not just:* and just it cannot be, except it agree with the Law natural and eternal. For there is no Law just and legitimate (saith S. *Augustine*) which the Law-makers have not derived from the eternal. *Nihil justum atque Legitimum est, quod non ab æterna Lege sibi homines derivaverunt.*

Lib. 1. de li. arb. cap. 6.

Secondly, it ought to be constituted by discourse of Reason, whereby it is distinguished from the Law natural, to wit, the natural, demonstrable, or needing no demonstration, from whence the Law humane is taken and deduced.

Thirdly, that it ought to be made by an authorised Magistracy, it cannot be doubted, be the Government of what kind soever. For it falleth otherwise under the title of those Decrees called *Violentiæ*, or *iniquæ Constitutiones; Violence, or wicked Constitutions.*

4. Parts.

Of humane Law there are four properties, especially answering these four conditions in the former definition. First, as it is drawn out of the Law of Nature; so every particular of the humane Law may be resolved into some principle or rule of the natural.

Secondly, it is to be considered as it is referred unto, and doth respect the common good.

Thirdly, it is to be made by publick Authority.

Fourthly, concerning the matter of the Law, it prescribeth and directeth all humane actions. And so is the Law as large and divers, as all humane actions are divers, which may fall under it. For, according to *Thomas*, *Alia Lex* Julia *de Adulteriis*, *alia* Cornelii *de Sicariis*; *The Law of* Julian *against Adultery, is one; the* Cornelian *against Ruffians, is another.* Now, the humane Law generally taken, is in respect of these considerations, divided into the Law of Nations, and the Civil.

The Law of Nations is taken less or more properly; less properly for every Law which is not of it self, but from other higher principles deduced: and so it seemeth that *Ulpian* understands it: for he defineth *Jus Gentium*, or *the Law of Nations*, to be that which is only common amongst Men, as Religion, and the Worship of God; which is not in the very nature of this Law of Nations; but from the principles of the Scriptures, and other divine Revelations. But the Law of Nations properly taken, is that *dictate*, or *sentence*, which is drawn from a very probable, though not from an evident principle, yet so probable, that all Nations do assent unto the conclusion, as that the free passage of *Ambassadors* be granted between enemies, *&c.* Which National Law, according to divers acceptations, and divers considerations had of the humane Law, may be sometime taken for a *Species* of the Natural, sometime of the Humane.

Jus Civile, or the Civil Law, is not the same in all Common-wealths, but in divers Estates it is also divers and peculiar; and this Law is not so immediately derived from the Law of Nature, as the Law of Nations is: For, it is partly deduced out of such principles, as all Nations do not agree in, or easily assent unto; because they depend on particular circumstances, which are divers, and do not fit all Estates. Hereof *Ulpian*, *Jus Civile neque in totum à Naturali & Gentium recedit, neque per omnia ei servit: itaque cum aliquid addimus, vel detrahimus juri communi, jus proprium, id est, Civili efficimus; The Civil Law* (saith he) *doth neither wholly differ from the Law of Nature and Nations, nor yet in all points obey it; therefore, when we add ought to, or take from the Law that is common, we make a Law proper, that is, the Civil Law.* *In Leg. 6. to. ff. de Justitia. jur.*

The Law now commonly called the *Civil Law*, had its birth in *Rome*; and was first written by the *Decemviri*, 303 years after the Foundation of the City. It was compounded as well out of the *Athenian* and other *Grecian* Laws, as out of the antient *Roman* Customs and Laws *Regal*. The Regal Laws were devised by the first Kings, and called *Leges Regiæ*, or *Papyrianæ*, because they were gathered by *Papyrius*, *Traquin* then reigning. For, though so many of the former Laws as maintained Kingly Authority, were abolished with the name; yet those of *Servius Tullius*, for Commerce and Contracts, and all that appertained to Religion and common Utility, were continued, and were a part of the Laws of the twelve Tables. To these Laws of the twelve Tables, were added (as the times gave occasion) those made by the *Senate*, called *Senatus consulta:* those of the common People, called *Plebei-scita*, those of the Lawyers, called *Responsa-prudentum*; and the Edicts of the *Annual Magistrate*; which Edicts being first gathered and interpreted by *Julian*, and presented to *Adrian* the Emperor, they were by him confirmed, and made perpetual Laws, and the *Volume* styled, *Edictum perpetuum*; as those and the like collections of *Justinian* afterward were. *Dion. Hal.* *C. Signon. l. 1. our of Pomponius.*

The difference antiently between Laws and Edicts, which the *French* call *Reglements*, consisted in this, that Laws are the Constitutions made or confirmed by Soveraign Authority (be the Soveraignty in the People, in a few, or in one) and are withal general and permanent: but an Edict (which is but *Jussum Magistratus*, unless by authority it be made a Law) hath end with the *Officer* who made the same, saith *Varro*. *Qui plurimum Edicto tribuunt, Legem annuam esse dicunt; They who ascribe the most to an Edict, say that it is a Law for one year:* Though *Isidore* doth also express by the word *Constitutions* or *Edicts*, those Ordinances called *Acts of Prerogatives*; as, *Constitutio, vel Edictum est quod Rex, vel Imperator constituit, vel edicit; An Ordinance or Edict is that which a King or Emperour doth ordain, or proclaim.*

Lastly, the *humane Law* is divided into the *Secular*, and into the *Ecclesiastical*, or *Canon*. The *Secular*

lar commanding temporal good, to wit, the Peace and Tranquillity of the Common-weal; the *Eccleſiaſtical*, the ſpiritual good, and right government of the *Eccleſiaſtical Common-wealth*, or *Church*: *Illud naturæ legem, hoc divinam ſpectat*; *That reſpecteth the Law of Nature, this the Law of God.* And ſo may *Jus Civile* be taken two ways; Firſt, as diſtinguiſhed from the Law of Nations, as in the firſt diviſion: Secondly, as it is the ſame with the *Secular*, and diverſe from the *Eccleſiaſtical*. But this diviſion of the *School-men* is obſcure. For although the *Civil* be the ſame with the *Secular*, as the *Civil* is a Law, yet the *Secular* is more general, and comprehendeth both the *Civil*, and all other Laws not *Eccleſiaſtical*. For, of *Secular* Laws in uſe among *Chriſtian* Princes, and in *Chriſtian* Common-weals, there are three kinds; the *Civil*, which hath every where a voice, and is in all *Chriſtian* Eſtates (*England* excepted) moſt powerful; the Laws of *England*, called *Common*, and the Laws of Cuſtom, or *Provincial*. In *Spain*, beſides the Law *Civil*, they have the Cuſtoms of *Caſtile*, and other Provinces. In *France*, beſides the *Civil*, the Cuſtoms of *Burgundy*, *Bloys*, *Berri*, *Nivernois*, and *Lodunois*, &c. *Tous liez ſitues & aſſis en Lodunois, ſeront governez ſelon les Cuſtumes du dit pays*; *All places lying within the precincts of Lodunois, ſhall be governed according to the Cuſtoms of that place.* There are alſo in *France* the Cuſtoms of *Normandy*, and theſe of two kinds, General, and Local; and all purged and reformed by divers Acts of the three Eſtates. The *Charters* of confirmation of theſe antient Cuſtoms, before and ſince their reformation have theſe words: *Nos autem Regiſtrum prædictum, uſus laudabiles, & Conſuetudines antiquas*, &c. *laudamus, approbamus, & authoritate Regia confirmamus*; *The Regiſter aforeſaid, laudable uſe, and antient cuſtoms, we praiſe, approve, and by our Kingly Authority confirm.* The Common-Law of *England* is alſo compounded of the antient Cuſtoms of the ſame, and of certain *Maxims* by thoſe Cuſtoms of the Realm approved. Upon which Cuſtoms alſo are grounded thoſe Courts of *Record*, of the *Chancery*, *Kings Bench*, *Common Pleas*, and *Exchequer*, with other ſmall Courts.

Art. 3. tit. 5. G. Cuſt.

Theſe antient Cuſtoms of *England* have been approved by the Kings thereof from Age to Age: as that Cuſtom by which no man ſhall be taken, impriſoned, diſſeiſed, nor otherwiſe deſtroy'd, but he muſt firſt be put to anſwer by the Law of the Land, was confirmed by the *Statute* of *Magna Charta*. It is by the antient Cuſtom of *England*, that the eldeſt Sons ſhould inherit without partition. In *Germany*, *France*, and elſewhere otherwiſe, and by partition. In *Ireland*, it is the Cuſtom of all Lands (that have not been reſigned into the Kings hands) that the eldeſt of the Houſe ſhall enjoy the Inheritance during his own life; and ſo the ſecond and third eldeſt (if there be ſo many Brothers) before the Heir in lineal deſcent; this is called the Cuſtom of *Tanijtry*. For example, if a Lord of Land have four Sons, and the eldeſt of thoſe four have alſo a Son, the three Brothers of the eldeſt Son, after the death of their Brother, enjoy their Fathers Lands before the Grand-child: the Cuſtom being grounded upon the reaſon of neceſſity. For the *Iriſh* in former times, having always lived in a ſubdivided *Civil* War, nor onely the greateſt againſt the greateſt, but every *Baron* and *Gentleman* one againſt another, were enforc'd to leave Succeſſors of age and ability, to defend their own Territories. Now, as in *Normandy*, *Burgundy*, and other Provinces of *France*, there are certain peculiar and petty Cuſtoms, beſides the great and general Cuſtom of the Land, ſo are there in *England*, and in every part thereof. But the greateſt bulk of our Laws, as I take it, are the *Acts* of *Parliament*; Laws propounded and approved by the three Eſtates of the Realm, and confirmed by the King, to the obedience of which, all men are therefore bound, becauſe they are *Acts* of choice, and ſelf-deſire. *Leges nulla alia cauſa nos tenent, quàm quòd judicio Populi receptæ ſunt*; *The Laws do therefore bind the Subject, becauſe they are received by the judgment of the Subject. Tum demum humanæ Leges habent vim ſuam, cum fuerint non modò inſtitutæ, ſed etiam firmitæ approbatione Communitatis*; *It is then that humane Laws have their ſtrength, when they ſhall not onely be deviſed, but by the approbation of the People confirmed.*

Vlp. ff. de Leg. Leg. 32.

Aug. de vera relig. cap. 31. Gratian. in dec. diſt. 4. Cum in iſtis.

Iſidore faſneth theſe properties to every *Chriſtian* Law, that the ſame be honeſt, that it be poſſible, that it be according to Nature, and according to the cuſtom of the Countrey; alſo for the time and place, convenient, profitable, and manifeſt; and without reſpect of private profit, that it be written for the general good. He alſo gives four effects of the Law, which *Modeſtinus* comprehends in two; to wit, obligation, and inſtigation: the former binds us by fear, to avoid Vice; the latter encourageth with hope, to follow Vertue. For, according to *Cicero*, *Legem oportet eſſe vitiorum emendatricem, commendatricemque virtutum*: *It behooveth the Law to be a mender of Vices, and a commender of Vertue.* The part obligatory, or binding us to the obſervation of things commanded, or forbidden, is an effect common to all Laws; and it is two-fold: the one conſtraineth us by fear of our conſciences, the other by fear of external puniſhment. Theſe two effects the Law performeth, by the exerciſe of thoſe two powers, to wit, *Coactive* and *Directive*.

The ſecond of theſe two effects remembred by *Modeſtinus*, is *Inſtigation*, or incouragement to Vertue, as *Ariſtotle* makes it the end of the Law, to make men vertuous. For Laws being ſuch as they ought to be, do both by preſcribing and forbidding, urge us to well-doing; laying before us the good and the evil, by the one and the other purchaſed. And this power affirmative commanding good, and power negative forbidding evil, are thoſe into which the Law is divided, as touching the matter: and in which *David* comprehendeth the whole body and ſubſtance thereof: ſaying, *Declina à malo, & fac bonum, Decline from evil, and do good.*

Pſal. 37.

SECT. XVI.

That onely the Prince is exempt from humane Laws, and in what ſort.

NOw, whether the power of the humane Law be without exception of any perſon, it is doubtfully diſputed among thoſe that have written of this ſubject, as well *Divines* as *Lawyers*; and namely, whether Soveraign Princes be compellable, yea, or no? But whereas there are two powers of the Law, as aforeſaid; the one *Directive*, the other *Coactive*: to the power *Directive* they ought to be ſubject, but not to that which conſtraineth. For, as touching violence, or puniſhments, no man is bound to give a prejudicial judgment againſt himſelf; and, if equals have not any power over each other, much leſs have inferiours over their ſuperiours, from whom they receive their authority and ſtrength.

And ſpeaking of the ſupreme power of Laws; ſimply then is the Prince ſo much above the Laws, as the Soul and Body united, is above a dead and ſenſleſs Carkaſs. For the King is truly called, *Jus vivum, & Lex animata*: *An animate, and living Law.* But

this is true, that by giving authority to Laws, Princes both add greatneſs to themſelves, and conſerve it; and therefore was it ſaid of *Bracton* out of *Juſtinian*; *Meritò debet Rex tribuere legi quod Lex attribuit ei: nam Lex facit ut ipſe ſit Rex*; *Rightfully ought the King to attribute that to the Law, which the Law firſt attributeth to the King; for it is the Law that doth make Kings.*

Bract. l. 2.

But whereas *Bracton* aſcribeth this power to the humane Law, he is therein miſtaken. For Kings are made by God, and Laws divine; and by humane Laws onely declared to be Kings. As for the places remembred by the *Divines* and *Lawyers*, which infer a kind of obligation of Princes, they teach no other thing therein, than the bond of conſcience, and profit ariſing from the examples of vertuous Princes, who are to give an accompt of their actions to God onely.

Pſalm 50. Aff. de Leg.

Tibi ſoli peccavi, ſaith *David*; *againſt thee onely have I ſinned*; therefore the Prince cannot be ſaid to be ſubject to the Law: *Princeps non ſubjicitur Legi.* For ſeeing, according to the *School-men*, the Law humane, is but *quoddam organum, & inſtrumentum poteſtatis gubernativæ: non videtur poſſe ejus obligatio ad eum ſe extendere, ad quem ipſa vis poteſtatis humanæ non pertinet; ſed vis poteſtatis humanæ non ſe extendit ad gubernatorem, in quo illa reſidet. Ergo, neque Lex condita per talem poteſtatem obligari poteſt ipſum conditorem; Omnis enim potentia activa, eſt principium tranſmutandi aliud: Seeing humane Law (ſay they) is but a kind of Organ, or Inſtrument of the Power that governeth, it ſeems that it cannot extend it ſelf to bind any one, whom no humane power can control, or lay hold of: but the Governour himſelf, in whom the governing power doth reſide, is a perſon that cannot by himſelf, or by his own power, be controlled. And therefore the Law which is made by ſuch a power, cannot bind the Law-maker himſelf: for every active ability, is a cauſe or principle of alteration in another body*, not in the body in which it ſelf reſides. And ſeeing Princes have power to deliver others from the obligation of the Law; *Ergo, etiam poteſt ipſemet Princeps, ſive Legiſlator ſua ſe voluntate pro libito ab obligatione Legis liberare*; *Therefore alſo may a Prince, or Law-maker, at his own will and pleaſure, deliver himſelf from the bond of the Law.* Therefore in the rules of the Law it is thus concluded: *Subditi tenentur Leges obſervare neceſſitate coactionis; Princeps vero ſola voluntate ſua, & intuitu boni communis*; *The ſubjects are bound to fulfil the Law by neceſſity of compulſion; but the Prince only by his own will, and regard of the common good.*

Greg. Valentia de Leg.

Now, concerning the Politick Laws, given by *Moſes* to the Nation of the *Iſraelites*, whether they ought to be a Preſident, from which no civil Inſtitutions of other People ſhould preſume to digreſs, I will not preſume to determine, but leave it as a queſtion for ſuch men to decide, whoſe profeſſions give them greater ability. Thus much I may be bold to affirm, That we ought not to ſeem wiſer than God himſelf, who hath told us, that there are no Laws ſo righteous, as thoſe which it pleaſed him to give to his Elect People to be governed by. True it is, that all Nations have their ſeveral qualities, wherein they differ, even from their next borderers, no leſs than in their peculiar Languages; which diſagreeable conditions to govern aptly, one and the ſame Law very hardly were able. The *Roman* Civil Law did indeed contain in order a great part of the then known World, without any notable inconvenience, after ſuch time as once it was received and become familiar; yet was not the adminiſtration of it alike in all parts, but yielded much unto the natural Cuſtoms of the ſundry people which it governed. For, whether it be through a long continued perſwaſion; or (as *Aſtrologers* more willingly grant) ſome influence of the Heavens; or, peradventure, ſome temper of the ſoil and climate, affording matter of provocation to vice (as plenty make the *Sybarites* luxurious; want, and opportunity to ſteal, makes the *Arabians* to be Thieves) very hard it were to forbid by Law, an offence ſo common with any people, as it wanted a name whereby to be diſtinguiſhed from juſt and honeſt. By ſuch rigour was the Kingdom of *Congo* unhappily diverted from the Chriſtian Religion, which it willingly at the firſt imbraced, but after, with great fury rejected, becauſe plurality of Wives was denied unto them, I know not how neceſſarily, but more conſcientiouſly than ſeaſonably. In ſuch caſes, methinks it were not amiſs to conſider, that the high God himſelf permitted ſome things to the *Iſraelites*, rather in regard of their natural diſpoſition (for they were hard-hearted) than becauſe they were conſonant unto the antient Rules of the firſt perfection. So, where even the general Nature of Man doth condemn (as many things it doth) for wicked and unjuſt; there may the Law, given by *Moſes*, worthily be deemed the moſt exact reformer of the evil, which forceth Man, as near as may be, to the will and pleaſure of his Maker. But where Nature or Cuſtom hath entertained a vicious, yet not intolerable habit, with ſo long and ſo publick approbation, that the vertue oppoſing it would ſeem as uncouth, as it were to walk naked in *England*, or to wear the *Engliſh* faſhion of apparel in *Turkie*; there may a wiſe and upright Law-giver, without preſumption, omit ſomewhat that the rigour of *Moſes* Law required; even as the good King *Hezekiah* did, in a matter meerly *Eccleſiaſtical*, and therefore the leſs capable of diſpenſation, praying for the people; The good Lord be merciful unto him, that prepareth his whole heart to ſeek the Lord God, *the God of his Fathers*, though he be not cleanſed according to the purification of the Sanctuary: which Prayer the Lord heard and granted. *2 Chron. 30. 18, 19.*

To this effect it is well obſerved by Mr. Doctor *Willet*, that the moral Judicials of *Moſes* do partly bind, and partly ſet free. They do not bind affirmatively, that we are tied to the ſame ſeverity of puniſhment now, which was inflicted then; but negatively they do hold, that now the puniſhment of death ſhould not be adjudged, where ſentence of death is given by *Moſes*; Chriſtian Magiſtrates ruling under *Chriſt* the Prince of peace, that is, of Clemency and Mercy, may abate of the ſeverity of *Moſes* Law, and mitigate the puniſhment of death, but they cannot add unto it, to make the burthen more heavy: for to ſhew more rigour than *Moſes*, becometh not the Goſpel. *Iſai. 9.*

But I will not wander in this copious argument, which hath been the ſubject of many learned diſcourſes, neither will I take upon me, to ſpeak any thing definitively in a caſe which dependeth ſtill in ſome controverſie among worthy *Divines*. Thus much (as in honour of the Judicial Law, or rather of him that gave it) I may well and truly ſay, that the defence of it hath always been very plauſible. And ſurely, howſoever they be not accepted (neither were it expedient) as a general and onely Law; yet ſhall we hardly find any other ground, whereon the conſcience of a Judge may reſt, with equal ſatisfaction in making interpretation, or giving ſentence upon doubts ariſing out of any Law beſides it. Hereof, perhaps, that Judge could have been witneſs, of whom *Forteſcue*, that notable Bulwark of our Laws, doth ſpeak, complaining of a judgment given againſt a Gentlewoman at *Salisbury*; who being accuſed by her own man, without any other proof, for murthering her Husband, was thereupon condemned,

ned, and burnt to ashes: the man who accused her, within a year after, being convict for the same offence, confest that his Mistress was altogether innocent of that cruel fact, whose terrible death he then (though over-late) grievously lamented; but this Judge, saith
Cap. 5. 3. the same Author, *Sæpius ipse mihi fassus est, quod nunquam in vita sua animum ejus de hoc facto ipse purgaret; He himself often confessed unto me, that he should never, during his life, be able to clear his conscience of that fact.* Wherefore, that acknowledgment which other *Sciences* yield unto the *Metaphysicks*, that from thence are drawn Propositions, able to prove the principles of Sciences, which out of the Sciences themselves cannot be proved, may justly be granted by all other politick Institutions, to that of *Moses*; and so much the more justly, by how much the subject of the *Metaphysicks*, which is, *Ens quatenus Ens*; *Being as it is Being*; is infinitely inferiour to the *Ens Entium*; *The Being of Beings*, the only Good, the fountain of Truth, whose fear is the beginning of Wisdom. To which purpose, well saith S. *Augustine*, *Conditor Legum temporalium si vir bonus est, & sapiens, illam ipsam consulit æternam, de quâ nulli animæ judicare datum est; The Author of temporal Laws, if he be good and wise, doth therein consult the Law eternal, to determine of which, there is no power given to any Soul.* And as well Prince *Edward*, in *Fortescue* his Discourse, *Nemo potest melius, aut aliud fundamentum ponere, quàm posuit Dominus; No man can lay a better, or another foundation, than the Lord hath laid.*

CHAP. V.

The Story of the Israelites *from the receiving of the Law, to the death of* Moses.

SECT. I.

Of the numbring and disposing of the Host of Israel, *for their marches through the Wilderness; with a note of the reverence given to the Worship of God, in this ordering of their Troops.*

WHen *Moses* had received the Law from God, and published it among the People, and finished the Tabernacle of the *Ark*, and *Sanctuary*; he mustred all the Tribes and Families of *Israel*; and having seen what number of Men, fit to bear Arms, were found in every Tribe, from twenty years of age and upwards; he appointed unto them, by direction from the LORD, such Princes and Leaders, as in Worth and Reputation were in every Tribe most eminent. The number of the whole Army was 603550 able men for the Wars, besides Women and Children; also, besides the strangers which followed them out of *Egypt*. This great Army was divided by *Moses* into four gross and mighty Battalions, each of which contained the strength of three whole Tribes.

The first of these containing 186400 able Men, consisted of three Regiments, which may well, in respect of their number, be called Armies; as containing the three whole Tribes of *Judah*, *Issachar* and *Zabulun*. In the Tribe of *Judah* were 74600 fighting men, led by *Naasson*; in *Issachar*, 54400 led by *Nathaniel*; in *Zabulon* 57400 led by *Eliab*. All these marched under the Standard of the Tribe of *Judah*, who held the Vaunt-guard, and was the first that moved and marched, being lodged and quartered at their general encamping on the East-side of the Army, which was held the first place, and of greatest dignity.

The second Battalion or Army, called in the Scriptures, the host of *Reuben*, had joyned unto it *Simeon* and *Gad*, in number, 151450. All which marched under the Standard of *Reuben*. In the Tribe of *Reuben* were 46500 under *Elizur*; in *Simeon*, 59300 under *Shelumiel*; *Gad*, 45650 under *Eliasaph*: These had the second place, and encamped on the South-side of the Tabernacle.

The third Army marched under the Standard of *Ephraim*, to whom were joyned the Regiment of *Manasseh* and *Benjamin*; who joyned together, made in number, 108100 able men. These marched in the third place, encamping on the West quarter of the Tabernacle. *Ephraim* had 40500 under *Elishama*; *Manasseh* 32200 under *Gamaliel*; *Benjamin* 35400 under *Abidan*.

The fourth and last Army, or Squadron, of the general Army, containing 157600 able men, marched under the Standard of *Dan*; to whom were joyned the two Tribes of *Nephtali* and *Asher*. And these had the Rere-ward, and moved last, encamping on the North-side. *Dan* had 62700 under *Ahiezer*; *Asher* 41500 under *Pagiel*; *Nephtali* 53400 under *Ahira*.

Besides these Princes of the several Tribes, there were ordained Captains over Thousands, over Hundreds, over Fifties, and over Tens; as it may appear by that mutiny and insurrection against *Moses*; *Numb. 16. vers.* 1, and 2. For there arose up against *Moses* 250 Captains of the *Assembly*, *famous in the Congregation, and men of renown*; of which number were *Korah*, *Dathan* and *Abiram*. Which three principal Mutineers, with those 250 Captains that followed them, were not any of the Princes of the Tribes or general Colonels before spoken of, as by their names, *Numb.* 1. is made manifest.

The blessing which *Israel* gave to his children, took place not only in the division of the Land of Promise, and other things of more consequence, long after following; but even in sorting them under their several Standards in the Wilderness it was observed. For *Judah* had the precedency, and the greatest Army, which also was wholly compounded of the Sons of *Leah*, *Jacob*'s Wife. *Reuben* having lost his birthright, followed in the second place, accompanied with his brother *Simeon*, who had under-gone his Fathers curse; and with *Gad*, the Son of his Mothers Handmaid. *Joseph*, who, in temporal blessings, had the prerogative of the first-born, a double portion, was accompted as two Tribes, and divided into two Regiments; the younger (according to *Jacob*'s propheey) taking place before the elder, he was assisted by

by *Benjamin*, his beſt beloved brother, the other ſon of *Rachel*. To *Dan*, the eldeſt ſon of *Jacob*'s Concubines, was given the leading of the fourth Army, according to *Jacob*'s prophecy. He had with him under his Standard, none of the children of *Leah*, or *Rachel*, but only the ſons of the Hand-maids.

In the middle of theſe four Armies, was the Tabernacle, or portable Temple of the Congregation carried, ſurrounded by the *Levites*. Near unto which, as the *Heathens* and *Pagans* could not approach, by reaſon of theſe four powerful Armies which guarded the ſame; ſo was it death for any of the children of *Iſrael* to come near it, who were not of the *Levites*, to whom the charge was committed. So ſacred was the moveable Temple of God, and with ſuch reverence guarded and tranſported, as 22000 perſons were dedicated to the ſervice and attendance thereof, of which 8580 had the peculiar charge, according to their ſeveral Offices and Functions; the particulars whereof are written in the third and fourth of *Numbers*. And as the Armies of the People obſerved the former order in their incampings: ſo did the *Levites* quarter themſelves, as in an inner ſquare, on every ſide of the Tabernacle; the *Geſhurites* on the Weſt, within the Army, and Standard of *Ephraim*, over whom *Eliaſaph* commanded, in number 7500. The Family of *Kohath* on the South-ſide, guided by *Elizaphan*, within the Army of *Reuben*, and between him and the Tabernacle, in number 8600. The third Company were of the Family of *Merari*, over whom *Zuriel* commanded, in number 6200, and theſe were lodged on the North-ſide, within the Army of *Dan*. On the Eaſt-ſide, and next within thoſe Tribes and Forces which *Judah* led, did *Moſes* and *Aaron* lodge, and their children, who were the firſt and immediate Commanders, both of Ceremonies, and of the People; under whom, as the chief of all the other *Levitical* Families, was *Eleazar*, the ſon of *Aaron*, his ſucceſſor in the high Prieſthood.

This was the order of the Army of *Iſrael*, and of their encamping and marching; the Tabernacle being always ſet in the middle and center thereof. The reverend care which *Moſes* the Prophet and choſen ſervant of God, had in all that belonged even to the outward and leaſt parts of the Tabernacle, Ark, and Sanctuary, witneſſed well the inward and moſt humble zeal born towards God himſelf. The induſtry uſed in the framing thereof, and every and the leaſt part thereof; the curious workmanſhip thereon beſtowed; the exceeding charge and expence in the proviſions, the dutiful obſervance in the laying up, and preſerving the holy Veſſels; the ſolemn removing thereof; the vigilant attendance thereon, and the provident defence of the ſame, which all Ages have in ſome degree imitated, is now ſo forgotten and caſt away in this ſuper-fine Age, by thoſe of the *Family*, by the *Anabaptiſt*, *Browniſt*, and other *Sectaries*, as all coſt and care beſtowed and had of the Church, wherein God is to be ſerved and worſhipped, is accompted a kind of *Popery*, and as proceeding from an Idolatrous diſpoſition; inſomuch as time would ſoon bring to paſs (if it were not reſiſted) that God would be turned out of Churches into Barns, and from thence again into the Fields, and Mountains, and under the Hedges, and the Offices of the *Miniſtry* (robbed of all dignity and reſpect) be as contemptible as thoſe places; all Order, Diſcipline, and Church-government, left to newneſs of Opinion, and mens fancies; yea, and ſoon after, as many kinds of Religions would ſpring up, as there are Pariſh-Churches within *England*; every contentious and ignorant perſon clothing his fancy with the *Spirit of God*, and his imagination with the gift of *Revelation*; inſomuch, as when the *Truth*, which is but one, ſhall appear to the ſimple multitude, no leſs variable than contrary to it ſelf, the Faith of men will ſoon after die away by degrees, and all Religion be held in ſcorn and contempt. Which diſtraction gave a great Prince of *Germany* cauſe of this Anſwer to thoſe that perſwaded him to become a *Lutheran*; *Si me adjungo vobis, tunc condemnor ab aliis: ſi me aliis adjungo, à vobis condemnor; quid fugiam video, ſed quid ſequar, non habeo: If I adjoyn my ſelf to you, I am condemned by others; If I joyn with others, I am condemned by you: what I ſhould avoid I ſee, but I ſee not what I ſhould follow.*

SECT. II.

The offerings of the twelve Princes: the Paſſover of the ſecond year: the departing of Jethro.

NOw, when *Moſes* had taken order for all things neceſſary, provided for the ſervice of God, written the Laws, numbred his Army, and divided them into the Battels and Troups before remembred, and appointed them Leaders of all ſorts; The twelve Princes or Commanders of the Tribes, brought their offerings before the Lord, to wit, ſix covered Chariots, and twelve Oxen to draw them, therein to tranſport, as they marched, the parts of the Tabernacle, with all that belonged thereunto, the *Sanctuary* excepted, which for reverence was carried upon the ſhoulders of the Sons of *Korah*, to whom the charge was committed; and the Chariots, in which was conveyed the other parts of the Tabernacle and Veſſels thereto belonging, were delivered to the *Levites* for that ſervice, namely, to the ſons of *Gerſhan* and *Merari*. *Numb.* 6.

Beſides theſe Chariots, each of theſe Commanders, Princes, or Heads of Tribes, offered unto God, and for his ſervice in the Temple, a Charger of fine Silver, weighing 130 ſhekels; a ſilver Bowl of 70 ſhekels, after the ſhekel of the *Sanctuary*; and an Incenſe-Cup of Gold, of ten ſhekels, which they performed at the ſame time when the Altar was dedicated unto God by *Aaron*; and before they marched from *Sinai* towards their conqueſt, beſides the Beaſts which they offered for ſacrifice, according to the Law Ceremonial, the weight of all the twelve ſilver Chargers, and twelve ſilver Bowls, amounted unto 2400 ſhekels of ſilver; and the weight of gold in the Incenſe-Cups, to 120 ſhekels of gold; which makes of ſhekels of ſilver 1200, every ſhekel of gold valuing ten of ſilver; ſo that the whole of gold and ſilver which they offered at this time, was about four hundred and twenty pound ſterling. This done, *Moſes*, as in all the reſt, by the Spirit of God conducted, gave order for the celebrating of the *Paſſover*, which they performed on the fourteenth day of the ſecond Moneth of the ſecond Year; and on the twentieth day of the ſame, the Cloud was lifted up from above the Tabernacle, as a ſign of going forward; *Moſes* beginning his march with this invocation to God: *Riſe up, Lord, and let thine enemies be ſcattered; and let them that hate thee, flie before thee.* Then all the people of *Iſrael* removed from their encamping at the foot of the Mountain *Sinai*, towards *Paran*, the Army, or great ſquadron of *Juda*, led

The Hebrew *Gera's* weigheth ſixteen grains: ſo a *Gerah* of Silver is about three half pence ſterling: the *Sicle* of the Sanctuary (as it is expounded, *Exod.* 30. 13.) containeth 20 *Gerahs*, ſo a Sanctuary *Sicle* of ſilver is about 7 Groats, the common *Sicle* is but half as much, to wit, 10 *Gerahs*: as it is uſually expounded; though *Vallapandus* labours to prove that *Numb.* 10. 11. *Exod.* ult. 34. *Num.* 9. 17.

the common, and the Sanctuary *Sicle* were all one, *Numb.* 9. 5.

led by *Naaſhon*, taking the Vaunt-guard, followed by *Nathaniel* and *Eliab*, Leaders of the Tribes of *Iſſachar* and *Zabulon*; after whom the reſt marched, as in the Figure expreſs'd. And becauſe the paſſage through ſo many Deſarts and Mountains, was exceeding difficult: *Moſes* leaving nothing un-forethought, which might ſerve for the advancement of his enterpriſe, he inſtantly intreated his Father-in-Law, whom, in the tenth of *Numbers*, he calleth *Hobab*, to accompany them in their journey towards *Canaan*; promiſing him ſuch part and profit of the enterpriſe, as God ſhould beſtow on them: for this man, as he was of great underſtanding and judgement (as appeared by the counſel he gave to *Moſes* for the appointing of Judges over the People) ſo was he a perfect guide in all thoſe parts, himſelf inhabiting on the frontier thereof, at *Midian* or *Madian:* and (as it ſeemeth) a man of great years and experience; for he was then the Prieſt or Prince of *Madian*, when *Moſes* fled firſt out of *Egypt*, and married his Daughter, which was 42 years before this requeſt made. And though *Moſes* himſelf had lived 40 years in theſe parts of *Arabia*, through which he was now to travel; yet the better to aſſure his paſſage, and ſo great a multitude of ſouls, which could not be ſo few as a Million, it was neceſſary to uſe many guides, and many conductors. To this requeſt of *Moſes*, it may ſeem by the places, *Exod.* 18.27. and *Numb.* 10.30. that *Jethro*, otherwiſe called *Hobab*, yielded not; for it is evident, that he went back from *Moſes* into his own Countrey. But becauſe it appeareth by other places of Scripture, that the Poſterity of this *Hobab* was mingled with the *Iſraelites*, it is moſt likely that this his return to his own Countrey, was rather to fetch away his Family, and to take his leave of his own Countrey, by ſetting things in order, than to abide there.

Judic. 1. 16. & 4. 11. Alſo 1 *Sam.* 15 6. And 2 *Reg.* 10. 15. 1 *Chron.* 5. 55. *Jer* 35.

SECT. III.

The Voyage from Horeb *to* Kades; *the Mutinies by the way; and the cauſe of their turning back to the Red Sea.*

AFter this diſmiſſion of *Hobab*, *Iſrael* began to march towards the deſarts of *Paran*; and after three days wandring, they ſate down at the *Sepulchres* of luſt, afterward called *Taberra*, or *Incenſio*; by reaſon that God conſumed with fire thoſe Mutineers and Murmurers, which roſe up in this remove, which happened about the 23 day of the ſame Moneth. And from this 23 day of the ſecond Moneth of the ſecond year, they reſted, and fed themſelves with Quails (which it pleaſed God by a Sea-wind to caſt upon them) to the 24 day of the third Moneth; to wit, all the Moneth of *Sinan*, or *June*; whereof ſurſeiting, there died great numbers; from whence in the following Moneth, called *Thamus*, anſwering to our *July*, they went on to *Haſeroth*, where *Miriam* the ſiſter of *Moſes* was ſtricken with the Leproſie, which continued upon her ſeven days, after whoſe recovery *Iſrael* removed toward the border of *Idumæa*, and encamped at *Rithma*, near *Kades Barnea*, from whence *Moſes* ſent the twelve Diſcoverers into the Territory of *Canaan*, both to inform themſelves of the fertility and ſtrength of the Countrey; as alſo to take knowledge of the Ways, Paſſages, Rivers, Fords and Mountains. For *Arad*, King of the *Canaanites*, ſurprized divers companies of the *Iſraelites*, by lying in ambuſh near thoſe ways, through which the Diſcoverers and Searchers of the Land had formerly paſt. Now, after the return of the Diſcoverers of *Kades*, the wrath of God was turned againſt *Iſrael*; whoſe ingratitude and rebellion after his ſo many benefits, ſo many remiſſions, ſo many miracles wrought, was ſuch, as they eſteemed their deliverance from the *Egyptian* ſlavery, his feeding them, and conducting them through that great and terrible *Wilderneſs* (for ſo *Moſes* calleth it) with the Victory which he gave them againſt the powerful *Amalekites*, to be no other than the effects of his hatred, thinking that he led them on, and preſerved them, but to bring them, their Wives and Children to be ſlaughtered, and given for a prey and ſpoil to the *Amorites*, or *Canaanites*. For, it was reported unto them by the Searchers of the Land, that the Cities of their enemies were walled and defended with many ſtrong Towers and Caſtles, that many of the people were *Giant-like* (for they confeſs'd that they ſaw the Sons of *Anak* there) who were men of fearful ſtature, and ſo far over-topped the *Iſraelites*, as they appeared to them and to themſelves, but as Graſhoppers in their reſpect. Now, as this mutiny exceeded all the reſt, wherein they both accuſed God, and conſulted to chooſe them a Captain (or as they call it now adays an *Electo*) to carry them back again into *Egypt*; ſo did God puniſh the ſame in a greater meaſure, than any of the former. For he extinguiſhed every Soul of the whole multitude (*Joſua* and *Caleb* excepted) who being confident in Gods promiſes, perſwaded the people to enter *Canaan*, being then near it; and at the mountain foot of *Idumæa*, which is but narrow; laying before them the fertility thereof, and aſſuring them of Victory. But as men whom the paſſion of fear had bereaved both of reaſon and common ſenſe, they threatned to ſtone theſe encouragers to death; accompting them as men either deſperate in themſelves, or betrayers of the lives, goods, and children of all their brethren, to their enemies; but God reſiſted theſe wicked purpoſes, and interpoſing the fear of his bright Glory between the unadviſed fury of the Multitude, and the innocency and conſtancy of his Servants, preſerved them thereby from their violence; threatning an entire deſtruction of the whole Nation, by ſending among them a conſuming and mercileſs Peſtilence. For this was the tenth Inſurrection and Rebellion, which they had made, ſince God delivered them from the ſlavery of the *Egyptians*. But *Moſes* (the mildeſt or meekeſt of all men) prayed unto God to remember his infinite mercies; alleging, that this ſo ſevere a judgement, how deſervedly ſoever inflicted, would increaſe the pride of the heathen Nations, and give them occaſion to vaunt, that the God of *Iſrael* failingin power to perform his Promiſes, ſuffered them to periſh in theſe barren and fruitleſs Deſarts. Yet, as God is no leſs juſt than merciful, as God is ſlow to anger, ſo is his wrath a conſuming fire; the ſame being once kindled by the violent breath of man's ingratitude: and therefore, as with a hand leſs heavy than hoped for, he ſcourged this iniquity; ſo by the meaſure of his Glory (evermore jealous of neglect and deriſion) he ſuffered not the wicked to paſs unpuniſhed; reſerving his compaſſion for the innocent; whom, becauſe they participated not with the offences of their Fathers, he was pleaſed to preſerve, and in them to perform his Promiſes, which have never been fruſtrate.

Numb. 21. *Numb.* 14. 10. *Numb.* 14. 22. *Numb.* 1 *Numb.* 11. and 13. *Numb.* 12.

SECT.

SECT. IV.

Of their unwillingneſs to return; with the puniſhment thereof, and of divers accidents in the return.

NOw, when *Moſes* had revealed the purpoſes of God to the People, and made them know his heavy diſpleaſure towards them, they began to bewail themſelves, though over-late; the times of Grace and mens Repentance having alſo their appointment. And then when God had left them to themſelves, and was no more among them, after they had ſo often plaid and dallied with his merciful ſufferings, they would needs amend their former diſobedience by a ſecond contempt, and make offer to enter the Land, contrary again to the advice of *Moſes*; who aſſured them that God was not among them; and that the *Ark* of his Covenant ſhould not move, but by his direction, who could not err; and that the Enemies ſword, which God had hitherto bended, and rebated, was now left no leſs ſharp than death; and in the hands of the *Amalekites* and *Canaanites*, no leſs cruel. But as men from whom God hath with-drawn his Grace, do always follow thoſe counſels which carry them to their own deſtructions: ſo the *Hebrews*, after they had forſaken the opportunity by God and their Conductors offered; and might then have entred *Judæa* before their Enemies were prepared and joyned; did afterward, contrary to Gods Commandment, undertake the enterpriſe of themſelves, and ran head-long, and without advice, into the Mountains of *Idumæa*. There the *Canaanites* and the *Amalekites* being joyned, and attending their advantage, ſet on them, brake them, and of their numbers ſlaughtered the greateſt part: and following their victory and purſuit, conſumed them all the way of their flight, even unto *Hormah*: the *Amalekites*, in revenge of their former loſs and overthrow at *Raphidim*: the *Canaanites*, to prevent their diſplantation and deſtruction threatned. Of which powerful aſſembly of thoſe two Nations (aſſiſted in all likelihood with the neighbour Kings, joyned together for their common ſafety) it pleaſed God to forewarn *Moſes*, and to direct him another way, than that formerly intended. For he commanded him to return by thoſe painful paſſages of the Deſarts, through which they had formerly travelled, till they found the banks of the *Red Sea* again; in which retreat, before they came back to paſs over *Jordan*, there were conſumed eight and thirty years; and the whole number of the 600 and odd thouſand, which came out of *Egypt* (*Moſes*, *Joſua*, and *Caleb* excepted) were dead in the Wilderneſs, the ſtubborn and careleſs generation were wholly worn out, and the promiſed Land beſtowed on their children; which were increaſed to 600000 and more. For, beſides the double fault, both of refuſing to enter the Land upon the return of their Diſcoverers, and the preſumption then to attempt it, when they were countermanded: it ſeemeth that they had committed that horrible Idolatry of worſhipping *Moloch*, and the Hoſt of Heaven. For, although *Moſes* doth not mention it, yet *Amos* doth, and ſo doth the Martyr *Stephen*; as alſo that the *Iſraelites* worſhipped the Sun and Moon in after-times, it is proved out of ſundry other places.

Amos 5. 25 *Acts* 7. 42. 2 *King.* 17. 16. & *cap.* 21. *v.* 3. & *c.* 23. *v.* 4, 5, 11. 2 *Chron.* 33 3. *Jer.* 19. *v.* 13, &c.

Now, after the broken Companies were returned to the Camp at *Cades*, *Moſes*, according to the Commandmenr received from God, departed towards the South from whence he came, to recover the ſhoars of the *Red Sea*. And ſo from *Cades*, or *Rithma*, he removed to *Remmonparez*, ſo called of abundance of Pomegranates there found, and divided among them. From whence he went on to *Libnah*, taking that name of the Frankincenſe there found. From *Libnah* he croſſed the Valley, and ſate down at *Reſſa*, near the foot of the Mountain. And after he had reſted there, he bended towards the Weſt, and encamped at *Ceelata*; where one of the *Hebrews*, for gathering broken wood on the *Sabbath*, was ſtoned to death. After which, *Moſes* always keeping the Valley, between two great ledges of Mountains (thoſe which bound the Deſart of *Sin*, and thoſe of *Pharan*) croſs'd the ſame from *Ceelata*, and marched Eaſtward to the Mountain of *Sapher*, or *Sepher*; this making the twentieth Manſion. From thence he paſſed on to *Harada*; then to *Maceloth*; and then to *Thahah*, and ſo to *Thara*, or *Thare*; the four and twentieth Manſion. Where *Moſes* reſted, the people began that inſolent and dangerous mutiny of *Korah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*; who, for their contempt of God and his Miniſters, were ſome of them ſwallowed up alive, and by the earth, opening her mouth, devoured; others, even two hundred and fifty which offered Incenſe with *Korah*, were conſumed with fire from Heaven; and 14700 of their party, which murmured againſt *Moſes*, ſtricken dead with a ſudden peſtilence: one of the greateſt marvels and judgments of God that hath been ſhewed in all the time of *Moſes* his Government, or before. For among ſo great a multitude, thoſe lay-men, who would have uſurped Eccleſiaſtical authority, were ſuddenly ſwallowed up alive into the Earth, with their Families and Goods; even while they ſought to over-throw the Order, Diſcipline, and Power of the Church, and to make all men alike therein, rebelliouſly contending againſt the *High Prieſt and Magiſtrate*, to whom God had committed the government both of his Church, and Commonweal of his People. And the better to aſſure the people, and out of his great mercy to confirm them, it pleaſeth him in this place alſo to approve by miracle the former election of his ſervant *Aaron*, by the 12 Rods given by the Heads of the 12 Tribes; of which *Moſes* received one of every Head, and Prince of his Tribe: which, being all withered and dried Wands, and on every Rod the name of the Prince of the Tribe written, and *Aaron*'s on that of *Levi*, it pleaſed God, that the Rod of *Aaron* received, by his power, a vegetable ſpirit, and having lain in the Tabernacle of the Congregation before the *Ark* one night, had on it both Buds, Bloſſoms, and ripe Almonds. *Numb.* 33.

From *Tharah*, the whole Army removed to *Methra*; and thence to *Eſmona*; and thence to *Moſeſeroth* (or *Maſurit*, after S. *Jerom*) and from *Moſeroth* to *Benejacan*; and ſo to *Gadgad*, which *Jerom* calleth *Gadgada*; thence to *Jetabata*, the thirtieth Manſion; where, from certain fountains of water gathered in one, *Adricomius* maketh a River, which falleth into the *Red Sea*, between *Madian*, and *Aſiongaber*.

Now, although it be very probable, that at *Aſiongaber*, where *Solomon* furniſhed his Fleet for the *Eaſt-India*, there was ſtore of freſh water; and though *Herodotus* maketh mention of a great River in *Arabia the Stony*, which he calleth *Corys*, from whence (ſaith he) the Inhabitants convey water in Pipes of Leather to other places, by which device the King of *Arabia* relieved the Army of *Cambyſes*; yet is *Adrichomius* greatly deceived, as many times he is, in finding theſe Springs at *Gadgad*, or *Jetabata*, being the nine and twentieth, or thirtieth Manſion. For it was at *Punon*, that thoſe Springs are ſpoken of, which in *Herod. l.* 3.

Deuteronomy

Deuteronomy the tenth, and the seventh Verse, is also called *Jetabata*, or *Jotbah*, a Land of running Waters, and which by all probability fall into the River *Zared*, the next adjoining. And that these Springs should fall into the *Red Sea* at *Asiongaber*, or *Eloth*, I cannot believe, for the way thither is very long. And this I find in *Belonius*, that there are divers Torrents of fresh Water in those sandy parts of *Arabia*; which though they continue their course for a few miles, yet they are drunk up by the hot and thirsty sand, before they can recover the banks of the *Red Sea*.

From *Jetabata*, *Moses* directed his journey towards the *Red Sea*, and encamped at *Hebrona*, and from thence to *Esiongaber*; which City in *Josephus* time, had the name of *Berenice*; and in *Hieroms*, *Essia*. From thence, keeping the Sea, and *Eloth* on his right hand, he turned towards the North, as he was by God commanded; *Esiongaber* being the fartheſt place towards the South-East, that *Moses* travelled in that passage. *Deut. 2.*

It seemeth that *Esiongaber*, or *Asiongaber*, *Eloth* and *Madian*, were not at this time in the possession of the Kings of *Edom*. For it is said, *That the Lord spake unto* Moses *and* Aaron *in the Mount Hor, near the coast of the Land of Edom*; so as the Mount *Hor* was at this time in the South border of *Idumæa*. And if *Esiongaber*, and the other places near the *Red Sea*, had at this present been subject unto the *Idumæans*, *Moses* would also have demanded a free passage through them. It is true, that in the future the *Idumæans* obtained those places; for it is said; *And they arose out of Midian, and came to Paran, and took Men with them*; which were those Companies that followed young *Adad* of *Idumæa* into *Egypt*, when he fled from *Joab*. Likewise it is said of *Solomon*, that he made a Navie of Ships in *Esiongaber*, besides *Eloth*, in the Land of *Edom*. *Numb. 20. 13.* *1 Kings 11. 18.*

SECT. V.

Of Moses *arrival at Zin Cades: and of the accidents while that they abode there.*

FRom *Esiongabar* he turned again towards the North, and pitched in the *Wilderness* of *Zin*, which is *Kadesh*; or in *Beroth*, of the Children of *Jacan*; where the sate down in the first Month of the fortieth Year, after they left *Egypt*. For, at the next Mansion, *Aaron* died in the first day of the fifth Month of the fortieth Year; the nine and thirtieth Year taking end at *Esiongaber*. And at this City of *Cades* (for so it was thought to be) or near it, died *Miriam*, or *Mary*, *Moses* Sister, whose Sepulcher was to be seen in St. *Hieroms* time, as himself avoweth. From hence, ere they departed to the Mountain *Hor*, all the People murmured most violently against *Moses*, by reason of the scarcity of Water. For neither the punishments by Fire from Heaven; nor being devoured and swallowed up by the Earth by the sudden Pestilence, which often seazed them; nor any miracle formerly shewing, either the love or wrath of God, could prevail with this Nation any longer, than while they were full fed and satisfied in every of their appetites; but in stead of seeking for help and relief at Gods hands, when they suffered hunger, thirst, or any other want, they murmured, repined, and rebelled, repenting them of their changed estates, and casting ungratefully on *Moses* all their misadventures; yea, though they well knew that their own Fathers had left their Bodies in the Desarts, and they were now entred into the fortieth Year, wherein all their miseries were to take end. And being, as it were, in sight of the Land promised, they again as obstinately tempted God as in former times; and neither trusted his promises, nor feared his indignation. But as the will and purposes of God are without beginning; so his mercies being without end, he commanded *Moses* to strike a Rock adjoining, with his Rod, and the Waters issued out in great abundance, with which both themselves and their Cattel were satisfied. Nevertheless, because God perceived a kind of diffidence both in *Moses* and *Aaron* at this place; therefore he permitted neither of them to enter the Land promised, whereto perchance their worldly desires might invite them. But it pleased him to end the travels of *Aaron* at the Mountain *Hor*, being the next, and the four and thirtieth Station. At which Mountain *Hor*, *Aaron* was despoiled of the garments of his Priesthood, and the same put on *Eleazar* his Son, as God hath commanded. Which done, *Moses* and *Eleazar* descended the Mountain; but God received *Aaron* on the top thereof, and he was no more seen. *Numb. 20. 9.* 2553.

Of this Mountain called *Hor*, otherwise *Mosera*, as in *Deut. 10. vers. 6.* those *Horites* took name, which the *Idumæans* had formerly vanquished. Some there are which make *Mosera*, which was the seven and twentieth Mansion; and *Mosera*, which they write *Moseroth*, for difference, which was the four and thirtieth Mansion, and is also called *Hor*, to be two distinct places; because *Moses* in passing from *Cadesbarne* towards *Esiongaber*, encamped at *Mosera*, after he departed from *Hesmona*, and before he came to *Benjaacan*. And this *Mosera*, which is also called *Hor*, he came unto after he had left *Cadas*, where *Miriam*, *Moses* Sister, died; the first being the seven and twentieth, and the second being the four and thirtieth Mansion. But for *Hor*, which is also called *Mosera*, it should have been written, *Hor juxta Mosera*, *Hor near Mosera*; for it is but one Root of a Mountain, divided into divers tops, as *Sinai* and *Horeb* are; Whereof the West part *Moses* calleth *Mosera*, and the East part *Horeb*. By the West part *Moses* encamped, as he past towards the *Red-Sea* on his left hand; by the East part, as he went back again North-wards towards *Moab*, as in the description of *Moses* his passage through *Arabia*, the Reader may perceive. *Numb. 33.*

Now it was from *Cades* before they came to *Hor*, because *Hor* belonged to *Edom*, that *Moses* sent messengers to the Prince of *Idumæa*, praying him that he might pass with the People of *Israel* through his Territory into the Land of *Canaan*, which bordered it. For it was the neareſt way of all other from the City of *Kadesh*, where *Moses* then encamped; whereas otherwise taking his journey by the Rivers of *Zared*, *Arnon* and *Jordan*, he might have run into many hazards in the passage of those Rivers, the far way about, and the many powerful Kings, which commanded in those Regions. Now, the better to perswade the Prince of *Idumæa* hereunto, *Moses* remembred him, that he was of the same Race and Family with *Israel*; calling him by the name of Brother, because both the *Edomites* and *Israelites* were the Sons of one Father, to wit, *Isaac*; inferring thereby, that he had more reason to favour and respect them, than he had to assist the *Canaanites*; against whom, *Esau* his Ancestor had made Warr, and driven out the *Horites* (who were of their antient Races descended of *Cham*) out of the Region of *Seir*, calling it by his own name, *Edom*, or *Idumæa*. He also making a short repetition of Gods blessings bestowed on them, and of his purposes; and promises assured *Edom*, or

the King thereof that he would no way offend his People, or waſte his Country, but that he would reſtrain his Army within the bounds of the Common, and Kings high-ways, paying Money for whatſoever he uſed, yea, even for the Water which themſelves or their Cattel ſhould drink. For *Moſes* was commanded by God, not to provoke the Children of *Eſau*. But the King of *Idumæa* knowing the ſtrength of his own Countrey, the ſame being near *Canaan*, rampir'd with high and ſharp Mountains; and withal ſuſpecting, as a natural wiſe Man, that 600000 ſtrangers being once entred his Countrey, it would reſt in their wills to give him Law, reſolvedly refuſed them paſſage, and delivered this anſwer to the Meſſengers: That, if they attempted to enter that way, he would take them for enemies, and reſiſt them by all poſſible means. And not knowing whether ſuch a denial might ſatisfie or exaſperate, he gathered the ſtrength of his Countrey together, and ſhewed himſelf prepared to defend their paſſage. For, as it is written, *Then* Edom *came out againſt him* (to wit, *Moſes*) *with much People, and with a mighty Power.* Whereupon *Moſes* underſtanding, that the end of his enterpriſe was not the conqueſt of *Seir*, or *Idumæa*, and that the Land promiſed, was that of *Canaan*: like unto himſelf, who was of natural underſtanding the greateſt of any Man, and the skilfulleſt Man of War that the World had, he refuſed to adventure the Army of *Iſrael* againſt a Nation, which being overcome, gave but a paſſage to invade others; and which, by reaſon of the ſeat of their mountainous Countrey, could not but have endangered, or (at leaſt) greatly enfeebled the ſtrength of *Iſrael*, and rendred them leſs able, if not altogether powerleſs, to have conquered the reſt.

Deut. 2 4.

Numb. 20. 20, 21.

Numb. 20.

SECT. VI.

Of their compaſſing Idumæa, *and travelling to* Arnon, *the border of* Moab.

HE therefore leaving the way of *Idumæa*, turned himſelf towards the Eaſt, and marched towards the Deſarts of *Moab*. Which, when *Arad* the King of the *Canaanites* underſtood, and that *Moſes* had blanched the way of *Idumæa*; and knowing that it was *Canaan*, and not *Edom*, which *Iſrael* aimed at, he thought it ſafeſt, rather to find his Enemies in his Neighbours Countrey, than to be found by them in his own; which he might have done with a far greater hope of victory, had *Moſes* been enforced firſt to have made his way by the Sword through *Idumæa*, and thereby though victorious, greatly have leſſened his numbers. But although it fell out otherwiſe than *Arad* hoped for, yet, being reſolved to make trial, what courage the *Iſraelites* brought with them out of *Egypt*, before they came nearer his own home; leading the ſtrength of his Nation to the edg of the Deſart, he ſet upon ſome part of the Army; which, for the multitude occupied a great ſpace, and for the many heards of Cattel that they drave with them, could not encamp ſo near together, but that ſome quarter or other was evermore ſubject to ſurpriſe. By which advantage, and in that his attempts were then perchance unexpected, he ſlew ſome few of the *Iſraelites*, and carried with him many Priſoners.

Now, it is very probable, that it was this *Canaanite*, or his Predeceſſor, which joyned his forces with the *Amalekites*, and gave an overthrow to thoſe mutinous *Iſraelites*, which, without direction from God by *Moſes*, would have entred *Canaan* from *Cadesbarne*. For it ſeemeth, that the greateſt number of that Army were of the *Canaanites*, becauſe in the firſt of *Deuteronomy* 44 the *Amorites* are named alone without the *Amalekites*, and are ſaid to have beaten the *Iſraelites* at that time. And this *Arad*, if he were the ſame that had a victory over *Iſrael* near *Cadesbarne*; or, if it were his Predeceſſor that then prevailed; this Man finding that *Moſes* was returned from the *Red Sea*, and in his way towards *Canaan*, and that the South part of *Canaan* was firſt to be invaded, and in danger of being conquered, not knowing of *Moſes* purpoſe to paſs *Moab*, determined, while he was yet in the Deſart, to try the quarrel. And whereas it followeth in the third Verſe of the twelfth Chapter of *Numbers* that the *Iſraelites* utterly deſtroyed the *Canaanites*, and their Cities, they are much miſtaken that think, that this deſtruction was preſently performed by the *Iſraelites*. But it is to be underſtood, to have been done in the future, to wit, in the time of *Joſua*. For, had *Moſes* at this time entred *Canaan* in the purſuit of *Arad*, he would not have fallen back again into the Deſarts of *Zin* and *Moab*, and have fetch'd a wearisome and needleſs compaſs, by the Rivers of *Zared* and *Arnon*.

Numb. 14. 45.

Neither is their conjecture to be valued at any thing, which affirm, that *Arad* did not inhabit any part of *Canaan* it ſelf, but that his Territory lay without it, and near to the Mountain *Hor*. For, *Hor* and *Zin Cades* were the South borders of *Edom*, and not of *Canaan*. And it was in the South of the Land of *Canaan*, that *Arad* dwelt; which South part of *Canaan* was the North part of *Edom*. *Numb.* 33. 40.

Again, *Horma* (for ſo far the *Iſraelites*, after their victory purſued the *Canaanites*) is ſeated in the South of *Judæa*. There is alſo a City of that name in *Simeon*. But there is no ſuch place to the South of *Edom*. And were there no other argument, but the mutiny which followed preſently after the repetition of this Victory, it were enough to prove, that the ſame was obtained in the future, and in *Joſua* his time, and not at the inſtant of *Arads* aſſault. For, had the *Iſraelites* at this time ſack'd the Cities of *Arad*, they would not the next day have complained for want of Water and Bread. For where there are great Cities, there is alſo Water and Bread. But it was in the time of *Joſua*, that the *Iſraelites* took their revenge, and after they had paſſed *Jordan*; *Joſua* then governing them, who in the twelfth Chapter and fourteenth Verſe nameth this *Arad* by the name of his City ſo called, and with him the King of *Horma*; to which place the *Iſraelites* purſued the *Canaanites*. And he named them amongſt thoſe Kings, which he vanquiſhed, and put to death.

Now, after this aſſault and ſurprize by *Arad*, *Moſes* finding that all entrance on that ſide was defended, he led the People Eaſtward to compaſs *Idumæa*, and the *Dead Sea*, and to make his entrance by *Arnon* and the Plains of *Moab*, at that time in the poſſeſſion of the *Amorites*. But the *Iſraelites*, to whom the very name of a Deſart was terrible, began again to rebel againſt their Leader; till God by a multitude of fiery Serpents (that is, by the biting of Serpents, whoſe Venom inflamed them, and burnt them as Fire) made them know their error, and afterward, according to his plentiful grace, cured them again by their beholding an artificial Serpent, by his Commandment ſet up.

From the *Mount Hor*, *Moſes* leaving the ordinary way which lyeth between the *Red Sea* and *Cœloſyria*, encamped at *Zalmona*; and thence he removed to *Punon*, where he erected the Brazen Serpent; making theſe journies by the edg of *Idumæa*, but without it.

it. For *Phunon* was ſometime a principal City of the *Edomites*. Now, where it is written in *Numb.* 21.4. *That from Mount Hor they departed by the way of the Red Sea, which grieved the People*, it was not thereby meant, that the *Iſraelites* turned back towards the *Red Sea*; neither did they march (according to *Fonſeca*) *per viam quæ habet à latere mare rubrum, by the way that ſided the Red Sea*; but indeed they croſs'd, and went athwart the common way from *Galaad*, *Traconitis*, and the Countries of *Moab*, to the *Red Sea*, that is, to *Eſiongaber*, *Eloth*, and *Midian*; which way, as it lay North and South, ſo *Iſrael* to ſhun the border of *Edom*, and to take the utmoſt Eaſt part of *Moab*, croſſ'd the common way towards the Eaſt, and then they turned again towards the North, as before.

From *Phunon* he went to *Oboth*, where he entred the Territory of *Moab*, adjoining to the Land of *Suph*, a Countrey bordering on the *Dead Sea*; and from thence to *Abarim*, the eight and thirtieth Manſion, that is, where the Mountains ſo called take beginning, and are as yet but ſmall Mountures of Hills, on the Eaſt border of *Moab*; from thence they recovered *Dibon Gad*, or the River of *Zared*, which riſeth in the Mountains of *Arabia*, and runneth towards the *Dead Sea*, not far from *Petra* the *Metropolis* thereof, being the nine and thirtieth Station. And having paſs'd that River, they lodged at *Dibon Gad*, and from thence they kept the way to *Diblathaim*, one of the Cities of *Moab*; which *Jeremy* the Prophet, *Chap.* 48. *Verſ.* 22. calleth the *Houſe of Diblathaim*, the ſame which afterward was deſtroyed among the reſt by *Nebuchadnezzar*. From thence they came to the River *Arnon*, and encamped in the Mountains of *Abarim*; though in the 22 of *Numbers*, *Moſes* doth not remember *Helmondiblathaim*, but ſpeaketh of his remove from the River of *Zared*, immediately to the other ſide of *Arnon*; calling *Arnon* the border of *Moab*, between them and the *Amorites*; ſpeaking as he found the ſtate of the Countrey at that time. For *Arnon* was not antiently the border of *Moab*, but was lately conquered from the *Moabites*, by *Sehon* King of the *Amorites*; even from the Predeceſſor of *Balac Peor* then raigning. From *Diblathaim*, *Moſes* ſent meſſengers to *Sehon*, King of the *Amorites*, to deſire a paſſage through his Countrey; which, though he knew would be denyed him, yet he deſired to give a reaſon to the neighbour Nations of the War he undertook. And though *Edom* had refuſed him as *Sehon* did, yet he had no warrant from God to enforce him. *Moſes* alſo in ſending meſſengers to *Sehon*, obſerved the ſame precept which he left to his Poſterity and Succeſſors, for a Law of the War; namely, in *Deut.* 20. 10. in theſe words; *When thou comeſt neer unto a City to fight againſt it, thou ſhalt offer it peace; which if it do accept of, and open unto thee, then let all the People found therein be tributaries unto thee, and ſerve thee; but if it refuſe*, &c. *thou ſhalt ſmite all the Males thereof with the edg of the Sword.* Which Ordinance all Commanders of Armies have obſerved to this day, or ought to have done.

SECT. VII.

Of the Book of the Battels of the Lord, mentioned in this Story, and of other Books mentioned in Scripture, which are loſt.

NOw, concerning the War between *Iſrael* and *Sehon*, *Moſes* ſeemeth to refer a great part of this Story to that Book, entituled, *Liber Bellorum Domini*; *The Book of Gods Battels*: and therefore paſſeth over many encounters, and other things memorable, with greater brevity in this place. His words, after the *Geneva* Tranſlation, are theſe: *Wherefore it ſhall be ſpoken in the Book of the Battels of the Lord, what things he did in the Red Sea, and in the Rivers of Arnon.* The *Vulgar* Copy differeth not in ſenſe from this: But the *Greek Septuagint* vary. For the *Greek* writes it to this effect; *For thus it is ſaid in the Book: The War of the Lord hath burnt (or inflamed) Zoob, and the Brooks of Arnon.* *Junius* for the *Red Sea*, which in the *Genevian* and *Vulgar Edition*, names the Region of *Suph*, a Countrey bordering the *Dead Sea* towards the Eaſt, as he conjectureth. The Text, he readeth thus. *Idcircò dici ſolet in recenſione bellorum* Jehovæ, *contra* Vahebum *in Regione* Suph; *& contra flumina, flumina Arnonis*; *Therefore is it ſpoken in repeating of the Battels of* Jehovah, *againſt* Vaheb *in the Countrey of* Suph, *and againſt the Rivers, the Rivers of Arnon.* In which words he underſtands, that amongſt the Warrs which the Lord diſpoſed for the good of the *Iſraelites*, there was in thoſe times a famous memory in the mouth of moſt Men, concerning the War of *Sehon* againſt *Vaheb*, the King of the *Moabites*, and of his winning the Countrey near *Arnon*, out of the poſſeſſion of the *Moabites*. For this *Vaheb* was the immediate Predeceſſor of *Balac*, who lived with *Moſes*; though it be written that this *Balac* was the Son of *Zippor*, and not of *Vaheb*. For, it ſeems (as it is plain in the ſucceſſion of the *Edomites*) that theſe Kingdoms were elective, and not ſucceſſive. And as *Junius* in this Tranſlation underſtandeth no ſpecial Book of the Battels of the Lord: ſo others, as *Vatablus* in his Annotations, doubt whether in this place any ſpecial Book be meant; and if any, whether it be not a prediction of Wars in future ages, to be waged in theſe places, and to be written in the Book of *Judges*. *Syracides cap.* 46. tells us plainly, that thoſe Battels of the Lord were fought by *Joſua*; *Who was there* (ſaith he) *before him like to him? for he fought the Battels of the Lord.* But ſeeing the Hiſtories of the Scripture elſewhere often paſs over matters of great weight in few words, referring the Reader to other Books witten of the ſame matter at large; therefore it ſeemeth probable, that ſuch a Book as this there was; wherein the ſeveral victories by *Iſrael* obtained, and alſo victories of other Kings, making way for the good of the *Iſraelites*, were particularly and largely written. And that the ſame ſhould now be wanting, it is not ſtrange, ſeeing ſo many other Volumes, filled with divine diſcourſe, have periſhed in the long race of time, or have been deſtroyed by the ignorant and malicious Heathen Magiſtrates. For the Books of *Henoch*, howſoever they have been in later ages corrupted, and therefore now ſuſpected, are remembred in an Epiſtle of *Thaddæus*, and cited by *Origen*, ἐν ἀρχῶν, and by *Tertullian*.

That work alſo of the Patriarch *Abraham*, *of Formation*, which others beſtow on *Rabbi Achiba*, is no where found. The Books remembred by

Numb. 21. 14.

Numb. 21. Of the Countrey of *Suph*, ſee more *cap.* 1. *ſect.* 4. ‖ 2. and of the force of the word *Suph*, alſo *Chap.* 18. *Sect.* 3.

Numb. 21. 26.

1 *Chron.* 1.

Joshua, *Chap.* 10. *Vers.* 13. and in the second of *Samuel*, *Chap.* 1. *Vers.* 18. called the Book of *Jasher*, or *Justorum*, is also lost; wherein the stay of the Sun and Moon in the middest of the Heavens is recorded, and how they stood still till *Israel* had avenged themselves of their enemies; out of which also *David* took the Precept of teaching the Children of *Judah* to exercise their Bows against their Enemies.

Some think this to be the Book of eternal Predestination, in which the Just are written, according unto the sixty and ninth *Psalm*, *Vers.* 28. where it is said; *Let them be put out of the book of Life, neither let them be written with the Righteous.* *Jerom* thinks that *David* by this Book, understood those of *Samuel*; *Rabbi Solomon*, that the Books of the Law are thereby meant, in which the acts of the just *Abraham*, of *Isaac*, *Jacob*, and *Moses* are written. Others, that it was the Book of *Exodus*. Others, as *Theodoretus*, that it was a Commentary upon *Joshua*, by an unknown Author.

Hier. in queſt. ſuper lib. Reg.

The Book of *Chozai*, concerning *Manasseh*, remembred in the second of *Chron. Chap.* 33. *v.* 18, and 19th. Of this Book, also lost, *Jerom* conceives, that the Prophet *Esay* was the Author.

Hier. in annot. in Paralip.

The same mischance came as well to the Story of *Solomon*, written by *Abia Silonites*, who met with *Jeroboam*, and foretold him of his obtaining the Kingdom of *Israel* from the Son of *Solomon*. As to the Books of *Nathan* the Prophet, and to those of *Jeedo* the *Seer*, remembred in the second of *Chron. Chap.* 9. *Vers.* 29. With these have the Books of *Shemaiah* and of *Iddo*, remembred in the second of *Chro. Chap.* 12. *Vers.* 15. perished; and that of *Jehu* the Son of *Hanani*, of the acts of *Jehosaphat*, cited in the second of *Chron. Chap.* 20. *Vers.* 34. Also that Book of *Solomon*, which the *Hebrews* write *Hasirim*, of 5000 Verses, of which, that part called *Canticum Canticorum*, onely remaineth, 1 *Kings* 4. 32. and with this, divers others of *Solomon*'s works have perished, as his Book of the natures of Trees, Plants, Beasts, Fishes, &c. 1 *Kings* 4. 33. with the rest remembred by *Origen*, *Josephus*, *Jerom*, *Cedrenus*, *Ciccus Asculanus*, *Picus Mirandula*, and others.

Of these, and other Books many were consumed with the same fire, wherewith *Nebuchadnezzar* burnt the Temple of *Jerusalem*. But let us return thither where we left.

SECT. VIII.

Of Moses *his sparing the issue of* Lot; *and of the Giants in those parts*; *and of* Sehon *and* Og.

WHen *Moses* had past *Arnon*, he incamped on the other side thereof at *Abarim*, opposite to the City of *Nibo*; leaving the City of *Midian* on the left hand, and attempting nothing upon the *Moabites* on that side. For *Moab* did at this time inhabit on the South-side of *Arnon*, having lost all his antient and best Territory, which was now in the possession of *Sehon* the *Amorite*. For *Moses* was commanded by God not to molest *Moab*, neither to provoke them to battel, God having given that Land to the children of *Lot*; the same which was antiently possest by the *Emims*, who were men of great stature, and comparable to those Giants called *Anakims*, or the sons of *Anak*.

Deut. 2. 9, 10, 11, 12.

God also commanded *Moses* to spare the *Ammonites*, because they likewise were descended of *Lot*: who had expelled from thence those Giants, which the *Ammonites* called *Zamzummims*. For it seemeth that all that part, especially to the East of *Jordan*, even to the Desart of *Arabia*, as well on the West, as on the East-side of the Mountains of *Gilead*, was inhabited by Giants. And in the plantation of the Land promised, the *Israelites* did not at any time pass those Mountains to the East of *Basan*, but left their Countrey to them, as in the description following is made manifest. We find also, that as there were many Giants both before and after the floud: so these Nations, which antiently inhabited both the border of *Canaan*, and the Land it self, had among them many Families of Giant-like men. For the *Anakims* dwelt in *Hebron*, which sometimes was called the City of *Arbah*, which *Arbah* in *Joshua* is called the father of the *Anakims*; and the greatest man of the *Anakims*. There had also been Giants in the Land of the *Moabites*, called *Emims*: and their chief City was *Aroer* or *Ar*, near the River of *Arnon*. To the Giants of the *Rephaims*, the *Ammonites* gave the name of *Zamzummims*; which were of the same antient *Canaanites*: and their chief City was *Rabba*, afterward *Philadelphia*. They were also called *Zuzims*, which is as much to say, as *Viri robusti, horrendique Gigantes*; *Strong men, and fearful Giants*, who inhabited other Cities of *Ham*, or *Hom*, in the same Province, and not far to the North of *Aroer*.

Jos. 15. *v.* 13, 14, 15.

Now *Moses* having past *Arnon*, and being incamped at *Abarim*; and having (as before) sent to *Sehon*, as he had done to *Edom*, to pray a passage through his Countrey, was denied it. For *Sehon* being made proud by his former conquest upon *Vaheb* the *Moabite*; which Nation the *Amorites* esteemed but as Strangers and Usurpers, (themselves being of the sons of *Canaan*, and the *Moabites* of *Lot*) refused to grant *Israel* any entrance that way; and withall, prepared to encounter *Moses* with as much speed as he could, because *Moses* incamped in the Countrey of his new Conquests, to wit, the Plains of *Moab*, the two and fortieth and last Mansion: which *Moses* wasted with the multitude of his people and cattel. Towards him therefore hasting himself, they encountred each other at *Jahaz*: where *Sehon* with his children and people were broken and discomfited, and the victory so pursued by *Moses*, as few or none of the *Amorites* escaped. He also slaughtered all the Women and Children of the *Amorites*, which he found in *Essebon*, and all the other Cities, Villages, or Fields; they being of the race of *Canaan*, as those of *Basan* also were, and descended of *Emoreus*, or *Amoreus*: for *Moses* calleth the *Basanites* also *Amorites*. And although *Israel* might now have taken a ready way and passage into *Judæa*, being at this time, and after this victory, at the banks of *Jordan*: yet he knew it to be perillous to leave so great a part of that Nation of the *Amorites* on his back, as inhabited all the Region of *Basan*, or *Traconitis*: and therefore he led on his Army to invade *Og*, a person of exceeding strength and stature, and the only man of mark remaining of the antient Giants of those parts, and who at that time had 60 Cities walled and defenced: lying between the Mountain of *Hermon* (which Mountain, saith *Moses*, the *Sidonians* call *Shirion*, and the *Amorites*, *Shenir*) and the River of *Jordan*. And it befell unto the King of *Basan* (who attended *Moses* coming at *Edræi*) as it did unto *Sehon*: for he and his sons perished, and all his Cities were taken and possest. After this, *Moses* with-drawing himself back again to the Mountains of *Abarim*, left the prosecution of that War unto

Deut. 1. 8.

unto *Jair* the Son of *Manesseh:* who conquering the East parts of *Basan*, to wit, the Kingdom of *Argob*, even unto the Nations of the *Gessuri* and *Machati*, sixty walled Cities, called the same after his own name *Havoth Jair:* of all which Conquests afterward the half Tribe of *Manasseh* possest the North part as far as *Edrei*, but the East part, that belonged to *Sehon* the *Amorite*, with the Mountains of *Gilead* adjoyning, was given to *Reuben*, and unto *Gad*.

SECT. IX.

Of the troubles about the Madianites, *and of* Moses *his death.*

1 AFter these victories, and while *Israel* sojourned in the Valley of *Moab*, the *Madianites* and *Moabites* (over both which Nations it seemeth that *Balac* King of the *Moabites* then commanded in chief) sought, according to the advice of *Balaam*, both by alluring the *Hebrews* to the love of their Daughters, and by perswading them to honour and serve their Idols, to divide them both in Love and Religion among themselves: thereby the better both to defend their own interest against them, as also to beat them out of *Moab*, and the Countries adjoyning. The *Israelites* as they had ever been enclined, so were they now easily perswaded to these evil courses, and thereby drew on themselves the Plague of Pestilence,
Nu. 25. 1. whereof there perished 24000 persons: besides which punishment of God, the most of the offenders among the *Hebrews*, were by his commandment put to the Sword, or other violent deaths: after this, when that *Phineas* the Son of *Eleazar* had pierced the bodies of *Zimri*, a Prince of the *Simeonites*, together with *Cozbi*, a Daughter of one of the chief of the *Midianites*, the Plague ceased, and Gods wrath was appeased. For such was the love and kindness of his all-powerfulness, respecting the ardent zeal of *Phineas* in prosecuting of *Zimri* (who being a chief among the *Hebrews* become an Idolater) as he forgave the rest of *Israel*, and stayed his hand for his sake.

In this Valley it was that *Moses* caused the People to be numbred the third time: and there remained
Nu. 16. 31. of able Men fit to bear Arms 601730, of which, as his last enterprise, he appointed 12000 to be chosen out, to invade the Cities of *Midian*, who together with the *Moabites*, practised with *Balaam* to curse *Israel:* and after that, sought to allure them (as before remembred) from the worship of the true God, to the service of *Beth-Peor:* and to the rest of their barbarous Idolatry. Over which Companies of 12000 *Moses* gave the charge to *Phineas* the Son of *Eleazar*
Nu. 31. 8. the high Priest: who slew the five Princes of the
Jos. 13. 21. *Midianites*, which were, or had lately been, the vassals of *Sehon*, as appeareth by *Josuah*. These five Princes of the *Midianites* slain by *Eleazar*, were at this time but the vassals of *Sehon* the *Amorite*, to wit, *Evi*, *Rekem*, *Zur*, *Hur*, and *Rera*, the Dukes of
Cap. 13. 21. *Sehon*, saith *Josuah*. He slew also the Men, Male-Children, and Women: saving such as had not yet used the company of Men, but those they saved, and dispers'd them among the Children of *Israel* to serve them.

And *Moses* having now lived 120 years, making
Deut. 31. 1. both his own weakness of Body known to the People, and his unability to travel: and also that he was forewarned of his end by the Spirit of God, from whom he received a new commandment to ascend the Mountains of *Abarim*, and thereon to render up his life: He hastned to settle the Government in *Josua*, *Deut.* 31. 2. whom he perswaded with most lively arguments to prosecute the Conquest begun, assuring him of Gods favour and assistance therein. And so having spent these his latter days after the conquest of *Og*, and *Sehon* King of the *Amorites*, in the repetition and exposition of the *Aug. l.* 4. *de Mirab. Sac. Script.* Law, (or an iteration of the Law, according to St. *Augustine*) using both arguments, prayers, and threats unto the People, which he often repeated unto them; thereby to confirm them in Knowledg, Love, Fear, *Deut.* 33. and Service of the all-powerful God: He blessed the twelve Tribes, that of *Simeon* excepted, with several and most comfortable blessings: praising the *Deut.* 32. 1. greatness and goodness of him, unto whom in his Prayers he commended them: He also commanded *Deut.* 34. 6. the Priests to lay up the Book of the Law, by the side of the *Ark* of God. The last that he indited, was that Prophetical Song, beginning: *Hearken ye Heavens, and I will speak, and let the Earth hear the words of my Mouth:* and being called by God from the labours and sorrows of this life, unto that Rest which never afterward hath disquiet, he was buried in the Land of *Moab*, over against *Beth-Peor:* but no Man knoweth of his Sepulcher to this day; which happened in the Year of the World, 2554.

SECT. X.

Observations out of the Story of Moses, *how God disposeth both the smallest occasions, and the greatest resistances, to the effecting of his purpose.*

NOw let us a little, for instruction, look back to the occasions of sundry of the great events, which have been mentioned in this Story of the life of *Moses*, for (excepting God's miracles, his promise, and fore-choice of this People) he wrought in all things else by the *medium* of Mens affections, and natural Appetites. And so we shall find that the fear which *Pharaoh* had of the increase of the *Hebrews*, multiplyed by God to exceeding great numbers, was the next natural cause of the sorrows and loss, which befel himself, and the *Egyptian* Nation: which numbers when he sought by cruel and ungodly policies to cut off and lessen, as when he commanded all the Male Children of the *Hebrews* to be slain, God (whose providence cannot be resisted, nor his purposes prevented by all the foolish and salvage craft of mortal Men) moved compassion in the heart of *Pharaoh*'s own Daughter, to preserve that Child, which afterward became the most Wise, and of all Men the most gentle and mild, the most excellently learned in all Divine and Humane Knowledg, to be the Conductor and Deliverer of his oppressed Brethren, and the overthrow of *Pharaoh*, and all the flower of his Nation; even then, when he sought by the strength of his Men of War, of his Horse, and Chariots, to tread them under, and bury them in the dust. The grief which *Moses* conceived of the injuries, and of the violence offered to one of the *Hebrews* in his own presence, moved him to take revenge of the *Egyptian* that offered it: the ingratitude of one of his own Nation, by threatning him to discover the slaughter of the *Egyptian*, moved him to fly into *Madian*; the contention between the Shepherds of that place, and

Jethro's

Jethro's Daughters, made him known to their Father; who not only entertained him, but married him to one of those Sisters: and in that Solitary life of keeping of his Father-in-Law's sheep, far from the preass of the World, contenting himself (though bred as a Kings Son) with the Lot of a poor Herdsman, God found him out in that Desart, wherein he first suffered him to live many years, the better to know the ways and passages through which he purposed that he should conduct his People toward the Land promised: and therein appearing unto him, he made him know his Will and Divine Pleasure for his return into *Egypt*. The like may be said of all things else, which *Moses* afterward by God's direction performed in the Story of *Israel* before remembered. There is not therefore the smallest accident, which may seem unto Men as falling out by chance, and of no consequence, but that the same is caused by God to effect somewhat else by: yea, and oftentimes to effect things of the greatest worldly importance, either presently, or in many years after, when the occasions are either not considered, or forgotten.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Nations with whom the Israelites *had dealing after their coming out of* Egypt; *and of the Men of renown in other Nations, about the times of* Moses *and* Josua; *with the sum of the History of* Josua.

SECT. I.

How the Nations with whom the Israelites *were to have War, were divers ways, as it were, prepared to be their Enemies.*

IN like manner, if we look to the quality of the Nations, with whom the *Israelites*, after their coming out of *Egypt*, had to do, either in the Wilderness, or afterward, we shall find them long before-hand, by the disposing providence of God, as it were, prepared for enmity: partly in respect that they were most of them of the issue of *Canaan*, or at least of *Ham*; and the rest (as the *Edomites*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, and *Israelites*) were mingled with them by mutual marriages: whereas the *Israelites* still continued strangers, and separate from them: and so partly in this respect, and partly by antient injuries or enmities, and partly by reason of diversity in Religion, were these Nations, as it were, prepared to be Enemies to the *Israelites*: and so to serve for such purposes as God had reserved them for. To make these things more manifest, we must understand that this part of *Syria*, bounded by the Mountains of *Libanus*, and *Zidon* on the North; by the same Mountains continued as far as the Springs of *Arnon* on the East: by the way of *Egypt*, and the *Red Sea* on the South: and by the *Mediterranian* Sea on the West: was inhabited and peopled by two Nations, the one springing from the Sons of *Cham*, the other from *Sem*: but those of *Sem*, were but as strangers therein for a long time, and came thither, in effect, but with * one Family, to wit, that of *Abraham*, and a few of his kindred. The other for the greatest part, were the *Canaanites*, the antient Lords and possessors of those Territories, by process of time divided into several Families and Name: whereof some of them were of eminent stature and strength, as the *Anakims*, *Zamzummims*, or *Zuzei*, *Emims*, *Horites*, and others. These (as Men most valiant and able commonly do) did inhabite the utter borders and Mountains of their Countries: the rest were the *Zidonians*, *Jebusites*, *Amorites*, *Hevites*, *Hittites*, and others, who took name after the the Sons of *Canaan*, and after whom the Countrey in general was still called.

As for the *Hebrews* which descended of *Shem* by *Abraham*, they were of another Family, and strangers in that Countrey, especially the *Israelites*: and this was some cause that the *Canaanites* did not affect them, or indure them, no more than the *Philistims* did, who descended also of *Cham* by *Mizraim*. For though *Abraham himself*, being a stranger, was highly esteemed and honoured among them; especially by the *Amorites* inhabiting the West part of *Jordan*: yet now even they which descended from *Abraham*, or from his kindred, abode and multiplied in those parts, were alienated in affections from the *Israelites*, as holding them strangers and intruders: making more account of their alliance with the *Canaanites*, and the rest of the issue of *Cham*, with whom they daily contracted affinity, than of their old pedigree from *Abraham*. Ex. 17.16.

True it is, that these Nations descended of *Abraham*, or of his kindred who had linked themselves and marched with the *Canaanites* and others, had so far possest themselves of the borders of those Regions, as they began to be equal in strength to the bordering *Canaanites*, if not superiour. Deut. 2. 5. For of *Lot* came those two great Families of the *Moabites*, and *Ammonites*: of *Esau* the *Idumeans*: of *Madian* the *Madianites*: of *Ismael* the eldest Son of *Abraham*, came the *Ismaelites*, with whom are joined, as of the same Nation, the *Amalekites*; whom though the more common opinion think to have been a Tribe of *Edom*, because *Esau* had a grand-child of that name, yet manifest reason convinceth it to have been otherwise. For the *Israelites* were forbidden to provoke the *Edomites*, or do them any wrong; whereas Deut. 2. 5. con-

* It seems also that *Hus*, the Son of *Nachor*, and *Buz* his Brother planted themselves in the East side of *Jordan*, about *Esau*: where they find the Land of *Hus*, in which *Job* dwelt as one of the issue of *Hus*, the Son of *Nachor*, and *Elihu*, his friend, who is called a *Buzite*. See hereafter *chap.* 10. *sect.* 7.

Ex. 17.16. contrariwise *Amalek* was cursed, and endless War decreed against him: but hereof more elsewhere, Chap. 8. §. 3. Of *Ishmael*'s eldest son *Naboth* sprung the *Arabians* of *Petræa*, called *Nabathei*. Now even as *Abraham* besought God to bless *Ishmael*, so it pleased him both to promise and perform it. For Gen. 17. of him those twelve Princes came, which inhabited, in effect, all that Tract of Land between *Havilah* upon *Tygris*, and *Sur* which is the West part of the *Desart of Arabia Petræa*. Yet howsoever the strength of these later named Nations, which descended from *Abraham*, were great; it is not unlikely, but that some reason which moved them not to favour the entrance of the *Israelites* into *Canaan*, was in respect of fear: because all Princes and States do not willingly permit any stranger or powerful Nation to enter their Territories. Wherefore, though all these Families before named, were not so united in and among themselves, but that they had their jealousies of each other, and contended for dominion: yet fearing a third more strong than themselves, whether they stood apart or united, they were taught by the care of their own preservation, to joyn themselves together against *Israel*: though they did it nothing so maliciously and resolvedly as the *Canaanites* did. For the *Idumæans* onely denied the *Hebrews* a passage, which the *Moabites* durst not deny: because their Countrey lay more open; and because themselves had lately been beaten out of the richest part of their Dominions, by the *Amorites*: and as for the *Ammonites*, their Countrey lay altogether out of the way, and the strength of *Sehon* and *Og*, Kings of the *Amorites*, was interjacent: and besides that the border of the *Ammonites* was strong by reason of the Nu. 21.24. mountains which divided it from *Basan*. Again, that which moved the *Moabites* in their own reason not much to interrupt *Israel*, in the conquest of *Sehon* the *Amorite*, and of *Og* his confederate, was, that the *Moabites* might hope, after such a time as the *Amorites* were beaten by *Moses*, that themselves might recover again their own inheritance: to wit, the Vallies and Plains lying between the mountains of *Arabia* and *Jordan*: But as soon as *Sehon* was slain, and that the King of *Moab*, *Balac*, perceived that *Moses* alloted that Valley to the Tribes of *Gad* and *Reuben*, he began to practise with *Balaam* against *Israel*, and by the daughters of *Midian*, as aforesaid, to allure them to Idolatry: and thus at the length the *Moabites*, by special occasion, were more and more stirred up to enmity against *Israel*. And as for divers of the rest that were descended from *Abraham*'s kindred, we may note, how in the beginning, between the Authors of their Pedigrees, God permitted some enmities to be, as it were, presages of future quarrels, which in the posterity might be the easier incensed by the memory of old grudges: and withall, by some disdain from the elder in nature to the younger. For the *Ishmaelites* being descended from the eldest son of *Abraham*, and the *Edomites* from the eldest son of *Isaac*, *Jacob*, being but a second son, of a second brother; those Princes which were descended of the elder Houses, being natural men, might scorn to give place, much less to subject themselves to their inferiours, as they took it: and for a more aggravation, the issues of *Esau*, Princes of *Idumæa*, might keep in Gen. 25. record, that their Parent was bought out of his birth-Gen. 27. right by *Jacob*'s taking his advantage, and that he Gen. 33.14 was deceived of his Father's blessing also by him: and that *Jacob*, after reconciliation, came not unto him as he promised, into *Seir* or *Idumæa*.

So also in the posterity of *Ishmael*, it might remain as a seed or pretence of enmity, that their fore-father was by the instigation of *Sarah*, cast out into the *Desart*, with his mother *Hagar*; and had therein perished, but that it pleased God by his Angel to relieve them. *Ishmael* also had an Egyptian both to his Mother and to his Wife: and *Amalek* was also an *Horite* by his Mother: which *Horites* were of the antient *Canaanites*. The *Edumæans* also, or *Edomites*, were by their Maternal line descended of the *Canaanites*. For *Esau* took two wives of that Nation: Gen. 36. one of them was *Adath*, the daughter of *Elon* the *Hittite*: and the other *Aholibamah*, the grand-child of *Zibeon* the *Hevite*, Lord of *Seir*, before the same was conquered by *Esau*, and called after his name, *Edom*, or *Edumæa*.

Lastly, it appeareth that all those Families of the *Ishmaelites*, *Amalekites*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Edomites*, &c. were in process of time corrupted, and drawn from the knowledge and worship of God, and became Idolaters, infected and seduced by the conversation of those people among whom they dwelt, and by those wives of the *Canaanites* which they had married: onely a few of the *Keniter* and those *Madianites*, which inhabited on the edge of the *Red Sea*, whereof *Jethro* was Priest, or Prince, or both, worshipped the true and ever-living God.

SECT. II.

Of the Kings of the Canaanites *and* Madianites, *mentioned in the antient Wars of the* Israelites.

OF the Kings of the *Canaanites*, descended of *Cham* (for *Melchisedeck* may be thought to be of a better *Pedegree*) we find four named by *Moses*: and one and thirty remembred by *Joshua*, though few of these named, otherwise than by the Cities over which they commanded: to which each of them had a small Territory adjoyning, and no other Dominion. These *Canaanites* in a general consideration are to be understood for all those Nations, descended of *Cham* by *Canaan*, as the *Hittites*, *Jebusites*, *Amorites*, *Gergesites*, *Hevites*, &c. and so here we understand this name in speaking of the Kings of the *Canaanites*: and so also we call the Countrey of their habitation, the holy Land, or the Land of Promise: for God hath appointed that the seven principal Families should be rooted out, and that his own people should inherit their Lands and Cities. But if we consider of the Name and Nation in particular, then is their proper habitation bounded by *Jordan*, on the East, and by the *Mediterranean* Sea on the West: in which narrow Countrey, and in the choisest places thereof, those *Canaanites* which held their Paternal name chiefly inhabited.

The first King of these Nations, named in the Gen. 34. Scriptures, was *Hamor* or *Hemer*, of the *Hevites*, whom *Simeon* and *Levi* slew, together with his Son *Sichem*, in revenge of their Sisters ravishment.

Arad was the second King which the Scriptures have remembred, who had that part of *Canaan* towards the South, neighbouring *Edom* and the *dead Sea*; the same which surprised *Israel*, as they encamped in the *Wilderness* in the edge of *Edumæa*. Num. 21.1

The third named was *Sehon* King of *Essebon*, who before *Moses* arrival had beaten the *Moabites* out of the West part of *Arabia Petræa*, or *Nabathea*, and thrust them over *Arnon* into the *Desarts*, the same whom *Moses* overthrew in the plains of *Moab*: at which time he took *Essebon*, and all the Cities of the *Amorites*. Nu. 21.24. *Jos.* 9. *Joseph. Antiq. lib.* 4. *c.* 5.

Presently

Presently after which victory, *Og* was also slain by *Israel*, who commanded the North part of that Valley
Nu.21.35. between the Mountains *Traconi*, or *Galaad*, and *Jordan*, who was also a King of the *Amorites*.

The fifth was *Adonizedek* King of the *Jebusites*, and of *Jerusalem*, with whom *Joshua* nameth four other Kings.

Hoham, King of *Hebron*.
Piram, King of *Jarmuth*.
Japia, King of *Lachis*: and
Deber, King of *Eglon*, who were all *Amorites*, overthrown in battel, and hanged by *Joshua*. After
Joshua 10. Joseph ant. l. 5. cap. 1. this overthrow *Joshua* nameth *Jabin*, King of *Hazor*, and
Jobab, King of *Madon*: whom he also slaughtered, and took his Cities: and this *Jabin* seemed to have some dominion over the rest; for it is said in the
Josh. 11.1. Text, *For* Hazor *before times was the head of all those Kingdoms.*

After these *Adonibezek* that notorious Tyrant is named: who confest that he had cut off the thumbs of the hands and feet of seventy Kings, inforcing them to gather crumbs under his Table: who, after
Jud. 1. Joseph. l. 5. c. 2. *Juda* and *Simeon* had used the same execution upon himself, acknowledged it to be a just revenge of God: this King was carried to *Jerusalem* where he died.

The last King named is *Jabin* the second, who as it seemeth had rebuilt *Hazor*, burnt by *Joshua*. For at such time as he employed *Sisara* against *Israel*, whom he oppresst twenty years after the death of
Jud. 4. *Ehud*, he inhabited *Hazor*. This *Jabin*, *Barac* (encouraged by *Debora*) overthrew; and his Captain
Jud. 4. *Sisara* had by *Jael*, the wife of *Heber* the *Kenite*, a nail driven into his head while he slept in her Tent:
Psal. 83. *Jabin* himself perishing afterward in that War.

The *Madianites* had also their Kings at times, but
Joseph. l. 5. c. 6. commonly mixt with the *Moabites*: and they held a corner of Land in *Nabathea*, to the South-East of the *Dead Sea*. They descended from *Madian Abraham*'s son, by *Cethura*. *Raguel* surnamed *Gethegleus*
Exod. 3. or *Jethres*, saith *Josephus*, called *Jethro* in *Exodus*, *Kenis* in the first of *Judges*, the son of *Dathan*, the grand-child of *Jexanis*, or *Jokshan*, the great grand-
Cedren. p. 34. child of *Abraham* by *Cethura*, was Priest or Prince of the *Madianites* by the *Red Sea*: whose Daughter, or Neece, *Moses* married, and of whom, I have spoken elsewhere more at large. This *Jethro*, if he were not the same with *Hobab*, must be his father: and this *Hobab* had seven daughters. He guided *Moses* in the *Wilderness*, and became one of the *Israelites*: of him
Jud. 1. descended the *Kenites*, so called of his father *Raguels* surname, of which *Kenites* was *Heber*, which had peace with *Jabin* the second, even now remembred.

1 Sam. 15.6. At such time as *Saul* invaded the *Amalekites*, he knowing the good affection of the *Kenites* to *Israel*, gave them warning to separate themselves: and yet the *Kenites* had strong seats, and lived in the mountains of the Desarts.

The Kings of the *Canaanites*, and *Madianites*, and the *Amalekites*, as many as I find named, were these:

1. *Homer* the *Hevite* of *Sichem*.
2. *Arad* of the South parts.
3. *Sehon* of *Essebon*.
4. *Og* of *Bashan*.
5. *Adonizedek* the *Jebusite*, King of *Jerusalem*. *Josh. 10.*
6. *Hoham* of *Hebron*.
7. *Piram* of *Jarmuth*.
8. *Japia* of *Lachis*.
9. *Debir* of *Eglon*.
10. *Jabin* of *Hazor*. *Josh. 11.*
11. *Jobab* of *Modon*.
12. *Adonibezek* of *Bezek*, and
13. *Jabin* the second King of *Hazor*.

Of the *Madianites* these:

* *Evi* or *Evis*.

Rekam or *Recem*, who built *Petra* the *Metropolis* of *Petræa*, so called by the *Greeks*: and by *Esay*, cap. 16. v. 1. and *Selah*, which is as much as *Petra*: and so also it is called 2 *Reg.* 14.7. where it is also called *Joktheel*.
Zur,
Hur, and
Reba,
† *Oreb*,
Zeb,
Zebah,
Zalmunna.

After the death of *Barac*, *Judge* of *Israel*, the four last named of these *Madianite* Kings vexed *Israel* seven years: till they being put to flight by *Gideon*, two of them, to wit, *Oreb* and *Zeb*, were taken and slain by the *Ephraimites*, at the passage of *Jordan*, as in the 6, 7, and 8th of *Judges* it is written at large. Afterward in the pursuit of the rest, *Gideon* himself laid hands upon *Zebah* and *Salmana*, or *Zalmunna*, and executed them, being prisoners; in which expedition of *Gideon* there perished 120000 of the *Madianites* and their confederates. Of the *Idumæans*, *Moabites*, and *Ammonites*, I will speak hereafter in the description of their Territories.

* These five were first all at one time Kings of several portions of the *Madianites*, slain by *Phineas*, and the 12000. which he led against them: *Num.* 31.8

† These four last were likewise at one time slain in the pursuit of *Gideons* victory, *Jud. c. 7. v. 25. & c. 8. v. 12.*

SECT. III.

Of the Amalekites *and* Ishmaelites.

OF the Kings of the *Amalekites* and *Ishmaelites*, I find few that are named; and though of the *Ishmaelites* there were more in number than of the rest (for they were multiplied into a greater Nation, according unto the promise of God made unto *Abra-* *Gen. 17.20*
ham) yet the *Amalekites*, who together with the *Mi-* *Jud. c. 7.*
dianites were numbred among them, were more renowned in *Moses* time than the rest of the *Ishmaelites*. So also were they when *Saul* governed *Israel*. For *Saul* pursued them from *Sur* unto *Havilah*, to wit, over a great part of *Arabia Petræa*, and the *Desart*. The reason to me seemeth to be this: That the twelve Princes which came of *Ishmael*, were content to leave those barren *Desarts* of *Arabia Petræa*, called *Sur*, *Paran*, and *Sin*, to the issue of *Abraham* by *Cethura*, that joyned with them (for so seem the *Amalekites* to have been, and so were the *Madianites*:) themselves taking possession of a better soil in *Arabia the Happy*, and about the Mountains of *Galaad* in *Arabia Petræa*: For *Nabaioth* the eldest of those twelve Princes planted that part of *Arabia Petræa*; which was very fruitful, though adjoyning to the *Desart* in which *Moses* wandred, afterward called *Nabathea*: the same which neighboureth *Judæa* on the East-side. They also peopled a Province in *Arabia the Happy*, whereof the people were in after-times called *Napathæi* (*B*) changed into (*P.*)

Kedar, the second of *Ishmael*'s sons, gave his own name to the East-part of *Basan*, or *Batanea*, which was afterward possest by *Manasseh*, so much thereof as lay within the Mountains *Traconi*, or *Gilead*. Which Nation *Lampridius* calleth *Kedarens*, and *Pliny*, *Cedræans*.

Abbeel sat down in the *Desart Arabia*, near the Mountains which divide it from the *Happy*: and gave name to the *Adubens*, which *Ptolomy* calleth *Agubens*.

Mibsam

Mibsam was the Parent of the *Masamancuses*, near the Mountain *Zamath*, in the same *Arabia the Happy*.

The *Raabens* were of *Mishma*: who joyned to the *Orchens*, near the *Arabian* gulf, where *Ptolomy* setteth *Zagmais*.

Of *Duma* were the *Dumæans*, between the *Adubens* and *Raabens*: where the City *Dumeth* sometimes stood.

Of *Massa* the *Massani*, and of *Hadar*, or *Chadar*, the *Athritæ*, who bordered the *Napatheans* in the same *Happy Arabia*.

Thema begat the *Themaneans*, among the *Arabian* Mountains, where also the City of *Thema* is seated.

Plin. l. 6. c. 28. Of *Jetur* the *Ituræans*, or *Camathens*: of whom *Iobn* was King in *Davids* time.

Of *Naphri*, the *Nubeian Arabians*, inhabiting *Syria Zoba*: over whom *Adadezer* commanded, while *David* ruled *Israel*.

Cadma, the last and twelfth of *Ishmael*'s sons, was the Ancestor of the *Cadmonæans*: who were afterward *Junius.* called *Asitæ*, because they worshipped the Fire with the *Babylonians*.

The *Amalekites* gave their Kings the name of *Agag*, as the *Egyptians* the name of *Pharaoh* to theirs; and the antient *Syrians*, *Adad* to theirs; and the *Arabian Nabatheans*, *Aretas*, as names of Honour.

Exod. 17. The *Amalekites* were the first that fought with *Moses* after he past the *Red Sea*: when of all times they flourished most, and yet were vanquished.

Afterward they joyned with the *Canaanites*, and *Num. 14.* beat the *Israelites* near *Cadesbarne*. After the government of *Othoniel*, they joyned them with the *Moabites*: after *Barac*, with the *Madianites*, and invaded *Israel*. God commanded that as soon as *Israel* had rest, they should root out the name of the *Amalekites*: which *Saul* executed in part, when he wasted them from the border of *Egypt*, to the border of *Chaldæa*: from *Havilah* to *Shur*.

1 Sam. 30. In *David*'s time they took *Siklag* in *Simeon*: but *David* followed them, and surprised them, recovering his prisoners and spoils. And yet, after *David* became King, they again vexed him, but to their own loss.

2 Sam. 8. 12. In *Ezekias* time, as many of them as joyned to *Edumæa*, were wasted and displanted by the children of *Simeon*.

SECT. IV.

Of the instauration of Civility in Europe *about these times, and of* Prometheus *and* Atlas.

THere lived at this time, and in the same age together with *Moses*, many men exceeding famous, as well in bodily strength as in all sorts of learning. And as the World was but even now enriched with the written Law of the living God, so did Art and Civility (bred and fostered far off in the East, and in *Egypt*) begin at this time to discover a passage into *Europe*, and into those parts of *Greece*, neighbouring *Asia* and *Judæa*. For if *Pelasgus*, besides his bodily strength, was chosen King of *Arcadia*, because he taught those people to erect them simple Cottages, to defend them from rain and storm: and learned them withall to make a kind of Meal, and bread of Acorns, who before lived, for the most part, by Herbs and Roots: we may thereby judge how poor and wretched those times were, and how falsly those Nations have vaunted of those their Antiquities, accompanied not only with civil Learning, but with all other kinds of Knowledge. And it was in this age of the World, as both *Eusebius* and S. *Augustine* *Aug. l. 18. c. 8. de Civit. Dei.* have observed, that *Prometheus* flourished: *Quem propterea ferunt de luto formasse homines, quia optimus sapientiæ doctor fuisse perhibetur*; *Of whom it is reported, that he formed men out of clay, because he was an excellent teacher of wisdom*: and so *Theophrastus* expoundeth the invention of Fire ascribed to *Prometheus*, *Ad inventa sapientiæ pertinere*; *To have reference to wise* *Æschyl. in Prom. vinct.* *inventions*: and *Æschylus* affirmeth, That by the stealing of *Jupiters* fire was meant, that the knowledge *In c. 8. lib. 18. de Civit. Dei.* of *Prometheus* reached to the Stars, and other celestial bodies. Again, it is written of him, that he had the Art so to use this fire, as thereby he gave life to the Images of Wood, Stone, and Clay: meaning, that before his birth and being, those people among whom he lived, had nothing else worthy of men, but external form and figure. By that fiction of *Prometheus*, being bound on the top of the Hill *Caucasus*, his entrails the while devoured by an *Eagle*, was meant the inward care and restless desire he had to investigate the Natures, Motions, and Influences of Heavenly bodies; for so it is said: *Ideo altissimum* *Lud. Vives ex Hes.* *ascendisse* Caucasum, *ut sereno Cœlo quam longissimè astra, signorum obitus & ortus spectaret*; *That he ascended* Caucasus, *to the end that he might in a clear skie discern afar off the settings and risings of the Stars*: though *Diodorus Siculus* expounds it otherwise, and others diversly.

Of this mans knowledge Æschylus *gives this testimony.*

Ast agebant omnia *Æschyl. in Prom. vinct.*
Ut fors ferebat: donec ipse repperi
Signorum obitus, ortusque qui mortalibus
Sunt utiles: & multitudinem Artium
His repperi: componere inde literas;
Matremque Musarum auxi ego Memoriam
Perutilem cunctis, &c.

But Fortune govern'd all their works, till when
I first found out how Stars did set and rise:
A profitable Art to mortal men:
And others of like use I did devise:
As letters to compose in learned wise
I first did teach: and first did amplifie
The Mother of the *Muses*, *Memorie*.

Africanus makes *Prometheus* far more antient, and but 94 years after *Ogyges*. *Porphyrius* sayes, that he *Aug. l. 18. c. 3. de Civit. Dei.* lived at once with *Inachus*, who lived with *Isaac*.

There lived also at once with *Moses*, that famous *Atlas*, brother to *Prometheus*, both being the sons of *Japetus*, of whom though it be said, that they were born before *Moses* days, and therefore are by others esteemed of a more antient date: yet the advantage of their long lives gave them a part of other ages among men, which came into the World long after them. Besides these sons of *Japetus*, *Æsculus* finds two other, to wit, *Oceanus* and *Hesperus*, who being famous in the West, gave name to the Evening, and so to the Evening Star. Also besides this *Atlas* of *Lybia*, or *Mauritania*, there were others which bare the same name: but of the *Lybian*, and the brother of *Prometheus*, it was that those Mountains which cross *Africa*, to the South of *Marocco*, *Sus*, and *Hea*, with the Sea adjoyning, took name, which memory *Plato* in *Critias* bestowes on *Alas*, the son of *Neptune*.

Cicero in the fifth of his *Tusculan* questions affirmeth, that all things written of *Prometheus* and *Atlas*, were but by those names to express divine knowledg. *Nec vero* Atlas *sustinere Cœlum, nec* Prometheus *affixus* Caucaso, *nec stellatus* Cepheus *cum uxore traderetur, nisi divina cognitio nomen eorum ad errorem fabulæ traduxisset*: *Neither should* Atlas *be said to bear up Heaven, nor* Prome-

theus *to be faſtened to* Caucaſus, *nor* Cepheus *with his wife to be ſtellified, unleſs their divine knowledge had raiſed upon their names theſe erronious fables.*

Orpheus ſometimes expreſs'd *Time* by *Prometheus*, ſometime he took him for *Saturn*; as, *Rheæ conjux alme* Prometheu. But that the Story of *Prometheus* was not altogether a fiction, and that he lived about this time, the moſt approved Hiſtorians and Antiquaries, and among them *Euſebius* and S. *Auguſtine* have not doubted: For the great judgment which *Atlas* had in *Aſtronomy*, ſaith S. *Auguſtine*, were his daughters called by the names of conſtellations, *Pleiades* and *Hyades*. Others attribute unto him the finding out of the Moons courſe, of which *Archas* the ſon of *Orchomenus* challengeth the invention. Of this *Arcas*, *Arcadia* in *Peloponneſus* took name; and therefore did the *Arcadians* vaunt that they were more antient than the Moon: *Et Luna gens prior illa fuit:* which is to be underſtood, ſaith *Natalis Comes*, before there had been any obſervation of the Moons courſe: or of her working in inferiour bodies. And though there be that beſtow the finding out thereof upon *Endymion:* others (as *Xenagoras*) on *Typhon:* yet *Iſacius Tzetzes*, a curious ſearcher of Antiquities, gave it *Atlas* of *Lybia:* who, beſides his gifts of mind, was a man of unequalled and incomparable ſtrength: from whom *Thales* the *Mileſian*, as it is ſaid, had the ground of his *Philoſophy*.

Lib. 18. cap. 8. de Civit. Dei.

Ovid. de faſt. l. 1.

SECT. V.

Of Deucalion *and* Phaeton.

AND in this age of the World, and while *Moſes* yet lived, *Deucalion* reigned in *Theſſaly*, *Crotopus* then ruling the *Argives*. This *Deucalion* was the ſon of *Prometheus*, ſaith *Herodotus*, *Apollonius*, *Heſiodus*, and *Strabo*. *Heſiodus* gave him *Pandora* for mother; the reſt *Clymene:* *Homer* in the fifteenth of his *Odyſſes*, makes *Deucalion* the ſon of *Minos:* but he muſt needs have meant ſome other *Deucalion*; for elſe either *Ulyſſes* was miſtaken, or *Homer*, who put the tale into his mouth. For *Ulyſſes*, after his return from *Troy*, feigned himſelf to be the brother of *Idomeneus*, who was ſon to this later *Deucalion*, the ſon of *Minos:* but this *Minos* lived but one age before *Troy* was taken: (for *Idomeneus* ſerved in that War) and this *Deucalion* the ſon of *Prometheus*, who lived at once with *Moſes*, was long before. In the firſt *Deucalion*'s time happened that great inundation in *Theſſaly:* by which in effect every ſoul in thoſe parts periſhed, but *Deucalion*, *Pyrrha* his wife, and ſome few others. It is affirmed, that at the time of this flood in *Theſſaly*, thoſe people exceeded in all kind of wickedneſs and villany: and as the impiety of men is the forcible attractive of Gods vengeance, ſo did all that Nation for their foul ſins periſh by waters: as in the time of *Noah*, the corruption and cruelty of all mankind drew on them that general deſtruction by the flood univerſal. Onely *Deucalion*, and *Pyrrha* his wife, whom God ſpared, were both of them eſteemed to be lovers of Vertue, of Juſtice, and of Religion. Of whom *Ovid:*

Com. Alex. Strom. l. 1. Strabo l. 9.

Non illo melior quiſquam, nec amantior æqui
Vir fuit: aut illa reverentior ulla dearum.

No man was better, nor more juſt than hee:
Nor any woman godlier than ſhee.

It is alſo affirmed, that *Prometheus* fore-told his ſon *Deucalion* of this over-flowing, and adviſed him to provide for his ſafety: who hereupon prepared himſelf a kind of Veſſel, which *Lucian* in his *Dialogue* of *Timon* calls *Cibotium*; and others *Larnax*. And becauſe to theſe circumſtances, they afterward add the ſending out of the Dove, to diſcover the waters fall and decreaſe, I ſhould verily think that Story had been but an imitation of *Noah*'s flood deviſed by the *Greeks*, did not the time ſo much differ, and S. *Auguſtine* with others of the Fathers and reverend Writers approve this Story of *Deucalion*. Among other his children, *Deucalion* had theſe two of note; *Hellen*, of whom *Greece* had firſt the name of *Hellas*; and *Melantho*, on whom *Neptune* is ſaid to have begot *Delphus*, which gave name to *Dolphos*, ſo renowned among the Heathen for the *Oracle* of *Apollo* therein founded.

Aug. de Civit. Dei. l. 18. c. 10. ex Euſebio & Hieronimo.

And that which was no leſs ſtrange and marvellous than this flood, was that great burning and conflagration which about this time alſo happened under *Phaëton*; not only in *Ethiopia*, but in *Iſtria*, a Region in *Italy*, and about *Cuma*, and the Mountains of *Veſuvius:* of both which the *Greeks*, after their manner, have invented many ſtrange fables.

SECT. VI.

Of Hermes Triſmegiſtus.

BUt of all other which this age brought forth among the Heathen, *Mercurius* was the moſt famous and renowned: the ſame which was alſo called *Triſmegiſtus*, or *Ter Maximus*; and of the *Greeks*, *Hermes*.

Many there were of this name; and how to diſtinguiſh, and ſet them in their own times, both S. *Auguſtine* and *Lactantius* find it difficult. For that *Mercury* which was eſteemed the god of Theeves, the god of Wreſtlers, of Merchants, and Sea-men, and the god of Eloquence (though all by one name confounded) was not the ſame with that *Mercury*, of whoſe many works ſome fragments are now extant.

Cicero, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Arnobius*, and certain of the *Greeks* reckon five *Mercuries*. Of which, two were famous in *Egypt*, and there worſhipped; one, the ſon of *Nilus*, whoſe name the *Egyptians* feared to utter, as the *Jews* did *Tetragrammaton*; the other that *Mercury*, which ſlew *Argus* in *Greece*, and flying into *Egypt*, is ſaid to have delivered literature to the *Egyptians*, and to have given them Laws. But *Diodorus* affirmeth, that *Orpheus*, and others after him, brought Learning and Letters out of *Egypt* into *Greece:* which *Plato* alſo confirmeth, ſaying; That letters were not found out by that *Mercury* which ſlew *Argus*, but by that antient *Mercury*, otherwiſe *Thevet*; whom *Philo Byblius* writeth *Taautus*; the *Egyptians*, *Thoyth*; the *Alexandrians*, *Thot*; and the *Greeks*, (as before) *Hermes*. And to this *Taautus*, *Sanconiatho*, who lived about the War of *Troy*, gives the invention of Letters. But S. *Auguſtine* making two *Mercuries*, which were both *Egyptians*, calls neither of them the ſon of *Nilus*, nor acknowledgeth either of them to have ſlain *Argus*. For he finds this *Mercury* the ſlayer of *Argus*, to be the grand-child of that *Atlas*, which lived while *Moſes* was yet young. And yet *L. Vives* upon S. *Auguſtine* ſeems to underſtand them to be the ſame with thoſe, whom *Cicero*, *Alexandrinus*, and the reſt have remembred. But that conjecture of theirs, that any *Grecian Mercury* brought Letters into *Egypt*, hath no ground. For it is manifeſt, (if there be any truth in prophane Antiquity) that all the knowledge which the *Greeks* had, was tranſported out of *Egypt* or *Phœnicia*, and not out of *Greece*, nor by any *Grecian* into *Egypt*.

Lud. Vives out of Cicero in Aug. de Civit. Dei. l. 8. c. 26.

Euſeb. l. 1. c. 6. de Prap. Evan.

For

For they all confeſs, that *Cadmus* brought letters firſt into *Bœotia*, either out of *Egypt*, or out of *Phœnicia:* it being true, that between *Mercurius*, that lived at once with *Moſes* and *Cadmus*, there were theſe deſcents caſt; *Crotopus* King of the *Argives*, with whom *Moſes* lived, and in whoſe time about his tenth year *Moſes* died; after *Crotopus*, *Sthenelus*, who reigned eleven years; after him *Danaus* fifty years; after him *Linceus:* in whoſe time, and after him in the time of *Minos* King of *Crete*, this *Cadmus* arrived in *Bœotia*. And therefore it cannot be true that any *Mercurius* about *Moſes* his time, flying out of *Greece* for the ſlaughter of *Argus*, brought literature out of *Greece* into *Egypt*. Neither did either of thoſe two *Mercuries* of *Egypt*, whom St. *Auguſtine* remembreth, the one the Grand-father, the other the Nephew or Grand-child, come out of *Greece*. *Eupolemus* and *Artapanus* note, that *Moſes* found out letters, and taught the uſe of them to the *Jews:* of whom the *Phœnicians* their neighbours received them; and the *Greeks* of the *Phœnicians* by *Cadmus*. But this invention was alſo aſcribed to *Moſes*, for the reaſon before remembred; that is, becauſe the *Jews* and the *Phœnicians* had them firſt from him. For every Nation gave unto thoſe men the honour of firſt Inventors, from whom they received the profit. *Ficinus* makes that *Mercury*, upon part of whoſe works he commenteth, to have been four deſcents after *Moſes*; which he hath out of *Virgil*, who cals *Atlas*, that lived with *Moſes*, the maternal Grand-father of the firſt famous *Mercury*, whom others, as *Diodorus*, call the Counſeller and Inſtructer of that renowned *Iſis*, wife of *Oſiris*. But *Ficinus* giveth no reaſon for his opinion herein. But that the elder *Mercury* inſtructed *Iſis*, *Diodorus Siculus* affirmeth, and that ſuch an Inſcription was found on a pillar erected on the Tomb of *Iſis*. *Lod. Vives* upon the ſix and twentieth Chapter of the eighth Book of Saint *Auguſtine*, *de Civitate Dei*, conceiveth, that this *Mercury*, whoſe works are extant, was not the firſt which was entituled *Ter Maximus*, but his Nephew or Grand-child, * *Sanchoniaton*, an antient *Phœnician*, who lived ſhortly after *Moſes*, hath other fancies of this *Mercury*; affirming that he was the *Scribe of Saturn*, and called by the *Phœnicians*, *Taautus*, and by the *Egyptians*, *Thoot*, or *Thoyt*. It may be, that the many years which he is ſaid to have lived, to wit, three hundred years, gave occaſion to ſome Writers to find him in one time, and to others in other times. But by thoſe who have collected the grounds of the *Egyptian* Philoſophy and Divinity, he is found more antient than *Moſes*; becauſe the Inventor of the *Egyptian Wiſdom*, wherein it is ſaid, that *Moſes* was excellently learned.

Vir. l. 4. Æneid.

Ficin. in Præf. Pæmand. Mercurii Triſmegiſti.

* Or *Sanchoniatho:* See *Euſeb. de prap. Evang. l. 1. c. 6.* *Vives in lib. 8. c. 26. Aug. de Civ. Dei.*

It is true, that although this *Mercury* or *Hermes* doth in his Divinity differ in many particulars from the Scriptures, eſpecially in the approving of Images, which *Moſes* of all things moſt deteſted: yet whoſoever ſhall read him with an even judgment, will rather reſolve, that theſe works which are now extant, were by the *Greeks* and *Egyptian* Prieſts corrupted, and thoſe fooleries inſerted, then that ever they were by the hand of *Hermes* written, or by his heart and ſpirit deviſed. For there is no man of underſtanding, and maſter of his own wits, that hath affirmed in one and the ſame Tract, thoſe things which are directly contrary in Doctrine, and in Nature: For out of doubt (*Moſes* excepted) there was never any man of thoſe elder times that hath attributed more, and in a ſtile more reverend and divine unto Almighty God, than he hath done. And therefore if thoſe his two Treatiſes now among us; the one converted by *Apuleius*, the other by that learned *Ficinus*, had been found in all things like themſelves: I think it had not been perillous to have thought with *Eupolemus*, that this *Hermes* was *Moſes* himſelf; and that the *Egyptian Theologie* hereafter written, was deviſed by the firſt, and more antient *Mercury*, which others have thought to have been *Joſeph*, the ſon of *Jacob:* whom, after the expoſition of *Pharaoh*'s dreams, they called *Saphanetphane*, which is as much to ſay, as *Abſconditorum repertor*; *A finder out of hidden things*. But theſe are over-venturous opinions. For what this man was, it is known to God. Envy and aged time hath partly defaced, and partly worn out the certain knowledge of him: of whom, whoſoever he were, *Lactantius* writeth in this ſort: *Hic ſcripſit libros, & quidem multos, ad cognitionem divinarum rerum pertinentes, in quibus Majeſtatem ſummi ac ſingularis Dei aſſerit, iiſdemque nominibus appellat, quibus nos, Deum & Patrem; He hath written many Books belonging to, or expreſſing the knowledge of divine things, in which he affirmeth the Majeſty of the moſt High, and one God, calling him by the ſame names of God and Father, which we do.* The ſame Father alſo feareth not to number him among the *Sybils* and *Prophets*. And ſo contrary are theſe his acknowledgments to thoſe Idolatrous fictions of the *Egyptians* and *Grecians:* as for my ſelf I am perſwaded, that whatſoever is found in him contrary thereunto was by corruption inſerted. For thus much himſelf confeſſeth: *Deus omnium Dominus, & Pater, fons & vita, potentia & lux, & mens, & ſpiritus; & omnia in ipſo, & ſub ipſo ſunt. Verbum enim ex ejus eſſe prodiens, perfectiſſimum exiſtens, & generator, & opifex*, &c. *God* (ſaith he) *the Lord and Father of all things, the Fountain and Life, and Power, and Light, and Mind, and Spirit: and all things are in him, and under him. For his Word out of himſelf proceeding, moſt perfect, generative, and operative, falling upon fruitful Nature, made it alſo fruitful and producing.* And he was therefore (ſaith *Suydas*) called *Ter Maximus, quia de Trinitate loquutus eſt, in Trinitate unum eſſe Deum aſſerens; Becauſe he ſpake of the Trinity, affirming that there is one God in Trinity. Hic ruinam* (ſaith *Ficinus*) *prævidit priſcæ Religionis, hic ortum novæ fidei, hic adventum Chriſti, hic futurum judicium, reſurrectionem ſæculi, beatorum gloriam, ſupplicia peccatorum; This* Mercury *foreſaw the ruine of the old or ſuperſtitious* Religion, *and the birth of the new Faith, and of the coming of Chriſt, the future Judgement, the Reſurrection, the glory of the Bleſſed, and the torment or affliction of the Wicked or Damned.*

L. 1. c. 6.

In Præf. Mer. Triſ.

Maſius.

To this I will onely add his two laſt ſpeeches reported by *Calcidius* the *Platoniſt*, and by *Volteran* out of *Suydas*. *Hactenus, fili, pulſus à patria, vixi peregrinus & exul, nunc incolumis repeto. Cumque poſt paulum à vobis corporeis vinculis abſolutus diſceſſero, videtote ne me quaſi mortuum lugeatis: nam ad illam optimam beatamque Civitatem regredior, ad quam univerſi Civis mortis conditione venturi ſunt. Ibi namque ſolus Deus eſt ſummus Princeps, qui Cives ſuos replet ſuavitate mirifica: ad quam hæc, quam multi vitam exiſtimant, mors eſt potius dicenda quam vita; Hitherto, O ſon, being driven from my Country, I have lived a ſtranger and baniſhed man: but now I am repaired homeward again in ſafety. And when I ſhall after a few days (or in a ſhort time) by being looſed from theſe bonds of fleſh and blood, depart from you, ſee that you do not bewail me as a man dead; for I do but return to that beſt and bleſſed City, to which all her Citizens (by the condition of death) ſhall repair. Therein is the onely God, the moſt high and chief Prince, who filleth or feedeth his Citizens with ſweetneſs more than marvellous: in regard whereof, this being, which others call a life, is rather to be accounted a death than a life.*

The other, and that which seemeth to be his last, is thus converted by others, agreeing in sense, but not in words, with *Suydas*: *O Cœlum, magni Dei sapiens opus, teque O vox Patris quam ille primam emisit, quando universum constituit mundum, adjuro per unigenitum ejus Verbum, & Spiritum, cuncta comprehendentem, Miserémini mei: I adjure thee O Heaven, thou wise work of the great God, and thee O voice of the Father, which he first uttered, when he framed the whole World, by his onely begotten Word, and Spirit, comprehending all things, have mercy upon me.*

But *Suydas* hath his invocation in these words: *Obtestor te Cœlum, magni Dei sapiens opus, obtestor te vocem Patris, quam loquutus est primùm cum omnem mundum firmavit, obtestor te per unigenitam Sermonem omnia continentem, propitius, propitius esto; I beseech thee O Heaven, wise work of the great God, I beseech thee O Voice of the Father, which he spake first when he established all the World, I beseech thee by the onely begotten Word, containing all things, be favourable, be favourable.*

SECT. VII.

Of Jannes *and* Jambres, *and some other that lived about those times.*

THere were also in this age both *Æsculapius*, which after his death became the God of the *Physicians*, being the brother of *Mercurius*, as *Vives* thinks in his Commentary upon *Augustine*, *de Civitate Dei*, *lib.* 8. and also those two notorious Sorcerers, *Jannes* and *Jambres*, who in that impious Art excelled all that ever had been heard of to this day: and yet *Moses* himself doth not charge them with any familiarity with Devils, or ill Spirits: words indeed that seldom came out of his mouth: however by the *Septuagint* they are called *Sophistæ*, or *Venefici*, and *Incantatores*; Sophists, Poysoners, and Inchanters: by *Hieronie*, *Sapientes*, *& malefici*; Wise men, and evil doers: and so by *Vatablus*, who also useth the word *Magi*. The *Greek* it self seems to attribute somewhat of what they did to natural *Magick*: calling them φαρμακοὺς, workers by Drugs. The *Genevan*, *Sorcerers and Inchanters*: Junius, *Sapientes*, *Præstigiatores*, *& Magi*. Magicians and Wise men here by him are taken in one sence: and Prestigiatores are such as dazel mens eyes, and make them seem to see what they see not: as false colours, and false shapes. But as some vertues and some vices are so nicely distinguished, and so resembling each other, as they are often confounded; and the one taken for the other (Religion and Superstition having one face and countenance) so did the works and working of *Moses*, and of *Pharaoh*'s Sorcerers appear in outward shew, and to the beholders of common capacities, to be one and the same Art and gift of knowledge. For the Devil changeth himself into an *Angel* of light: and imitateth in all he can the ways and workings of the most High. And yet, on the contrary, every work which surmounteth the wisdom of most men, is not to be condemned, as performed by the help or ministery of ill Spirits. For the properties and powers which God hath given to natural things, are such, as where he also bestoweth the knowledge to understand their hidden and best vertues, many things by them are brought to pass, which seem altogether impossible, and above Nature or Art: which two speculations of works of Nature, and of Miracle, the *Cabalists* distinguished by these names; *Opus de Beresith*, *& opus de mercana*: the one they call, *Sapientiam naturæ*; *The Wisdom of nature*: the other, *Sapientiam divinitatis*; *The Wisdom of divinity*: the one *Jacob* practised in breeding the pied Lambs in *Mesopotamia*; the other *Moses* exercised in his Miracles wrought in *Egypt*, having received from God the knowledge of the one in the highest perfection, to wit, the knowledge of Nature: of the other so far as it pleased God to proportion him, both which he used to his glory that gave them; assuming to himself nothing at all, either in the least or most. Also S. *Augustine* noteth, that from the time that *Moses* left *Egypt*, to the death of *Joshua*, divers other famous men lived in the World, who, after their deaths, for their eminent Vertues, and Inventions, were numbred among the Gods: as *Dionysius*, otherwise *Liber Pater*, who taught the *Grecians* the use of the Vine in *Attica*: at which time also there were instituted *Musical* plays to *Apollo Delphicus*; thereby to regain his favour, who brought barrenness and scarcity upon that part of *Greece*, because they resisted not the attempts of *Danaus*, who spoiled his Temple, and set it on fire: so did *Erichthonius* institute the like Games to *Minerva*: wherein the Victor was rewarded with a present of *Oyl*, in memory of her that first prest it out of the Olive.

L. Vives. in l. 8. Aug. de Civit. Dei. c. 20.

Ex. 6. 11.

In this Age also *Xanthus* ravished *Europa*, and begat on her *Radamanthus*, *Sarpedon* and *Minos*: which three are also given to *Jupiter* by other Historians. To these Saint *Augustine* addeth *Hercules*; the fame to whom the twelve Labours are ascribed, native of *Tyrinthia* a City of *Peloponnesus*: (or, as others say, onely nursed and brought up there) who came into *Italy*, and destroyed many Monsters there; being neither that *Hercules*, which *Eusebius* surnameth *Delphin*, famous in *Phœnicia*; nor that *Hercules*, according to *Philostratus*, which came to *Gades*, whom he calleth an *Egyptian*: *Manifestum fit, non Thebanum* Herculem, *sed Egyptium ad Gades perveniſſe, & ibi finem ſtatuiſſe terræ* (saith *Philostratus*;) *It is manifest, that it was the Egyptian* Hercules, *and not the Theban, which travelled as far as the straits of Gades, and there determined the bounds of the Earth.* In this time also while *Moses* wandred in the Desarts, *Dardanus* built *Dardania*.

Lib. de Civit. Dei. c. 12.

Philost. l. 1

But whosoever they were, or how worthy soever they were that lived in the Days and Age of *Moses*, there was never any Man, that was no more than Man, by whom it pleased God to work greater things; whom he favoured more, to whom (according to the appearing of an infinite God) he so often appeared; never any Man more familiar and conversant with Angels; never any more learned both in Divine and Humane Knowledge; never a greater Prophet in *Israel*. He was the first that received and delivered the Law of God entire; the first that left to posterity by Letters, the truth and power of one infinite God; his creating out of nothing the World Universal, and all the Creatures therein; that taught the detestation of Idolatry, and the punishment, vengeance, and eradication, which followed.

Syracides calleth *Moses* the beloved of God and Men, whose remembrance is blessed. *He made him* (saith the same Author) *like to the glorious Saints, and magnified him by the fear of his enemies; made him glorious in the sight of Kings, shewed him his glory, caused him to hear his voice, sanctified him with faithfulness and meekness, and chose him out of all men.*

Syrac. 45. 12.

He is remembred among prophane Authors; as by *Clearchus* the *Peripatetick*: by *Megastenes*, and *Numenius* the *Pythagorian*. The long lives which the *Patriarchs* enjoyed before the flood, remembred by *Moses*, *Estiæus*, *Hieronymus*, *Egyptius*, *Hecateus*, *Elanicus*,

nicus, *Acusilaus*, *Ephorus*, and *Alexander the Historian*, confirm. The universal flood which God revealed unto *Moses*, *Berosus*, *Nicolaus Damascenus*, and others, have testified. The building of the Tower of *Babel*, and confusion of tongues, *Abydenus*, *Estieus*, and *Sybilla* have approved. *Berosus* also honoureth *Abraham*. *Hecatæus* wrote a book of him. *Damascenus* before cited, speaketh of *Abrahams* passage from *Damascus* into *Canaan*, agreeing with the books of *Moses*. *Eupolemon* writeth the very same of *Abraham*, which *Moses* did. For beginning with the building of *Babel*, and the overthrow thereof by divine power, he saith that *Abraham*, born in the tenth generation, in the City called *Camerina*, or *Urien*, excelled all men in wisdom: and by whom the Astrology of the *Caldeans* was invented. *Is justitia pietateque sua* (saith *Eusebius* out of the same Author) *sic Deo gratus fuit, ut divino præcepto in Phœniciam venerit, ibique habitaverit*; *For his justice and piety he was so pleasing unto God, as by his commandment he came into Phœnicia, and dwelt there.* Likewise *Diodorus Siculus* in his second Book and fifth Chapter, speaketh reverently of *Moses*: There are many other among prophane Authors, which do confirm the books of *Moses*, as *Eusebius* hath gathered in the ninth of his *Preparation to the Gospel*, Chapter the third and fourth, to whom I refer the Reader. Lastly, I cannot but for some things in it commend this notable testimony of *Strabo*, who writeth of *Moses* in these words: Moses

Strabo l. 16 *enim affirmavit, docebatque Ægyptios non recte sentire, qui bestiarum & pecorum imagines Deo tribuerunt: Itemque Afros & Græcos, qui diis hominum figuram affinxerunt: id vero solum esse Deum, quod nos, & terram, & mare continet, quod Cœlum, & Mundum, & rerum omnium naturam appellamus: cujus profecto imaginem nemo sanæ mentis, alicujus earum rerum, quæ penes nos sunt, similem audeat effingere. Proinde (omni simulachrorum effictione repudiata) dignum ei Templum ac Delubrum constituendum, ac sine aliqua figura colendum*: Moses *affirmed and taught, that the Egyptians thought amiss, which attributed unto God the images of beasts and cattel: Also that the Africans and Greeks greatly erred in giving unto their gods the shapes of men: whereas that onely is God indeed, which containeth both us, the earth and sea, which we call Heaven, the World, and the nature of all things, whose image, doubtless, no wise man will dare to fashion out unto the likeness of those things, which are amongst us. That therefore (all devising of Idols cast aside) a worthy Temple and place of prayer was to be erected unto him, and he to be worshipped without any figure at all therein.*

Now concerning the *Egyptian* wisdom, for which

Acts 7. 23. the *Martyr Stephen* commended *Moses*, saying, *That* Moses *was learned in all the wisdom of the* Egyptians, *and was mighty in his works and words*; the same is corrected (how truly I know not) by *Diodorus*, *Diogenes Laertius*, *Iamblicus*, *Philo Judæus*, and *Eusebius Cæsariensis*, and divided into four parts, *viz.* Mathematical, Natural, Divine, and Moral.

In the Mathematical part, which is distinguish'd into *Geometry*, *Astronomy*, *Arithmetick*, and *Musick*, the antient *Egyptians* exceed all others. For *Geometry*, which is by interpretation, Measuring of Grounds, was useful unto them: because it consisting of infallible principles, directed them certainly in bounding out their proper Lands and Territories, when their fields and limits, by the inundations of *Nilus*, were yearly overflown and confounded, so as no man could know what in right belonged unto him.

For the second part, to wit, *Astronomy*; the site of the Country being a level and spacious Plain, free and clear from the clouds, yielded them delight with ease, in observing and contemplating the risings, fallings, and motions of the Stars.

Arithmetick also, which is the knowledge of numbers, they studied; because without it, in *Geometry* and *Astronomy*, nothing can be demonstrated or concluded. But of *Musick* they made no other account, nor desired farther knowledge, than seemed to them sufficient to serve and magnifie their Gods, their Kings, and good Men.

The Natural part of this Wisdom, which handleth the principles, causes, elements, and operations of natural things, differs little from *Peripatetical Philosophy*; teaching, that *Materia prima* is the beginning of all things; that of it all mixt bodies, and living creatures have their being; that Heaven is round like a Globe; that all Stars have a certain fovent heat, and temperate influences, whereby all things grow and are produced; that Rains proceed and be from mutations in the Air; that the Planets have their proper souls, *&c.*

The Divine part of this Wisdom, which is called *Theology*, teacheth and believeth that the World had a beginning, and shall perish; that Men had their first original in *Egypt*; partly by means of the temperateness of that Country, where neither Winter with cold, nor Summer with heat, are offensive; and partly through the fertility, that *Nilus* giveth in those places: That the soul is immortal, and hath transmigration from body to body; That God is one, the Father and Prince of all gods, and that from this God, other gods are, as the Sun and Moon, whom they worshipped by the names of *Osiris* and *Isis*, and erected to them Temples, Statues, and divers Images, because the true similitudes of the gods are not known; that many of the gods have been in the estate of mortal men, and after death, for their virtues and benefits bestowed on mankind, have been deified; that those Beasts, whose Images and Forms the Kings did carry in their Arms, when they obtained victory, were adored for Gods: because under those Ensigns they prevailed over their enemies. Moreover the *Egyptian* Divines had a peculiar kind of writing, mystical, and secret, wherein the highest points of their Religion and worship of God, which was to be concealed from the vulgar sort, were obscured.

Clemens distributeth the whole sum of this later *Egyptian* Learning into three several sorts, *viz. Epistolar*, which is used in writing common Epistles; *Sacerdotal*, which is peculiar to their Priests; and *Sacred*, which Sacred containeth Scripture of two kinds: the one proper, which is expressed by letters Alphabetical in obscure and figurative words; as for example, where it is written: The *Ibis* by the Hornet participateth the beauty of the Hawk; which is read thus: The Moon doth by the Sun borrow part of the light of God: because Light is an Image of Divine beauty. The other symbolical, or by signatures, which is threefold, *viz.* Imitative, Tropical, and Ænygmatical: Imitative, which designeth things by characters, like to the things signified; as by a Circle, the Sun; and by the Horns of the Moon, the Moon it self: Tropical or transferent, which applys the divers forms and figures of natural bodies or creatures, to signifie the dignities, fortunes, conditions, virtues, vices, affections and actions of their Gods, and of Men. So with the *Egyptian* Divines, the Image of an Hawk signifieth God; the figure of the Hornet signifieth the Sun; the picture of the Bird *Ibis* signifieth the Moon: by the form of a Man, Prudence and Skilfulness: by a Lion, Fortitude: by a Horse, Liberty: by a Crocodile, Impudency: by a Fish, Hatred is to be understood. Ænygmatical, is a composition, or mixture of Images or Similitudes: in which sence, the monstrous Image of a Lions body having a Mans head, was graven on their Temples and Altars, to signifie, that to

Clem. Stron. l. 5.

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men all divine things are Ænygmatical and obscure. So the Image of the Sun set on the head of a Crocodile, (which liveth as well in the Waters, as on Land) expresseth, that the Sun nourisheth Meteors in the Air, aswell from the Waters, as from the Earth. So a Scepter, at the top whereof is made an Eye, and an Ear, signifieth God, hearing, seeing, and governing all things. The *Scythians* are thought to have been delighted with this kind of writing. For *Pherecides Syrius* reporteth, That when *Darius* sending Letters, threatned *Idanthura*, King of the *Scythians*, with ruine and destruction of his Kingdom, unless he would acknowledge subjection: *Idanthura* returned to him a Mouse, a Frog, a Bird, a Dart, and a Plough-share: which *Orontopagus*, Tribune of the Souldiers, interpreted to signifie, that by the Mouse, their dwellings: by the Frog, their waters: by the Bird, their air: by the Dart, their weapons: by the Plough, their Lands were signified to be ready to be delivered to *Darius*, as their Soveraign Lord. But *Xyphodres* made another construction, *viz.* that the King meant, That except *Darius* with his men did hasten away, as a Bird through the air, or creep into holes as a Mouse, or run into the waters which they had passed as a Frog, they should not escape his arms, but either be slain, or (being made Captives) till his grounds. The same History is with little difference reported by *Herodotus*. *Herod. l. 4.*

The fourth and last part, which is Moral and Politick, doth contain especially the Laws, which (according to *Laertius*) *Mercurius Trismegistus*, or *Ter Maximus* devised: who in his Books or Dialogues of *Pimander* and *Asclepius*, hath written so many things of God, worthy of admiration; aswell (saith *Sixtus Senensis*) of the *Trinity*, and of the coming of *Christ*, as of the last and fearful day of *Judgment*: that (as saith the same Author, the opinion being also antient) he is not onely to be accounted a Philosopher, but a Prophet of things to come.

Iamblicus in his Books of Mysteries of the *Egyptians*, taking two very antient Historians for their Authors, to wit, *Seleucus* and *Menætus*, affirmeth, that this *Mercury* was not only the Inventor of the *Egyptian* Philosophy, but of all other Learning, called the *Wisdom of the Egyptians*, before remembred: and that he wrote of that subject 36525 Books or Pages. Of which there were numbred, of Fiery Spirits, one hundred Books; of Aireal Spirits as many, and of Spirits Celestial a thousand; which because they were out of the *Egyptians* language coverted by certain learned Philosophers into natural *Greek*, they seemed to have been first written in that Tongue. *Clemens Alexandrinus* writeth, that among the Books of *Hermes*, to wit, of the *Wisdom of the Egyptians*, there were extant in his time 36. Of *Physick*, six Books; of the Orders of *Priests*, ten; and of *Astrology*, four. *Clem. Strom. l. 6.*

SECT. VIII.

A Brief of the History of Joshua; *and of the space between him and* Othoniel: *and of the remainders of the* Canaanites; *with a note of some Contemporaries to* Joshua, *and of the breach of Faith.*

After the death of *Moses*, and in the one and fortieth year of the Egress on, in the first moneth called *Nisan*, or *March*, *Joshua* the son of *Nun*, of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, being filled with the Spirit of wisdom, took on him the Government of *Israel*: God giving him comfort, and encouraging him to pass the River of *Jordan*, and to possess and divide among the *Israelites*, the Land promised.

The beginning of *Joshua*'s rule, Saint *Augustine* dates with the reign of *Amyntas*, the eighteenth King in *Assyria*; with *Corax* the sixteenth King in *Sicyonia*; when *Danaus* governed the *Argives*; and *Erichthonius*, *Athens*. *Lib. 18. de Civit. Dei. c. 11.*

Joshua imitating in all things his Predecessor, sent over *Jordan* certain discoverers to view the seat and strength of *Jericho*, the next City unto him on the other side of the River, which he was to pass over. Which discoverers being saved, and sent back by *Rahab*, a woman of ill fame, because she kept a Tavern or Victualling-house, made *Joshua* know, that the inhabitants of *Jericho*, and those of the Countrey about it, hearing of the approach of *Israel*, had lost courage. Whereupon the day after the return of the Spies, which was the sixth day of the one and fortieth year after the Egression, *Joshua* removed from *Sittim* in the plains of *Moab*, and drew down his Army to the banks of the River *Jordan*; and gave them commandment to put themselves in order to follow the *Ark of God*, when the Levites took it up, and moved towards the River, giving them withall this forcible encouragement, That they should thereby assure themselves of his favour and presence, who is Lord of all the World, when the River *Jordan* should be cut off and divided, and the waters coming from above should stand still in a heap, whereby those below towards the *Dead Sea* wanting supply, they might pass over into the Land of *Canaan* with dry feet. *Jos.* 2. 1. *Jos.* 2. 11. *Jos.* 3. 1. *Jos.* 3. 3. *Jos.* 3. 13.

He also commanded *Reuben*, *Gad*, and the half Tribe of *Manasseh*, to prepare themselves (according to their Covenant made with *Moses*) to march in the head of the rest, and, as we call it in this age, to lead the Vaunt-guard, which through all the Desarts of *Arabia*, from the Mount *Sinai* to this place, those of the Tribe of *Judah* had performed. For these Tribes being already provided of their Habitations, and Country, and Cities of the *Amorites*, by the help of the rest conquered for them: it agreed with Justice and Equality, that *Reuben*, *Gad*, and the half of *Manesseh* should also assist their brethren in the obtaining of their parts, as yet in their enemies possession. *Jos.* 1. 12.

On the banks of *Jordan* they rested themselves from the sixth day to the ninth; and on the tenth day of the first moneth *Nisan*, or *March*, they pass'd over to the other side, taking with them twelve stones from the dry ground in the midst of the River: which, for a memory of that miracle by God wrought, they set up at *Gilgal*, on the East-side of the City of *Jericho*, where they incamped the first night. At which place *Joshua* gave commandment, that all born in the last forty years in the Desarts should be circumcised, which ceremony to that day had been omitted. Of the neglect whereof S. *Augustine* giveth for cause, The peoples contempt of their Superiours. *Thomas* excuseth it in this sort; That the *Israelites* knew not the certain time of their removing from one place to another: *Damascen*, That it was not needful by circumcision to distinguish them from other Nations, at such times as they lived by themselves, and a-part from all Nations. *Jos.* 4. 19. *Jos.* 5. 2. *Aug. q. 3. in Jos.* *Thom. part. 3. quæst. 70. art. 4. ad 3*

On the fourteenth day of the same moneth, the children of *Israel* celebrated the *Passover* now the third time; first, at their leaving *Egypt*; secondly, at Mount *Sinai*; and now at *Gilgal*. After which, being desirous to taste of the fruits of the Countrey, and having, as it were, surfeited on *Manna*, they parched of the Corn of the Land, being not yet full ripe, and eat thereof. *Jos.* 5. 10.

And

And as *Moses* began to distribute those Regions beyond *Jordan*, to wit, the Lands of the *Amorites*, which *Og* of *Basan*, and *Sehon* held, so did *Josua* perform the rest; and after a view and partition made of the Territories, he gave to each Tribe his portion by Lot. But this partition and distribution was not done at once, but at three several times; first by *Moses* *Jos.* 14. 3. to *Gad*, *Reuben*, and the half Tribe of *Manasseh*, of the Lands over *Jordan*; secondly, by *Josua*, to the Tribe of *Judah*, *Ephraim*, and the other half Tribe of *Manasse*, about the fifth year of his Government; proved in the 14. of *Josua v.* 10. and a third division was made to *Jos.* 18. the other seven Tribes at *Shilo*, where *Josua* seated the *Tabernacle of the Congregation*.

The victories of *Josua* against the Kings of the *Canaanites*, are so particularly set down in his own Books, as I shall not need to lengthen this part by their repetition. In whose Story I chiefly note these particulars. First, how in the beginning of the War, those little Kings, or *Reguli* of the *Canaanites*, had not so much understanding, as to unite themselves together against the *Israelites*; but according to the custom of those Estates, from whose Governours God hath taken away all Wisdom and foresight, they left those of their own Nation, which were next the invaders, to themselves, and to their own defences; hoping that the fire kindled somewhat far off, might again have been quenched ere it could spread it self so far as their own Territories and Cities. But after such time as *Jerico* and *Ai* were entred, and the Kings, People, and Cities consumed; five of those thirty one Kings (all which at length perished in that War) joyned themselves together, first attempting the *Gibeonites*, who had rendred themselves to *Josua*. Only five (the rest looking on to the success) namely the King of the *Jebusites*, in *Jebus*, or *Jerusalem*; the Kings of *Hebron*, *Jarmoth*, *Lachis*, and *Eglon*, addrest themselves for resistance: whose Army being by *Josua* surprized and broken, themselves despairing to escape by flight, and hopeless of Mercy by submission, creeping into a Cave under Ground, were thence by *Josua* drawn forth and hanged. In the pro- *Jos.* 10. secution of which victory he also took *Mekkedath*, and *Libnah*, and *Lachis*. To the relief whereof *Horam* King of *Gezar* hastened, and perished. After which *Jos.* 10. *Josua* possest himself of *Eglon*, *Hebron*, and *Debir*, destroying the Cities with their Princes.

In the end, and when the South Countreys were possest, the Cities thereof conquered, and their Kings and People made dust: the rest of the *Canaanites*, guided by the over-late counsels of necessity, united themselves, to make one gross strength and body of an Army: which *Jabin*, King of *Hazar*, practised and gathered together, by *Josua* discovered, as the same rested neer the Lake of *Merom*, he used such diligence, as he came on them unawares; and obtaining absolute victory over them, he prosecuted the same to the utmost effect. And, besides the slaughter of the defendants, he entred their Cities, of which he burnt *Hazor* only, reserving the rest for *Israel* to inhabit and enjoy.

Secondly, I note, that *Josua* shewed himself a skilful Man of War, for that in those antient times he used the stratagem of an ambush in taking of *Ai*; and in that he broke the Armies of the first five Kings of the *Amorites*, which attempted *Gibeon* by surprise. *Jos.* 10. 3. For he marched all night from his Camp at *Gilgal*, and set on them early the next day; when he overthrew *Jabin* and his confederate. After which, making the best profit of his victory, he assaulted the great City of *Hazor*.

Thirdly, the miracles which God wrought during this War, were exceeding admirable; as the stay of the River *Jordan* at the Springs, so as the Army of *Israel* past it with a dry Foot; the fall of *Jerico* by the sound of the Horns; the showers of Hail-stones, which fell upon the *Amorites* in their flight from *Gibeon*, whereby more of them perished than by the Sword of *Israel*: again, the arrest of the Sun in the Firmament, whereby the day was so much the more lightened, as the *Israelites* had time to execute all those which fled after the overthrow: a wonder of wonders, and a work only proper to the all-powerful God. *Jos.* 3. 13. *c.* 10. *v.* 11.

Fourthly, out of the passage between *Josua* and the *Gibeonites*, the Doctrine of keeping Faith is so plainly and excellently taught, as it taketh away all evasion, it admitteth no intrusion, nor leaveth open any hole or out-let at all to that cunning perfidiousness, and horrible deceit of this latter age, called *Equivocation*. For, notwithstanding that these *Gibeonites* were a People of the *Hevites*, expresly and by *Jos.* 9 7. name, by the Commandment of God to be rooted out, and notwithstanding that they were lyars, and deceivers, and counterfeits; and that they did over-reach, and as it were, deride *Josua*, and the Princes of *Israel*, by feigning to be sent as Embassadours from a far Countrey, in which travel their clothes were worn, their Bread mouldie, which they avowed to have been warm for newness when they first set out; their Barrels and Bottles of Wine broken; their Shoos patch'd; and their Sacks rent and ragged: Yet *Josua* having *Jos.* 9. from sworn unto them by the Lord God of *Israel*, he the 5th to durst not, though urged by the multitude of the 13th. the People, to lay violent hands on them; but he spared both their lives, and the Cities of their inheritance.

Now if ever Man had warrant to break Faith, and to retract his promise made, *Josua* had it. For first, the Commandment which he received from God to root out this Nation among the rest, preceded by far the peace which he had granted them. Secondly, he might justly have put these Men to the Sword, and have sack'd their Cities, if there be any evasion from a promise made, whereof the living God is called to witness. For it was not to the *Gibeonites* he gave peace, because he knew them to be a people hated of God. He told them, that if they were of the *He-* *Jos.* 9. 7. *vites*, it was not in his power to make a league with them. But it was to a strange People that he gave Faith, and to a Nation which came from far, who hearing of the wonders which the God of *Israel* had *Jos.* 9. 14. done in *Egypt* and over *Jordan*, sought for peace and protection from his People. Thirdly, the accord, which *Israel* made with these crafty *Canaanites*, was without warrant. For it is written in the same place, That the *Israelites* accepted their tale, that is, believed what they had said, *and counselled not with the mouth of the Lord*. Fourthly, these Men who were known Idolaters, and served those Puppets of the Heathen, Men of an apish Religion, as all Worshippers of Images are, could not challenge the witness of the true God, in whom they believed not. I say therefore, that if ever Man might have served himself by any evasion or distinction, *Josua* might justly have done it. For he needed not in this case the help of *Equivocation* or *Mental Reservation*. For what he sware, he sware in good Faith; but he sware nothing, nor made any promise at all to the *Gibeonites*. And yet, to the end that the faithless subtilty of Man should borrow nothing in the future from his example, who knowing well, that the promises he made in the Name of God, were made to the living God, and not to the dying Man, he held them firm and inviolable, notwithstanding that they to whom he had sworn were worshippers of the Devil.

For

For it is not, as faithleſs men take it, that he which ſweareth to a Man, to a Society, to a State, or to a King, and ſweareth by the Name of the living Lord, and in his preſence, That this promiſe (if it be broken) is broken to a Man, to a Society, to a State, or to a Prince; but the Promiſe in the Name of God made, is broken to God. It is God that we therein neglect: we therein profeſs that we fear him not, and that we ſet him at naught, and defie him. If he that without reſervation of Honour, giveth a lie in the preſence of the King, or of his Superiour, doth, in point of Honour, give the lie to the King himſelf, or to his Superiour; how much more doth he break Faith with God, that giveth Faith in the preſence of God, promiſeth in his Name, and makes him a witneſs of the Covenant made?

Out of doubt, it is a fearful thing for a Son to break the Promiſe, Will, or Deed of the Father; for a State, or Kingdom, to break thoſe Contracts which have been made in former times, and confirmed by publick Faith. For though it were 400 years after *Joſhua*, that *Saul*, even out of devotion, ſlaughtered ſome of thoſe people deſcended of the *Gibeonites:* yet God, who forgat not what the Predeceſſors and Fore-fathers of *Saul* and the *Iſraelites* had ſworn in his Name, afflicted the whole Nation with a conſuming famine; and could not be appeaſed, till ſeven of *Sauls* ſons were delivered to the *Gibeonites* grieved, and by them hanged up.

And certainly, if it be permitted by the help of a ridiculous diſtinction, or by a God-mocking equivocation, to ſwear one thing by the Name of the living God, and to reſerve in ſilence a contrary intent: the life of Man, the eſtates of Men, the faith of Subjects to Kings, of Servants to their Maſters, of Vaſſals to their Lords, of Wives to their Husbands, and of Children to their Parents, and of all trials of right, will not onely be made uncertain, but all the chains whereby free-men are tied in the world, be torn aſunder. It is by Oath (when Kings and Armies cannot paſs) that we enter into the Cities of our enemies, and into their Armies: it is by Oath that Wars take end, which weapons cannot end. And what is it, or ought it to be, that makes an Oath thus powerful, but this; That he that ſweareth by the Name of God, doth aſſure others that his words are true, as the Lord of all the World is true, whom he calleth for a Witneſs, and in whoſe preſence he that taketh the Oath hath promiſed? I am not ignorant of their poor evaſions, which play with the ſeverity of Gods Commandments in this kind: But this indeed is the beſt anſwer, That he breaks no faith, that hath none to break. For whoſoever hath faith and the fear of God, dares not do it.

The *Chriſtians* in the *Holy Land*, when they were at the greateſt, and had brought the *Caliph* of *Egypt* to pay them tribute, did not onely loſe it again, but were ſoon after beaten out of the *Holy Land* it ſelf: by reaſon (ſaith *William* of *Tyre*, a reverend Biſhop which wrote that Story) that *Almerick* the fiftieth King after *Godfrey* brake faith with the *Caliph Elhadech*, and his Vicegerent. The *Soldan Sanar*, who being ſuddenly invaded by *Almerick*, drew in the *Turk Syracon* to their aid: whoſe Nephew *Seladine*, after he had made *Egypt* his own, beat the *Chriſtians* out of the *Holy Land*; neither would the wooden Croſs (the very *Croſs*, ſay they, that Chriſt died on) give them victory over *Seladine*, when they brought it into the field as their laſt refuge, ſeeing they had foreſworn themſelves in his Name that was crucified thereon. And if it be a direction from the Holy Ghoſt, *That he that ſpeaketh lies, ſhall be deſtroyed*, and that *the mouth which uttereth them, ſlayeth the ſoul:* how much more perillous is it (if any peril be greater than to deſtroy the ſoul) to ſwear a lie? It was *Eugenius* the Pope, that perſwaded, or rather commanded the King of *Hungary* after his great victory over *Amurath* the *Turk*, and when the ſaid King had compelled him to peace, the moſt advantagious that ever was made for the Chriſtians, to break his Faith, and to provoke the *Turk* to renew the War. And though the ſaid King was far ſtronger in the field than ever; yet he loſt the battel with 30000 *Chriſtians*, and his own life. But I will ſtay my hand: For this firſt volume will not hold the repetition of Gods judgements upon Faith-breakers; be it againſt *Infidels*, *Turks*, or *Chriſtians* of divers Religions. Lamentable it is, that the taking of Oaths now-a-days, is rather made a matter of cuſtom, than of conſcience.

Pſal. 5.6. *Wiſd.* 1.11

It is alſo very remarkable, That it pleaſed God to leave ſo many Cities of the *Canaanites* unconquered by *Iſrael*, to ſcourge and afflict them, by fore-ſeeing their Idolatry, and, as it is ſaid in the Scriptures, *To be thorns in their eyes to prove them, and to teach them to make War.* For theſe Cities hereafter named did not onely remain in the *Canaanites* poſſeſſion all the time of *Joſhua*; but ſoon after his death the children of *Dan* were beaten out of the plain Countries, and enforc'd to inhabit the Mountains, and places of hardeſt acceſs. And thoſe of *Judah* were not able to be maſters of their own Vallies; becauſe, as it is written in the *Judges*, The *Canaanites* had Chariots of Iron. And thoſe principal Cities which ſtood on the Sea-ſide, adjoyning unto *Judah*, were ſtill held by the remainder of the *Anakims*, or *Philiſtims:* as *Azzah*, *Gath*, *Aſdod*; out of one of which Cities came *Goliath*, remembred in *Samuel*.

Joſh. 23. *Judg.* 1. & *Judg.* 3.2. *Judg.* 1.34 *Judg.* 1.19 *Joſ.* 11.19. 1 *Sam.* 17. 4.

Neither did the children of *Manaſſeh* over *Jordan* expel the *Geſhurites*, nor the *Maachathites*; which inhabited the North parts of *Baſhan*, afterward *Traconitis*.

Nor the *Nepthalims* poſſeſs themſelves of *Bethſhemiſh*, nor of *Bethanah*; but they inforc'd thoſe *Canaanites* to pay them tribute. Neither did *Aſher* expell the *Zidonians*, nor thoſe of *Acho*, or *Acon*, *Athlah*, *Achzib*, *Heblah*, *Aphike*, and *Rehob*, nor inforc'd them to tribute.

Joſ. 13.13. *Judg.* 1.31

No more could *Zabulon* enjoy *Kitron*, and *Nahalol*, but received tribute from them. Alſo the *Canaanites* dwelt in *Gezer* among the *Ephraims:* and among the children of *Manaſſeh*, on the Weſt of *Jordan*, the *Canaanites* held *Bethſhean*, *Taacnah*, *Dor*, *Ibleam*, and *Megaddo*; yea *Jeruſalem* it ſelf did the *Jebuſites* defend above four hundred years, even till *David*'s time.

Joſ. 16.10. *Jud.* 1. 27

Now *Joſhua* lived one hundred and ten years, eighteen of which he governed *Iſrael*, and then changed this life for a better. The time of his rule is not expreſſed in the Scriptures, which cauſeth divers to conjecture diverſly of the continuance. *Joſephus* gives him five and twenty years: *Seder Ollam Rabbi*, the Authors of the *Hebrew Chronologie*, eight and twenty; and *Maſſius* ſix and thirty: *Maimonius* cited by *Maſſius*, fourteen: *Joannes Lucidus*, ſeventeen: *Cajetanus*, ten: *Euſebius* giveth him ſeven and twenty: and ſo doth S. *Auguſtine:* *Melanchon*, two and thirty: *Codoman*, five and twenty. But whereas there paſſed 480 years from the delivery of *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*, unto the building of the Temple, it is neceſſary that we allow to *Joſhua* onely eighteen of them; as finding the reſt ſupplyed otherwiſe, which to me ſeems the moſt likely, and as I think, a well-approved opinion.

The ſame neceſſity of retaining preciſely 480 years from the departure out of *Egypt* unto the building of the Temple, convinceth of errour, ſuch as have inſerted

ſerted years between *Joſua* and *Othoniel*, of whom *Euſebius* finds eight years, to which *Arius Montanus* adhereth; and for which he giveth his reaſon in his four and twentieth and laſt Chapters upon *Joſua*: *Bunting* reckons it nine Years: *Bucolzer* and *Reuſner* but one; *Codoman*, twenty; and *Nicephorus* no leſs than three and thirty: whereas following the ſure direction of theſe 480 Years, there can be no void years found between *Joſua* and *Othoniel*, unleſs they be taken out of thoſe eighteen aſcribed unto *Joſua* by the account already ſpecified. The praiſes and acts of *Joſua* are briefly written in the ſix and fortieth Chap. of *Eccleſiaſticus*, where among many other things it is ſaid of him, *Who was there before him like to him, for he fought the Battels of the Lord.*

Euſeb. præp. Evang.

That he wrote the Book called by this name, it was the opinion of *Arius Montanus*, becauſe it is ſaid in the laſt Chapter, *verſe 26. And* Joſua *wrote theſe words in the Book of the Law of God*; which ſeemeth rather to have been meant by the Covenant which *Joſua* made with *Iſrael* in *Sichem*, where they all promiſed to ſerve and obey the Lord: which promiſe *Joſua* cauſed to be written in the Book of the Law: and of this opinion were *Cajetan* and *Abulenſis*: *Theodoret* doth likewiſe conceive, that the Book of *Joſua* was collected out of an antient Volume, intituled *Liber Juſtorum*, remembred by *Joſua* himſelf; and others, that it was the work of *Samuel*: for whereas *Montanus* groundeth his opinion upon theſe words of the 26th Verſe, *And* Joſua *wrote theſe words*, &c. this place hath nothing in it to prove it: for when the People had anſwered *Joſua*; *The Lord our God will we ſerve, and his voice will we obey*, it followeth that *Joſua* made a Covenant with the People, and wrote the ſame in the Book of the Law of God.

1 *Sam.* 10. 13.

Joſ. 5. 24 26.

There lived at once with *Joſua*, *Ericthonius* in *Attica*, who taught that Nation to yoke Beaſts together, thereby to till the ground with more eaſe and ſpeed: And about the ſame time the fifty Daughters of *Danaus* (as it is ſaid) ſlew the fifty Sons of *Egyptus*, all but *Linceus*, who ſucceeded *Danaus*, if the tale be true. There lived alſo with *Joſua*, *Phœnix*, and *Cadmus*, and neer the end of *Joſua*'s life, *Jupiter* is ſaid to have raviſhed *Europa* the Daughter of *Phœnix* (afterward married to *Auſterius* King of *Creta*) and begat on her *Minos*, *Radamanthus*, and *Sarpedon*. But St. *Auguſtine* reports this raviſhment to be committed by *Xanthus*, and yet they are more commonly taken for the Sons of *Jupiter*. But it may be doubted whether *Minos* was Father to *Deucalion*, and *Deucalion* to *Idomeneus*, who was an old Man at the War of *Troy*, and *Sarpedon* was in perſon a young or ſtrong Man at the ſame *Trojan* War. And ſo doth *Neſtor* reckon up in the Councel of the *Greeks*, *Theſeus* and *Peritheus* for Men of Antiquity and of Ages paſt: *Minos* being yet more antient than any of theſe. But hereof elſewhere.

Lib. 18. *c.* 12. *de Civ. Dei*

Homer Odyſſ. & Iliad.

Hom. Iliad 1.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Tribes of Iſrael *that were planted in the borders of* Phœnicia, *with ſundry Stories depending upon thoſe places.*

SECT. I.

The Proœm to the deſcription of the whole Land of Canaan; *with an Expoſition of the name of* Syria.

THe Story of the *Judges* ought to follow that of *Joſua*, after whom the Common-wealth of the Jews was governed by Kings, of which ſo many of them as ruled the ten Tribes, ſhall be remembred when we come to the deſcription of *Samaria*: but becauſe the Land of *Canaan*, and the borders thereof, were the Stages and Theaters, whereon the greateſt part of the Story paſt, with that which followeth, hath been acted, I think it very pertinent (for the better underſtanding of both) to make a *Geographical* deſcription of thoſe Regions: that all things therein perform'd by the places known, may the better be underſtood, and conceived. To which purpoſe (beſides the addition of the neighbour Countries) I have beſtowed on every Tribe his proper portion: and do ſhew what Cities and Places of ſtrength were by the Jews obtained: and what numbers it pleaſed God to leave unconquered; by whom he might correct and ſcourge them, when ungrateful for his many graces, they at ſundry times forgat or neglected the Lord of all power, and adored thoſe deaf and dead Idols of the Heathen. *Divina bonitas* (ſaith *Auguſtine*) *ideo maximè iraſcitur in hoc ſeculo, ne iraſcatur in futuro: & miſericorditer temporalem adhibet ſeveritatem, ne æternam juſtè inferat ultionem*; *The Divine goodneſs is eſpecially therefore angry in this World, that it may not be angry in the World to come, and doth mercifully uſe temporal ſeverity, that it may not juſtly bring upon us eternal vengeance.*

To the Cities herein deſcribed, I have added a ſhort Story of the beginnings and ends of divers Kingdoms and Common-weals: and to help my ſelf herein, I have peruſed divers of the beſt Authors upon this ſubject: among whom, becauſe I find ſo great diſagreement in many particulars, I have rather in ſuch caſes adventured to follow mine own reaſon, than to borrow any one of their old patterns.

And becauſe *Canaan*, with *Paleſtina* of the *Philiſtims*, and the Lands of *Og* and *Sehon* Kings of *Baſan*, and the *Arabian Amorites*, were but ſmall Provinces of *Syria*: it ſhall be neceſſary firſt to divide and bound the general, and ſo to deſcend to this particular, now called the *Holy Land*.

Syria, now *Soria*, according to the largeſt deſcription, and as it was antienly taken, imbraced all thoſe Regions from the *Euxine Sea*, to the *Red Sea*: and therefore were the *Cappadocians*, which look into

Ptol. Aſiæ. tab. 4. *Ptol.* 5.

Pontus, called *Leucosyrians*, or white *Syrians*. But taking it shorter, and from the coast of *Cilicia*, which is the North border, unto *Idumæa*, towards the South, *Tigris* towards the Sun-rising, and the *Mediterran Sea* Westward: it then containeth besids *Babylonia*, *Chaldæa*, *Arabia the Desart*, and *Arabia Petræa*, that Region also which the *Greeks* call *Mesopotamia*, the *Hebrews Syria*, of the two Rivers, to wit, *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, for so *Aran Naharajim* is expounded: also *Padan Aram*; that is, *Jugum Syriæ*, because the two Rivers go along in it as it were in a yoke.

Auvogalas *Edessa*, sometime *Rages*, now *Rage*, was the Metropolis of this Region of *Syria*. In *Syria* taken largely, there were many small Provinces, as *Cœlosyria*, which the *Latins* call *Syria Cava*, because it lay in that fruitful Valley between the Mountains of *Lybanus*, and *Antilybanus*, in which the famous Cities of *Antioch*, *Laodicea*, *Apamea*, with many others, were seated. Then *Damascena*, or *Syria Lybanica*, taking name of
1 *King.* 11. the City *Damascus*, and the Mountains of *Lybanus*, the Regal seat of the *Adades*, the first Kings of *Syria*. Adjoyning to it was the Province of *Sophene*, or *Syria Soba*, *Choba*, or *Zobal*: over which *Adadezer*
Herod in Pelim Dio. l. 27. commanded in *Solomon*'s time. Then *Phœnicia*, and the People *Syraphœnicies*: and lastly, *Syria Palæstina* bordering *Egypt*: of which *Ptolomy* maketh *Judæa*
Ptol. Asiæ ab. 4. also a part: and to that Province which *Moses* calleth *Seir* and *Edom*, *Pomponius Mela* giveth the name of *Syria Judæa*.

SECT. II.

Of the bounds of the Land of Canaan, and of the promises touching this Land.

But that Land which was antiently *Canaan*, taketh a part of *Phœnicia*, and stretcheth from behind *Lybanus* to the great *Desarts* between *Idumæa* and *Egypt*: bounded by the *Mid-land Sea* on the West, and the Mountains of *Hermon*, *Galaad*, and *Arnon*
Strab. l. 10. towards the East: the same Hills which *Strabo* calleth *Traconi*, or *Traconitæ*, and *Ptolemie*, *Hippus*. The name of *Canaan* it had from *Canaan* the Son of *Cham*:
Caleb. f. 62. *Et lingua appellata fuit* Canaan; *The language was also called* Canaan, saith *Montanus*: and after *Hebræa* of the *Hebrews*, who took name from *Heber*, the Son of *Sale*, according to S. *Augustine*. But *Arias Montanus* not so well allowing of this derivation, makes it a common name to all those of *Noah*'s Sons, who past over *Euphrates* towards the West Sea. For the word *Heber*, saith he, is as much as *transiens*, or *transmittens of going*, or *passing over*. And because the Children of *Abraham* had for a long time no certain abiding: therefore, as he thinks, they were by the *Egyptians* called *Hebræi*, as it were passengers, which is also the opinion of *C. Sigonius*, and of *Eusebius* long before
Euseb. prap Evan. l. 7. *c.* 3. them both. It had also the name of *Judæa* from *Juda*; and then afterwards intituled the *Holy Land*, because therein our *Saviour Christ* was Born, and Buried. Now this part of *Syria* was again divided into four; namely into *Edom*, (otherwise *Seir*, or *Edumæa*) *Galilee*, *Samaria*, and *Judæa*. *Galilee* is double, the *superiour* called *Gentium*, and the *inferiour*: and that *Galilee* and *Judæa* are distinguished, it is plain in the
Matth. 2. *Luke* 2. *John* 4. *Evangelists*, though both of them belong to *Phœnicia*.

Now besides these Provinces of *Phœnicia*, and *Palæstina* (both which the River of *Jordan* boundeth; saving that *Phœnicia* stretcheth a little more Easterly towards *Damascus*) that part also of the East of *Jordan*, and within the Mountains of *Hermon*, *Gilead*, and *Arnon*, otherwise *Traconi*, fell to the possession of half *Manasse*, *Gad*, and *Reuben*, and therefore are accounted apart of *Canaan* also: as well because antiently possest by the *Amorites*, as for that they were conquered and enjoyed by the *Israelites*; which Eastermost parts are again divided into *Basan*, or *Batanea*, into *Gilead*, *Moab*, *Midian*, *Ammon*, and the Territories of the *Machati*, *Gessuri*, *Argobe*, *Hus*. They are known to the later *Cosmographers* by the name of *Arabia* in general: and by the names of *Traconitis*, *Piceria Batanea*, *&c.* of which I will speak in their proper places.

But where *Moses* describeth the Land of *Canaan* in the tenth of *Genesis*, he maketh no mention of the later Provinces, which fell to *Manasse*, *Gad*, and *Reuben*, for these are his words: *Then the border of the Canaanites was from Zidon, as thou comest to Gerar until Azzah* (which is *Gaza*) and this was the length of the Country North and South: then it followeth in the Text *And as thou goest unto Sodom and Gomorrah, and Admah, and Seboim, even unto Lasha*: by which words *Moses* setteth down the breadth, to wit, from the *Dead Sea* to the *Mediterran*. But in *Deuteronomy* it seemeth to be far more large: For it is therein written; *All the places whereon the soal of your Feet shall* *Deut.* 11. 24. *tread, shall be yours: your coast shall be from the Wilderness, and from Libanon, and from the River Perah, unto the uttermost Sea.* Now for the length of the Country North and South, this description agreeth with the former: only *Libanon* is put for *Zidon*; and the *Wilderness* for *Gerar* and *Azza*, which make no difference: but for the breadth and extent East and West, if *Perah* be taken for *Euphrates*: then the Land promised stretcheth it self both over *Arabia Petræa*, and the *Desart*, as far as the border of *Babylon*: which the *Israelites* never possest; nor at any time did so much as invade or attempt. And therefore *Vadianus* doth conceive, that by the River *Perah* was meant *Jordan*, and not *Euphrates*: taking light from this place of *Jos.* 23. 4. *Josua*: *Behold, I have divided unto you by lot these Nations, that remain to be an inheritance according to your Tribes: from Jordan, with all the Nations that I have destroyed, even unto the great Sea Westward.*

And though it be true, that *David* greatly enlarged the Territory of the *Holy Land*: yet as *Vadianus* well *Vadian. Epitom. trium terræ partium c. Palæstin.* noteth, if *Perah* in the former place be taken for *Euphrates*, then was it put *per in gentes amicitiam receptas*. For *David* did not at any time enter so far to the East as *Assyria*, or *Babylonia*. Neither doth the not possessing of all these Countries give advantage to those that would make any irreligious cavil, as touching the promise of God to the *Israelites* unperformed: For when both their Kings, Magistrates, and People, fell from his worship and service, it pleased him not only to inclose them within that Territory, which was for so many people exceeding narrow; but therein and elsewhere to subject them unto those Idolatrous Nations, whose false and foolish gods themselves also served and obeyed. And sure the promise by which the *Hebrews* claimed the inheritance of *Canaan*, and the lasting enjoying thereof, to wit, *as long as the* *Deut.* 11. 21. *Heavens were above the Earth*, was tied to those conditions, both in the Verses preceding, and subsequent; which the *Israelites* never performed. And therefore they could not hope for other than all mankind could or can expect; who knew that all sorts of comforts from the merciful goodness of God looked for, as well in this life as after it, are no longer to be attended, then while we persevere in his love, service, and obedience. So in the eighth Verse of the eleventh of *Deuteronomy*, the keeping of Gods Commandments was a condition joyned to the prosperity of *Israel*.

Israel. For therein it is written; *Therefore shall ye*
Deut. 11. *keeep all the Commandments which I command you this day: that ye may be strong, and go in, and possess the Land, whither ye go to possess it. Also that you may prolong your days in the Land which the Lord sware unto your Fathers, &c.*

The like condition was also annexed to the enjoying of the Land conquered, and the possession thereof, so long as the Heavens were above the Earth. *For if ye keep diligently,* saith he, *all these Command-*
Deut. 11. *ments, which I command you to do, that is, to love the Lord your God, &c. then will the Lord cast out all those Nations before you, and ye shall possess great Nations, and mightier than you.* And here, though it be manifest, that by reason of the breach of Gods Commandments, and their falling away from the worship of his all-powerful Majesty, to the Idolatry of the Heathen, the conditional promises of God were absolutely void, as depending upon obedience unperformed: yet I cannot misslike that exposition of *Melanchon: For,* saith he, *Ostendit promissionem præcipuam non esse de hoc politico Regno; He sheweth that his chief promise is not of a civil Kingdom.* To which agrees that answer which St. *Hierome* made to a certain Heretick in his Epistle *ad Dardanum,* who accused St. *Hierome,* that he overthrew the reputation of the *Jews* Story, and brought the truth thereof in question, by drawing it altogether into an *Allegorie,* and *ad illam duntaxat viventium terram qua in cœlis est;* (that is) *Only to that land of the living which is in Heaven. Quoniam tota Judæorum Regio adeo angusta sit ambitu, ut vix longitudinem habeat 160 milliarium, latitudinem verò 40 & in his etiam regiones, loca, urbes, & oppida sunt plurima, nunquam à Judæis occupata, sed tantùm divina pollicitatione promissa;* Because the whole Countrey of the Jews is so narrow in compass, that it scarce hath 160 miles in length, and 40 miles in breadth, and in these are Countries, Places, Cities, and many Towns, which the Jews never possest, but were only granted by divine promise. In like manner the same Father speaketh upon *Esay,* touching the blessings promised unto *Jerusalem,* where he hath these words: *De quo discimus Hierusalem nequaquam in Pa-*
Sap. 49. 14. *lestinæ regione petendam, qua totius Provinciæ, deterrima est: & saxosis montibus asperator, & penuriam patitur sitis: ita ut cœlestibus utatur pluviis, & raritatem fontium cisternarum extructione soleat: sed in Dei manibus, ad quam dicitur, festinavarunt structores tui;* From whence, saith he, *we learn, that Jerusalem is not to be sought in that region of Palestina, which is the worst of the whole Province, and ragged with craggy Mountains, and suffereth the penury of Thirst: so as it preserveth rain Water, and supplyeth the scarsity of Wells by building of Cisterns; but this Jerusalem is in Gods hands, to which it is said, Thy builders have hastened:* so far St. *Hierome;* where also, to prevent mistaking, he thus expoundeth himself: *Neque hoc dico in suggillationem terræ Judææ, ut hæreticus Sycophanta mentitur; aut quo auferam historiæ veritatem, quæ fundamentum est intelligentiæ spiritualis: sed ut detestiam supercilium Judæorum, qui Synagogæ angustias latitudini Ecclesiæ præferunt: Si enim occidentem tantum sequuntur literam, & non spiritum vivificantem, ostendant terram promissionis lacte & melle manantem;* Neither (saith he) *say I this to disgrace the land of Judæa, as the heretical Sycophant doth belie me: or to take away the truth of the History, which is the Foundation of spiritual understanding: but to beat down the pride of the Jews, which enlarge the straits of the Synagogue farther than the breadth of the Church: For if they follow only the killing letter, and not the quickening spirit, let them shew the Land of promise, flowing with Milk and Honey.*

By this it may also be gathered, howsoever it be unlikely (seeing the West-bound in the place, *Deut.* 11. 24. had his truth in the literal sense, that *Euphrates* or *Perath,* which is made the East-bound, should be taken only in a spriritual sense) yet nevertheless that *Hierom*'s opinion inclineth to this, as if this *Perath* were not to be understood for *Euphrates,* and that the promise it self was never so large: much less the plantation and conquest of *Israel.*

And now for a more particular description of this *Holy Land,* because *Asher, Nepthalim,* and *Zabulon* held the Northermost part, and were seated in *Phœnicia,* I will begin with these three, taking *Asher* for the first: of which Tribe yet before I spake, I must admonish the Reader touching the names of places in this, and the other Tribes to be mentioned, that he remember that many names, by reason of the divers fancies of Translators, are diversly expressed, so that to the unskilfull they may seem divers, when they are one and the same: the reason of this diversity (as by those learned in the *Hebrew* I am taught) is, partly because the antient Editions of the *Hebrew* want vowels, the old Translators imagined other vowels than now the *Hebrew* Editions have; and partly, because the Antient expressed or omitted divers consonants, otherwise than the later do think fit.

SECT. III.

THE TRIBE OF ASHER.

§. I.

The bounds of the Tribe of Asher.

THe *Asherites* descended of *Asher* the Son of *Jacob* by *Zelpha,* the hand-maid of *Lea,* were increased while they abode in *Egypt,* to the number of 41500 and odd persons, all men above twenty years of age, and able to bear arms, at the time when they were mustered by *Moses* at Mount *Sinai:* all which number perishing in the Desarts, there remained of their issues, besides Women and Children, 53400 bodies fit for the Wars: which past the River of *Arnon* into the Plains of *Moab,* and after the conquest of *Canaan,* had for their portion that part of *Phœnicia,* from *Zidon* and the Fields of *Libanus,* unto *Ptolomais Acon* alongst the Sea-coast, containing thirty English miles, or thereabout: and from the Mid-land Sea to the East border some twelve miles: though *Antoninus* *Ant. Itin.* makes it somewhat larger. This part of *Canaan* was very fruitful, abounding in Wine, Oyl, and Wheat, besides the *Balsamum,* with other pleasant and profitable commodities: according to that *Propheſy,* Asser *pinguis panis:* Concerning *Asser,* his Bread *Gen.* 40. shall be fat: *And he shall give pleasures for a King.*

§. II.

Of Zidon.

THe first City seated on the North border of the Territory of *Asser,* was *Zidon,* which *Josua* calleth the great *Zidon,* both for strength and magnitude. The *Greeks* and *Q. Curtius* make *Agenor* the *Justin. l. 18* founder thereof: and *Justine* derives the name from the abundance of Fish found on those shores: wherefore it hath been called *Zidona.* But that it was far more antient, *Moses, Josua,* and *Josephus* witness, *Gen.* 10. the same being founded by *Zidon* the eldest of *Cana-* *Joseph.* *an*'s Sons; and so strong it was in *Josua*'s time, as nei-

ther did himſelf attempt it, neither could the *Aſſerites*, or any of their ſucceſſours maſter it: but it continued all the time of the *Judges* and *Kings*, even unto the coming of *Chriſt*; a City interchangeably governed, by their own Princes or other Magiſtrates: though according to the warnings and threats of the Prophets, *Eſay*, *Jeremiah*, *Ezechiel*, and *Zacharias*, it was often afflicted, both by the enemies Sword, and by the Peſtilence.

Eſa. 23. *Jer.* 47. *Ezek.* 28. & 32. *Zac.* 9.

Zidon is ſeated on the very waſh of the *Phœnician Sea*, which is a part of the *Mediterran* or *Mid-land Sea*, *&c.* It hath to the North the City of *Berythus*, and the River *Leontis*: and to the South *Sarepta*, or *Sarphat*, which ſtandeth between it and *Tyre*: the diſtance between which two great and famous Cities, to wit, *Zidon* and *Tyre*, is fourteen thouſand paces, ſaith *Seiglerus*: but *Vadianus* makes it two hundred furlongs, and ſo doth *Weiſſingbury* in his deſcription of the holy Land, and both from *Strabo*: which two hundred furlongs make five and twenty miles. This difference of diſtance as well between theſe two known Cities, as all the reſt, make it over-difficult to deviſe any new Scale to the Map and Deſcription of the Holy Land.

Paleſt. Seig. f. 19. *Vadian. Phæn. f.* 273. *Strabo. l.* 16.

What Kings it had till *Agenors* time there is no memory: the ſtory which *Zeno* the Philoſopher, who was a *Zidonian*, wrote thereof, being by time conſumed and loſt. It ſeemeth to be more antient than *Tyre*; which was alſo built by the *Zidonians*. For as * *Strabo* noteth, *Homer* ſpeaking of *Zidon*, neglecteth the memory of *Tyre*, becauſe it was but a member of *Zidon*; and a City ſubject to the Kings thereof: though it be true that in after-times it contended with *Zidon* for Primacy, and became far more renowned, opulent, and ſtrong: From *Zidon* had *Solomon* and *Zorobabel* the principal workmen, both in Timber and Stone, for the building of the Temple. For as it flouriſhed in all ſorts of Learning, ſo did it in all other Mechanical Arts or Trades: the Prophet *Zachary* calling them the *wiſe Zidionians*. The City was both by Nature and Art exceeding ſtrong, having a Caſtle or Citadell on the North-ſide, ſtanding upon an unacceſſible Rock, and compaſſed by the Sea, which after the Citizens became Chriſtians, was held and defended by the Knights of the *Dutch* Order: and another Caſtle it hath on the South-ſide by the Port of *Egypt*, which the Templers guarded. It alſo ſent many other *Colonies* beſide that of *Tyre*, into places remote: as unto *Thebes*, and *Sephyra*, Cities of *Bœotia* in *Greece*. *Strabo* and *Pliny* give the *Zidonians* the invention of * Glaſs, which they uſed to make of thoſe Sands which are taken out of the River *Belus*, falling into the *Medeterran Sea*, near *Ptolomais*, or *Acon*: and from whence the *Venetians* fetch the matter of thoſe cleer Glaſſes which they make at *Murana*: of which St. *Hierom* and *Pliny*: Zidon *inſignis artifex vitri*: Zidon *vitrariis officinis nobilis*; Zidon *a famous Glaſs-maker, or a skilful worker in Glaſs-houſes.*

* *Strabo, l.* 16. *Zach.* 9. 2. *Herod. l.* 5. *Plin. l.* 5. *c.* 9.

* It ſeems that even in *Joſua's* time they practiſed glaſs-making, whence *Junius* for *Miſphreboth majim*, which *ad verbum* is as much as *combuſtiones aquarum*, reads *fornaces vitrarias*, *Joſ.* 11. 8. as it ſeems, becauſe thoſe Fornaces were where there was ſtore of Water, either for the moving of the Bellows by the force of the Water, or for other neceſſary uſes. But there are others that take them for Salt-pits, and others again for hot Baths.

They were in Religion Idolaters (as the reſt of the *Cananites*) worſhippers of *Baal* and † *Aſtaroth*: which Idols though common to the other of the iſſue of *Canaan* (as *Pinead* gathers out of 1 *Sam.* 31. 10. and *Judg.* 10. 6.) yet eſpeciallly and peculiarly were accounted the gods of the *Zidonians*: as appears 1 *Reg.* 11. 5. in the Story of *Solomon's* Idolartry, where *Aſtaroth* is called the god of the *Zidonians*; and 1 *Reg.* 16. 33. in the ſtory of *Achab*, the chief worſhipper of *Baal*, where it is ſaid, that he marrying *Jezabel* the Daughter of the King of the *Zidonians*, worſhipped their *Baal*. Divers *Baals* and divers *Aſtaroths* in their Idolatries they acknowledged: as it appears by the plural names of *Baalim*, and *Aſtaroth*, 1 *Sam.* 12. 10. and elſewhere: for even the name *Aſtaroth*, as I am informed by a skilful *Hebrician*, is plural; the ſingular being *Aſtoreth*: whence *Judg.* 2. 13. the *Septuagint* read ἐλάτρευσαν τοῖς ἀσταρταις· *They worſhipped the Aſtarties.* The occaſion of this their multiplying of their *Baals* and *Aſtoreths*, may be diverſly underſtood: either in reſpect of the diverſity of the forms of the Images, or of the worſhip in divers places, or of the ſtories depending upon them: which (as fables uſe to be) were doubtleſs in divers Cities divers. *Auguſtine quæſt.* 19. *in Judg.* thinks *Baal* and *Aſtarte* to be *Jupiter* and *Juno*. For the *Carthaginians* (which were *Tyrians*) call *Juno* by ſuch a name as *Aſtarte*. *Tully*, *lib.* 3. *de Nat. Dearum*, making divers *Goddeſſes* of the name of *Venus*, expounds the fourth to be *Aſtarte*: whom he makes to be born of *Tyrus* and *Syria*, and to have been the Wife of *Adonis*: as alſo *Macrob.* 2. *Saturn cap.* 21. ſays, that *Adonis* was with great veneration commonly worſhipped of the *Aſſyrians*: and *Hierome* upon *Ezek.* 8. 44. notes that *Tammuz* (whom there the Idolatrous Women are noted to bewail) is the name of *Adonis* among the *Syrians*. So that it may ſeem that in the worſhip of *Aſtarte* or *Venus*, they did bewail her husband *Adonis*: as alſo the *Grecians* did in their Songs of *Adonis*: *Mourn for* Adonis *the fair, dead is* Adonis *the fair.* Howbeit others in that place of *Ezekiel* not without good probability, expound the mourning for *Thammuz*, to be the mourning for *Oſiris* in the ſacrifice of *Iſis*: whoſe loſs of her Husband *Oſiris*, was as famous in the *Egyptian* Idolatry, as with the *Grecians*, *Venus* loſs of *Adonis*. And to this agreeth that which *Plutarch* hath, *de Iſide & Oſiride*, that *Oſiris* with the *Egyptians* is called *Ammuz*: which word may ſeem to be the ſame with *Ezekiels Thammuz*. But howſoever theſe *Zidonians* were thus antiently foſtered with the Milk of Idolatry: yet they were more apt to receive the Doctrine of the Goſpel of *Chriſt* after his Aſcenſion, than the *Jews*: who had been taught by *Moſes* and the *Prophets* ſo many years, whereof our Saviour in *Matthew* and *Luke*: *Wo be to thee Corazin, &c. for if the great works which were done in thee, had been done in Tyrus and Zidon, they had repented long agon, &c. but I ſay unto you, it ſhall be eaſier for Tyrus and Zidon at the day of judgment, than for you.*

Κλαίετο καλὸς Ἀδωνιν.

Mat. 11. 21.

It received a *Chriſtian* Biſhop with the firſt: who was afterward of the Dioceſs of *Tyre*. But in the year of our Redemption 636 it fell into the hands of the *Saracens*, and continued in their poſſeſſion till *Baldwinus* the firſt, then King of *Jeruſalem*: in the year 1111, by the help of the *Danes* and *Norwaies*, who came with a Fleet to viſit the *Holy Land*, and took Port at *Joppa*, it was again recovered, the commandment thereof being given to *Euſtace Gremer*, a Noble man of that Country. And again in the year 1250 it was re-edified and ſtrengthned by *Lodowick* the French King: while he ſpent four years in the Wars of the *Holy Land*. Laſtly, in the year 1289 it was reconquered by the *Saracens*: and is now in poſſeſſion of the *Turk*, and hath the name of *Zai*.

Tyr. 11. *Bell. Sacr.* 14. *Vitriac. c.* 27.

Niger. Pa-ſtillus.

† The form of *Aſtoreth* (or *Aſtarte*) ſeemeth to have been a ſheep, for *Deut.* 7. 13. the word in the plural number ſignifieth ſheep; and this may confirm *Auguſtines* opinion, that *Aſtarte* was *Juno*: for the form of her husband *Jupiter Hammon* was a Ram.

§. III.

Of Sarepta, with a brief History of Tyre in the same Coast.

Sarepta, or after that *Hebrew*, *Sarphath*, is the next City Southward from *Zidon*, between it and the River called *Naar*, or *Fons hortorum Libani* (of which more hereafter) standing in the way towards *Tyre*, a City very famous for the excellent Wine growing neer it: of which *Sidonius*:

Vina mihi non sunt Gazetica, Chia, Falerna,
Quæque Sareptano *palmita missa bibas.*

I have no Wine of *Gaza*, nor *Falerna* Wine,
Nor any for the drinking of *Sarepta*'s Vine.

This City had also a *Bishop*, of the Diocess of *Tyre*: after it came to the *Saracens* and *Turks*, as the rest: and is now called *Saphet*, saith *Postellus*.

Not far from *Sarepta* was scituate that sometime famous City of *Tyre*, whose Fleet of Ships commanded, and gave Law over all the *Mediterranian Sea*, and the borders thereof: during which time of greatness and power, the *Tyrians* erected *Utica*, *Leptis*, and *Carthage* in *Africa*, of which *Virgil*. *Urbs antiqua fuit, Tyrii tenuere Coloni, Carthago.* And *Carthage* was therefore called *Punica quasi Phœnicum*, a *Colony* of the *Phœnicians*. In *Spain* they founded *Gades*, now *Cales*. In *Italy*, *Nola*: in *Asia* the less, *Dromos Achillis*, which City the *Scoliast* of *Appollonius* placeth neer the River *Phillis* in *Bythinia*.

Virgil. l. 1.
Plin. l. 5. c. 19.
Marcelin. l. 22.

It had antiently the name of *Zor*, or *Tzor*: and so it is written in *Josua* 19. taking name from the scituation; because built on a high Rock, sharp at one end. The *Latines*, as it seems, knew it by the name of *Sarra*: for *Virgil* calleth the purple of *Tyre*, *Ostrum Sarranum*, by which name *Juvenal* and *Silius* remember it. The *Zidonians* built it upon a high hill, whereof many ruins remain to this day; the place being still known by the name of the antient *Tyre*: and because it was a *Colony* of the *Zidonians*, the Prophet *Esay* calleth it the Daughter of *Zidon*; which *Trogus* also confirmeth, though *Berosus* by affinity of name makes *Thiras* the Son of *Japhat* to be the Parent thereof: and though no doubt it was very antient (for so much the Prophet *Esay* also witnesseth, *Is not this your glorious City, whose antiquity is of antient days?* yet that *Thiras* the Son *Japhet* set himself in the bosom of the *Canaanites*, who built *Zidon*, and peopled all that Region, I see nothing to perswade me.

Gellius. l. 4. c. 6.
Cap. 23.
Cap. 23.

But that new *Tyre* in after-times so renowned, seemeth to be the work of *Agenor*: and of this opinion was *Curtius*: and *Josephus* and *Eusebius* make this City elder than *Solomon*'s Temple 240 years: *Cedrenus* 361; who also addeth, that *Tyrus* the Wife of *Agenor*, gave it her name: but of *Agenor* I will speak more at large in the story of their Kings.

Justin l. 18. Curt. l. 4. Eusch. in Chron. Joseph. ant. l. 8. cap. 2. Cedren. p. 29.

For strength and for the commodity of the harbour, and the better to receive Trade from all places, it was in this new erection founded in an Island 700 paces from the Continent; and therefore *Ezekiel* placeth it in the middest of the Seas, as some read; or as others, in the inner-most part of the Sea, whence he called it *scituate at the entry of the Sea*; As also the same Prophet calleth it, *the Mart of the people for many Isles*: and *Esay*, *a Mart of the Nations*: and so proud, wealthy, and magnificent was this City, as the Prophet *Esay* calleth the Merchants thereof Princes, and their Chapmen the Nobles of the World.

Ezek. 28. 26, 27. vers. 3.
Esay 23. 3. 27, 18.

It excelled both in learning and in manufacture: especially in the making and dying of Purple, and Scarlet-cloth: which, saith *Julius Pollux*, was first found out by *Hercules* Dog, who passing along the Sea-coast, and eating of the Fish *Conchilis* or *Purpura*, the hair of his lips became of that colour. It worshipped the Idols that *Zidon* did: saving that *Hercules* became their *Patron* in after-times. For *Alexander Macedon*, when the *Tyrians* presented him with a Crown of Gold, and other gifts, desiring to remain his friends and allies, answered them, that he had vowed a sacrifice to *Hercules*, the Defendor of their City, and the Ancestor of the *Macedonian* Kings: and must therefore enter it. Whereupon they sent him word, that *Hercules* his Temple was in the Mountain of old *Tyre*: where he might perform that ceremony. But this availed not: for *Alexander* was not so superstitious, as ambitious; he desired to enter the Town, which being denyed, he, as one whom no peril could fear, nor labour weary, gathered together as many Ships as he could, and brought from *Lybanus* so great a number of *Ceders*, and so many weighty Stones from the old City of *Tyre* adjoining, as, notwithstanding that his materials were often washt away with the strength of the Sea and the Tides, yet he never rested, till he had made a Foot-passage from the Continent to the Island: and having once approached their Walls, he overtopt them with Turrets of Wood, and other frames: from whence (having filled the body of force with the violent moving Spirit of resolution) he became Lord thereof, putting all to the Sword that resisted; after which, he caused 2000 more to be hung up in a rank all alongst the Sea-shore: which execution upon cold blood he performed (as some Authors affirm) upon the issues of those slaves which had formerly slain all their Masters, taking their Wives, Children, Riches, and power of Government to themselves. This victory of *Alexander* over the *Tyrians*, *Josephus* remembreth: and how *Sanaballat* revolted from *Darius*, and came to *Alexander* with 8000 Souldiers: who was the last *Satrapa* or Provincial Governour, which *Darius* seated in *Samaria*: the same who having married his Daughter to *Manasse*, Brother to *Jaddas* the high Priest of *Jerusalem*, obtained of *Alexander*, that a Temple might be built on the Mountain *Garizim* over *Samaria*: that the forces of the *Jews* being divided, *Alexander* might the better hold them in Obedience. The honour of which Priesthood he bestowed on his Son-in-Law *Manasse*, whom the *Jews* oppugned, for that he had married out of their Tribes, and with a *Gentile*: but while *Alexander* besieged *Gaza*, *Sanaballat*, whom *Guil. Tyrus* called *Sanabula*, died.

Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. 11. c. 8.
De bell. sacr. l. 13. c. 4.

Long before this desolation of *Tyre* by the cruelty of *Alexander*, it was attempted by *Salmanasser* the *Assyrian* King: when the growing pride of the *Assyrians*, after that they had conquered the ten Tribes, with the rest of *Syria*, became envious of the beauty, riches, and power of that City. He besieged it both on the Land-side, and with threescore Ships of War held the Port: to the end that neither any Victuals nor any supply of Men might enter it: but the *Tyrians* with twelve sail scattered that Feet, and took 500 Prisoners of the *Assyrians*: notwithstanding the *Assyrian* continued his resolution, and lay before it by his Lievtenants five years, but with ill success. And this siege *Menander Ephesius*, cited by *Josephus*, made report of in his *Chronicles*, as he found the Story among the *Annals* of the *Tyrians* (which the said *Menander* converted into *Greek*) adding, that *Elulæus*, whom *Tyrius* called *Heliseus*, was then King of *Tyre*, having governed the same six and twenty years.

Joseph. ant. l. 9. c. 14.
Et cont. Ap. 1. Guil. Tyr. de Bell. Sacr. 13. 14. Joseph. ant. lib. 9. c. 15.

Soon

Soon after this repulse of *Salmanasser*; and about 200 years before the victory of *Alexander*, *Nebuchodonosor*, at such time as he destroyed *Jerusalem* with the Temple, came before this City: who indeed gave to *Alexander* the example of that despairful work, of joyning it to the Continent. For *Nebuchodonosor* had formerly done it: though by the diligence of the Citizens, and the strength of the Sea, the same cawsey and passage was again broken down, and demolished.

Against *Nebuchodonosor*, for many years, the *Tyrians* defended themselves: for so long did those *Babylonians* continue before it, *As every head was made bald, and every shoulder made bare*, saith *Ezekiel*, who with the Prophet *Esay* had manifestly foretold the destruction of this proud place. In the end, and after 13 years siege or more, the *Tyrians* despoyled of all their hopes, and remembring over-late the predictions and threatnings of Gods Prophets, having prepared a convenient number of Ships, abandoned their City, transporting with themselves the ablest of all that remained: and with their Wives, Children, and portable riches, sayled thence into *Cyprus*, *Carthage*, and other Maritimate Cities of their Tributaries, or Confederates: so as the *Babylonians* finding nothing therein, either to satisfie so many labours and perils, or any person upon whom to avenge themselves for the loss of so many bodies in that War: It pleased God in recompence thereof (who strengthned this resolution, as in a work of his own) to make *Nebuchodonosor* victorious over the *Egyptians*: and gave him that Kingom and the spoil thereof, as it were, in wages for his Army. Whereupon Saint *Hierom* noteth, that God leaveth not the good deeds of the Heathen unrewarded: who though they cannot hope by any laudable worldly action to attain unto that eternal happiness reserved for his *Servants* and *Saints*: yet such is the boundless goodness of God, as he often repayeth them with many worldly gifts and temporal blessings.

Ezek.29.18. *Isa.23,&c.* *Ezek.29.19*

Now of this enterprise of *Nebuchodonosor*'s against *Tyre*, prophane Historians have not been silent. For both *Diocles*, and *Philostratus* (as *Josephus* citeth them) the one in his second Book, the other in his *Phœnician* Histories, remember it.

Joseph. ant. l. 10. c. 13.

After these two great *Vastations* by the Kings of *Babylon* and *Macedon*, this City of *Tyre*, repaired and recovered it self again: and continued in great glory about 300 Years, even to the coming of our *Saviour Christ*: and after him flourished in the *Christian* Faith neer 600 years: the *Archbishop* whereof gave place to none but to the *Patriarch* of *Jerusalem* only, who within his own Dioces had fourteen great Cities, with their Bishops and Suffragans: namely *Caipha*, otherwise *Porphyria*, *Acon*, or *Ptolomais*, *Surepta*, *Zidon*; *Cæsarea Philippi*, *Berytas*, *Byblus*, *Botrys*, *Tripolis*, *Orthosia*, *Archis*, *Aradus*, *Antaradus*, (or *Tortosa*) and *Maratlea*. But in the year 636 it was with the rest of that beautiful Region of *Phœnicia* and *Palestina*, subjected to the cruel and faithless *Saracen*: under the burthen and yoke of whose tyranny it suffered, with the other *Palestine* Cities, 488 years.

Guil. Tyr. bell sac.

In the year 1112 it was attempted by *Baldwine* King of *Jerusalem*; but in vain: yet in the year 1124 by *Guaremonde*, *Patriach* of *Jerusalem*, *Vicegerent* to *Baldwine* the second, with the assistance of the *Venetians*, and their Fleet of Gallies, it was again recovered and subjected to the Kings of *Jerusalem*, and so it remained 165 years.

Guil. Tyr. 11. Bell. sacr. 17.

Finally, in the year 1185, *Saladine* having first taken *Jerusalem*, removed his whole Army, and sate down before *Tyre*: drawing his Fleet of Ships and Gallies from *Alexandria* into the Port, this City as then only remaining in the Christian power.

The Citizens finding themselves reduced into great famine, and many other miseries, they at once with certain rafters of Timber, fired, burnt, and brake the Saracens Fleet, and sallyed out resolvedly upon his Army, slew so great numbers of them; and followed their victory with such fury, as that the Saracens forsaking their Trenches and Tents, removed in great disorder and dishonour. Two years after which victory, the body of that famous *Frederick Barbarossa* (who by the lamentable accident of following the *Christians* enemies over a River unfoordable, perished by the weight of his armour therein) was brought and interred in the *Cathedral* Church of *Tyre*, neer unto that glorious Sepulchre of *Origin*, garnished and graven with guilt pillars of Marble, 940 years before therein buried: but in the year 1289 the *Saracens* again attempted it, and carried it, and it now remaineth subject to the *Turks*.

II. IV.

Of Ptolomais, or Acon.

THe third City alongst the coast of the Sea, which the *Asserites* could not obtain, on the South bound of *Asser*, was *Acho*, which was the antient name thereof after *Hierome*, though other good Authors affirm, that it took name from *Acon* the Brother of *Ptolomie*. *Pliny* calleth it *Ace*: and otherwise the Colony of *Claudius*. It had also the name of *Coth*, or *Cod*, and by *Zeigler* it is called *Helipos*.

Plin. l. 5. c. 19. In descrip. terr. sanct.

But lastly, it was intituled *Ptolomais*, after the name of one of the *Egyptian Ptolomies*: which City also, as it is 1 *Mac.* 11. another of the *Ptolomies* infidelously wrested from his Son-in-law *Alexander*, which called himself the Son of *Antiochus Epiphanes*: the same *Alexander* having married *Cleopatra* daughter of the said *Ptolomie*, not long before. Therein also was *Jonathan Maccabeus* treacherously surprised and slain, as it is 1 *Mac.* 12. 48. by the perfidiousness of *Typhon*, whom soon after *Antiochus* pursued, as it is in the Story ensuing: and, by like reason, about the same time was the aforesaid *Alexander* in the War against *Demetrius*, one of the Sons of *Antiochus* the great, with whom *Ptolomy* joyned, overthrown and treacherously murthered by *Zabdiel* the *Arabian*: to whom he fled for succour: and his head presented unto his Father-in-law *Ptolomie*: who enjoyed not the glory of his victory and treason above three days, for God struck him by death.

Ptolomæus Philomet. ser. *1 Mac. 1. 10.* *1 Mac. 11. 18.*

For the beauty and strength of this City, this *Alexander* made it his Regal seat: two parts of the same being invironed by the Sea, and the Port, for safety and capacity, not inferiour to any other in all that Tract. This City is distant from *Jerusalem* some four and thirty miles; four miles to the North from the Mountain *Carmel*, and as much to the South from *Castrum Lamberti*: from *Tyre*, *Antonius* maketh it two and thirty *Italian* miles. In the middest of the City there was a Tower of great strength, sometime the Temple of *Belzebub*: and therefore called the *Castle of Flies*, on the top whereof there was maintained a perpetual Light, like unto that called *Pharus* in *Egypt*: to give comfort in the Night to those Ships which came neer and sought that part. It had in it a Bishops seat of the Dioces of *Tyre*, after it became *Christian*: but in the year 636 (a fatal year to the *Christians* in those parts) it was forced and taken by *Haomarus* the *Saracen*. In the year 1104 it

Ant. Itin. *Herold.* *G. Tyr. bell. sacr. lib. 10. cap. 28. Herold. l. 1. bell. sacr. tit. 7. & l. 2. c. 2. & alibi.*

it was regained by *Baldwine* the first, by the help of the Gallies of *Genoa*, to whom a third of the revenue was given in recompence. Again, in the year of our Lord God, one thousand one hundred fourscore and seven, *Saladine* King of *Ægypt* and *Syria*, became Lord thereof. In the year of Christ, one thousand one hundred ninety and one, by *Richard* King of *England*, and *Philip* King of *France*, it was repossessed and redelivered to the *Christians*. Lastly, in the year 1291 it was by the fury of the *Saracens* besieged with an Army of 150000, entered, sack'd, and utterly demolished: though in some sort afterward reedified, and it is now *Turkish*.

¶. V.

Of the Castle of Saint George.

Broch. Five miles from *Ptolomais* towards the East, is a Castle of St. *George* seated, in which he was born: the Valley adjoining bearing the same name. *Itin. 4.* And though for the credit of Saint *Georges* killing the Dragon, I leave every Man to his own belief: yet I cannot but think, that if the Kings of *England* had not some probable record of that his memorable act, among many others: it was strange that the Order full of Honour, which *Edward* the third founded, and which his Successors royally have continued, should have born his name, seeing the World had not that scarcity of Saints in those days, as that the *English* were driven to make such an erection upon a fable, or person feigned. The place is described by *Adricomius* in his description of *Asser*, to have been in the fields of *Lybanus*, between the River *Adonis*, and *Zidon*: his own words are these: *Hoc loco qui ab incolis Cappadocia appellatur non longè à Beryto, memorant inclytum Christi Militem* D. Georgium, *Regis filiam ab immanissimo Dracone asservâsse: eamque mactata bestia parenti restituisse. In cujus rei memoriam Ecclesia postmodum fuit ædificata*; *In this place, which by the Inhabitants is called* Cappadocia, *not far from* Berytus, *men say that the famous Knight of Christ, Saint* George, *did rescue the Kings Daughter from a huge Dragon: and having killed the Beast, delivered the Virgin to her Parent. In memory of which deed a Church was after built there:* Thus far *Adricomius*. His Authors he citeth *Lodovicus Roman, Patric. Navigationum l. 1. c. 3.* and *Bridenbach Itin. 5.* The Valley under this Castle sometime called *Asser*, was afterward called the Valley of Saint *George*. If this authority suffice not, we may rather make the Story allegorical, figuring the victory of *Christ*, than accept of *George* the *Arrian* Bishop, mentioned by *Am. Marcellinus*.

Itin. 4. Of the place and memory of his death. See *chap. 9. sect. 2.*

¶. VI.

Of Acziba, Sandalium, and others.

BEtween *Ptolomais* and *Tyre* alongst the Sea-coast, was the strong City of *Acziba*, or *Achazib*, which St. *Hierome* called *Achziph*, and *Josephus Ecdippos*, *Pliny Ecdippa*, one of those which defended it self against the *Asserites*. *Bellforest* finds *Acziba* and *Sandalium*, or the Castles of *Alexander* to be one, but I know not from whence he had it.

Hieron de Locis Hebr. Joseph. Bell. Jud. l. 1. c. 11. Plin. l. 5. c. 19. The twelve Searchers of the Land which *Moses* sent from *Cadesbarne*, travelled as far to the North as *Rooh*, or *Rechob*, in the Tribe of *Asser*, which *Rechob*, as also *Berothe*, which by *Ezekiel*, *cap. 47. ver. 16.* is placed in these North borders, belonging in *Davids* time to the King *Hadarhezer*, as it may be gathered out of the second of *Samuel*, *chap. 8. ver. 8.* and *chap. 10. vers. 6.* and it defended it self against the *Asserites*, as *Zidon*, *Tyre*, *Achziph*, *Ptolomais*, *Alab*, *Helbah*, and *Aphek* did.

This *Aphek* it was, whose wall falling down, slew seven and twenty thousand of *Benhadads* Souldiers, after that a hundred thousand had been slaughtered by the *Israelites*, under the conduct of *Ahab*. Here *Junius* finds that the *Philistims* encamped a little before the battel at *Gilboa*, though in his note upon the first of *Samuel* the 9. & 1. he takes *Aphek* there mentioned (at which Battel the Ark was taken) to have been in *Juda*. Of which *Jos.* 15. and 53. and in the second of *Kings* 13. 17. he reads, *Fortiter*, for, *in Aphek*. Where others convert it, *Percutiens Syros in Aphek*. *1 King. 20. 29.* *1 Sam. 29. 1.*

The next place alongst the coast is *Sandalium*, first called *Schandalium* of *Schander*, which we call *Alexander*: for *Alexander Macedon* built it when he besieged *Tyre*, and set it on a point of Land which extendeth it self into the Sea, between *Acziba* and *Tyre*: which Castle *Baldwine* the first rebuilt and fortified; in the year of *Christ* 1157. when he undertook the recovery of *Tyre*.

Not much above a Mile from this Castle, there ariseth that most plentiful Spring of Water, which *Solomon* remembreth, called *the Well of living Water*: whence not only all the Fields and plains about *Tyre* are made fruitful by large Pipes hence drawn: but the same Spring, which hath not above a Bow-shot of Ground to travel till it recover the Sea, driveth six great Mills in that short passage, saith *Brochard*. *Cant. 4.* *Itin. 1.*

Within the Land, and to the East of *Acziba*, and *Sandalium*, standeth *Hosa*: and beyond it under the Mountains of *Tyre*, the City of *Achsaph*, or *Axab*, or after St. *Hierome*, *Aciſap*, a City of great strength, whose King, amongst the rest, was slain by *Josua* at the Waters of *Merom*. *Jos. 12. 20.*

¶. VII.

Of Thoron, Giscala, and some other places.

FUrther in the Land, towards *Jordan*, was seated the Castle of *Thoron*, which *Hugo de Sancto Abdemare* built on the Eastermost hills of *Tyre*, in the year 1107, thereby to restrain the excursions of the *Saracens*, while they held *Tyre* against the *Christians*: the place adjoyning being very fruitful, and exceeding pleasant. From this Castle the Lords of *Thoron*, famous in the story of the Wars for the recovery of the *Holy Land*, derive their names, and take their Nobility. It had in it a curious Chappel, dedicated to the blessed *Virgin*, in which *Humfrey* of *Thoron*, Constable to *Baldwine* the third King of *Jerusalem*, lieth buried: There were five Castles besides this within the Territory of *Asser*: whereof four are seated almost of equal distance from each other: to wit, *Castrum*, *Lamperti*, *Montfort*, *Indin* (or *Saron*) *Castrum Regium* and *Belfort*: the first neer the Sea under the Hills of *Saron*, the next three, to wit, *Indin*, *Montfort*, and *Regium*, stand more within the Land, and belonged to the Brotherhood and fellowship of the *Teutonici*, or *Dutch Knights* (by which they defended themselves, and gave succour to other Christians at such time as the *Saracens* possest the best part of the upper *Galilee*) the chief of which Order was in *Ptolomais Acbon*. The first fortress was for beauty and strength called *Belfort*, seated in the high ground upon the River *Naar*, neer the City *Rama*: of which in this

Tribe

Tribe *Jos.* 19. 29. for which the Vulgar reads *Hormi:* making the article a part of the word, and mistaking the vowels: from the siege of this Castle of *Belfort*, the great *Saladine* King of *Syria* and *Egypt*, was by the Christians Army raised, and with great loss and dishonour repulsed.

Herold. l. 2. c. 4. Continuationis, Bel. &c.

To the East of *Belfort*, is the strong City of *Alab* (or *Achlab*) which St. *Hierome* calleth *Chalab*, one of those that defended themselves against *Asser*, as *Roab* (or *Recob*) not far thence did.

Towards the South from *Roab* they place *Gabala* (which *Herod* surnamed the *Ascalonite* rebuilt) making it of the Territory of *Chabol*, *Quod Syrorum lingua displicere significat* (saith *Weisshinburg*) so called, because *Hiram* of *Tyre* was ill pleased with those twenty Cities, seated hereabout, which *Solomon* presented unto him in recompence of those provisions sent him for the building of the Temple. Others think this *Cabol* (or *Cabul*) containing a circuit of those twenty Cities given to *Hiram*, to have been without the compass of the Holy Land, though bordering *Asher*, on the North side: as it is said, 1 *Reg.* 9. 11. That they were *in Regione limitis:* that is, *in limite Regionis*, in the border of the Countrey: for as it was not lawful, say they, to give to strangers any part of the possessions allotted to the *Israelites:* howsoever, that after *Hiram* had refused them, they were peopled by the *Israelites*, it appears, 2 *Chron.* 8. 14. And it seems they were conquered by *David* from the *Syri Rechobeæ*, whose City *Roob*, or *Rechob*, was in these parts.

Joseph. Ant. 19. 21. & 15. 10.

Jun. Anno not. in 1 Reg. 9. 11.

2 Sam. 10. 6.

Almost of equal distance from the Castle of *Thoron*, they place the Cities of *Giscala* and *Gadara:* of which *Gadara* is rather to be placed over *Jordan: Giscala* was made famous by *John* the Son of *Levi*, who from a mean estate gathering together four hundred Thieves, greatly troubled all the upper *Galilee*, at such time as the *Romans* attempted the conquest of *Judæa:* by whose practise *Josephus*, who then commanded in the upper *Galilee*, was greatly endangered: whereof himself hath written at large, in his second Book of those Wars. This *John* betraying in all he could, the City of *Gascala* (whereof he was native) to the *Roman State:* and finding a resistance in the City, gave opportunity during the contention, to the *Tyrians*, and *Gadarins*, to surprize it: who at the same time forc't it, and burnt it to the ground: but being by *Josephus*'s authority rebuilt, it was afterward rendred to *Tytus* by composition. They find also the Cities of *Cana Major*, and * *Cades* (or *Cadessa*) of the first was that *Syro-phœnician*, whose Daughter *Christ* delivered of the evil spirit. Near the other, they say, it was that *Jonathas Maccabeus* overthew the Army of *Demetrius*.

Cap. 26.

* See *Kadesh* in *Nepthalim*

Matth. 15. Mark 7. Macca. 1. 73 Josephus Antiq. 13. c. 8.

There are, besides these fore-named Cities, within the Tribe of *Asser*, divers others: as on the South border, and near the Sea, *Mesal*, or *Misheal:* within the Land † *Besara*, ‖ *Bethdagon*, and *Bethemec*, standing on the South border between *Asher* and *Zabulon:* on the North-side joyning to *Syro-phœnicia*, is the City of *Hethalon*, or *Chethlon*, the utmost of the *Holy Land* that way: under which, towards the Sea, is *Cali*, and then * *Enoch*, supposed to be built by *Cain*, and named of his Son *Enoch*, but without probability, as I have formerly proved. There are others also besides these, as *Ammon*, or *Chammon*, of which *Jos.* 19. 28. where also we read of *Nebiel*, *Rama*, *Alamelec*, and *Beron:* the Cities of *Alcath*, or *Chelcath*, *Habdon*, and *Rechob*, and *Misheal*, which we have already mentioned, were by the *Asserites* given to the *Levites*. Of others held by the *Canaanites*, mention is made, *Judg.* 1. 30. to which out of *Josua* we may add *Ebron*, *Ambad*, and others, on which no story dependeth; and therefore I will not pester the description with them.

† Of which *Josephus in vita sua.*

‖ Of both which *Jos.* 19. 27. *Eze.* 47. 15.

* Or *Enosa*, *Joseph. ant. l. 1. c. 4. Jos.* 21. 30.

‖. VIII.

Of the Rivers and Mountains of Asser.

THe Rivers to the North of *Asser*, are *Adonis*, afterward *Canis*, to which *Zeigler* joyneth *Lycus*; *Ptolomy*, *Leontis:* both which fall into the Sea near *Berytas:* which River of *Leontis*, *Montanus* draws near unto *Zidon:* finding his head notwithstanding where *Ptolomy* doth, between *Zidon* and *Tyre*. It hath also a River called *Fons hortorum Libani*, which *Adrichome* out of *Brochard* intituleth *Eleutherus:* for which he also citeth *Pliny*, and the first of *Macabees* the eleventh Chapter; but neither of those authorities prove *Eleutherus* to be in *Asser:* for this River falleth into the Sea at the Isle of *Aradus*, not far from *Balanæa*, witness *Ptolomy:* and therefore *Pinetus* calleth it *Valania*, and *Postellus*, *Velana*; which River boundeth *Phœnicia* on the North-side: to which *Strabo* also agreeth: but this principal River of *Asser*, *Arias Montanus* calleth *Gabatus*. *Christianus Chrot* out of the mouth and papers of *Peter Laicstan* (which *Laicstan* in this our age both viewed and described the Holy Land) calleth the main River *Fons hortorum Libani:* and one of the streams which runneth into it from the North-side, *Naar*, and another from the South-west, *Chabul*, of the City adjoyning of the same name: for *Eleutherus* it cannot be. There is also another River described by *Adrichome*, named *Jepthael*, which I find in no other Author, and for which he citeth *Jos.* 19. but the word * *Ghe*, which is added there to *Jepthael*, is not taken for a River, but for a Valley: and for a Valley, the *Vulgar*, the *Geneva*, and *Arias Mantanus* turn it. There is also found in *Asser* the River of *Belus*, remembred by *Josephus* and *Tacitus*, which is also called *Pagidas*, saith ‖ *Pliny:* out of the sands of this River are made the best Glass, which sometimes the *Zidonians* practised: and now the *Venetians* at *Murana*. *Arias Montanus* makes *Belus* to be a branch of *Chedumim*, which it cannot be: for *Belus* is known to flow from out the Lake *Cendevia*, as all *Cosmographers*, both antient and modern, and the later Travellers into those parts witness. It is true that the River of *Chison* taketh Water from *Chedumim*, but not in that fashion which *Montanus*, hath described it: neither doth it find the Sea at *Ptolomais Acon*, according to *Montanus* but farther to the South between *Caiphas* and *Sycaminum*, witness *Zeigler*, *Adricomius*, and *Schrot*.

Asia. tab. 4

Plin l. 9. Asia. tab. 4. Post Orthosian & Eleutherum est Tripolis.

* The word *Nachal* is ambiguous, either for a Valley or for a River: but this word *Ghe* is alway a Valley, as in *Gehinnon* and *Gestmanum*.

Joseph. l. 2. Bell. Jud. c. 3.

‖ *L. 5. c. 19.* In *Jos. c. 19. v. 26.* it is called *Sichor*, of which name many understand another stream, *Jos.* 13. 3. which running by *Petra* of *Arabia*, falleth into the Lake *Sirbonis*, and divideth *Egypt* from the promised Land, whereabout they place *Rhinocolura*, for which City *Junius* taketh *Sichor* in that place of *Josua:* but howsoever whether this *Sichor*, *Jos.* 13. 3. be a River or a City, it appears that this name is found both in the North bound of the Holy Land, *Jos.* 19. 26. and in the South bound, *Jos.* 13. 3.

Besides these Rivers there are divers famous Springs and Fountains, as that of living Waters adjoyning to *Tyre:* and † *Maserephot*, or after St. *Hierome*, *Maserephotmaim*, whose Well filled by the Flood of the Sea adjoyning (they say) the Inhabitants by seething the Water make Salt thereof, as at *Nantwitch*.

† See the marginal note above in the second section of this Paragraph. *Strab. l. 10. Plin. l. 5. c. 20. Deut.* 4. 48. *Strab. l. 10. Pto. Asia. tab. 4. Sueton. Nig. pag. 503.*

The Mountains which bound *Asser* on the North, are those of *Anti-lybanus*: which with *Libanus* bound *Cœlosyria:* two great ledges of Hills, which from the Sea of *Phœnicia* and *Syria*, extend themselves far into the Land Eastward, 400 stadia, or furlongs, according to *Strabo:* for that length he giveth to the Valley

Valley of *Cœlosyria*: which those Mountains include: but *Pliny* gives them 1500 furlongs in length from the West (where they begin at *Theipsophon*, or *Dei facies*, near *Tripolis*, to the Mountains of *Arabia* beyond *Damascus*: where *Anti-Lybanus* turneth towards the South. These ledges where they begin to part *Traconitis* and *Basan*, from the Desart *Arabia*, are called *Hermon*: which *Moses* also nameth *Sion*, the *Phœnicians*, *Syrion*; and the *Amorites*, *Sanir*; neither is this any one Mountain apart, but a continuation of Hills: which running farther Southerly, is in the Scriptures called *Galaad*, or *Gilead*: the same being still a part of *Lybanus*, as the Prophet *Jeremy* proveth: *Galaad, tu mihi caput Libani*: noting, that this *Galaad* is the highest of those Hills of *Libanus*. *Strabo* knows them by the name of *Traconitæ*: and *Ptolomy* by *Hippus*. *Arius Montanus* calleth these Mountains bordering *Asser Libanus*, for *Anti-Libanus*, contrary to all other *Cosmographers*; but he giveth no reason of his opinion.

They take the name of *Libanus* from their white tops, because (according to *Tacitus*) the highest of them are covered with snow all the Summer: the *Hebrew* word *Libanos*, (saith *Weissenburg*) signifieth whiteness. Others call them by that name of the Fankincense, which those Trees yield: because λιβάνοτ☉ is also the *Greek* word for that Gum.

Niger out of *Aphrodiseus* affirmeth, that on *Libanus* there falleth a kind of honey dew, which is by the Sun congealed into hard Sugar, which the Inhabitants call *Sacchar*, from whence came the *Latine* word *Saccarum*.

The Rivers which *Libanus* bestoweth on the neighbour Regions, are, *Chrysorrhoas*, *Jordan*, *Eleutherus*, *Leontes*, *Lycus*, *Adonis*, *Fons hortorum Libani*, and others.

The rest of the Mountains of *Asser*, are those Hills above *Tyre*, and the Hills of *Saron*, both exceeding fruitful: but those are but of a low stature, compared with *Libanus*: for from *Nebo*, or the Mountain of *Abarim* in *Reuben*, *Moses* beheld *Libanus* threescore miles distant.

SECT. IV.

THE TRIBE OF NEPHTALIM.

§. I.

Of the bounds of Nephtalim, and of Heliopolis, and Abila.

THe next portion of the Land of *Canaan* bordering *Asher*, was the upper *Galilee*: the greatest part whereof fell to the lot of *Nephtalim*, the son of *Jacob* by *Billa*, the hand-maid of *Rachel*: who while they abode in *Egypt*, were increased to the number of 53400 persons, able men to bear arms, numbred at Mount *Sinai*: all which leaving their bodies in the Desarts, there entrered the Holy Land of their sons, 45400. besides Infants, Women and Children, under twenty years of age. The Land of *Nephtalim* took beginning on the North part, from the Fountains of *Jordan*, and the Hill of *Libanus* adjoyning, as far South as the Sea of *Galilee*, bounded on the West by *Asher*, and one the East and South-East by *Jordan*.

Guil. Tyr. Bell. sacr. l. 9. c. 15. Theod. 4. hist. Eccle.

On the North-side of *Libanus*, and adjoyning to this Territory of *Nephtalim*, did the *Amorites* (or *Emorites*) also inhabit, in which Tract, and under *Libanus*, was the City of *Heliopolis*: which the height of the Mountains adjoyning shadowed from the Sun the better part of the day. *Postellus* calls it *Balbec*; *Niger*, *Marbech*; and *Leonclavius*, *Beallebeca*.

Strab. Mela. l. 2. c. 9. Justin. Gestel. in itinerar. Joseph. in plur. locis, Euseb. 8. Demonst. Volat. l. 11. f. 243.

Of this name of *Heliopolis*, there are two great Cities in *Egypt*: the first called *On*, by the *Hebrews*, and the *Chaldean Paraphrast*; otherwise *Bethsemes*, or after the *Latines*, *Solis oppidum*, or *Domus Solis*; *The City of the Sun*: into which, saith *Ulpian*, *Severus* the *Roman Emperour* sent a *Colony*: the other *Gestelius* nameth *Dealmarach*: and of this name *Stephanus* also findeth a City in *Thrace*, and *Glycas* in *Phrygia*.

There is also in the same Valley adjoyning to *Nephtalim*, *Chalcis, and Abila*. *Chalcis* of whom the Region towards *Palmyrena* hath the name of *Chalcidica*, over which *Herod Agrippa*, and *Bernice* the Queen commanded.

Abila also gave name to the Region adjoyning, of which *Lysanius* the son of *Herod* the elder, became *Tetrarch* or Governour: whereof *Ptolomy* gave it the addition of *Lysanii*, and called it *Abila Lysanii*. *Volaterran* names it *Aphila*, of which he notes, that one *Diogenes*, a famous *Sophister*, was native, who by *Volaterran* is intituled *Apuleius*, not *Abileus*. After that this City of *Abila* or *Aphila*, had received the Christian Faith, *Priscillinus* became the Bishop thereof: slain afterward by our *Brittish Maximus* at *Trever*. For distinction of this City (if it be not the same, as it may be thought to be the same) it is to be remembred, that in the Tribe of [a] *Manasseh*, joyning upon the bounds of the Tribe of *Nephtalim*, there is another City of the same name, saving that it is written with an (*E*) for an (*I*) and called *Abela*, remembred in the 20th Chapter of the second of *Samuel*. The same *Josephus* calls *Abelmachea*, and *Jerom*, *Bethmacha*. In the place of *Samuel*, for distinction sake, it is written *Abel Beth-Mahaca*, (for belike it was the Town of *Mahaca* the wife of *Macir*, the son of *Manasseh*, the father of *Gilead*) in the *Chronicles* it is called *Abel-Majim*. This City *Joab* besieged, because *Seba* the son of *Bichri*, who rebelled against *David*, fled thereinto for succour: but a certain wise woman of the City perswading the people to cast *Seba*'s head over the wall, *Joab* retired his Army. The same City was afterward taken by the King of *Damascus*, *Benadad*: and after a while by *Teglatphalasar*.

[a] Also a third in *Ephraim*, called *Abel-Mechola*; and a 4th in *Reuben*, called *Abel-Sittim*, also *Abel-Mitsraim*, at the Foord of *Jordan*, and (as it seems) in the same Tribe of *Reuben*, of all which in that which follows: to which also we may add *Abel-Mognum*, the name, as some think, of a City, otherwise called *Bethshemes*, near the border of the *Philistims*, or according to others, of the great stone in the border. 1 *Sam.* 6. 18. *Joseph. ant. lib. 7. cap.* 10. 2 *Sam.* 20. 1 *King.* 15. 2 *King.* 15.

The word *Abel* may be expounded, either to signifie bewailing, or a plain ground; and therefore no marvel that many Towns (with some addition for distinction sake) were thus called: for even of bewailing, many places took name; as *Bochim*, *Jud.* 2. 4. and so doubtless * *Abel-Mitsraim*, *Gen.* 50. 11. and yet *Junius* in his notes upon *Num.* 33. 49. thinks that *Abel-Sittim* was so called, rather by reason of the plain ground there, (to wit, in the Land of *Moab*) and so perhaps *Abel-Meholah* in the Tribe of *Ephraim*: the Town of *Elisha* the Prophet: also *Abel-Vinearum* of the *Ammonites*, whither *Jephta* pursued them.

* And *Abel Magnum*. 1 *Sam.* 6. 18 *Judg* 7. 24 & 1 *Reg.* 19. 15. *Judg.* 11. 35.

§. II.

Of Hazor.

IN the Tribe of *Nephtalim* was that famous City of *Jabin*, in *Joshua*'s time called *Asor*, (or after the *Chaldæan Paraphrast*, *Haszor*) by *Josephus*, *Asora*;

by *Junius*, * *Chatzor*: which *Laicſtan* names *Heſron*; the Regal City, and *Metropolis* of *Canaan*: ſeated in the Weſt part of *Nephtalim*, towards *Aſher*. In this City was that great Rendevous and Aſſembly of thoſe four and twenty Kings againſt *Joſhua*: who being all overthrown, ſlain, and ſcattered, this their powerful City was by *Joſhua* taken and burnt to duſt. But in proceſs of time the ſame being re-built by the *Canaanites*, a ſecond King *Jabin*, 137 years after the death of this firſt *Jabin*, invaded the *Iſraelites*: and being ordained of God to puniſh their Idolatry, he prevailed againſt them, and held them in a miſerable ſervitude 20 years; till *Debora* the Propheteſs overthrew *Siſera*, *Jabins* Leivtenant, and his Army, near the Mountain *Tabor*. This City *Solomon* reſtored at ſuch time as he alſo re-edified *Gezar*, burnt by *Pharaoh* of *Egypt*, with * *Megiddo*, *Bethoron*, and other Cities; but about 260 years after, it fell into the hands of *Teglatphalaſar*, King of the *Aſſyrians*. It is now, ſaith *Adricomius*, called *Antiopia*: it was one of the principal Cities of *Decapolis*. There is another City of this name in the Territory of *Benjamin*, ſeated on the confines of *Aſcalon*, called the new *Hazor*, ſaith ‖ *Jerom*.

* Of two other Cities of this name in *Juda*, ſee *c.9. ſect.1.* Of a 4th in *Benjamin*, ſee that which follows in this place: of a fifth in this Tribe of *Nephtalim*, called *Hen-Chatſir*, we read *Joſ.*19 27. whereto we may add *Chatſor-Heman*, in the uttermoſt North-eaſt of *Manaſſeh*, over *Jordan*, *Ezek.* 47. *Num.*34 8

Alſo in *Simeon Chatſor-Suſima*, of which 1 *Chron.* 4. 31. which alſo is called *Chatſir-Sula*, and *Chatſar-Gadda*: and laſtly, *Chatſar-Shuleb*, another City of *Simeon*, *fol.* 19. 3. * 1 *King.* 9. ‖ *Hieron. loc. Hebr. l.* 4. out of *Neh.* 11. 33. as it ſeems.

‖. III.

Of Cæſarea Philippi.

THere was alſo on the border, and within the Territory of *Nephtalim*, that renowned City of *Lais*, or *Lajiſch*, as *Junius* writes it, or *Leſchen*; which City the children of *Dan* (being ſtraitned in their Territory under *Juda*) invaded and maſtered; and gave it the name of their own Parent *Dan*: and by that name it is written in *Gen.* 14. at which place *Abraham* ſurpriſed *Chedorlaomer* and his confederates, and followed his victory as far as *Sobah*, formerly remembred in the diviſion of *Syria*, otherwiſe called *Sophena*. And after the poſſeſſion of the *Danites*, it had the joynt name of *Leſchem-Dan*. *Weiſſenburg* writes it *Lacis*; the *Geneva*, *Laiſh*; Joſephus, *Dana*, Benjamin, *Balina*; Breidenbach, *Belena*: but the now Inhabitants know it by the name of *Belina* to this day: witneſs, *Neubrigenſis*, *Tyrius*, *Volaterranus*, *Brochard* the Monk, and *Poſtellus*: who alſo taketh this City to be the ſame, which in *Matth.* 15.39. in the *Vulgar* is called *Magedan*, for which the *Greek* Text hath *Magdala* in that place, and in S. *Mark*, ſpeaking of the ſame ſtory, *Dalmanutha*. At ſuch time as the children of *Dan* obtained this place, it ſeemeth that it was either a free City, of the alliance and confederacy of the *Zidonians*, or elſe ſubject unto the Kings thereof; for it is written *Judg.* 18. *And there was none to help, becauſe* Lais *was far from* Zidon: *and they had no buſineſs with other men*: for it was above thirty Engliſh miles from the *Mediterran* Sea, and from *Zidon*.

Jud. 18.27 *Joſ.*19 47. *Judg.* 18. *Chap.*8.10. *Verſe* 28. *Plin. l.* 5. *c.* 15.

In after-times when theſe Regions became ſubject to the ſtate of *Rome*, it had the name of *Paneas*, from a Fountain adjoyning ſo called: and therefore *Ptolomy* calls it *Cæſarea Paniæ*. *Hegeſippus* calls it *Parnium*, ſaith *Weiſſenburg*: but he had read it in a corrupt copy; for in *Hegeſippus*, ſet out by *Badius*, it is written *Paneum* without an (*R*): and at ſuch time as *Philip* the ſon of the elder *Herod*, brother to *Herod*, *Tetrarch* of *Galilee*, became Governour of *Traconitis*, ſometime *Baſan*: this City was by him amplified and fortified; and both to give memory to his own name, and to flatter *Tyberius Cæſar*, he called it * *Cæſarea Philippi*: and ſo it became the *Metropolis*, and head City of *Traconitis*, and one of the firſt Cities of *Decapolis*. And being by *Agrippa* in the ſucceeding age greatly adorned; by him in honour of *Nero*, it was called *Neronia*, or *Neroniada*. But as nothing remained with that Emperour, but the memory of his impiety: ſo in S. *Jeroms* time the Citizens remembred their former *Paneas*, and ſo re-called it, with the Territory adjoyning by the antient name. Of this City was that woman whom *Chriſt* healed of a bloody iſſue, by touching the hem of his garment with a conſtant Faith: who afterward, as ſhe was a woman of great wealth and ability, being mindful of Gods goodneſs, and no leſs grateful for the ſame, as *Euſebius* and *Nicephorus* report, cauſed two *Statues* to be caſt in pure Copper: the one repreſenting *Chriſt*, *as near as it could be moulded*: the other made like her ſelf, kneeling at his feet, and holding up her hands towards him. Theſe ſhe mounted upon two great Baſes or *Pedeſtals* of the ſame metal, which ſhe placed by a Fountain near her own houſe: both which (ſaith *Euſebius*) remained in their firſt perfection, even to his own time: which himſelf had ſeen, who lived in the reign of *Conſtantine* the Great. But in the year after Chriſt 363. that Monſter *Julian Apoſtata*, cauſed that worthy Monument to be caſt down and defaced: ſetting up the like of his own in the ſame place: which Image of his was with fire from Heaven broken into fitters: the head, body, and other parts ſundered and ſcattered, to the great admiration of the people at that time living. The truth of this accident is alſo confirmed by *Sozomenus Salaminius*, in his fifth Book and twentieth Chapter.

* Of another *Cæſaria* (or *Cæſarea*) called *Cæſarea Paleſtina*: ſee hereafter in the former part of *Manaſſeh*. Of *Dioceſaria*, ſee *Sepphoris* in *Zabulon*. *Euſeb. hiſt. Eccleſ. l.*7. *c.* 14. *Niceph. l.* 6. *c.* 25.

This City built by the *Danites*, was near the joyning together of thoſe two Rivers, which ariſing from the ſprings of *Jor* and *Dan*, the two apparent Fountains of *Jordan*, in a ſoil exceeding fruitful and pleaſant: for, as it is written, *Judges* 18. it is a place *which doth want nothing that is in the World*. In the fields belonging to this City it was that S. *Peter* acknowledged Chriſt to be the Son of God: whereupon it was anſwerrd, *Tu es* Petrus, *& ſuper hanc* Petram, *&c.* After this City received the Chriſtian Faith, it was honoured with a Biſhops ſeat: and it ran the ſame fortune with the reſt, for it was after taken and retaken by the *Saracens*, and *Chriſtians*: under *Fulch* the fourth King of *Jeruſalem*, and after the death of *Godfrey* of *Bullion*, the King of *Damaſcus* wreſted it from the *Chriſtians*; and ſhortly after by them again it was recovered. Laſtly, now it remaineth, with all that part of the World, ſubjected to the *Turk*.

a *Joſephus* in the book of the Jewiſh wars, *c.*18. ſaith, that *Philip* the *Tetrarch* caſt chaff into a Fountain called *Phiala*, diſtant 120. ſtadia North-eaſt from *Cæſaria*, which chaff being carried under ground, was caſt up again at *Panium* or *Dan*: whereby it is conjectured, that the firſt Spring of *Jordan* is from this Fountain called *Phiala*, from whence *Jor* and *Dan* receive their waters.

‖. IV.

Of Capernaum, *and the Cities of* Decapolis.

AMong the remarkable Cities within this Tribe, *Capernaum* is not the leaſt: ſo often remembred by the *Evangeliſts*. This City had the honour of Chriſts preſence three years: who for that time was a Citizen thereof, in which he firſt preached and taught the doctrine of our Salvation: according to that notable Prophecy of *Eſay* 9. *The people that walked in darkneſs have ſeen a great light: they that dwelt in the Land of the ſhadow of death, upon them hath the light ſhined.*

Capernaum was ſeated on *Jordan*, even where it entreth into the Sea of *Galilee*, in an excellent and rich ſoil: of whoſe deſtruction Chriſt himſelf propheſied

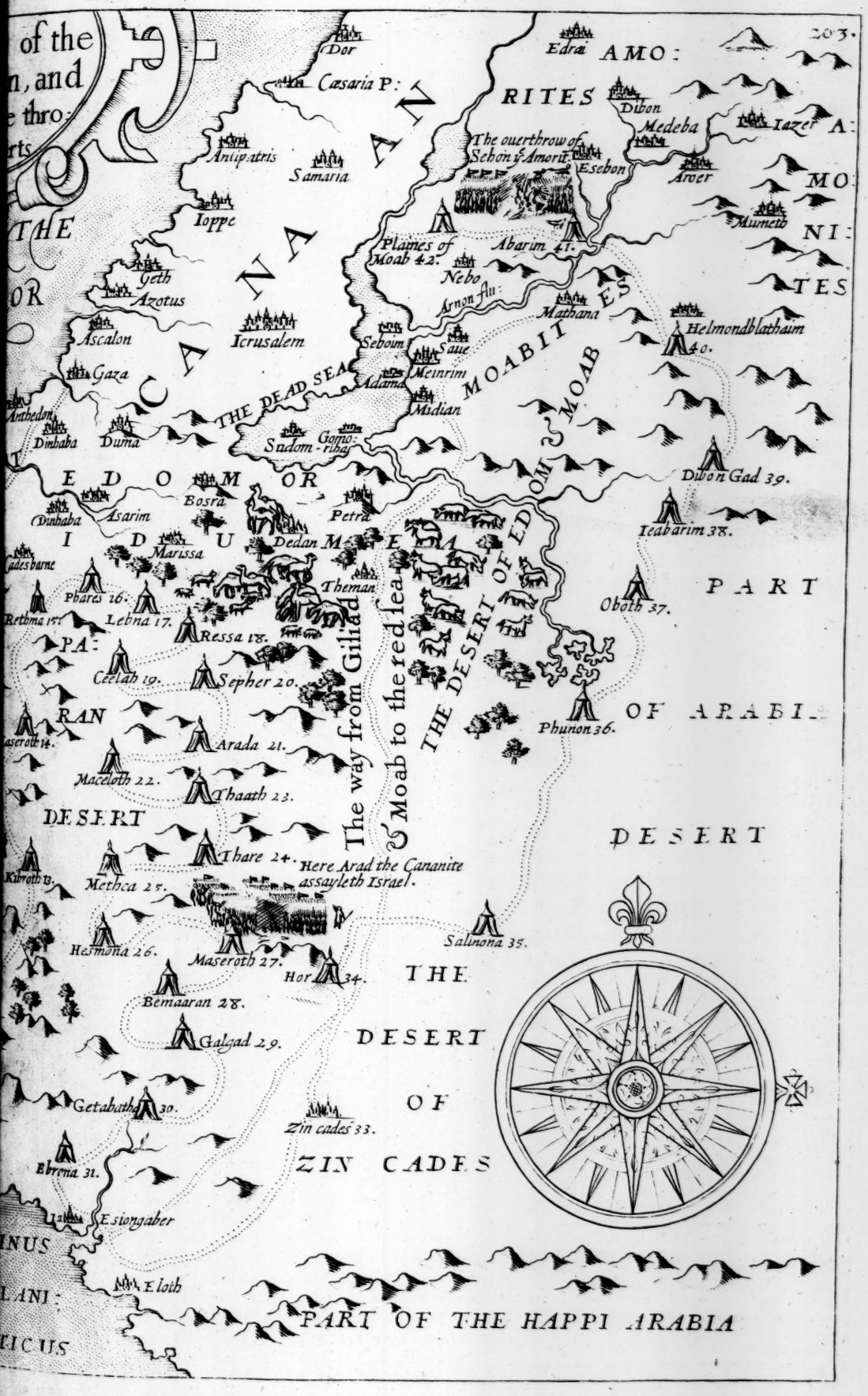
Sin. Ezek: 30. 15. Vatablus. Iunius. Hierom. write Pelusiū. the Septuagint Sais.
Casluhim. Gen: 10. 14. Ptolemie writes Casius. of whom the Palestines or Philistims.
Pathros. Ezek: 30. 14. Gen: 10. 14. Ptolemie writes Phacusa.
Phibeseth. Ez: 30. 17. y Sept: & Vulgar. & Iun: write Bubastius. Vat. & English Pibeseth.
Zoan. Ez: 30. 14. 50 Vat: Iun: Eng: write it. the Vul: Taphnis. the Septuag: Tanis.
On. Ge: 41. 45. 50 Vat: Inn: & our Eng: write it. y Vul: & Sep: Heliopolis. Plin: & Mel. Solis
Babylon. the Ebrues. Tudalensis. & Pestellus. Mesraim. (Oppidum
Noph. Ez: 30. 16. 30 Vat: Pagn: Iun: & Eng: write it. y Sep: Chad: Par: & Hier: Memphis
Auen. Ez: 30. 17. 50 Vat: Pag: & Eng: write. the Sep: Vul: & Iunius. Heliopolis.
Rameses. Ex: 12. 37. Gen: 47. Gosen. the Hebrewes and Chald: Par:
Migdol. Ex: 14. 1. Jerem 46. 14. speaketh of Migdol neere Pelusium.
Damiata. not the same with Pelusium. G. Tyr: hel. Sac: l. 20. c. 17.
Pithom. Exod. 1. 11. which Herodotus calls Putamos.
Elim. Ex: 15. 27. y 6. Mansion. W. of Tyre in his 11. book of y holy warr. c. 29. f. and 8
ruins of a Cit: there. it was still called Helis. & inhabitn his time in y y. 200. after Christ
Etham and Sur. one and the same. Etham Num: 33. 8. Sur. Ex: 15. 22.
Pharan. so called in Ptol: time. who finds a Citie of y name neere y Red Sea.
Sin. Zin cades. and Cades barne. distinct places. (Paran. Num: 13. 27.
Sin. is betweene Elim & Sinai. Ex: 16. 1. Sin stretcheth no far. Nor the Salus for Raphidim
Zin cades ioyneth to Arabia y Desert & Cades barne to Idumea. (is 17th. with Ex: 21.
Sinai Desert is betweene Raphidim and Mount Sinai. Ex: 19. 2. and it stretcheth Southward towards Midian.
The Deserts of Moab lye East from the Dead Sea and ioyne upon the Desert Arabia. and these of Edom betweene Hor. and Theman.

A Descrip
Land of
Moses p
ugh the

PART OF
MEDITER
PHOENICIA

Ostracin
Casius
Laris
Damiata
Sin or Pelusiū
Casluhim
THE SANDY DE
Sirbonis
Pathros or Phacusa
Migdol or Magdol
Phibeseth or Bubastus
Zoan or Tanis
EGYPT
GOSEN
The way from Gosen into Palestin
THE DESERT OF ETHAM
Rameses
On or Heliopolis
Sucoth 2.
Daphia 9
Mara 5.
SIN DESERT
Noph or Memphis
Mizraim or Babylon
Pithom
Etham 3.
Elim 6.
Sin 8.
Trajanus flu
Auen or Heliopolis
Redsea 7.
Midian
Piatheroth
Migdol
Balsephon
THE
RED
SEA
Arsinoe
Nilus flu:

Guli: Hole sculp:


Dor
Cæsaria P:
Edrai
AMO:
RITES
Dibon
Medeba
Iazer
A:
The ouerthrow of Sehon & Amorit.
Esebon
Aroer
MO:
Antipatris
Samaria
Ioppe
Mumeth
NI:
THE
Plaines of Moab 42.
Abarim 41.
Nebo
Arnon flu:
TES
Geth
Azotus
Mathana
Helmondblathaim 40.
Ascalon
Icrusalem
Seboim
Saue
Meinrim
Gaza
Adama
Midian
Anthedon
Dinhaba
Duma
Sodom-riba;
Gomo:
Dibon Gad 39.
Bosra
Petra
Dinhaba
Asarim
Iealbarim 38.
Marissa
Dedan
Cadesbarne
Theman
Phares 16.
Rethma 15.
Lebna 17.
Ressa 18.
Oboth 37.
PART
Ceelah 19.
Sepher 20.
RAN
Phunon 36.
OF ARABI:
aseroth 14.
Arada 21.
Maceloth 22.
Thaath 23.
DESERT
DESERT
Thare 24.
Here Arad the Cananite assayleth Israel.
Kibroth 13.
Methca 25.
Salmona 35.
Hesmona 26.
Maseroth 27.
Hor 34.
THE
Bemaaran 28.
Galgad 29.
DESERT
OF
Getabatha 30.
Zin cades 33.
Ebrona 31.
ZIN CADES
Esiongaber
Eloth
PART OF THE HAPPI ARABIA
The way from Gilead & Moab to the red sea.
THE DESERT OF EDOM & MOAB
MOABITES
THE DEAD SEA
CANAAN
EDOM OR IDUMEA

phesied in these words, *And thou* Capernaum *which art lifted up unto Heaven shall be brought down to Hell*, &c. which shewed the pride and greatness of that City: for it was one of the principal Cities of *Decapolis*, and the *Metropolis* of *Galilee*. And although there were some marks of this Cities magnificence in St. *Jeroms* time, as himself confesseth; it being then a reasonable Burgh or Town: yet those that have since, and long since seen it, as *Brochard*, *Breidenbech*, and *Saliniac* affirm, that it then consisted but of six poor Fishermens houses.

Matth. 4. Mark 7. Luke 8.

The Region of ten principal Cities, called *Decapolitana*, or *Decapolis*, is in this description often mentioned, and in S. *Matthew*, *Mark* and *Luke* also remembred; but I find no agreement between the *Cosmographers*, what proper limits it had: and so *Pliny* himself confesseth; for *Marius Niger*, speaking from others, bounds it on the North by the Mountain *Casius* in *Casiotis*: and endeth it to the South at *Egypt* and *Arabia*; by which description it imbraceth *Phœnicia*, a part of *Cœlosyria*, all *Palestina*, and *Judæa*.

Niger. comment. Asia 4. f. 503.

Plin. l. 5. c. 18.

Opotos a City standing in the Valley of *Cœlosyria*, watered by *Chrysorons*, as *Damascus* is. *Plin. l. 5.*

Pliny also makes it large, and for the ten Cities of which it taketh name, he numbreth four of them, to be situated towards *Arabia*: to wit, first these three, *Damascus*, *Opotos*, *Raphana*, then *Philadelphia* (which was first called *Amana*, saith *Stephanus*, or as I gheſs, *Amona* rather, because it was the chief City of the *Ammonites*, known by the name of *Rabbah*, before *Ptolo*. *Philadelphus* gave it this later and new name.) Then *Scythopolis*, sometime *Nisa*, built (as is said) by *Bacchus*, in memory of his Nurse, who died therein, antiently known by the name of *Bethsan*; for the sixth, he setteth *Gadara* (not that *Gadara* in *Cœlosyria*, which was also called *Antioch* and *Seleusia*:) but it is *Gadara* in *Basan*, which *Pliny* in this place meaneth, seated on an high hill, near the River of *Hieromaix*. This River *Ortelius* takes to be the River *Jaboc*: which bounded *Gad* and *Manasseh* over *Jordan*: but he mistaketh it; for *Hieromaix* falleth into the Sea of *Galilee*, between *Hippos* and *Gerasa*, whereas *Jaboc* entreth the same Sea between *Ephron* and *Phanuel*. For the seventh, he nameth * *Hippos*, or *Hippion*, a City so called of a *Colony* of Horsmen there garrison'd by *Herod*, on the East-side of the *Galilean Sea*, described hereafter in the Tribe of *Manasseh* over *Jordan*. For the eighth, *Pella*, which is also called *Butis*, and *Berenice*, seated in the South border of the Region over *Jordan*, called *Perea*. For the ninth, *Gelasa*, which *Josephus* takes to be *Gerasa*: and *Gerasa* is found in *Cœlosyra* by *Josephus*, *Hegesippus*, and *Stephanus*: but by *Ptolomy* (whom I rather follow) in *Phœnicia*. The tenth and last, *Pliny* nameth *Canatha*, and so doth *Suetonius* and *Stephanus*, which *Volaterran* calls *Gamala*, but *Hegesippus* rightly *Camala*, a City in the Region of *Basan* over *Jordan*, so called, because those two Hills on which it is seated, have the shape of a Camel. But the Collection of these ten Cities, whereof this Region took name, is better gathered out of *Brochard*, *Breidenbach*, and *Saligniac*, which make them to be these; *Cæsarea Philippi*, and *Asor*, before remembred, *Cedes*, *Nephtalim*, *Sephet*, *Chorazin*, *Capernaum*, *Bethsaida*, *Jotapata*, *Tiberias*, and *Scythopolis*, *or Bethsan*. For all other Authors disagree herein, and give no reason for their opinion. One place of the *Evangelist* S. *Matthew* makes it manifest, that this Region called *Decapolitana*, was all that Tract between *Zidon*, and the Sea of *Galilee*. For thus it is written: *And he departed again from the coasts of* Tyrus *and* Zidon, *and came unto the Sea of* Galilee, *through the middest of the coasts of* Decapolis: so that it was bounded by *Damascus* and *Libanus* on the North: by the *Phœnician* Sea, between *Zidon* and *Ptolomais* on the West: by the Hills of *Gelbo* and *Bethsan* on the South: and by the Mountains *Tracones*, otherwise *Hermon*, *Sanir*, and *Galaad*, on the East: which is from *East* to West the whole breadth of the Holy Land: and from the North to the South, neer the same distance, which may be each way forty English miles.

* *Pliny* hath *Hippion Dion*, for which *Volaterran* reads *Hippidion*. *Ortelius* takes them for two Cities.

§. V.

Of Hamath.

But to look back again towards *Libanus*, there is seated neer the foot thereof the City of * *Hammath* or *Chammath*, of which (as they say) the Countrey adjoyning taketh name: the same which *Josephus* calleth *Amathitis*, and *Amathensis*: a *Jacobus Zeigler*, *Iturea*. *Iturea Regio tenet borealia tribus* Nephtali, *per montem* Libanum *usque* Trachones. The Countrey of *Iturea*, saith he, containeth the North parts of the Tribe of *Nephtali*, along the Mount *Libanus* to *Trachones*. But herein following *Strabo*, who calls *Trachonitis*, *Iturea*, he mistakes the seat of this Region: and so doth *Mercator*. For indeed were *Iturea* (which *Hegesippus* calls *Perea*, and *G. Tyrius*, *Baccar*) the same with *Traconitis*, yet *Traconitis* it self is far more to the East than *Hammath* in *Nephtalim*: for *Traconitis* lieth between *Cæsarea Philippi*, and the Mountains *Trachones*: which the Hebrews call *Gilead*: and this *Hammath* or *Chammath* is seated under *Cæsarea*, towards the Sea West-ward. And it seemeth that this mistaking grew by confounding *Emath* or *Hamath* the great in *Cœlosyria*, beyond the Mountains *Trachones*, which b *Jerom* upon *Amos* calls *Antiochia*, with *Hammath* or *Hamath* the lesser in *Phœnicia*, and *Neptalim*, which he calleth *Epiphania*: for this *Hammath*, or in our Translation *Hamath*, (and not that which is commonly called *Emath*, which 2 *Chron.* 8. 3. is set far from the North border of *Canaan* in *Syria Soba*) is remembred in *Numb.* 34. 8. and *Numb.* 13. 22. and in *Ezek.* 47. 16. In the first of which places it bordereth the Land of Promise, these being the words: *From Mount* Hor *you shall point* (that is, direct or draw a line) *until it come to* Hamath: In the second place thus: *So they went up, and searched out the Land from the Wilderness of* Sin, *unto* Rehob *to go to* Hamath: Then in *Ezekiel*; *The West part also shall be the great Sea from the border, till a man come over against* Hamath: that is, the coast of the Sea shall be the West border from the Southermost part of the Holy Land, till you come directly over against *Hamath* Northward: from

* The *Septuagint* write it *Ammath*, Jerome *Emath*, Josephus *Amath*: *Jos.* 19. 35. *Chammath*, *cap.* 21. *ver.* 34. *Chammath-Dor*, in the first of *Chro.* 6. 76. *Chammon*, 2 *King.* 14. 8. *Chammath-Ichuda*, as *Junius* reads it, whereas also for further distinction there is added [in *Israel*] to note, that it was of old belonging to *Juda*, though seated in *Israel*, that is, in the Kingdom of the ten Tribes: the other *Chamath*, being in *Syria Soba*.

a *Zeigler in Nephtal.*

b So *Jerom* in his Comment on *Amos* 6. 2. where there is mention of *Hamath* the great, as it seems for distinction from the other in *Nephtalim*, though *Mat. Beroaldus*, rejecting *Jerom*, rath r follows the opinion of *Zeigler*, above mentioned, as indeed it cannot easily be justified that either one or other of these is either *Antiochia* or *Epiphania*, howbeit that the same City which in *Joshua* 19. 35. is called *Chammath*, and placed in *Nephtalim*, was also called *Chamath* (whence the word *Hamath* and *Emath*, were framed) may be gathered, partly because the other *Hamath*, 2 *Chron.* 8. 3. for distinction is called *Chamath-Tseba*, as this (as it may seem by *Josh.* 21. 32.) was *Chamath-Dor*, and *Chamath-Juda*, as we have noted, 2 *Reg.* 24. Secondly, because *Num.* 34. 8. and also *Ezek.* 47. 10. *Chamath* in the North-side of the Holy Land is placed too neer the West corner, to be that *Chamath-Isoha*: for in the line which should make the North border which begins at the great Sea, they make *Moses* to name never a place East-ward along all the breadth of the Holy Land until we come to *Hermon* (for so they expound Mount *Hor. Num.* 34. 7.) and beyond *Hermon* East-ward in this North-side, they make him to name divers Towns, first *Chamath*, then *Tseda*, then *Ziphron*, and lastly, *Chatsar-henan*, a thing most unlikely: seeing *Israel* had little or nothing East-ward beyond *Hermon*. Therefore we must needs expound *Hor* to be one of the Hills neer *Sidon*, and so those Towns as they are named, to lie in order on the North-side of *Asher*, *Nephtalim*, and *Manasses*: and in like manner those in *Ezekiel*, first, *Cheelon*, then *Chamath*, and so in order, *Berotha*, *Sibraim*, *Tsedad*, *Chauran*, *Chatsar-henan*.

whence if a line be drawn to the Sea, it will touch the walls of *Zidon:* which is the c Northwest corner of the Holy Land. Now that this *Hamath*, or *Hammath*, which *Moses* also made the confine of the Holy Land, is that of *Nephtalim*, both the reference which it hath to the West Sea, and the City of d *Rehob* adjoyning, prove it: the other *Hamath*, or *Emath* (being far removed, and beyond the fore-named Mountains, which inclose all those Lands which *Israel* ever had possession of) is that *Emath*, which is also called *Ituræa*, witness e *Stella* and *Laicstan*; and not that in *Nephtalim*, where f *Jonathas Maccabæus* attended the Army of *Demetrius*, who fled from him, and removed by night,

c Of which *Jos.* 19. 35.
d Which *Rehob*, or *Rechob*, in *Jos.* 19. 28. is placed in *Asher* towards *Zidon*, in the confines of *Nephtalim*.
e *Tilemanno*, *Stella* and *Peter Laicstan* in their tables of the Holy land.
f *Jos. ant.* 13. 8.

For though *Traconitis* be comprehended within *Ituræa* (and therefore it is said to be *finitima Galileæ Gentium*) yet it hath beginning over the Mountains *Traconis*, and so it stretcheth into the Plains of the Territory of *Ituræa*; whence *Philip* the brother of *Herod* was *Tetrarch*, or *President*, both of *Ituræa* and *Traconitis*: both which are over *Jordan* towards the East. But *Chemath* in *Nephtalim*, is on the West side of *Jordan* towards the *Mediterran* Sea.

The Country *Ituræa* was so called of *Jethur*, one of the sons of *Ishmael*: it is placed in the bounds of *Cœlosyria*, and *Arabia* * the Desart.

* That it doth properly belong to *Arabia*, the name of *Jethur*, *Ishmaels* son, whose issue settled in the *Arabia's*, may in part give witness. Also the place of the 1 *Chron.* 5. 19. confirms it, where *Jethur* is named among the *Hagarens*, against whom the *Reubenites* and *Gadites* made war, and whose country they possest in the time of *Jeroboam*, as their fore-fathers had done in the time of *Saul* after his conquest of the *Amalekites*, 1 *Chron.* 5. 10. where the country is placed at the East of *Gilead*.

The people *Ituræi* were valiant and war-like men, and excellent Archers: Of whom *Virgil:*

Ituræos Taxi torquentur in arcus.

Of Yew the *Ituræans* bows were made.

This City *Chamath*, or *Hamath* in *Nephtalim*, seems to have been as antient as the other in *Ituræa*, both built by *Amatheus* the eleventh son of *Canaan*. Whether in the time of *David*, this, or the other had *Tohu* for King, it is not certain; for *Hamath* or *Emath* beyond the Mountains, and *Hammath* in *Nephtalim*, were both neighbours to *Damascus:* of whose subjugation *Tohu* rejoyced, because *Hadadeser*, whom the *Damasceni* came to help, was his enemy. This *Tohu* fearing the strength and prosperity of *David*, hearing of his approach towards his Territory, bought his peace with many rich presents, and with many antient vessels of gold, silver, and brass.

But it seemeth that *David* in such great success would not have had peace with *Tohu*, if he had been King of any place in *Nephtalim*, and therefore it is probable that he ruled in *Tsoba:* which City *Solomon* after his Fathers death made himself Master of, as a part of the lands (a in the larger and conditional promise) allotted by God to the children of *Israel*.

But this *Hammath* of *Nephtalim*, in the end, and after divers mutations and changes, both of name and fortune, being, as it hath been said, possessed by *Antiochus Epiphanes*, it was called *Epiphania*.

While S. *Jerom* lived, it remained a City well peopled, known to the *Syrians* by the name *Amathe*, and to the *Greeks* by *Epiphania*.

a Of the larger promise expresst, *Deu.* 1. 7. where *Euphrates* is named for one of the bounds: See *cap.* 7. *sect.* 2. *Hieron. de locis Hebr.*

‖. VI.

Of Reblatha *and* Rama, *and divers other Towns.*

IN the border of *Hamath* or *Emath*, towards *Jordan*, standeth the City *Reblatha*, or *Ribla*, watered from the fountain *Daphnis:* which falleth into the Lake of *Merom*. Hereunto was *Zedekias* brought prisoner, after his surprize in the fields of *Jericho:* and delivered to *Nebuchodonosor:* who to be avenged of *Zedekia's* infidelity, beyond the proportion of piety, first caused the Princes his children to be slain in his presence: and to the end that this miserable spectacle might be the last that ever he should behold in this world, and so the most remembred, he commanded both his eyes presently to be thrust out: and binding him in Iron chains, he was led a slave to *Babylon*, in which state he ended his life. Of which seldom exampled calamity, though not in express words, *Jeremy* the Prophet foretold him in *Jerusalem* not long before: But *Ezekiel* thus directly speaking in the person of God; *I will bring him to Babel, to the Land of the Chaldæans, yet shall he not see it, though he shall die therein.* *Jerom.* 52. 11, &c. *Ezek.* 21. 52.

There are, besides these before remembred, many other strong Cities in *Nephtalim*, as that which is called a *Cedes*; there are two other of the same name, one in b *Issachar*, another in *Juda*, of which *Jos.* 15. 23. and therefore to distinguish it, it is known by the addition of c *Nephtalim*, as *Judg.* 4. It is seated on a high hill, whence *Jos.* 20. 7. *Kedesh in Galilea in monte Nephtali:* *Josephus* calls it *Cedesis*, and in S. *Jerom's* time it was called *Cidissus*. *Belforest* greatly mistakes this *Cedes*, and confounds it with *Cades* in the Desart of *Pharan*.

a Or, *Kedish*, *Jos.* 19. 37. & 10. 7. & 21. 32. *item. Jud.* 4. 6.
b 1 *Chron.* 6. 72. which *Jos.* 19. 20. is called *Kishion*.
c Sometime *Kedesh* in *Galilea*, 1 *Chro* 6. 76. *Jos* 12. 22. 2 *Reg.* 15. 29.

After the King thereof, among other of the *Canaanites*, perished by the hand of *Joshua*, it was made a City of refuge, and given to the *Levites*. Herein was *Barac* born; who overthrew the Army of the second *Jabin* of *Hazor*, at the Mount *Tabor*. It was sometime possest by *Teglatphalasser*, when he wasted all *Nephtalim:* afterward by the *Romans*, and numbred for one of the ten Cities of the *Decapolitan* Region: When it had imbraced the Christian Faith, it was honoured with a Bishops seat, but in time it fell with the rest into the power of the *Saracens* and *Turks*, and by them it was demolished.

From *Cedes* some four *Italian* miles towards the South-west, standeth *Sephet*, otherwise *Zephet*, which was also one of the ten *Decapolitan* Cities: a place exceeding strong, and for many years the inexpugnable Fortress of the *Christians*, and afterward of the *Saracens*; for from hence they conquered all the neighbour Cities of those Regions, both In-land and Maritimate, neer it. Touching *Rama* of *Nephtalim*, seated Northward neer *Sephet*, this is to be noted, that there are (‖) divers places of this name in *Palæstine*, all scituate on Hills: and therefore called *Rama* (Rama *Hebræis excelsum*; Ramath *with the Hebrews is high.*) Also that from this *Rama*, *Jos.* 19. 36. they read *Arama*, making the Article (which it hath in the *Hebrew*, as being a name of divers Towns) to be a part of the word: whence casting away the aspiration, they read *Arema*. From *Sephet* towards the West, they place * *Bethsemes*, of which *Josh.* 19. 38. which

‖ See in *Benjamin*, and in *Ephraim*.
* Other Cities there were of this name, (which is as much as *domus solis*) as that in *Juda*, 2 *Kings.* 14. 15. where *Joash* King of the ten Tribes overcame *Amasia* of *Juda*, of which also understand the place, *Jos.* 21. 16. and 1 *Sam.* 6 14. and 2 *Chron.* 29. 18. A third, as it seems was in *Dan.* 1 *Kin.* 4. 9. which *Josh.* 19. 41. is written *Hirshemes*, which is much as *Civitas solis*. *Judg.* 1. 31.

defended

defended it self against *Nepthalim*, *Jud.* 1. 33. but paid them tribute. On the other side of *Sephet*, towards the East, was *Bethanath*, who also kept their City from the *Nepthalims*.

Adjoyning to which standeth *Carthan*, * or *Kiriathajim*, a City of the *Levites* not far from the Mountain out of which the springs of *Capharnaum* arise, called *Mons Christi*, a place by our Saviour often frequented: as also then when calling his Disciples together, he made choice of twelve, which he called and ordained to be his Apostles or Messengers: of which place, or the acts therein done, there is often mention in the † *Evangelists*.

* So it appears by comparing of the places *Jos.* 21. 32. & 1 *Chr.* 6. 76. *Adrichomius* both here and elsewhere, deceived by the double name, makes two of one: although I deny not but that there was another *Kiriathajim* in *Reuben*, of which *Jos.* 13. 9. † *Mark.* 3. *Matth.* 10. *Acts* 1. *Matth.* 5. 6, 7.

Adjoyning to these are *Magdalel*, a place of strength, ‖ and *Mesaloth*, of which we read, that it was forced by *Baccides* in the time of the * *Maccabees*: also (according to *Adricomius*) one of the two *Berotha*'s of *Nephtalim*. For *Adricomius* maketh two of this name in this Tribe, † one neer *Chamath* in the North border, of which *Ezek.* 47. 6. another (upon a weak conjecture out of *Joseph. ant. l.* 5. *c.* 2.) he therefore placeth in this tract neer the waters of *Merom*; because the Kings that joyned with *Jabin* against *Josua*, which encamped at the Waters of *Merom*. *Jos.* 11. 5. are by *Josephus* said to have encamped at the City *Berotha* in *Galilee*, not far from *Cedesa superior*, which is also in *Galilee*: all which may be true of that *Berotha* of which *Ezek.* seeing it is in that *Galilee* which is called the upper *Galilee*, or *Galilee* of the *Gentiles*. The same *Adricomius* placeth the Region of *Berim* neer *Abela* (of which *Abela*, or *Abil-Beth Mahacah*, we have spoken already) this he doth upon a conjecture touching the place, 2 *Sam.* 20. 14. where some read *Abel & Bethmahacah, & omnia loca Berim*: but the better reading is, (*& omnes Berim*, that is, *with all the Berei*: for *Shebah* being of *Benjamin* (in which Tribe also there is a City called *Berotha*, or *Beeroth*) drew the Men of that City after him.

‖ *Jos.* 19. 38. * 1 *Mac.* 9. 2. † *Barathena Ptolomeo in fine Arabiæ deserta: Fuit eadem cum Berothai una civitatum Hadadezeris*, 2 *Sam.* 8. 8. *Is.* 18. 25.

To the North of *Berotha* of *Nepthalim* standeth *Sebarim* under *Lybanus*, remembred by *Ezek.* 47. and *Aroseth gentium*, neer the Waters of *Merom*, or *Samochonitis*, the City of *Sisara*, Lieutenant of the Army of the second *Jabin*: from whence not far off, towards the Sea of *Galilee*, is *Edrai*, or *Edrehi*, a strong City: besides many others, whereof I find no particular story of importance: as *Ser* in *Jos. c.* 19. *v.* 35. called *Triddim-Tzer*, and named for the first of their fenced Cities: whence they make two Cities, *Assedim* and *Ser*. Then *Adama*, which they call *Edama*: also *Hion*, which they call *Ahion*, of which in the books of *Kings*. Then the strong City of *Cinneroth*, after called *Gennezareth*, whence we read of the Land and Lake of *Gennezareth*, the same Lake which is also called the Sea of *Tiberius* in the body of the Land they place *Galgala* to the South border: of which ‖ *Mac.* 9. 2. also divers others, named *Jos.* 19. as *Ucuca*, or *Cukkok*, *Horem* and *Azanothtabor* (which they place towards the East parts) and out of the same place of *Josua*, *Jerzon*, *Lakkum*, *Jepnael*, *Heleb*, and * *Raccath*; which two last they place neer *Cæsarea Philippi*: To these they add out of *Josua*, *Nekeb*, and *Adami*: for which two *Junius* readeth *Fossa Adamæi*, making it no Town, but a Ditch cast by some of *Adameth*, as it seems; or at least the custody of which March or Limit belonging to the Town. To these out of *Num.* 34. 10. they add *Sephana*, which 1 *Sam.* 30. 21. seems to be called *Sipmoth*. As for *Tichon* and *Helon*, whereof the former they fetch out of *Ezek.* 47. 16. and the latter out of *Jos.* 19. 33. it may appear by *Junius* his Translation, that neither are to be taken for Cities: for the former he readeth *Mediana*, and for the later *Quercetum*. The City of † *Nepthalim*, which they make the native place of *Tobie*, and *Naason* neer unto it, they fetch out of the *Vulgar* Translation, *Tob.* 7. 7. but in the *Greek* Text there is no sign, neither of the one nor of the other.

† In the place, 1 *Reg.* 4. it is, which also they bring to prove that there was a City called *Nepthalim*, as is evident by the following Verses: the Tribe of *Nepthalim* is meant, and not any City of that name.

Astroth. Herom. Jud. 4. *Lyr. in Jud.* 4. *Jos.* 19. 37. 1 *Reg* 15. 20. 2 *Reg.* 15. 29.

Mat. 6. 53. *Luke* 5. 1.

‖ This place of the *Maccab.* warrants no *Galgala*, or *Gilgal*, in *Nephtali*, but may well be understood of *Gilgal* in *Benjamin*, or in *Manasse*.

* This *Raccath* or *Racath*, *Junius* thinks that it is the same with *Karthan* (one of these being made of the other by transposition of letters) of which *Karthan* we have noted already, that it is also *Kiriatajim*.

SECT. V.

THE TRIBE OF ZABULON.

OF *Zabulon*, or *Zebulon*, another of the Sons of *Jacob* by *Lea*, there were mustered at Mount *Sinai*, 57400 able Men, besides Women, Children, and aged unable persons: all which dying in the Desarts, there entred the *Holy Land* of their issues 65000 fit to bear arms: who inhabited that part of *Canaan*, from *Asher* to the River *Chison* South-ward, and from the Sea of *Galilee* to the *Mediterran* East and West.

The Cities within this Tribe which border *Asher*, are *Sicaminum* on the Sea shore; of which *Joseph. Ant.* 13. *c.* 19. *Debbaset*, of * which *Jos.* 19. 11. *Jekonam*, or *Jocneham* (whose King was † slain by *Josua*, and the City was given to the *Levites*:) and *Gaba*, after called the City of Horsemen, of a Regiment their garrison'd by *Herod*. Then the City which beareth the name of *Zabulon*, or the *City of Men*, exceeding antient and magnificent, ‖ burnt to the ground by *Cestius*, Lievetenant of the *Roman* Army. *Adricomius* makes it the birth-City of * *Elon* Judge of *Israel*, because he is called *Zabulonita*: not marking that in the same place, he is said to be buried at *Ajalon*.

* *Jos.* 12. 22. † *Jos.* 12 *bel.* 19. ‖ *Jos.* 2. *bel.* 22. * *Judg.* 12. 12.

To the East of this City of *Zabulon* is *Cateth*, of which *Jos.* 19. 15. on the border of *Asher*: and beyond it the lesser † *Cana* of *Galilee*, where Christ converted Water into Wine: the native City of *Nathaniel*, and, as it is thought of *Simon Zelotes*. Beyond it begin the Mountains of *Zabulon*: and then the City of *Cethron* (in *Zeigler*, *Ghiltron*) which defended it self against *Zabulon*. Then *Bersabe*, which standeth in the partition of the upper and nether *Galilee*, fortified by *Josephus* against the *Romans*. Not far from hence standeth *Shimron* of *Meron*, whose King was slain by *Josua*.

† The greater *Cana* is in the Tribe of *Aster*. *Jos.* 22. 2. *Nathaniel* is said to be of *Cana* in *Galilee*. Of *Simon* it may be doubted: for *Angelus Caninus* reads *Mat.* 20. 4. *Simon Cananites*, which word (*Luke* 6.) he thinketh to be expounded by *Zelotes*.

Then *Damna*, or *Dimna*, a City of the *Levites*: then *Noa*, or rather *Neha*, of which *Jos.* 19. 13. Then *Dothan*, or *Dothain*, where *Joseph* found his Brethren feeding their flocks: the same wherein *Elizæus*, besieged by the *Syrians*, struck them all blind.

Beyond it, towards the East, they imagine ‖ *Amthar*, or *Amathar*: then *Remmon* of the *Levites*. The last of the Cities on the North border of *Zabulon* is

‖ The *Hebrew Hammethoar*, (for which the Vulgar hath *Anither*, *Jos.* 19. 13. *Vatablus qua gyrat*: *Junius* joyns it with the word going before it, *Rimmo-nemo Methoarum*, *Mat.* 8. 11. *Mark* 1. 6. *Luke* 4. 10. expounds, and reads

Bethsaida,

Bethſaida, one of the ten Cities of *Decapolis*, ſcituate on the *Galilæan* Sea, and watered by the ſprings of *Capernaum*, the native Cities of the Apoſtles, *Peter*, *Andrew*, and *Philip*. Herein Chriſt did many miracles, but theſe people being no leſs incredulous than the *Capernaims*, and others, received the ſame Curſe of threatned miſeries, as, *Wo be unto thee, Bethſaida, &c.*

Alongſt the Weſt border of *Galilee*, towards the South from *Bethſaida*, was the ſtrong Caſtle of *Magdalum*, the habitation of *Mary Magdelen*, not long ſince ſtanding.

And beyond it the ſtrong aud high ſeated City of *Jotapata*, fortified by *Joſephus* in the *Roman* War: but in the end, after a long ſiege, ſurpriſed by *Veſpaſian*, who ſlaughtered many thouſand of the Citizens, and held 1200 Priſoners, whereof *Joſephus* the Hiſtorian was one.

* The names of the chief Cities ſcated about this Sea, or Lake thorow which *Jordan* runneth, were *Capernaum*, *Tyberias*, *Bethſaida*, *Gadara*, and they add *Cinereth*, which in fore-times gave name unto the Lake and Country, *Matth.* 9. *Luke* 5. *Joſ. Ant.* 18. 3. *Joſeph.* 10. 15. *Adrich. in Zab.*

The laſt and greateſt of the Cities on that * Sea, and the Lake of *Genezzareth*, within *Zabulon*, was that of *Tiberias*, from whence afterward the *Galilæan* Sea alſo changed name, and was called the Sea of the City *Tiberias*, ſo named in the honour of *Tiberius Cæſar*; it was one of the ten Cities, and the *Metropolis* of the Region *Decapolitan*, and the greateſt and laſt of the lower *Galilee*. From hence our Saviour called *Matthew* from the Toll or Cuſtom-houſe, to be an Apoſtle; and neer unto it raiſed the Daughter of *Jairus* from Death: it was built (as *Joſephus* reports) by *Herod* the *Tetrarch*, the Brother of *Philip*, in the beginning of the raign of *Tiberius Cæſar*, in the moſt fruitful part of *Galilee*; but in a ground full of *Sepulchres*; *Quam juxta noſtras leges* (ſaith he) *ad ſeptem dies impurus habeatur, qui in talibus locis habitet*; *Whereas by our Law he ſhould be ſeven days held as unclean, who inhabited in ſuch a place*: by which words, and by the whole place of *Joſephus* it appears, that this *Tiberias*, is not (as ſome have thought) the ſame as the old *Cinnereth*, which was ſeated, not in *Zabulon*, but in *Nepthalim*.

Neer unto this *Tiberias* at *Emaus*, there were hot baths, where *Veſpatian* the Emperour encamped againſt *Tiberias*. More into the Land toward the South-weſt, is *Bethulia*, ſeated on a very high hill, and of great ſtrength, famous by the ſtory of *Holofernes* and *Judith*, ſuch as it is. Neer which ſtandeth *Bethleem* of *Zabulon*: and adjoyning unto it *Capharath*, fortified by *Joſephus* againſt the *Romans*: and *Japha*, an exceeding ſtrong place, afterward forced by *Titus*: who in the entrance, and afterward in fury ſlew 15000 of the Citizens; and carried away above two thouſand priſoners.

Joſ. in vit. ſua. Joſeph. 2. *Bel.* 25.

On the South ſide are the Cities of *Cartha* of the *Levites*, and *Gabara*, of which *Joſephus* in his own life, then *Jafie*, according to *Adrichomius* (of which *Joſ.* 19. 12.) for he thinks that it is not that *Japha* of which we ſpeak but now out of *Joſephus*. *Jideala*, of which *Joſ.* 19. 15. *Hierome* calls it *Jadela*: under it Weſt-ward, *Legio*, (afterward a Biſhops ſeat) and the City *Belma*, in antient times exceeding ſtrong, remembred *Judith* 7. 3. otherwiſe *Chelma*. Between *Legio* and *Nazeret* is the City *Saffa*, or *Saffra*, the birth-City of *Zebedæus*, *Alphæus*, *James* and *John*: Then *Sephoris*, or *Sephora*, according to *Joſephus*: *Sephorum* according to *Brochard*: which afterward, ſaith *Hegeſippus*, and *Hierome*, was called *Diocæſaria*, the City of *Joachim* and *Anna* the Parents of the Virgin *Mary*; it was called by *Herod* the *Tetrarch*, and by him, as *Joſephus* ſpeaks, made the head and defence of *Galilee*: in another place he ſaith *Urbium Galileæ arum Sephoris & Tiberias*. This *Sephoris* greatly vexed *Veſpaſian* ere he wan it. *Herod Antipas*, when he made it the Regal ſeat of the nether *Galilee*, and ſurrounded it with a ſtrong Wall, called it *Autocratorida*, which is as much to ſay as Imperial, ſaith *Joſephus*; and it is now but a Caſtle called *Zaphet*.

Joſ. 21. 35. otherwiſe *Kiſloth Thabor*, as *Junius* thinks upon *Joſ.* 19. 12. whence 1 *Chron.* 6. 77. it is called *Thaher*.

To the South-weſt of this *Sephoris*, or *Diocæſaria*, was that bleſſed place of *Nazareth*, the City of *Mary* the Mother of *Chriſt*; in which he himſelf was conceived: it ſtandeth between Mount *Tabor*, and the *Mediterran Sea*. In this City he abode chiefly four and twenty years, and was therefore called a *Nazarite*, as the *Chriſtians* afterward were for many years. It was erected into an *Archbiſhoprick* in the following age. Neer unto it are the Cities *Buria* (afterward well defended againſt the *Turks*) and *Nahalal*, of which *Joſ.* 19. 15. and *Judg.* 1. 30. where it is called *Nahalol*: and *Joſ.* 21. 35. where it is a City of the *Levites*; near the Sea adjoyning to the River of *Chiſon* is *Sarid*, noted in *Joſua* for the uttermoſt of *Zabulon*.

Johan. de Monteville, c. 4. & 20.

In this Territory of *Zabulon* there are divers ſmall Mountains: but *Tabor* is the moſt renowned, by the apparition of *Moſes* and *Elias*: and by the Transfiguration of *Chriſt* in the preſence of *Peter*, *James*, and *John*: unto whom *Moſes* and *Elias* appeared; in memory whereof, on the top of the Mountain, the Empreſs *Helen* built a ſumptuous Chappel.

Joſeph ant 18. 3 *& in vita ſua.*

In the chief River of *Zabulon* is *Chiſon*, which riſing out of *Tabor*, runneth with one ſtream Eaſtward to the Sea of *Galilee*, and with another ſtream Weſtward into the great Sea. This River of *Chiſon* where it riſeth, and ſo far as it runneth Southward, is called *Chedumim*, or *Cadumim*: and for mine own opinion, I take it to be the ſame which *Ptolomy* calleth *Chorſeus*: though others diſtinguiſh them, and ſet *Chorſeus* by *Cæſaria Paleſtinæ*. There is a ſecond Torrent or Brook that riſeth in the Hills of *Bethulia*, and falleth into the Sea of *Galilee* by *Magdalum*: and the third is a branch of a River riſing out of the Fountains of *Capernaum*, which falleth alſo into the ſame Sea, and near *Magdalum*; which Torrent they call *Dotham*, from the name of the City, from which it paſſeth Eaſtward to *Bethſaida*, and ſo joyning with *Jordanis parvus*, which runneth from the Valley of *Jepthael*, which *Joſua* reckoneth in the bounds of *Zabulon*: it endeth in the Sea of *Galilee*.

See *Laiſans* Map in *Ortelius* *Joſ.* 19. 14.

SECT. VI.

THE TRIBE OF ISSACHAR.

THe next adjoyning Territory to *Zabulon*, to the South and South-weſt, was *Iſſachar*, who inhabited a part of the nether *Galilee*, within *Jordan*: of whom there were increaſed in *Egypt*, as appeared by their muſters at mount *Sinai*, 54400 able and warlike Men, who leaving their bodies with the reſt in the Deſarts, there entred the *Holy Land*, 64300.

The firſt City of this Tribe near the Sea of *Galilee*, was *Tarichea*, diſtant from *Tiberias* eight Engliſh miles, or ſomewhat more; a City wherein the *Jews* (by the practice of a certain mutinous upſtart, *John* the Son of *Levi*) took Arms againſt *Joſephus* the Hiſtorian, then Governour of both *Galilees*. This City was firſt taken by *Caſſius*, and 3000 *Jews* carried thence captive; and afterward with great difficulty by *Veſpaſian*, who entred it by the Sea-ſide, having firſt beaten the *Jews* in a Sea-fight upon the Lake or Sea of *Galilee*; he put to the Sword all ſorts of People, and of all ages; ſaving that his fury being quenched with the Rivers of Blood running through every ſtreet,

Tarichea in Sutton.

ſtreet, he reſerved the remainder for Slaves and Bond-Men.

Joſ. 21. 28. *Kiſheon*, which is called *Kedeſh*. *Joſua* 19. 1 *Sam.* 4. 1. 1 *Sam.* 3. 19. 1 *Kings* 20. 26. In the later two places *Junius* makes *Aphec* in *Aſſer*, according to *Joſ.* 19. 30. in the firſt he placeth it in *Juda*, out of *Joſ.* 15. 53.

Next to *Tarichea* is placed *Ceſſion*, or *Ciſhion* of the *Levites*, and then *Iſſachar*, remembred in the firſt of *Kings*, *c.* 4. *v.* 17. then *Abes*, or *Ebets*, *Joſ.* 19. 20. and *Remeth*, of which *Joſ.* 19. 21. otherwiſe *Ramoth*, 1 *Chron.* 6. 37. or *Jarmuth*, *Joſ.* 21. 19. this alſo was a City of the *Levites*, from whoſe Territory the Mountains of *Gilboe* take beginning: and range themſelves to the *Mediterran-Sea*, and towards the Weſt, as far as the City *Jeſrael*, between which and *Ramoth*, are the Cities of *Bethpheſes*, or *Bethpaſſes*, according to *Zeigler*; and *Enadda*, or *Hen-chadda*, near which *Saul* ſlew himſelf: under thoſe, *Aphec*, or *Apheca*, which *Adrichomius* placeth in *Iſſachar*: between which and *Suna*, he ſaith, that the *Philiſtims* incamped againſt *Iſrael*, and afterward againſt *Saul*: a Land thirſty of blood, for herein alſo, ſaith he, the *Syrians* with two and thirty *Reguli* aſſiſting *Benhadad*, incountered *Achab*, and were overthrown and ſlaughtered: to whom the King of *Iſrael* made a moſt memorable anſwer, when *Benhadad* vaunted before the victory: which was, *Tell* Benhaded, *Let not him that girdeth his harneſs, boaſt himſelf as he that putteth it off*: meaning, that glory followed after victory, but ought not to preceed it. In the year following in the Fields, as they ſay, adjoyning to this City, was the ſame vainglorious *Syrian* utterly broken and diſcomfited by *Achab*: and 100000 footmen of the *Aramites* or *Syrians* ſlain: before which overthrow the Servants and Counſellors of *Benhadad* (in diriſion of the God of *Iſrael*) told him, *That the Gods of Iſrael were Gods of the Mountains: and therefore if they fought with them in the Plains, they ſhould overcome them.*

1 *King.* 20. 23.

Under *Aphec*, towards the Sea, they ſet the City of *Eſdrelon*, in the Plains of *Galilee*; called alſo the great Field of *Eſdrelon*, and *Maggeddo*: in the border whereof are the ruines of *Aphec* to be ſeen, ſaith *Brochard*, and *Breidenbach*. After theſe are the Cities of *Caſaloth*, of which 1 *Mac.* 9. 2. *Anem*, or *Hen-Gannim*, of the *Levites*, and *Sceſima*, or *Shabatſima*, the Weſt border of *Iſſachar*, of which *Joſ.* 19. 22. From hence ranging the Sea coaſt, there is found the Caſtle of *Pilgrims*: a ſtrong Caſtle invironed with the Sea, ſometime the Storehouſe and Magazine of the *Chriſtians*, and built by the Earl of Saint *Giles*, or *Tolouſe*.

Judith 1. 8. & 7. 3. 1 *Chr.* 6. 73. *Joſ.* 21. 19.

From the Caſtle of *Pilgrims*, the Sea maketh a great Bay towards the North, and at the farthermoſt ſhore beginneth Mount *Carmel*, not far from the River *Chiſon*, where *Elijah* aſſembled all the Prophets and Prieſts of *Baal*, and prayed King *Achab*, and the People aſſembled, to make trial whether the God of *Iſrael*, or the Idol of *Baal* were to be worſhipped, by laying a Sacrifice without Fire on the Altar: which done, the Prieſts of *Baal* prayed, and cut their own fleſh after their manner, but the Fire kindled not, while *Elijah* in deriſion told them, that their God *was either in purſuit of his Enemies, not at leiſure, or perchance aſleep, &c.* but at the prayer of *Elijah* the Fire kindled, notwithſtanding that he had cauſed the people to caſt many Veſſels of Water thereon: by which miracle the People incenſed, ſlew all thoſe Idolaters on the banks of *Chiſon* adjoyning.

At the Foot of this Mountain to the North, ſtandeth *Caiphas*, built, as they ſay, by *Caiphas* the High-Prieſt. It is alſo known by the name of *Porſina*, and *Porphyria*, ſometime a *Suffragan* Biſhops ſeat. Returning again from the Sea-coaſt towards *Tyberias*, by the banks of *Chiſon*, there are found the City of *Hapharaim*, or *Aphraim*, and the Caſtles of *Mezra* and *Saba*: of which *Brochard* and *Breidenbach*: and then *Naim* on the River *Chiſon*: a beautiful City while it ſtood, in the Gates whereof *Chriſt* raiſed from death the Widows only Son. *Luke* 7.

Then *Seon* or *Sion*, named *Joſ.* 19. between the two Hills of *Hermon*, in *Iſachar*: beyond it ſtandeth *Endor*, famous by reaſon of the Inchantreſs that undertook to raiſe up the body of *Samuel* at the inſtigation of *Saul*.

Beyond it ſtands *Annaharath* and *Rabbith*, named *Joſ.* 19. *v.* 19, 20. Then *Dabarath*, as it is named, *Joſ.* 21. 28. or *Dobratha*, as it is named, 1 *Chron.* 6. 71. This City (which ſtretcheth it ſelf over *Chiſon*) was a City of refuge belonging to the *Levites*.

Next to *Dabarath* is *Arbela*, ſituate near the Caves of thoſe two Thieves which ſo greatly moleſted *Galilee* in *Herods* time. It joyneth on one ſide to the Mountain of *Iſſachar*, or *Hermon*, and on the other to the Valley of *Jeſrael*: which Valley continueth it ſelf from *Bethſan*, or *Scythopolis*, the Eaſt border of *Iſſachar*, even to the *Mediterran-Sea*: two parts whereof are incloſed by the Mountains of *Gilboe* on the South, and by *Hermon* and the River *Chiſon* on the North. In theſe * Plains *Gideon* overthrew the *Midianites*, and herein they think, *Saul* fought againſt the *Philiſtims*, *Achab* againſt the *Syrians*, and the *Tartars* againſt the *Saracens*.

* Called *Campus Magnus*. 1 *Mac.* 12. 49. and *Harbatha* for *Harabath*. 1 *Mac.* 5. 23, & 9. 2. *Judg.* 6. 1 *Sam.* 31. 1 *King.* 20.

SECT. VII.

THE HALF OF THE TRIBE OF *MANASSE*.

‖ I.

Of the bounds of this half Tribe: and of Scythopolis, Salem, Therſa, and others.

THe next Tribe which joyneth it ſelf to *Iſſachar* towards the South, is the half of *Manaſſe*, on the Weſt ſide of *Jordan*. *Manaſſes* was the firſt begotten of *Joſeph*, the eleventh Son of *Jacob*. His Mother was an *Egyptian*, the Daughter of *Putiphar*, Prieſt and Prince of *Heliopolis*: which *Manaſſes*, with his Brother *Ephraim*, the grand-children of *Jacob*, were by adoption numbred amongſt the Sons of *Jacob*, and made up the number of the twelve *Patriarchs*.

Of *Manaſſe* there were encreaſed in *Egypt*, as they were numbred at Mount *Sinai*. 32200 able men: all which being conſumed in the Deſarts, there entred of their iſſues, 52700 bearing Arms. The Territory which fell on this one half of *Manaſſe*, was bounded by *Jordan* on the Eaſt, and *Dora*, upon the *Mediterran* Sea on the Weſt, *Jeſrael* on the North, and *Machmata* is the South border.

The firſt and principal City which ſtood in this Territory was *Bethſan*, ſometime *Nyſa*, ſaith *Pliny*, built by *Liber Pater*, in honour of his Nurſe there buried, of the ſame name, which *Solinus* confirms. Afterward when the *Scythians* invaded *Aſia* the leſs, and pierc't into the South, to the uttermoſt of *Cæloſyria*, they built this City a-new, and very magnificent: and it had thereupon the name of *Scythopolis*, or the City of *Scythians*, given by the *Greeks*. *Plin. l.* 5. *c.* 18.

Theſe barbarous Northern people conſtrained the *Jews* to fight againſt their own Nation and kindred, by whoſe hands when they had obtained victory, they themſelves ſet on the *Jews* which ſerved them, and ſlew them all. *Stephanus* makes it the utmoſt towards the South of *Cæloſyria*: and *Strabo* joyns it to *Galilee*. It is ſeated between *Jordan* and the Hills of Gilboe,

in

in aquilone ad montes Acrabitenæ, ſaith *Zeigler*. But I find it in the Eaſt part of the Valley of *Jeſræel* near *Jordan:* after that *Jordan* ſtrengtheneth it ſelf again into a River, leaving the Sea, or Lake *Genezareth*. Notwithſtanding *Montanus* deſcribes it far to the Weſt, and towards the *Mediterran* Sea, near *Endor*, contrary to *Stella*, *Laieſtan*, *Adrichome*, and all other the beſt Authors. This City was the greateſt of all thoſe of *Decapolis:* but the Children of *Manaſſe* could not expel the Inhabitants thereof: and therefore called it *Sane*, an Enemy, or *Beth-ſan*, the Houſe of an Enemy.

Judg. 1. *Joſ.* 17. *ac Bell. ſacr.* Over the Walls of this *Beth-ſan* the *Philiſtines* hung the body of *Saul*, and his Sons ſlain at *Gilboe*. It had, while the Chriſtian Religion flouriſhed in thoſe parts, an Archbiſhop, who had nine other Biſhops of his Dioceſs, numbred by *Tyrius*, in his fourteenth Book and twelfth Chapter: but the ſame was afterwards tranſlated to *Nazareth*. The later Travellers in thoſe parts affirm, that there is daily taken out among the rubbiſh and the ruins of that City, goodly Pillars, and other pieces of excellent Marble, which witneſs the ſtately buildings, and magnificence which it had in elder times, but it is now a poor and deſolate Village.

Hierom. in Epiſt. ad Evangr. & in Loc. Heb. From *Beth-ſan* keeping the way by *Jordan*, they find an antient City called *Salem*, which City the antient Rabbins, ſaith *Jerome*, do not find to be the ſame with *Jeruſalem:* there being in the time of *Hierome* and ſince, a Town of that name, near *Scythopolis* before remembred, which if the place of Scripture, *Gen.* 13.18. do not confirm, where the Vulgar readeth *tranſvitque in Salem urbem Sichemorum* (for which others read *venit incolumis ad Civitatem Sechemum*, making the word *Shalem* not to be a proper name, but an adjective) yet the place *John* 3.13. where it is ſaid, that *John* was by, baptizing in *Ænon* near *Salem*, may ſomewhat ſtrengthen this opinion, and yet it is not unlikely that this *Salem* of which St. *John* ſpeaketh, is but contracted of *Shahalim*, of which in the Tribe of *Benjamin*, 1 *Sam.* 9. 4. This word *Junius* maketh to be the plural of *Shuhal*: of which we read, 1 *Sam.* 13.17. for as for that which is added out of *Canticles* 6. 12. of *Shulammites*, as if it had been as much as a Woman of this *Salem* near *Ænon*, it hath no probability.

This City *Bezek*, by the place *Judg.* 1. 3. ſeemeth to have been in *Juda*. *Joſeph. ant.* 6. c. 5. 1 *Sam.* c. 11. Not far from thence where they place *Salem*, they find *Bezech*, the City of *Adonibezec*. *Joſephus* calls it *Bala:* here it was that *Saul* aſſembled the ſtrength of *Iſrael* and *Juda*, to the number of 330000 when he meant to relieve *Jabeſh Gilead*, againſt *Naaſh* the *Ammonite:* who would give them no other conditions of peace, than to ſuffer their right Eyes to be thruſt out. Near *Bezech* is the City of *Bethbera*, or rather *Beth-bara*, of which *Judg.* 7. 24. in the ſtory of *Gideon:* and then *Ephra*, or *Hophra*, wherein *Gideon* inhabited: in the border whereof ſtood an Altar conſecrated to *Baal*, which he pulled down and defaced; and near it that Stone, on which *Abimelech* the Baſtard ſlew his ſeventy Brothers; a Heatheniſh cruelty, practiſed by the *Turk* to this day: and not far hence, between the Village of *Aſophon* and *Jordan*, *Ptolomeus Lathurus* overthrew *Alexander* King of the *Jews*, and ſlaughtered, as *Joſephus* numbreth them, 3000; but according to *Timagenes* 50000: after which victory, as *Ptolomy* paſt by the Villages of the *Jews*, he ſlew all their Women, and cauſed the young Children to be ſod in great Caldrons, that the reſt of the *Jews* might thereby think that the *Egyptians* were grown to be Men-eaters, and ſtrike them with the greater terror.

Joſ. l. 13. c. 21. Towards the Weſt and on the border of *Iſſachar*, they place the Cities of * *Aner* of the *Levites*, and *Abel-Mehola*, which *Junius*, *Judg.* 7. 22. placeth in *Ephraim:* it was the habitation of *Heliſæus* the Prophet, numbred among thoſe places, 1 *Reg.* 4. 12. which were given in charge to *Baana* by *Solomon*, to whoſe charge alſo *Tahanac* belonged, a place of great ſtrength, which at the firſt reſiſted *Joſua*, though their King was afterward hanged, and their City given to the *Levites*.

* This *Aner*, *Junius* upon 1 *Chr.* 6. 70. makes to be the ſame with *Tahanac*, of which *Joſ.* 21. 25. *Hierome* names it from *Aner* the Conſederate of *Abraham* *Gen.* 14. 13. *Joſ.* 12. 17.

In the body of this Territory of *Manaſſe*, but ſomewhat nearer *Jordan* than to the *Mediterran* Sea, were three great Cities, to wit, *Therſa*, whoſe King was one of thoſe that *Joſua* ſlew: which the Kings of *Iſrael* uſed for their Regal ſeat, till ſuch time as *Samaria* was built. From hence the wife of *Jeroboam* went to *Achia* to enquire of her Sons health: who knowing her, though ſhe were diſguiſed, told her of her Sons death. 1 *King.* 14.

The ſecond was *Thebes* near *Samaria*, of which name there are both in *Egypt* and *Greece*, of great fame: in the aſſault of the Tower of this Town, whereinto the Citizens retired, the Baſtard *Abimelec* was wounded by a weighty Stone, thrown by a Woman over the Wall, who diſpairing of his recovery, commanded his Page to ſlay him out-right, becauſe it ſhould not be ſaid that he periſhed by the ſtroke of a Woman. But others ſet this City in *Ephraim* near *Sichem*, or *Neapolis*. *Judg.* 9. 50. 54.

The third is *Acrabata*, of which the Territory adjoyning is call *Acrabatena*, (one of the ten *Toparchies*, or governments in *Judæa*) for which *Hierom*, 1 *Mac.* 5. reads *Arabathena:* but in the Greek it is *Acrabatine: Iſidore* calls it *Agrabat*. This City had one of the largeſt Territories of all *Palæſtine* belonging to the Governour thereof. *Joſephus* remembreth it often, as in his ſecond book of the Jews wars, *c.* 11. 25. 28. and elſewhere. *Hier. Mar.* l. c. 5.

The difference between a *Tetrarchy* and a *Toparchy*, was, that the firſt was taken for a Province, and the other for a City with ſome leſſer Territory adjoyning; and a *Tetrarch* is the ſame with *Præſes* in Latine, and *Preſident* in Engliſh, being commonly the fourth part of a Kingdom; and thereof ſo called. *Pliny* nameth ſeventeen *Tetrarchies* in *Syria:* the Holy Land had four, and ſo hath the Kingdom of *Ireland* to this day, *Lemſter*, *Ulſter*, *Connath*, and *Munſter*. *Plin. l.* 5. *Euſeb. in Chron.*

To the South-weſt of *Acrabata* they place the Cities of *Balaam*, or *Bilham*, and *Gethremmom* of the Levites: but *Junius* out of *Joſ.* 21. 25. and 1 *Chron.* 6. 70. gathers that theſe two are but one; and that *Jibleham*, *Joſ.* 16. 11. is another name of the ſame City.

Then is *Jezael* a Regal City, ſet at the foot of the Mountains of *Gilboe*, towards the South weſt: herein *Jezabel*, by a falſe accuſation, cauſed *Naboth* to be ſtoned, to the end ſhe might poſſeſs his Vineyard adjoyning to the City, which *Naboth* refuſed to ſell, becauſe it was his inheritance from his Father.

Joram alſo was caſt unburied into the ſame field: for which his Mother *Jezabel* murthered *Naboth*. 2 *Kings* 2.

Toward the Sea from *Jezael* is the City which they call *Gaber:* in whoſe aſcent as *Ahaziah* King of *Juda* fled from *Jehu*, when he had ſlain *Joram*, he was wounded with the ſhot of an Arrow, of which wound he died at *Maggeddo* adjoyning. The Scripture calls this City of *Gaber*, *Gur*. 2 *Kings* 9. 27.

Then *Adadremmon*, near unto which the good King *Joſias* was ſlain by *Necho* King of *Egypt*, in a War unadviſedly undertaken. For *Necho* marched towards *Aſſyria* againſt the King thereof, by the commandment of God: whom *Joſias* thought to reſiſt in his paſſage. It was afterward called *Maximianopolis*.

A neighbour City to *Adadremmon* was *Maggedo*, often remembred in the Scriptures; whoſe King was ſlain *Judg.* 1. 5. *Joſ.* 12. 17.

slain among the rest by *Josua*: yet they defended their City for a long time against *Manasse*. The River which passeth by the Town, may perhaps be the same which *Ptolomy* calleth *Chorseus*: and not that of which we have spoken in *Zabulon*. For because this name is not found in the Scriptures, many of those that have described the Holy Land, delineate no such River. *Moore* only sets it down in his *Geography* of the twelve Tribes: but the River which passeth by *Maggeddo*, he understandeth to be but a branch, falling thereinto. *Laicstan* and *Schrot* make a great confluence of waters in this place, agreeable to this Scripture in the fifth of *Judges*. *Then fought the Kings of Canaan in Tanaac by the Waters of Maggeddo.* But these Authors, and with them *Stella*, give it no other name than the Torrent so called.

But seeing that antient *Cosmographers* stretch out the bounds of *Phœnicia* even to *Sebaste*, or *Samaria*; and *Strabo* far beyond it on the Sea-coast: And *Josephus* calls *Cæsaria Palæstinæ*, a City of *Phœnicia*: yea, *Laurentius Corvinus* extendeth *Phœnicia* as far as *Gaza*: seeing also *Ptolomy* sets down *Chorseus* for the partition of *Phœnicia* and *Judæa*, this River running East and West parallel with *Samaria*: it is very probable that this Torrent called *Maggeddo*, after the name of the City which it watereth, is the same which *Ptolomy* in his fourth Table of *Asia*, calleth *Chorseus*. The later travellers of the Holy Land call *Maggeddo*, *Subimbre* at this day.

Strab. l. 16. Joseph. l. 15 c. 13. Niger.

§. II.

Of Cæsaria Palestinæ, and some other Towns.

FRom *Maggeddo* toward the West, and near the *Mediterran Sea*, was that glorious City of *Cæsaria Palestinæ*: first, the Tower of *Straton*: the same which *Pliny* calls *Apollonia*: though *Ptolomy* sets *Apollonia* elsewhere, and toward *Egypt*, between this City and *Joppe*, to which *Vespasian* gave the name of *Flavia Colonia*. It was by *Herod* re-built, who therein laboured to exceed all the works in that part of the World: For besides the edifices, which he reared within the Walls, of cut and polish't Marbles, the *Theater* and *Amphitheater*, from whence he might look over the Seas far away, with the high and stately Towers and Gates: he forced a Harborow of great capacity, being in former times but an open Bay: and the wind blowing from the Sea, the Merchants haunting that Port, had no other hope, but in the strength of their Cables and Anchors. This work he performed with such charge and labour, as the like of that hath not been found in any Kingdom, nor in any Age: which, because the Materials were fetcht from far, and the weight of the Stones was such, as it exceedeth belief, I have added *Josephus*'s own words of this work, which are these: *Hanc locorum incommoditatem correcturus, circulum portus circumduxit, quantum putaret magnæ classi recipiendæ sufficere: & in viginti ulnarum profundum, prægrandia saxa demisit: quorum pleraque pedum quinquaginta longitudinis, latitudinis verò octodecim, altitudine novempedali: fuerunt quædam etiam majora, minora alia; To mend this inconvenience of place* (saith Josephus) *he compast in a Bay wherein a great Fleet might well ride: and let down great stones twenty fadom deep: whereof some were fifty foot long, eighteen frot broad, and nine foot thick: and some bigger, some lesser.* To this he added an arm or cawsie of two hundred foot long, to break the waves: the rest he strengthned with a Stone Wall, with divers stately Towers thereon builded: of which the most magnificent he called *Drusus*, after the name of *Drusus* the Son in Law of *Cæsar*: in whose honour he intituled the City it self, *Cæsaria* of *Palestine*: all which he performed in twelve years time. It was the first of the Eastern Cities that received a Bishop: afterward erected into an Archbishoprick, commanding twenty others under it, saith *Tyrius*.

Joseph. l. 15. c. 13.

Lib. 4 c. 12. bel. sacr.

St. *Jerom* nameth *Theophilus*, *Eusebius*, *Acacius*, *Euzorus*, and *Galasius*, to have been Bishops thereof. In this City was *Cornelius* the Centurion baptised by St. *Peter*: and herein dwelt *Philip* the Apostle. St. *Paul* was herein two years prisoner, under the *President Felix*, unto the time and government of *Porcius Festus*: by whom, making his appeal, he was sent to *Cæsar*. Here, when *Herod Agrippa* was passing on to celebrate the *Quinquennalia*, taking delight to be called a God by his flatterers, he was stricken by an Angel unto death, saith *Josephus*.

To the North of *Cæsaria* standeth *Dora*, or *Naphoth Dor*, as some read, *Jos.* 1. 2. so called (saith *Adricomius*) because it joyneth to the Sea, whose King was slain by *Josua*. But *Junius*, for *in Naphoth Dor*, reads *in tractibus Dor*: and so the Vulgar, *in regionibus Dor*, although 1 *Reg.* 4. 11. for the like speech in the Hebrew it readeth *omnis Nephath Dor*: The *Septuagint* in the place of *Josua* call it *Nephith-Dor*, and in the other of the Kings, *Nepha-Dor*: but the true name by other places (as *Jos.* 12. 23. *Judg.* 1. 27.) may seem to be *Dor*. It was a strong and powerful City, and the fourth in account of those twelve Principalities or *Sitarchies*, which *Solomon* erected. *Junius* upon *Macc.* 15. 11. placeth this between the Hill *Carmel*, and the mouth of the River *Cherseus*: for so some name the River *Corseus*, of which we have spoken already.

Into this City, for the strength thereof, *Tryphon* fled from *Antiochus* the Son of *Demetrius*, where he was by the same *Antiochus* besieged with 1200 Foot-Men, and 8000 Horse: the same perfidious villain that received 200 talents for the ransom of *Jonathan Macchabæus* (whom he had taken by treachery) and then slew him: and after him slew his own Master, usurping for a while the Kingdom of *Syria*. It had also a Bishops seat of the Dioceses of *Cæsaria*.

Mac. 1. 13. 14.

From *Cæsaria* towards the South, they place the Cities of *Caphernaum*, *Gabe*, and *Galgal*: for besides that *Capharnaum* famous in the *Evangelists*, they find in these parts near the West Sea, another of the same name. Of *Gabe*, *Hierome*, *in locis Hebraicis*. The famous *Galgal*, or *Gilgal*, was in *Benjamin*: but this *Gilgal*, they say, it was, whose King was slain by *Josua*.

Guil. Tyr. debell. sacr. l. 10. c. 6.

Then *Antipatris*, so called of *Herod*, in honour of his Father: but in the time of *Macchabees*, it was called *Capharsalama*: in the Fields whereof *Judas Macchabæus* overthrew a part of the Army of *Nicanor*, Lievtenant to *Demetrius*: an Army drawn into *Judæa* by a traiterous Jew, called *Alcimus*: who contended for the Priest-hood, first under *Bacchides*, and then under *Nicanor*. To this was St. *Paul* carried prisoner from *Jerusalem*, conducted by 470 Souldiers, to defend him from the fury of the Jews. In aftertimes the Army of *Godfrey* of *Bullion* attempted it in vain: yet was it taken by *Baldwine*. It was honoured in those days with a Bishops seat, but it is now a poor Village, called *Assur*, saith *Brochard*. Near unto this City the Prophet *Jonas* was three days preserved in the body of a Whale.

Mac. 17. 31.

Into the Land, from *Antipatris* and *Cæsaria*, standeth *Narbata*, whereof the Territory taketh name: which *Cestius* the *Roman*, wasted with fire and Sword, because the Jews which dwelt at *Cæsaria* fled thence, and carried with them the Books of *Moses*. Near unto it is the Mountain of *Abdia*, the Steward of King *Achab*: wherein he hid an hundred Prophets, and fed them: after which he himself is said to have obtained from God the Spirit of Prophecy also.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Kingdom of Phœnicia.

SECT. I.

The bounds and chief Cities, and Founders, and the Name of this Kingdom: and of the invention of Letters aſcribed to them.

BEcauſe theſe five Tribes, of *Aſſer*, *Nepthalim*, *Zabulon*, *Iſſachar*, and the half of *Manaſſe*, poſſeſt the better part of that ancient Kingdom of *Phœnicia*, to wit, of ſo much as lay to the South part of *Anti-libanus*; I have therefore gathered a brief of thoſe Kings which have governed therein: at leaſt ſo many of them as time (which devoureth all things) hath left to poſterity: and that the reſt periſhed, it is not ſtrange: ſeeing ſo many Volumes of excellent learning in ſo long a race and revolution, and in ſo many changes of Eſtates, and Conqueſt of Heathen Princes have been torn, caſt away, or otherwiſe conſumed.

The limits of this Kingdom, as touching the South parts, are very uncertain: but all *Coſmographers* do in effect agree, that it takes beginning from the North, where that part of *Syria*, which is called *Caſiotis*, ends: moſt of them bounding it by *Orthoſia*, to the North of *Tripolis*. *Ptolomy* makes it a little larger, as reaching from the River *Eleutherus* that falls into the Sea at the Iſland of *Aradus*, ſomewhat to the North of *Orthoſia*, and ſtretching from thence alongſt the coaſt of the *Mediterran Sea*, as far as the River of *Chorſeus*; which ſeems to be that which the Jews call the Torrent, or River of *Maggeddo*. *Pliny* extends it further, and comprehends *Joppe* within it: *Corvinus* and *Budæus*, *Joppe* and *Gaza*. *Phœnicia apud priſcos appellata* (ſaith *Budæus*) *quæ nunc Palæſtina Syriæ dicitur*; *It was called Phœnicia of old* (ſaith he) *which now is called Paleſtina of Syria.*

Ptol. 4. tab. Aſia.

Plin. l. 5. c. 29.

Strabo comprehends in this Countrey of *Phœnicia* all the Sea-ſide of *Judæa*, and *Palæſtina*, even unto *Peluſium*, the firſt Port of *Egypt*. On the contrary, *Diodorus Siculus* foldeth it up in *Cœloſyria*, which he boundeth not. But for my ſelf, I take a middle courſe, and like beſt of *Ptolomies* deſcription, who was ſeldom deceived in his own art. It had in it, theſe famous Maritimate Cities (beſides all thoſe of the Iſlands) to wit, *Aradus*, *Orthoſia*, *Tripolis*, *Botrys*, *Byblus*, *Berytus*, *Sidon*, *Tyre*, *Ptolomais* (or *Acon*) *Dora*, and *Cæſaria Paleſtinæ*: and by reaſon of the many Ports and goodly Sea-towns, it antiently commanded the Trades of the Eaſtern World: and they were abſolute Kings of the *Mediterran Sea.*

Strab. l. 16. Buda de Aſſ. l. 2.

The antient Regal Seat of thoſe Princes was *Zidon*, built by *Zidon* the firſt Son of *Canaan*: and the people then ſubject to that people were called *Zidonians*; the ſame ſtate continuing even unto *Joſua's* time. For till then, it is probable that there was but one King of all that Region; afterward called *Phœnicia*: which *Procopius* alſo confirmeth in his ſecond Book of *Vandals wars*. But in proceſs of time the City of *Tyre* adjoyning, became the more magnificent: yet, according to the Prophet, it was but a Daughter of *Zidon*, and by them firſt built, and peopled. *Eſay 23.*

But after the death of *Moſes*, and while *Joſua* yet governed *Iſrael*, *Agenor* an *Egyptian* of *Thebes*, or a *Phœnician* bred in *Egypt*, came thence with his Sons *Cadmus*, *Phœnix*, *Cyrus*, and *Cilix*, (ſay *Cedrenus* and *Curtius*) and built and poſſeſt the Cities of *Tyre* and *Zidon*: to wit, the new *Tyrus*, and brought into *Phœnicia* (ſo called after the name of his ſecond Son) the uſe of Letters: which alſo *Cadmus* in his purſuit after his Siſter *Europa*, taught the *Grecians*. For *Taurus* King of *Crete*, when he ſurpriſed *Tyre*, had ſtoln her thence: of which the Poets deviſed the fable of *Jupiters* transformation into a Bull, by whom that ſtealth was alſo ſuppoſed to be made. *Pomponius Sabinus* makes *Belus* the firſt King of *Phœnicia*: and finds *Cadmus* his Succeſſor, whom he calleth his grand-child: and it ſeemeth *Belus* was the Father of *Agenor*, and not *Neptune*: becauſe the ſucceſſors of *Dido* held that name alwaies in reverence, making it a part of their own, as *Aſdrubal*, *Hannibal*: whoſe memory *Virgil* alſo toucheth in theſe Verſes.

Hic Regina gravem gemmis auroque poposcit,
Implevitq; mero pateram: quam Belus *& omnes*
A Belo, *ſoliti.*

The Queen anon commands the weighty bowl
(Weighty with precious ſtones and maſſie Gold)
To flow with Wine. This *Belus* us'd of old,
And all of *Belus* Line.

Whether this *Belus* were Father or Grand-Father to *Agenor*, the matter is not great. But it ſeems to me by comparing of times, that *Belus* was Anceſtor to theſe *Phœnicians*, and preceded *Agenor*. For were *Belus*, or *Jupiter Belus*, the Son of *Neptune* by *Lybia* the Daughter of *Epaphus*, or were he the Son *Thelegonus*, according to *Euſebius*; yet it is agreed that *Cecrops* then ruled in *Attica*: and in the end of *Cecrops's* time, ſaith St. *Auguſtine*, *Moſes* left *Egypt*: *Agenors* ſucceſſor living at once with *Joſua*. Now that *Agenor* returned about the ſame time into the Territory of *Zidon*, I cannot doubt: neither do I deny; but that he gave that Region the name of *Phœnicia*, in honour of his Son. But inſtead of the building of *Tyre* and *Zidon*, it is probable that he repaired and fortified both: and therefore was called a Founder, as *Semiramis* and *Nebuchodonoſor* were of *Babylon*.

For be it true, that *Agenor* was of the ſame Nation, and brought up in *Egypt*: where he learnt the uſe of

of Letters (*Egypt* flourished in all kind of learning in *Moses*'s time) or were he by Nation an *Egyptian*, yet it is very likely that either he came to save his own Territory; or otherwise to defend the coast of *Canaan* from the *Israelites*, who were by *Moses* led out of *Egypt*, to the great loss and dishonour of that Nation: and by *Josua* conducted over *Jordan*, to conquer and possess the *Canaanites* Land. For though the *Egyptians*, by reason of the loss which they received by the hand of God in the *Red Sea*, and by the ten plagues cast on them before that, and by the slaughter of so many of the male Children at the same time, could not hinder the *Hebrews* from invading *Canaan* by Land: which also they knew had so many powerful Nations to defend it: the *Desarts* inter-jacent, and the strong *Edomites*, *Moabites*, *Amorites*, and *Ammonites* their borderers: yet *Egypt* having such Vessels or Ships, or Gallies, as were then in use, did not in all probability neglect to garrison the Sea-coast, or assist *Agenor* with such forces as they had to spare; and which they might perform with the greater facility, in that the *Philistims*, which held the shores of *Canaan* next adjoyning unto them, were their Friends and Confederates.

Now, as it appeareth by the course of the story, those Cities of *Phœnicia*, which *Agenor* was said to have built (that is, to have fortified and defended against *Josua*, and against the Tribes after him, as *Zidon*, *Sor*, or *Tyre*, by *Josua* called the strong City *Accho*, afterward *Ptolomais*, *Achzib*, and *Dor*) were all that *Phœnicia* had in those days. *Chap. 19. 29.*

That the Kings of *Phœnicia* were mighty especially by Sea, it appears, first by their defence against *Israel*: secondly, by this, that *David* and *Solomon* could not master them, but were glad of their alliance: thirdly, that one of their Cities, though they were then but *Reguli*, defended it self thirteen years against a King of Kings, *Nebuchodonosor*: and that *Alexander* the great (who being made victorious by the providence of God seemed unresistable) spent more time in the recovery of *Tyre*, than in the conquest of all the Cities in *Asia*.

Other opinions there are, as that of *Berosus* out of *Josephus*, who conceives that *Tyre* was founded by *Tyrus* the Son of *Japhet*. And for the Region it self, though *Calisthenes* derive it, *ab arbore dactylorum*; and the Greeks from the word *Phonos*, of slaughter, because the *Phœnicians* slew all that came on their coasts; yet for my self, I take it that *Phœnix* the Son of *Agenor* gave it that name. But that either *Agenor* in *Phœnicia*, or *Cadmus* his Son in *Greece*, were the Inventers of Letters, it is ridiculous: and therefore the dispute unnecessary.

The *Ethiopians* affirm, that *Atlas*, *Orion*, *Orpheus*, *Linus*, *Hercules*, *Prometheus*, *Cadmus*, and others, had from them the first light of all those Arts, Sciences, and civil Policies, which they afterward profest, and taught others: and that *Pythagoras* himself was instructed by the *Lybians*: to wit, from the South and superiour *Egyptians*: from whom those which inhabited nearer the out-let of *Nilus*, as they say, borrowed their Divinity and Philosophy: and from them the *Greeks*, then barbarous, received Civility. Again, the *Phœnicians* challenge this invention of Letters and of Learning: acknowledging nothing from the *Egyptians* at all; neither do they allow that *Agenor* and his Sons were *Africans*; whence *Lucan*,

Lucan. l. 5. Phœnices *primi* (*famæ si creditur*) *ausi*,
3. *Mansuram rudibus vocem signare figuris.*

Phœnicians first (if fame may credit have)
In rude Characters dar'd our words to grave.

And that *Cadmus* was the Son of *Agenor*, and was a *Phœnician*, and not an *Egyptian*, it appeareth by that answer made by *Zeno*; when he in a kind of reproach was called a Stranger, and not a *Phœnician*.

Si patria est Phœnix, *quid tum? nam* Cadmus *& ipse* Phœnix; *cui debet* Græcia *docta libros.* *Athen. l. Dipnos.*

If a *Phœnician* born I am, what then?
Cadmus was so: to whom *Greece* owes
The Books of learned men.

Out of doubt the *Phœnicians* were very antient: and from the Records and Chronicles of *Tyre*, *Josephus* the Historian confirms a great part of his Antiquities. The *Thracians* again subscribe to none of these reports: but affirm constantly, that the great *Zamolxis* flourished among them: when *Atlas* lived in *Mauritania*: *Nilus* and *Vulcan* in *Egypt*: and *Ochus* in *Phœnicia*. Yea, some of the French do not blush to maintain, that the antient *Gaules* taught the *Greeks* the use of Letters, and other Sciences. And do not we know that our *Bardes* and *Druides* are as ancient as those *Gaules*, and that they sent their Sons hither to be by them instructed in all kind of learning? *Joseph. contra Appionem.*

Lastly, whereas others bestow this invention on *Moses*, the same hath no probability at all; for he lived at such time as Learning and Arts flourished most, both in *Egypt* and *Assyria*, and he himself was brought up in all the learning of the *Egyptians*, from his infancy.

But true it is, that Letters were invented by those excellent Spirits of the first age, and before the general Flood: either by *Seth* or *Enos*, or by whom else God knows; from whom all wisdom and understanding hath proceeded. And as the same infinite God is present with all his Creatures, so hath he given the same invention to divers Nations: whereof the one hath not had commerce with the other; as well in this as in many other knowledges: for even in *Mexico*, when it was first discovered, there was found written Books after the manner of those *Hieroglyphicks*, anciently used by the *Egyptians*, and other Nations: and so had those *Americans*, a kind of Heraldry; and their Princes differing in Arms and Scutchions, like unto those used by the Kings and Nobility of other Nations: *Jura naturalia communia, & generalia, &c. Natural Laws are common, and general.* *Inviscon.*

SECT. II.

Of the Kings of Tyre.

But whatsoever remaineth of the Story and Kings of *Phœnicia* (the Books of *Zeno*, *Sachoniatho*, *Mnaseas*, and others of that Nation, being no where found) the same is to be gathered out of the Scriptures, *Josephus*, and *Theophilus Antiochenus*.

Agenor lived at once with *Josua*, to whom succeeded *Phœnix*, of whom that part of *Canaan*, and so far towards the North as *Aradus*, took the name of *Phœnicia*: what King succeeded *Phœnix* it doth not appear; but at such time as the *Grecians* besieged *Troy*, *Phasis* governed *Phœnicia*.

In *Jeremies* time, and while *Jehojakim* ruled in *Juda*, the *Tyrians* had a King apart: for *Jeremy* speaketh *Cap. 27.*

of the Kings of *Zidon*, of *Tyre*, of *Edom*, &c. as of several Kings.

In *Xerxes* time, and when he prepared that incredible Army wherewith he invaded *Greece*, *Tetramnestus* ruled that part of *Phœnicia* about *Tyre* and *Zidon*: who commanded, as some Writers affirm, *Xerxes*'s Fleet, or rather, as I suppose those 300 Gallies, which himself brought to his aid: for at this time it seemeth, that the *Phœnicians* were Tributaries to the *Persian*: for being broken into *Reguli*, and petty Kings in *Jeremies* time, they were subjected by *Nebuchodonosor*; of whose conquests in the Chapter before remembred, *Jeremiah* prophesied.

Tennes, though not immediately, succeeded *Tetramnestus*, remembred by *D. Siculus* in his fourteenth Book.

Strato, his successor, and King of *Zidon*, *Alexander Macedon* threw out, because of his dependency upon *Darius*, and that his Predecessors had served the East Empire against the *Grecians*. But divers Kings, of whom there is no memory, came between *Tennes* and *Strato*. For there were consumed 130 years and somewhat more, between *Xerxes* and *Alexander Macedon*. And this Man was by *Alexander* esteemed the more unworthy of restitution, because (saith *Curtius*) he rather submitted himself by the instigation of his subjects (who foresaw their utter ruine by resistance) than that he had any disposition thereunto, or bare any good affection towards the *Macedonians*. *Lib.* 4.

Of this *Strato*, *Athenæus*, out of *Theopompus* reporteth, that he was a Man of ill living, and most voluptuous; also that he appointed certain Games and Prizes for Women-Dancers, and Singers, whom he to this end chiefly invited, and assembled: that having beheld the most beautiful and lively among them, he might recover them for his own use and delights. Of the strange accident about the death of one *Strato* King of these coasts, St. *Hierome* and others make mention: who having heard that the *Persians* were neer him with an Army too weighty for his strength, and finding that he was to hope for little grace, because of his falling away from that Empire, and his adhearing to the *Egyptians*, he determining to kill himself, but fainting in the execution, his Wife being present, wrested the Sword out of his hand, and slew him: which done, she also therewith pierced her own body, and died. *Athen. l.* 12. *c.* 13. *Hieron. l.* 1. *com. Jovin*

After *Alexander* was possest of *Zidon*, and the other *Strato* driven thence he gave the Kingdom to *Hephæstion* to dispose of: who having received great entertainment of one of the Citizens, in whose house he lodged, offered to recompence him therewith; and willingly offered to establish him therein: but this Citizen, no less vertuous than rich, desired *Hephæstion* that this honour might be conferred on some one of the blood and race of their antient Kings: and presented unto him *Balonimus*, whom *Curtius* calls *Abdolominus*, *Justine*, *Abdolomius*, and *Plutarch*, *Alynomus*: who at the very hour that he was called to this regal Estate, was with his own hands working in his Garden, setting herbs and roots, for his relief and sustenance: though otherwise a wise Man, and exceeding just.

These were the antient Kings of *Zidon*: whose estate being afterwards changed into Popular or *Aristocratical*: and by times and turns subjected to the Emperors of the East, there remaineth no further memory of them, than that which is formrly delivered in the Tribe of *Asser*.

The Kings of *Tyre*: who they were before *Samuels* time, it doth not appear: *Josephus* the Historian, as is said, had many things wherewith he garnished his Antiquities from the *Tyrian Chronicles*: and out of *Josephus* and *Theophilus Antiochenus*, there may be gathered a descent of some twenty Kings of the *Tyrians*; but these Authors, though they both pretend to write out of *Menander Ephesius*, do in no sort agree in the times of their reigns, nor in other particulars.

Abibalus is the first King of the *Tyrians*, that *Josephus* and *Theophilus* remember, whom *Theophilus* calls *Abemalus*: the same perchance that the Son of *Sirach* mentioneth in his forty and sixth Chapter, speaking of the Princes of the *Tyrians*.

To this *Abibalus*, *Suron* succeeded, if he be not one and the same with *Abibalus*. *David* (saith *Eusebius* out of *Eupolemus*) constrained this *Suron* to pay him Tribute, of whom also *David* complaineth, *Psal.* 83. *Cap.* 46. *Præ. Evan. l.* 9. *c.* 4.

Hiram succeeded *Suron*, whom *Josephus* calls *Irom*, and *Theophilus* sometime *Hieronimus*, sometimes *Hieromus*, but *Tatian* and *Zonaras*, *Chiram*. He entred into a league with *David*, and sent him Cedars, with Masons and Carpenters, to perform his buildings in *Jerusalem*, after he had beaten thence the *Jebusites*. The same was he that so greatly assisted *Solomon*: whom he not only furnished with Cedars, and other Materials towards the raising of the Temple, and with great sums of Money, but also he joyned with him in his enterprize of the East *India*, and of *Ophir*: and furnished *Solomon* with Mariners and Pilots: the *Tyrians* being of all Nations the most excellent Navigators: and lent him 120 Talents of Gold. Of this *Hiram*, there is not only mention in divers places of Scripture, but in *Josephus* in his Antiquities the 7. and 8 Chap. 2. & 3. in *Theophilus* his third book, in *Tatianus* his Oration against the *Greeks*: and in *Zonaras*, Tome the first. This Prince seemeth to be very mighty and magnificent, he despised the twenty Towns which *Solomon* offered him: he defended himself against that victorious King *David*: and gave his Daughter in marriage to *Solomon*, called the *Zidonian*: for whose sake he was contented to worship *Astaroth*, the Idol of the *Phœnicians*. *Hiram* lived 53 years. 2 *Sam.* 5. &c. 2 *Sam c.* 5. 2 *Kin.* 1. 9. 10. 1 *Chro.* 14. 2 *Chr.* 2. 8. 9.

Baleastartus, whom *Theop. Antiochenus* calleth *Bazorus*, succeeded *Hiram* King of *Tyre* and *Zidon*, and reigned seven years, according to *Josephus*. 1 *Kin.* 11. *Theoph.* 7. years.

Abdastartus the eldest Son of *Baleastartus*, governed nine years, and lived but twenty years, according to *Josephus*: but after *Theophilus*, he reigned twelve years, and lived 54 who being slain by the four Sons of his own Nurse, the eldest of them held the Kingdom twelve years.

Astartus Brother to *Abdastartus*, recoverd the Kingdom from this Usurper, and reigned twelve years.

Astarimus, or *Atharimus*, after *Theophilus*, a third Brother, followed *Astartus*, and ruled nine years, and lived in all fifty four. *Joseph.* 54. *Theoph.* 58.

Phelles the forth Son of *Baleastartus*, and Brother to the three former Kings, slew *Astarimus*, and reigned eight Months, and lived fifty years. *Theoph.*

Ithobalus (or *Juthobalus*, in *Theophilus*) Son to the third Brother *Astarimus*, who was the chief Priest of the *Goddess Astarta*, which was a dignity next unto the King, revenged the death of his Father and slaughtered his Uncle *Phelles*: and reigned thirty two years; the same which in the first of Kings, chap. 16. is called *Ethbaal*, whose Daughter *Jezebel Achab* married. *Joseph.* 32. *Theoph.* 32.

Badezor, or *Bazor*, the Son of *Ithobalus*, or *Ethbaal*, Brother to *Jezebel*, succeeded his Father and reigned six years, and lived in all forty five. 1 *Kings* 16. 31. *Joseph.* 6. years. *Theoph.* 26.

Mettinus succeeded *Badezor*, and reigned but nine years (saith *Josephus*) he had two Sons, *Pygmalion* *Joseph.* 9. *Theoph.* 9.

lion, and *Barca*, and two Daughters, *Eliſa* and *Anna*.

Pygmalion reigned after *Mettimus* his Father forty Years, and lived fifty ſix. In the ſeventh Year of whoſe reign, *Eliſa* ſailed into *Africa*, and built *Carthage*, 143 Years and eight Months after the Temple of *Solomon*: which by our account was 289 Years after *Troy* was taken, and 143. before *Rome*; and therefore that fiction by *Virgil* of *Æneas* and *Dido* muſt be far out of ſquare. For *Pygmalion* covetous of *Sicheus* his riches, who had married his Siſter *Eliſa*, ſlew him traterouſly as he accompanied him in hunting: or if we believe *Juſtine* and *Virgil*: at the Altar: whereupon *Eliſa* fearing to be diſpoiled of her Huſbands Treaſure, fled by Sea into *Africa*, as aforeſaid: whom when *Pygmalion* prepared to purſue, he was by his Mothers tears, and by threats from the *Oracle* arreſted. *Barca* accompanied his Siſter, and aſſiſted her in the erection of *Carthage*: and from him ſprang that noble Family of the *Barcæ* in *Africa*, of which race deſcended many famous Captains, and the great *Hannibal*. *Servius* interprets this name of *Dido* by *Virago*, becauſe of her man-like acts: other from *Jedidia*, a ſurname of *Solomon*.

Juſtin. l. 18. *Virgil. l. 1.*

Eluleus ſucceeded *Pygmalion*, and reigned thirty ſix Years: the ſame that overthrew the Fleet of *Salmanaſſer*, in the Port of *Tyre*: notwithſtanding which he continued his ſiege before it on the Land ſide five Years, but in vain.

After *Eluleus*, *Ethobales* governed the *Tyrians*, who vaunted himſelf to be as wiſe as *Daniel*: and that he knew all ſecrets (ſaith *Ezekiel*) of whom the Prophet writeth at large in his twenty eighth Chapter: out of whom it was gathered, that this Prince died, or was ſlain in that long ſiege of *Nebuchodonoſor*: who ſurrounded and attempted *Tyre* thirteen Years together, ere he prevailed.

Baal followed *Ethobales*, and reigned ten Years a tributary, perchance, to *Nebuchodonoſor*: for after his death, it was governed by divers Judges, ſucceeding each other: Firſt by *Ecnibalus*, then by *Chelbis*, *Abarus* the Prieſt, *Mittonus*, and *Geraſtus*, who held it among them ſome ſeven Years, and odd Months: after whom *Balatorus* commanded therein as a King for one Year: after him *Merbalus* ſent from *Babylon*, four Years; after him *Irom*, ſent thence alſo, twenty Years. In the ſeventeenth of whoſe reign *Cyrus* began to govern *Perſia*.

SECT. III.

Of Boſius *his conceit, that the Edumæans inhabiting along the Red Sea, were the Progenitors of the Tyrians, and that the Tyrians from them received and brought into Phœnicia the knowledg of the true* God.

OF the great mutations of this Kingdom and State of the *Tyrians*, mixed with a diſcourſe of divers other Nations, there is one *Bozius* that hath written a Tract at large intituled, *De ruinis Gentium*. And although the great and many alterations found in this and other Cities, yea, in all things under Heaven, have proceeded from his ordinance, who only is unchangeable and the ſame for ever; yet whereas the ſaid *Bozius*, inforcing here-hence, that the proſperity and ruine of the *Tyrians* were fruits of their embracing or forſaking the true Religion; to prove this his aſſertion, ſuppoſeth the *Tyrians* to have been *Edumæans*, deſcended from *Eſau*, *Jacobs* Brother: firſt, it can hardly be believed, that *Tyre*, when it flouriſhed moſt in her antient glory, was in any ſort truly devout and religious. But to this end (beſides the proof which the Scriptures give of *Hirams* good affection, when *Solomon* built the Temple) he brings many conjectural arguments; whereof the ſtrongeſt is their pedigree and deſcent: it being likely in his opinion, that the poſterity of *Eſau* received from him by Tradition the Religion of *Abraham* and *Iſaac*. That the *Tyrians* were *Edumæans*, he endeavours to ſhew, partly by weak reaſons, painfully ſtrained from ſome affinity of names, which are arguments of more delight than weight: partly by authority. For *Strabo*, *Herodotus*, *Pliny*, and others, witneſs, that the *Tyrians* came from the *Red Sea*, in which there were three Iſlands, called *Tyrus*, *Aradus*, and *Zidon*: which very names (as he thinketh) were afterwards given to the Cities of *Phœnicia*. Conſidering therefore that all the coaſt of the *Red Sea*, was (in his opinion) under the *Edumæans*: as *Elah* and *Eſiongaber*; or under the *Amalekites* who deſcended of *Amalec* the Nephew of *Eſau*, whoſe chief City was *Madian*, ſo called of *Madian* the Son of *Abraham* by *Cethura*, whoſe poſterity did people it: the conſequence appears good (as he takes it) that the *Tyrians* originally were *Edomites*: differing little or nothing in Religion from the Children of *Iſrael*. Hereunto he adds, that *Cadmus* and his Companions brought not into *Greece* the worſhip of *Aſtartis*, the Idol of the *Sidonians*. That the Parents of *Thales* and *Pherecides* being *Phœnicians*, themſelves differed much in their Philoſophy from the Idolatrous cuſtoms of the *Greeks*. That in *Teman*, a Town of the *Edumæans*, was an Univerſity, wherein, as may appear by *Eliphas* the *Temanite*, who diſputed with *Job*, Religion was ſincerely taught.

Boz. de ruin. Gent. l. 5. c. 7.

Such is the diſcourſe of *Bozius*, who labouring to prove one *Paradox* by another, deſerves in both very little credit. For, neither doth it follow, that if the *Tyrians* were *Edumæans*, they were then of the true Religion, or well affected to God and his people: neither is it true that they were *Edumæans* at all. In what Religion *Eſau* brought up his Children, it is no where found written; but that himſelf was a profane Man, and diſavowed by God, the Scriptures in plain terms expreſs. That his Poſterity were Idolaters, is directly proved in the twenty fifth Chapter of the ſecond Book of *Chronicles*. That the *Edomites* were perpetual enemies to the Houſe of *Iſrael*, ſave only when *David* and ſome of his race, Kings of *Juda*, held them in ſubjection, who knows not? or who is ignorant of *Davids* unfriendly behaviour amongſt them, when firſt they were ſubdued? ſurely, it was not any argument of Kindred or Alliance between *Tyrus* and Mount *Seir*, that *Hiram* held ſuch good correſpondence with *David*; even then when *Joab* ſlew all the males of *Edom*: neither was it for their devotion to God, and good affection to *Iſrael*, that the *Edomites* were ſo ill intreated. It ſeemeth that the piety and ancient wiſdom of *Eliphaz* the *Temanite* was then forgotton, and the *Edumæans* puniſhed, for being ſuch as *David* in his own days found them. Although indeed the City of *Teman* whence *Eliphaz* came to reaſon with *Job*, is not that in *Edumæa*, but another of the ſame name, lying Eaſt from the Sea of *Galilee*, and adjoyning to *Hus*, the countrey of *Job*: and to *Sueh* the City of *Bildad* the *Suhite*; as both ſuch *Chorographers* who beſt knew thoſe parts, do plainly ſhew, and the holy Text maketh manifeſt. For *Job* is ſaid to have exceeded in riches, and *Solomon* in wiſdom all the People of the Eaſt; not the Inhabitants of Mount *Seir*, which lay due

due South from *Palæstina*. True it is, that *Eliphaz* the Son of *Esau* had a Son called *Teman*: but that Fathers were wont in those days to take name of their Sons, I no where find. And *Ismael* also had a Son called *Thema*: of whom it is not unlike, that *Theman* in the East had the name: for as much as in the seventh Chapter of the Book of *Judges*, the *Midianites*, *Amalakites*, and all they of the East are called *Ismaelites*. And he that well considers how great and strong a Nation *Amalec* was, which durst give battel to the Host of *Israel*, wherein were 600000 able men, will hardly believe that such a people were descended from one of *Esau* his grand-children. For how powerful and numberless must the forces of all *Edom* have been: if one Tribe of them, yea, one Family of a Tribe had been so great? surely Mount *Seir* and all the Regions adjoyning could not have held them. But we no where find that *Edom* had to do with *Amalec*, or assisted the *Amalekites*, when *Saul* went to root them out. For *Amalec* is no where in Scripture named as a Tribe of *Edom*: but a Nation of it self, if distinct from the *Ismaelites*. The like may be said of *Midian*, that the Founder thereof being Son to *Abraham* by *Cethura*, doubtless was no *Edomite*. And thus much in general for all the *Seigniory* of the *Red Sea* coast, which *Bozius* imagines the *Edumæans* to have held: if the *Edomites* in after-times held some places, as *Elan* and *Esiongaber* on the *Red Sea* shore, yet in *Moses*'s time, which was long after the building of *Tyre*, they held them not. For *Moses* himself saith, that *Israel* did compass all the borders of *Edom*: within which limits had *Midian* stood, *Moses* must needs have known it: because he had sojourned long in that Countrey: and there had left his Wife and Children, when he went into *Egypt*.

But conjectural Arguments, how probable soever, are needless in so manifest a case. For in the 83 *Psalm*, *Edom*, *Amalec*, and *Tyre*, are named as distinct Nations: yea the *Tyrians* and *Sidonians* being one people, as all good Authors shew, and *Bozius* himself confesseth, were *Canaanites*, as appears, *Gen.* 10. 15. and 19. appointed by God to have been destroyed, and their Lands given to the Children of *Asser*, *Jos.* 29. because they were Idolaters, and of the curled Seed of *Canaan*, not Cousins to *Israel*, nor professors of the same Religion. For though *Hiram* said *Blessed be God that hath sent King David a wise Son:* we cannot infer that he was of *Davids* Religion. The *Turk* hath said as much of *Christian* Princes, his confederates. Certain it is, that the *Sidonians* then worshipped *Astaroth* and drew *Solomon* also to the same Idolatry.

Whereas *Hiram* aided *Solomon* in building the Temple, he did it for his own ends, receiving therefore of *Solomon* great provision of Corn and Oyl, and the offer of twenty Towns and Villages in *Galilee*. And if we rightly consider things, it will appear that *Hiram* in all points dealt Merchant-like with *Solomon*. He allowed him Timber, with which *Libanus* was, and yet is over pesterd, being otherwise apt to yield Silks: as the *Andarine* Silks which come from thence, and other good Commodities. For Corn and Oyl, which he wanted, he gave that which he could well spare to *Solomon*. Also Gold for Land: wherein *Solomon* was the wiser; who having got the Gold first, gave to *Hiram* the worst Villages that he had: with which the *Tyrian* was ill pleased. But it was a necessary policy which inforced *Tyrus* to hold league with *Israel*. For *David* had subdued *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Edom*, the *Aramites*, and a great part of *Arabia*, even to *Euphrates*: thorow which Countries the *Tyrians* were wont to carry and recarry their Wares on Camels, to their Fleets on the *Red Sea*, and back again to *Tyrus*: so that *Solomon* being Lord of all the Countries through which they were to pass, could have cut off their Trade.

But the *Israelites* were no Sea-men, therefore glad to share with the *Tyrians* in their adventures. Yet *Solomon*, as Lord of the Sea-towns which his Father had taken from the *Philistims*, might have greatly distressed the *Tyrians*, and perhaps have brought them even into subjection. Which *Hiram* knowing, was glad (and no marvel) that *Solomon* rather meant, as a Man of peace, to imploy his Fathers Treasure in magnificent Works, than in pursuing the conquest of all *Syria*. Therefore he willingly aided him, and sent him cunning workmen, to increase his delight in goodly Buildings, Imageries, and instruments of pleasure.

As these passages between *Solomon* and *Hiram*, are no strong Arguments of piety in the *Tyrians*: so those other proofs which *Bozius* frames negatively upon particular examples are very weak. For what the Religion of *Cadmus* was, I think, no Man knows. It seems to me, that having more cunning than the *Greeks*, and being very ambitious, he would fain have purchased divine honours; which his Daughters, Nephews, and others of his house obtained; but his own many misfortunes beguiled him of such hopes, if he had any. *Thales* and *Pherecides* are but single examples: Every salvage Nation hath some wisdom excelleth the Vulgar, even of civil people. Neither did the moral wisdom of these Men express any true knowledg of the true God. Only they made no good mention of the Gods of *Greece*: whom being newly come thither, they knew not. It is no good argument to say, that *Cadmus* and *Thales* being *Tyrians*, are not known to have taught Idolatry, therefore the *Tyrians* were not Idolaters. But this is of force, That *Carthage*, *Utica*, *Leptis*, *Cadiz*, and all Colonies of the *Tyrians* (of which, I think, the Islands before mentioned in the *Red Sea* to have been, for they traded in all Seas) were Idolaters, even from their first beginnings: therefore the *Tyrians* who planted them, and to whom they had reference, were so likewise.

This their Idolatry from *Solomons* time on-wards is acknowledged by *Bozius*, who would have us think them to have been formerly a strange kind of devout *Edomites*. In which fancy he is so peremptory, that he stileth Men of contrary opinion, *Impios Politicos*, as if it were impiety to think, that God (who even among the Heathen, which have not known his Name, doth favour Vertue and hate Vice) hath often rewarded moral honesty, with temporal happiness. Doubtless, this doctrine of *Bozius* would better have agreed with *Julian* the *Apostata*, than with *Cyril*. For if the *Assyrians*, *Greeks*, *Romans*, and all those Nations of the *Gentiles*, did then prosper most, when they drew neerest unto the true Religion: what may be said of the foul Idolatry, which grew in *Rome* as fast as *Rome* it self grew: and was enlarged with some new superstition, almost upon every new victory? How few great Battels did the *Romans* win, in which they vowed not either a Temple to some new God, or some new honour to one of their old Gods? Yea, what one Nation, save only that of the *Jews*, was subdued by them, whose Gods they did not afterward entertain in their City? Only the true God, which was the God of the *Jews*, they rejected, upbraiding the *Jews* with him, as if he were unworthy of the *Roman* Majesty: shall we hereupon enforce the lewd and foolish conclusion which Heathen Writers used against the Christians in the *Primitive Church*: That such Idolatry had caused the City of *Rome* to flourish, and that the decay of those abominations

nations did also bring with it the decay of the Empire? It might well be thought so, if prosperity were a sign or effect of true Religion. Such is the blind zeal of *Bozius*, writing against those whom he falsly terms impious, gives strength to such as are impious indeed. But such indiscretion is usually found among Men of his humour; who having once either foolishly embraced the dreams of others, or vainly fashioned in their own brains any strange *Chimera*'s of Divinity, condemn all such in the pride of their zeal, as Atheists and Infidels, that are not transported with the like intemperate ignorance. Great pity it is, that such mad Dogs are oftentimes incouraged by those, who having the command of many tongues, when they themselves cannot touch a Man in open and generous opposition, will wound him secretly by the malicious vertue of an *Hypocrite*.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Tribe of Ephraim, *and of the Kings of the ten Tribes, whose head was* Ephraim.

SECT. I.

Of the memorable places in the Tribe of Ephraim.

Psal. 59. 78. 108. *Part.* 25.

HAving now past over *Phœnicia* we come to the next Territory adjoyning, which is that of *Ephraim:* sometimes taken *per excellentiam*, for the whole Kingdom of the ten Tribes. *Ephraim* was the second Son of *Joseph*, whose issues when they left *Egypt* were in number 45000, all which dying in the *Desarts*, (*Josua* excepted) there entred the Holy Land of their Children grown to be able Men, 32500 who sate down on the West side of *Jordan*; between *Manasse* and *Benjamin:* who bounded *Ephraim* by the North and South; as *Jordan* on the *Mediterran Sea*, did by the East and West.

The first and chief City which *Ephraim* had, was *Samaria* the *Metropolis* of the Kingdom of *Israel*, built by *Amris* or *Homri* King thereof and seated on the top of the Mountain *Somron*, which overlooketh all the bottom, and as far as the Sea-coast. It was afterward called *Sebaste*, or *Augusta*, in honour of *Augustus Cæsar*. This City is often remembred in the Scriptures: and magnificent it was in the first building; for as *Brochard* observeth, the ruines which yet remain, and which *Brochard* found greater than those of *Jerusalem*, tell those that behold them, what it was when it stood upright: for to this day there are found great store of goodly Marble pillars, with other hewen and carved stone in great abundance, among the rubble.

It was beaten to the ground by the Sons of *Hircanus* the high Priest: restored and built by the first *Herod* the Son of *Antipater:* who to flatter *Cæsar* called it *Sebaste*. Herein were the Prophets *Heliseus* and *Abdias* buried: and so was *John Baptist*. It now hath nothing but a few Cottages filled with Grecian Monks.

Near *Samaria*, towards the South, is the hill of *Bethel*, and a Town of that name: on the top of which Mountain *Jeroboam* erected one of his golden, calves, to be worshipped: with which he seduced the *Israelites*.

Sichar. Joh. 4, 5. *Maborthan. Joseph.* 1. *ant.* 1.

In sight of this Mountain of *Bethel*, was that antient City of *Sichem*; after the restauration called *Neapolis*, now *Peloſa*. and *Napolasa:* It was destroyed by *Simeon* and *Levi*, in revenge of the ravishment of their Sister *Dina:* and after that, by *Abimelec* evened with the Soil. *Jeroboam* raised it up again: and the *Damascens* a third time cast it down.

Under *Sichem* toward the Sea standeth *Pharaton* or *Pirhaton*, on the Mountain *Amalec*, the City of *Abdon* Judg of *Israel*. And under it *Bethoron* of the *Levites*, built as it is said by *Sara*, the Daughter of *Ephraim*. Near to this City *Judas Maccabæus* overthrew *Seron* and *Lysias*, Leivetenants to *Antiochus*. This City had *Solomon* formerly repaired and fortified. *Jud.* 12. 15. 2 *King.* 13.

Between *Bethoron* and the Sea, standeth *Samir*, of which *Jos.* 10. and *Saron*, whose King was slain by *Josua:* it is also mentioned *Acts* 9. 35. and of this *Saron* the Valley taketh name, which beginning at *Cæsarea Palestinæ*, extendeth it self alongst the coast as far as *Joppe*, saith *Adrichome:* though indeed the name *Sarona* is not particularly given to this Valley, but to every fruitful plain Region; for not only this Valley is so called, to wit, between *Cæsarea* and *Joppe*, but that also betwen the Mountain *Tabor* and the Sea of *Galilee:* for so St. *Jerom* upon the five and thirtieth Chapter of *Esay*, interprets the word *Saron:* and so doth the same Father in his Commentaries upon *Abdia*, read *Saron* for *Assaron:* understanding thereby a Plain near *Lidda:* which *Lidda* in his time was called *Diospolis*, or the City of *Jupiter*, one of the *Toparchies* of *Judæa*, the fifth in dignity (or the third after *Pliny*) where St. *Peter* (*non sua, sed Christi virtute*) cured *Æneas*. *Niger* calls all that Region from *Antilybanus* to *Joppe*, *Sarona*. This *Joppe* was burnt to the ground by the *Romans*, those Ravens and spoilers of all Estates, disturbers of Common-weals, Usurpers of other Princes Kingdoms; who with no other respect led, than to amplifie their own glory, troubled the whole World: and themselves, after murdering one another, became a prey to the most savage and barbarous Nations. *Jos.* 12. 18. *Acts.* 6. *Luke* 23. *Niger. com* 4. *Asia. fol.* 503. 14.

In *Diospolis* (saith *William* of *Tyre*) was S. *George* beheaded, and buried: in whose honour and memory *Justinian* the Emperour caused a fair Church to be built over his Tomb; these are *Tyrius* his words: *Relicta à dextris locis maritimis Antipatride, & Joppe, per latè patentem planitiem Elutheriam pertranseuntes, Liddam, quæ est Diospolis, ubi & egregii Martyris* Georgii *usque* Of this see more St. *George* above in this 2. Book, ch. 7. sect. 3. ¶ 5.

usque hodie Sepulchrum ostenditur, pervenerunt, ejus Ecclesiam quum ad honorem ejusdem Martyris, pius & orthodoxus Princeps Romanorum, Augustius Justinianus *multo studio & devotione prompta, ædificari præceperat*, &c. *They having left* (saith he) *on the right hand, the Sea Towns*, Antipatris *and* Joppe, *passing over the great open Plain of* Elutheria, *came to* Lidda, *which is* Diospolis: *where the sumptuous Tomb of the famous Martyr* St. George *is at this day shewed; whose Church, when the godly and Orthodox Prince of the Romans, High and mighty* Justinian, *had commanded to be built, with great earnestness and present devotion*, &c. Thus far *Tyrius*: by whose testimony we may conjecture that this S. *George* was not that *Arrian* Bishop of *Alexandria*; but rather some better *Christian*: for this of *Alexandria* was slain there in an uprore of the people, and his ashes cast into the Sea, as *Ammianus Marcellinus* reports. And yet also it may be, that this *Georgius* was a better *Christian* than he is commonly thought: for his words of the Temple of *Genius*, *How long shall this Sepulchre stand?* occasioned the uprore of the people against him: as fearing least he would give attempt to overthrow that beautiful Temple. This also *Marcellinus* reports; who though he say that this *Georgius* was also deadly hated of the *Christians*, who else might have rescued him: yet he addeth, that his ashes, with the ashes of two others, were therefore cast into the Sea, lest if their Reliques had been gathered up, Churches should be built for them, as for others. But for my part, I rather think that it was not *Georgius*, whose name lives in the right honourable order of our Knights of the Garter, but rather another, whom *Tyrius* above-cited witnesseth to have been buried at *Lidda* or *Diospolis*. The same also is confirmed by *Vitriac.* S. *Jerom* affirms that it was sometime called *Tigrida*, and while the *Christians* inhabited the *Holy Land*, it had a Bishop *Suffragan*.

Lib. 2. c. 11

Selig tom. 6. c. 4.

Neer to *Lidda* or *Diospolis* standeth *Ramatha* of the *Levites*, or *Aramathia*: afterward *Rama*, and *Ramula*, the native City of *Joseph*, which buried the body of *Christ*. There are many places which bear this name of *Rama*; one they set in the Tribe of *Juda* neer *Thecua* in the way of *Hebron*; another in *Nephtalim*, not far from *Sephet*; a third in *Zabulon*, which they say, adjoyneth to *Sephoris*; a fourth, which they make the same with *Silo*; and a fifth, which is this *Rama*, in the Hills of *Ephraim*, called *Rama-Sophim*, where *Samuel* lived, and wherein he is buried.

See in the Tribe of Benjamin, cap. 12. sect. 1.

1 Sam. 25. 5.

From hence to the North alongst the coast are *Helon*, or *Ajalon* of the *Levites*, of which *1 Chron. 6. Apollonia*, of which *Josephus* in his Antiquities, and in the Wars of the *Jews*. Also *Balsalisa* for which *Junius*, *2 Reg. 4. 42.* reads *planities Shalishæ*) they place hereabout in this Tribe of *Ephraim*; but *Junius* upon *1 Sam. 6.* where we read of the Land of *Salisha*, findeth it in *Benjamin*.

Ant. 13. 21. de bell. Jud. 1. 6.

On the other side of the Mountains of *Ephraim* standeth *Gosna*, one of the *Toparchies*, or Cities of government, the second in dignity, of which the Country about it taketh name.

Then *Thamnath-sarah*, or according to the *Hebrew*, *Thimnath-Serach*: one also of the ten *Toparchies*, or Cities of government, the second in dignity, of which the Country about it taketh name.

Then *Thamnath-sarah*, or according to the *Hebrew*, *Thimnath-Serach*: one also of the ten *Toparchies*, or *Præsidencies* of *Judæa*, which they call *Thamnitica*, a goodly City, and strong, seated on one of the high Hills of *Ephraim*; on the North of the Hill called *Gaas*; which City and Territory *Israel* gave unto their Leader *Joshua*; who also amplified it with buildings, neer which he was buried. His Sepulchre remained in S. *Jeroms* time, and over it the *Sun* engraven, in memory of that greatest of wonders, which God wrought in *Joshua*'s time.

Judg. 2 9. It is called *Thimnath Chores.* *Jos. 9. 50.* *Hieron. in locis Hebr.*

In the places adjoyning standeth *Adarsa*, or *Adasa*; where *Judas Machabæus* with three thousand *Jews* overthrew the Army of *Nicanor*, Lieutenant of *Syria*; neer to *Gaser*, or *Gezer*, which *Joshua* took, and hung their King; a City of the *Levites*. It was afterward taken by *Pharaoh* of *Egypt*; the people all slain, and the City razed; *Solomon* rebuilt it.

Mac. 1. 7. 40.

To the East of this place is the Frontier City of *Jefleti*, of which *Jos. 16. 3.* otherwise *Pelethi*, whence *David* had part of his Prætorian Souldiers, under the charge of *Benaia*. Then that high and famous Mountain and City of *Silo*, whereon the Ark of God was kept so many years, till the *Philistims* got it.

See in *Benjamin.* *1 Mac. 9. ult.* *1 Kings 4.* and see *Rama in Benjamin.*

To this they joyn the City of *Machmas*, or *Michmas*: in which *Jonathan Machabæus* inhabited, a place often remembred in the Scriptures. It standeth in the common way from *Samaria* towards *Jerusalem*: and is now called *Byra*.

* *Jud. 9. 6. 20.* *1 Reg. 11. 27.*

Then the Village of *Naioth* where *Samuel* prophesied; and neer it *Ephron*, one of those Cities which *Abijah* recovered from *Jeroboam*; after the great overthrow given him. Then *Kimhtsaim*, of the Levites, of which *Jos. 21. 22.* which *Junius* thinks to be the same with *Jokmeham*, of which *1 Chron. 6. 28.* As for *Absaloms Baalasor*, which they find hereabout, *Junius* reads it, in the Plain of *Chatzor*; and finds it in the Tribe of *Juda*; as *Jos. 15.* we read of two *Chatzors* in that Tribe; one neer *Kedesh*, *vers. 23.* and the other the same as *Chetzron*, *vers. 25.*

Vatablus expounds *Millo* in this place *locum pabulum, locum munitionum, aut arcem Jerosolymitanæ atque strateliæ*, *2 King. 15. Jos. 17. 15. 16.*

In this Tribe also they find the City of *Mello*; whose Citizens, they say, joyned with the *Sichemites* in making the Bastard *Abimelek* King: adding that for the building thereof with other Cities, *Solomon* raised a Tribute upon the people. But it seems that * *Mello*, or *Millo* is a common name of a strong Fort or Cittadel: and so *Junius*, for *domus Millo*, reads *incolæ munitionis*, and for *Solomo ædificavit Millo*, he reads *ædificabat munitionem*, and so the *Septuagint* read it τὴν ἀκραν in that place. And without doubt the *Millo* which *Solomon* built, cannot be that of *Sichem*, but another in *Jerusalem*.

* Also the hill of *Phineas*, where *Eleazar* the high Priest the son of *Aaron* was buried, *Jos. 24. 33.* And the two tops of Hills, *Gerizzim* where the blessings, and *Hebal*, where the cursings were to be read to the people: of which *Deut. 11. 27.* & *Jos. 8.*

The other Cities of mark in *Ephraim*, are *Taphuach*, whose King was slain by *Joshua*; and *Janoach*, or *Janoah*, spoiled by *Teglatphalassar*: *Pekah* then governing *Israel*, with divers others, but of no great fame. The Mountains of *Ephraim* sometime signifie the greatest part of the Land of the sons of *Joseph*, on the West of *Jordan*: several parts whereof are the Hill of *Samrom*, or *Samaria*, *1 Reg. 16. 24.* * the Hill of *Gahas*, *Judg. 2. 9.* the Hill of *Tsalmon*, or *Salmon*, *Judg. 9. 48.* The Hills of the Region of *Tsuph*, or *Tsophim*, *Judg. 9. 5.* where *Rama-Tsophim* stood, which was the City of *Samuel*.

a It seemeth that *Jacob* in this prophesie the rather useth the word *Daughters* for *branches*, thereby the more plainly to signifie *Colonies* which in the *Hebrew* phrase are call'ed *Daughters* of the *Metropolis*: as in *Josua*, and elsewhere often.

The great plenty of fruitful Vines upon the sides of the Mountains, was the occasion that *Jacob* in the spirit of prophecy *Gen. 49. 22.* compared *Joseph's* two branches, *Ephraim* and *Manasse*, to the branches of a fruitful Vine planted by the Well side, and spreading her a Daughter branches along the Wall: which Allegory also *Ezek. 22.* in his Lamentation for *Ephraim* (that is, for the ten Tribes, whose head was *Ephraim*) prosecutes: as also in his Lamentation for *Juda*, he followeth the other Allegory of *Jacob*, Gen. *49. 9.* comparing *Juda* to a Lyon. Upon the top of one of the highest of these Hills of *Ephraim*, which overlooketh all the Plains on both sides of *Jordan*, they find the Castle called *Dok*: which they make to be the same with *Dagon*, of which *Joseph. 1. bell. Jud. 2.* in which Castle, as it is *1 Mac. 16. Ptolomy* most traiterously at a banquet, slew *Simon Macchabæus* his father-in-law.

Among

Among the Rivers of this Tribe of *Ephraim*, they name *Gaas*, remembred in 2 *Sam.* 23. 30. where though *Junius* reads, *Hiddai ex una vallium Gahasi:* yet the Vulgar and *Vatablus* read *Giddai*, of the River of *Gaas*. Also in this Tribe they place the River of *Carith*, by which the Prophet *Elias* abode during the great drought: where he was * fed with the Ravens: and after that the River was dried up, he travelled (by the Spirit of God guided) towards *Sidon:* where he was relieved by the poor widow of *Zarepta*, whose dead son he revived, and increased her pittance of Meal and Oil: whereby she sustained her life.

* 1 *Reg.* 17. 6. & *chap.* 17.

SECT. II.

Of the Kings of the ten Tribes, from Jeroboam *to* Achab.

OF the first Kings of *Israel* I omit in this place to speak, and reserve it to the Catalogue of the Kings of *Juda:* of whom hereafter.

Touching the acts of the Kings of the ten Tribes, but briefly, beginning after the division from *Juda* and *Benjamin*, now it followeth to speak. The first of these Kings *Jeroboam* the son of *Nebat*, an *Ephrathite*, of *Zereda*, who being a man of strength and courage, was by *Solomon* made overseer of the buildings of the Munition in *Jerusalem*, for as much as belonged to the charge of the Tribes of *Ephraim* and *Manasse:* and so many of them as wrought in those works. During which time, as he went to *Jerusalem*, he encountered the Prophet *Ahijah:* who made him know that he was by God destined to be King of *Israel*, and to command ten of the twelve Tribes. After this, fearing that those things might come to *Solomons* knowledge, he fled into *Egypt* to *Shishak*, whom *Eusebius* calleth *Osochores*, whose Daughter he married: the Predecessor of which *Shishak* (if not the same) did likewise entertain *Adad* the *Edumæan*, when he was carried young into *Egypt* from the fury of *David*, and his Captain *Joab*; which *Adad* the King of *Egypt* married to his Wives sister *Taphnes*; using both him and *Jeroboam* as instruments to shake the Kingdom of *Judæa*, that himself might the easelier spoil it, as he did: for in the fifth year of *Rehoboam*, *Shishak* sack't the City of *Jerusalem*, and carried thence all the treasure of *David* and *Solomon*, and all the spoils which *David* took from *Adadezor* of *Soba*, with the presents of *Toha*, King of *Hamath*, which were of an inestimable value.

1 *King.* 14.

This *Jeroboam* after the death of *Solomon* became Lord of the ten Tribes: and though he were permitted by God to govern the *Israelites*, and from a mean man exalted to that State: yet preferring the policies of the World before the Service and Honour of God (as fearing that if the Tribes under his rule should repair to *Jerusalem* to do their usual Sacrifices, they might be drawn from him by degrees) he erected two golden Calves, one in *Dan*, and another in *Bethel*, for the people to worship (an imitation of the *Egyptian Apis*, saith Saint *Ambrose*, or rather of *Aarons* Calf in *Horeb*:) further he made election of his Priests out of the basest and unlearned people. This King made his chief Seat and Palace at *Sichem*: He despised the warning of the *Judæan* Prophet, whom *Josephus* calleth *Adon*, and *Glycas Joel:* his hand thereafter withered, and was again restored: but continuing in his Idolatry, and hardened, upon occasion that the Prophet returning, was slain by a Lyon; *Ahijah* makes him know that God purposed to root out his posterity.

Ambrose upon the first chapter of the Epistle to the *Romans.*

He was afterward overthrown by *Abia* King of *Juda*, and died after he had governed two and twenty years; whom *Nadab* his son succeeded: who in the second year of his reign, together with all the race of *Jeroboam*, was slain, and rooted out by *Baasha*, who reigned in his stead: so *Nadab* lived King but two years.

1 *King.* 11 12, &c.

Baasha the son of *Abijah*, the third King after the partition, made War with *Asa* King of *Juda:* he seated himself in *Thersa:* and fortified *Rama* against *Juda*, to restrain their excursions. Hereupon *Asa* entertained *Benhadad* of *Damascus* against him, who invaded *Nephtalim*, and destroyed many places therein: the mean while *Asa* carried away the materials, with which *Baasha* intended to fortifie *Rama:* but being an Idolater, he was threatned by *Jehu* the Prophet, that it should befal his race, as it did to *Jeroboam:* which afterward came to pass: He ruled four and twenty years, and died.

1 *King.* 15 & 16.

To *Baasha* succeeded *Ela* his son, who at a feast at his Palace of *Thersa*, was in his cups slain by *Zambris*, after he had reigned two years: and in him the prophesie of *Jehu* was fulfilled.

Zambris succeeded *Ela*, and assumed the name of a King seven days; but *Ambris* in revenge of the Kings murder, set upon *Zambris*, or *Zimri*, and incloséd him in *Thersa*, and inforc't him to burn himself.

1 *King.* 16

Ambris or *Homri* succeeded *Ela*, and transferred the Regal seat from *Thersa* to *Samaria:* which he bought of *Shemer*, built, and fortified it. This *Ambris* was also an Idolater no less impious than the rest: and therefore subjected to *Tabremmon* King of *Syria*, the father of *Benhadad*, according to *Eusebius*, *Nicephorus*, and *Zonaras:* but how this should stand, I do not well conceive; seeing *Benhadad* the son of *Tabremmon* was invited by *Asa* King of *Juda*, to assail *Baasha* King of *Israel*, the father of *Ela*, who forewent *Ambris*. This *Ambris* reigned twelve years, six in *Thersa*, and six in *Samaria*, and left two children, *Achab* and *Athalia*.

1 *King.* 16

1 *King.* 15

SECT. III.

Of Achab *and his Successors, with the captivity of the ten Tribes.*

ACHab, or *Ahab* succeeded *Omri*, who not only upheld the Idolatry of *Jeroboam*, borrowed of the *Egyptians:* but he married *Jezabel* the *Zidonian*: and as *Jeroboam* followed the Religion of his *Egyptian* Wife: so did *Achab* of his *Zidonian:* and erected an Altar and a Grove to *Baal* in *Samaria*. He suffered *Jezabel* to kill the Prophets of the most high God. God sent famine on the land of *Israel*. *Achab* met *Elias:* *Elias* prevailed in the trial of the sacrifice, and killed the false Prophets; and afterward flieth for fear of *Jezabel*.

Benhadad not long after besieged *Samaria:* and taken by *Achab*, was by him set at liberty: for which, the Prophet (whom *Glycas* calleth *Michæas*) reproveth him: afterward he caused *Naboth* by a false accusation to be stoned. Then joyning with *Josaphat* in the War for the recovery of *Ramoth*, he was slain, as *Michæas* had foretold him.

He had three sons named in the Scripture, *Ochosias*, *Joram*, and *Joas:* besides seventy other sons by sundry Wives and Concubines.

Ochozias succeeded his father *Achab*. The *Moabites* fell from his obedience: he bruised himself by a fall: and sent for counsel to *Beelzebub* the god of *Acharon*.

Beelzebub was the same with *Belus* and *Pluto*, saith *Vigenere* upon *Levi.*

Eliah the Prophet meeteth the Messenger on the way: and misliking that *Ochozias* sought help from that dead Idol, asked the Messenger, if there were not a God in *Israel*? *Ochozias* sendeth two Captains, and with each 50 Souldiers, to bring *Eliah* unto him, both which with their Attendants were consumed with fire. The third Captain besought mercy at *Eliah*'s hands, and he spared him, and went with him to the King, avowing it to the King that he must then die; which came to pass in the second year of his reign.

Joram, the brother of *Ochozias* by *Jezabel*, succeeded: He allured *Josaphat* King of *Juda*, and the King of *Edom* to assist him against the *Moabites*, who refused to pay him the tribute of 20000 sheep. The three Kings wanted water for themselves and their horses in the Desarts. The Prophet *Elisha* causeth the ditches to flow. The *Moabites* are overthrown: their King flieth to *Kirharaseth*, and being besieged, according to some Expositors, burnt his son on the walls as a sacrifice, whereat the three Kings, moved with compassion, returned and left *Moab*, wasting and spoiling that Region. Others, as it seems with better reason, understand the Text to speak of the son of the King of *Edom*, whom they suppose in this irruption to have been taken prisoner by the *Moabites*, and that the King of *Moab* shewed him over the walls, threatning, unless the siege were dissolved, that he would offer him in sacrifice to his Gods. Whereupon the King of *Edom* besought those of *Juda* and *Israel* to break off the siege for the safety of his son: which when the other Kings refused to yield unto, and that *Moab*, according to his former threatning, had burnt the King of *Edoms* son upon the Rampire, that all the Assailants might discern it, the King of *Edom* being by this sad spectacle inraged, forsook the party of the other Kings, for want of whose assistance the siege was broken up. 2 *King.* 3.

After this the King of *Aram* sent to *Joram*, to heal *Naaman* the Captain of his Army of the Leprosie. The answer of *Joram* was, *Am I God to kill, and to give life, that he doth send to heal a man of his Leprosie?* adding, that the *Aramite* sought but matter of quarrel against him. *Elisha* hearing thereof, willed the King to send *Naaman* to him; promising that he should know that there was a Prophet in *Israel*: and so *Naaman* was healed by washing himself seven times in *Jordan*. *Elisha* refused the gifts of *Naaman*; but his servant *Gehazi* accepted a part thereof: from whence the sellers of spiritual gifts are called *Gehazites*, as the buyers are *Simonians*, of *Simon Magus* 2 *King.* 1.5

Afterward *Benhadad* King of *Aram*, or *Damascus*, having heard that this Prophet did discover to the King of *Israel* whatsoever the *Aramite* consulted in his secretest counsel, sent a Troop of Horse to take *Elisha*: all whom *Elisha* struck blind, and brought them captives into *Samaria*: *Joram* then asked leave of the Prophet to slay them, *Elisha* forbade him to harm them: but caused them to be fed, and sent back to their own Prince in safety.

The King of *Aram*, notwithstanding these benefits, did again attempt *Samaria*, and brought the Citizens to extream famine. *Joram* imputeth the cause thereof to the Prophet *Elisha*. *Elisha* by prayer caused a noise of Chariots and Armour to sound in the Air, whereby the *Aramites* affrighted, fled away, and left the siege. An act of great admiration, as the same is written in the second of *Kings*. After this, when *Azael* obtained the Kingdom of *Syria* by the death of his Master, *Joram* entring upon his frontier, took *Ramath-Gilead*: in which War he received divers wounds, and returned to *Jezreel* to be cured. But whilest he lay there, *Jehu* (who commanding the Army of *Jordan* in *Gilead*, was anointed King, by one of the children of the Prophets, sent by *Elisha*) surprized and slew both him and all that belonged unto him, rooting out the whole posterity of *Ahab*. 2 *King.* 7.

Jehu, who reigned after *Jehoram*, destroyed not only the race of his Fore-goers, but also their Religion; for which he received a promise from God, That his seed should occupy the Throne unto the fourth generation. Yet he upheld the Idolatry of *Jeroboam*, for which he was plagued with grievous War, wherein he was beaten by *Hazael* the *Aramite*, who spoiled all the Countries to the East of *Jordan*: in which War he was slain, saith *Cedrenus*; whereof the Scriptures are silent. *Jehu* reigned 28 years. *Pag.* 86.

Joachaz, or *Jehoachaz* the son of *Jehu* succeeded his father, whom *Azael* and his son *Benhadad* often invaded, and in the end subjected, leaving him only 50 Horse, 20 Chariots, and 10000 Foot: and, as it is written in the Scriptures, he made them like dust beaten into powder. *Joachaz* reigned 17 years. 2 *King.* 13

After *Joachaz*, *Joas* his son governed *Israel*, who when he repaired to *Elisha* the Prophet as he lay on his death-bed, the Prophet promised him three victories over the *Aramites*: and first commanded him to lay his hand on his bow, and *Elisha* covered the Kings hands with his, and bad him open the window Westward (which was toward *Damascus*) and then shoot an arrow thence out. He again willed him to beat the ground with his arrows: who smote it thrice, and ceased: The Prophet then told him, that he should have smitten five or six times, and then he should have had so many victories over the *Aramites* as he gave strokes. And so it succeeded with *Joas*, who overthrew the *Aramites* in three battels, and recovered the Cities and Territory from *Benhadad* the Son of *Azael*, which his Father *Joachaz* had lost. He also overthrew *Amazia* King of *Juda*, who provoked him to make the War, whereupon he entred *Jerusalem*, and sacked it with the Temple. This *Joas* reigned sixteen years and died; in whose time also the Prophet *Elisha* exchanged this life for a better. 2 *King.* 14.

Jeroboam the third from *Jehu*, followed *Joas* his Father, an Idolater, as his predecessors; but he recovered all the rest of the lands belonging to *Israel*, from *Hamath*, which is near *Libanus*, to the dead Sea, and reigned one and forty years.

Zacharias the fifth and last of the House of *Jehu*, slain by *Shallum* his vassal, who reigned in his stead, governed six Moneths. *Shallum* held the Kingdom but one Moneth, being slaughtered by *Menahem* of the *Gadites*.

Menahem, who took revenge of *Shallum*, used great cruelty to those that did not acknowledg him: ripping the Bellies of those that were with Child. This *Menahem* being invaded by *Phul*, bought his peace with ten thousand talents of Silver, which he exacted by a Tribute of fifty shekels from every Man of wealth in *Israel*. *Menahem* governed twenty years. 2 *Kings* 16. 19.

Pekahiah, or *Phaceia*, or after *Zonaras*, *Phacesia*, succeeded, and after he had ruled two years, he was slain by *Phaca*, or *Pekah* the Commander of his Army, who reigned in his place. In this *Pekah*'s time, *Phulasser*, or *Tiglat-Phylasser* invaded the Kingdom of *Israel*, and won *Jion*, *Abel-Bethmaacah*, *Janoach*, *Kedesh*, *Hazor*, and *Gilead*, with all the Cities of *Galilee*, carrying them captives into *Assyria*: he was drawn in by *Achaz* King of *Judæa*, against *Pekah* and *Rezin*, the last of the *Adades*. For *Achas* being wasted by *Pekah* of *Israel*, and by *Rezin* of *Damascus*, did a third time borrow the Church-riches, and therewith 1 *Kings* 15. 29.

with, ingaged the *Assyrian*, who first suppressed that Monarchy of *Syria* and *Damascus*, and then of *Israel*: and this inviting of the great *Assyrian*, was the utter ruine of both States, of *Israel*, and of *Judæa*. *Pekah* reigned twenty Years.

Then *Hoshea*, or *Osea*, who slew *Pekah*, became the vassal of *Salmanasser*; but hoping to shake off the *Assyrian* yoak, he sought aid from *So*, or *Sua*, or *Sebicus* King of *Egypt*: which being known to the *Assyrian*, he cast him into prison, besieged *Samaria*, and master'd it: carried the ten Idolatrous Tribes into *Nineve* in *Assyria*, and into *Rages* in *Media*, and into other Eastern Regions, and there dispersed them: and re-planted *Samaria* with divers Nations, and chiefly with the *Cuthæ*, (inhabiting about *Cutha*, a River in *Persia*, or rather in *Arabia Deserta*) and with the people *Catanei* bounding upon *Syria*, and with those of *Sepharvajim* (a people of *Sephar* in *Mesopotamia* upon *Euphrates*, of whose conquest *Senacharib* vaunteth) also with those of *Ava*, which were of the ancient *Avins*, who inhabited the Land of the *Philistims* in *Abrahams* time, dwelling near unto *Gaza*, whom the *Caphtorims* rooted out: and at this time they were of *Arabia* the *Desart*, called *Havæi*, willing to return to their antient seats. To these he added those of *Chamath*, or *Ituræa*, the antient enemies of the *Israelites*, and sometime the Vassals of the *Adads* of *Damascus*, which so often afflicted them. And thus did this *Assyrian* advise himself better than the *Romans* did. For after *Titus* and *Vespasian* had wasted the Cities of *Judæa* and *Jerusalem*, they carried the people away captive: but left no others in their places, but a very few simple labourers, besides their own thin Garrisons, which soon decayed; and thereby they gave that dangerous entrance to the *Arabians* and *Saracens*, who never could be driven thence again to this day.

And this transmigration, plantation, and displantation, happened in the year of the World, 3292 the sixth year of *Ezekiah* King of *Juda*: and the ninth of *Hosea* the last King of *Israel*.

A Catalogue of the Kings of the ten TRIBES.

1.	*Jeroboam*	Reigned	22 Years.
2.	*Nadab*		2 Years.
3.	*Baasha*		24 Years.
4.	*Ela*		20 Years.
5.	*Zambris*		7 Dayes.
6.	*Omri*		11 Years.
7.	*Achab*		22 Years.
8.	*Ochozias*		2 Years.
9.	*Joram*		12 Years.
10.	*Jehu*		28 Years.
11.	*Joachaz*		17 Years.
12.	*Joas*		16 Years.
13.	*Jeroboam*		41 Years.
14.	*Zacharias*		6 Months.
15.	*Shallum*		1 Moneth.
16.	*Menahem*		10 Years.
17.	*Pakahia*		2 Years.
18.	*Phaca*		20 Years.
19.	*Hosea*		9 Years, about whose time Writers differ.

CHAP. X.

Of the memorable places of Dan, Simeon, Juda, Reuben, Gad, *and the other half of* Manasse.

SECT. I.

Of Dan, *whereof Joppe, Gath, Accaron, Azotus, and other Towns.*

NOw following the coast of the *Mediterran Sea*, that portion of Land assigned to the Tribe of *Dan*, joyneth to *Ephraim*, whereof I spake last: of which Family there were numbred at Mount *Sinai* 62700 fighting Men, all which leaving their bodies with the rest in the Desarts, there entred the Holy Land of their Sons 66400, bearing arms. The first famous City in this Tribe on the Sea-coast was *Joppe*, or *Japho*, as in the 19 of *Josua*: one of the most antient of the World, *Ver. 46.* and the most famous of others on that coast, because it was the Port of *Jerusalem*. From hence *Jonas* imbarked himself when he fled from the service of God towards *Tharcis* in *Cilicia*. In the time of the *Macchabees* this City received many changes: and while *Judas Macchabæus* governed the Jews, the *Syrians* that *Mat. 2.12.* were garrison'd in *Joppe*, having their Fleet in the Port, invited 200 principal Citizens aboard them, and cast them all into the Sea: which *Judas* revenged by firing their Fleet, and putting the companies which sought to escape, to the Sword.

It was twice taken by the *Romans*, and by *Cestius* the Lievtenant utterly burnt and ruined. But in the year of Christ, 1250 *Lodowick* the French King gave it new Walls and Towers: It is now the *Turks*, and called *Jaffa*. There are certain Rocks in that Port, whereunto it is reported, that *Andromeda* was fastned with chains: and from thence delivered from the Sea-monster, by *Perseus*. This fable (for so I take it) is confirmed by *Josephus*, *Solinus*, and *Pliny*. *Marcus Scaurus* during his office of Ædileship, shewed the bones of this Monster to the People of *Rome*. S. *Jerom* upon *Jonas* speaks of it indifferently. *Lib. 3. 1. 15. de bel. Jud. Solin c. 47. Plin l. 5. cap. 9.*

The next unto *Joppe* was *Jamnia*, where *Judas Macchabæus* burnt the rest of the *Syrian* Fleet: the fire and flame whereof was seen at *Jerusalem*, 240 furlongs off. It had sometime a Bishops seat, saith *Will.* of *Tyre*; but there is no sign of it at this time, that such a place there was. *2 Mac. 12. de bel. sacr.*

After *Jamnia* is the City of *Geth*, or *Gath*, sometime *Anthedon*, saith *Volaterran*. And so *Montanus* seems to understand it. For he sets it next to *Egypt*, *F 245.*

of all the *Philiſtim* Cities, and in the place of *Anthedon*. But *Volateran* gives neither reaſon nor authority for his opinion; for *Ptolomy* ſets *Anthedon* far to the South of *Joppe*: and *Geth* was the firſt and not the laſt (beginning from the North) of all the great Cities of the *Philiſtims*: and about ſixteeen miles from *Joppe*: where St. *Hierome* in his time found a great Village of the ſame name. It was ſometime the habitation and Seminary of the *Anakims*, ſtrong and Giant-like Men, whom *Joſua* could not expel, nor the *Danites* after him, nor any of the *Iſraelites*, till *Davids* time: who ſlew *Goliath*, as his Captains did divers others not much inferiour in ſtrength and ſtature unto *Goliath*.

Hierom. in Micheam.

Roboam the Son of *Solomon* rebuilt *Geth*: *Ozias* the Son of *Amazia* deſtroyed it again. It was alſo laid waſte by *Azael* King of *Syria*. *Fulke* the fourth King of *Jeruſalem*, built a Caſtle in the ſame place out of the old ruines. Whether this *Geth* was the ſame that *Will.* of *Tyre* in the Holy War calls *Ibiilin*, I much doubt; the error growing by taking *Geth* for *Anthedon*.

Lib. 21. c. 18.

Not far from *Geth* or *Gath* ſtandeth *Bethſemes*, or the Houſe of the Sun. In the Fields adjoyning to this City (as is thought) was the Ark of God brought by a yoak of two Kine, turned looſe by the *Philiſtims*: and the *Bethſemites* preſuming to look therein, there were ſlain of the Elders 70, and of the people 50 thouſand, by the ordinance of God. After which ſlaughter, and the great lamentation of the people, it was called the great [a] *Abel*, ſaith St. *Hierome*. *Benedictus Theologus* finds three other Cities of this name; one in * *Nephtalim*: another in *Juda*: and another in *Iſſachar*. *Hierome* finds a fifth in *Benjamin*.

1 Sam. 6. 18.

* Or rather not the City it ſelf, but the great ſtone in the feild, upon which ſtone the Philiſtims ſet the Ark, the change being eaſy from *Eben*, or *Aben*, which ſignifieth a ſtone, to *Abel* which ſignifieth mourning.

Keeping the Sea-coaſt, the ſtrong City of *Accaron* offereth it ſelf, ſometime one of the five *Satrapies*, or Governments of the *Philiſtims*. St. *Hierome* makes it the ſame with *Cæſaria Paleſtinæ*. *Pliny* confounds it with *Apollonia*: It was one of thoſe that defended it ſelf againſt the *Danites* and *Idumæans*. It worſhipped *Beel-zebub*, the God of Hornets or Flies. To which Idol it was that *Ahaziah* King of *Iſrael* ſent to enquire of his health: whoſe meſſengers *Eliah* meeting by the way, cauſed them to return with a ſorrowful anſwer to their Maſter. This City is remembred in many places of Scripture.

† See in *Nepth. c. 7. ſect. 4. ‖ 6. 2 King. 1.* but was beſieged by *Pſalmeticus*, the Father of *Pharao Necho* for 29 years together, whence *Jer. 25. 20.* ſpeaks of the reſidue of *Aſhdod*, to wit, the greateſt part having periſhed in this ſiege.

Christianus Schrot placeth *Azotus* next to *Geth*, and then *Accaron* or *Ekron*. This *Azotus* or *Aſdod*, was alſo an habitation of the *Anakims*, whom *Joſua* † failed to deſtroy, though he once poſſeſt their City. Herein ſtood a ſumptuous Temple, dedicated to the ‖ Idol *Dagon*: the ſame Idol which fell twice to the ground of it ſelf, after the *Ark* of God was by the *Philiſtims* carried into their Temple: and in the ſecond fall, it was utterly broken and defaced. Near it, was that famous * *Judas Macchabæus* ſlain by *Bacchides* and *Alcimus* the Leivetenants of *Demetrius*. Afterward it was taken by *Jonathas*: and the reſt of the Citizens being put to the Sword, all that fled into the Temple of *Dagon*, were with their Idol therein conſumed with Fire: neer which alſo he overthrew *Apollonius*.

‖ *1 Sam. 5. 4.*

* *1 Mac. 9. 1 Mac. 10. Joſ. 19. 41. Jud. 13. 25. & c. cap. 18. 2.*

Gabinius the Roman rebuilt it. It had a Biſhops Seat while Chriſtianity flouriſhed in thoſe parts. But in St. *Hieroms* time it was yet a fair Village. And this was the laſt of the Sea-Towns within the Tribe of *Dan*.

The Cities which are within the Land Eaſtward from *Azotus*, and beyond the Fountain of *Æthiopia*, wherein *Philip* the Apoſtle baptized the Eunuch, are *Iſorath*, or *Sarxa*, and *Eſthaol*, and between them *Caſtra Danis* near *Hebron*: though this place where *Sampſon* was born, may ſeem by the words, *Judg.* 18. 12. to be in the Tribe of *Judah*, as the other alſo were bordering Towns between *Dan* and *Juda*.

After theſe within the bounds of *Juda*, but belonging to the *Danites*, they find *Gedor*, or as it is 1 *Mac.* 15. *Cedron*, which *Cendebæus* the Lievtenant of *Antiochus* fortified againſt the Jews, and neer which, himſelf was by the *Macchabees* overthrown. 1 *Mac.* 15. 16.

Then *Modin* the Native City of the *Macchabees*: and wherein they were buried, on whoſe Sepulchre the ſeven Marble Pillars, which were erected of that heighth, as they ſerved for a mark to Sea-Men, remained many hundreds of years after their firſt ſetting up, as *Brochard* and *Breidenbarch* witneſs.

Alias Coriath-baal & Baal, or *Baal-pharoſim.*

There are beſides theſe the City of *Cariathiarim*, that is, the City of the woods: ſeated in the border of *Juda*, *Benjamin*, and *Dan*, wherein the Ark of God remained 20 years in the Houſe of *Aminadab*: till ſuch time as *David* carried it thence to *Jeruſalem*. Of this place (as they ſay) was *Zacharias* the Son of *Barachias*, or *Jehoiada*, who was ſlain between the Temple and the Altar: alſo *Urias*, whom *Joachim* King of *Jeruſalem* ſlaughtered, as we find in *Jeremy*. Many other places which they place in this Tribe rather, as I take it, upon preſumption than warrant, I omit: as that of *Caſpin* taken with great ſlaughter by *Judas Macchabæus*: and *Lechis*, whoſe King was ſlain by *Joſua*, in which alſo *Amaziah* was ſlain: The ſame which *Senacherib* took, *Ezekias* reigning in *Juda*.

1 *Sam.* 7. 1. & 2 *Sam.* 6. 2. 2 *Chron.* 24. 22. *Mat.* 23. 33. *Jer.* 26. 20. 2 *Mac.* 12. 13. *Joſ.* 12. 11. 2 *Reg.* 14. 19.

Of other Cities belonging to this Tribe, ſee in *Joſua c. 19.* from the *ver.* 41. where alſo it is added, that the *Danites* portion was too little for their number of Families: and therefore that they invaded *Leſhem*, and inhabited it: which City, after amplified by *Philip*, the Brother of *Herod Antipas*, was called *Cæſarea Philippi*, as before, and made the *Metropolis* of *Ituræa*, and *Trachonitis*: of which coaſts this *Philip* was *Tetrarch*: but of this City ſee more in *Nephtalim*. In this Tribe there are no Mountains of fame.

It hath two Rivers or Torrents: the Norther-moſt riſeth out of the Mountains of *Juda*: and paſſing by *Modin*, falleth into the Sea by *Sachrona*. The other hath the names of *Sorek* or *Sored*, whoſe banks are plentiful of Vines which have no Seeds or Stones: the Wine they yeild is Red, of excellent colour, taſte, and ſavour, &c. In this Valley of *Sorek*, ſo called from the River, inhabited *Dalila* whom *Samſon* loved.

Hieron. in Eſa. & Micheam 1. *Broch. Breid. Jud.* 16. 4.

SECT. II.

THE TRIBE OF SIMEON.

THe Tribe of *Simeon* takes up the reſt of the Sea-coaſt of *Canaan*, to the border of *Egypt*: who being the ſecond Son of *Jacob* by *Lea*, there were increaſed of that Family while they abode in *Egypt*, as they were numbred at Mount *Sinai*, 59300 able Men, all which ending their lives in the *Deſarts*, there entred the Land of Promiſe of the iſſues 22200 bearing arms, who were * in part mixed with *Juda*, and in part ſevered, inhabiting a ſmall Territory on the Sea-coaſt belonging to *Edumæa*, of which the firſt City adjoyning to *Dan*, was *Aſcalon*.

* And therefore no marvel that divers places named *Joſ.* 15. in the large portion of *Juda*, be reckoned in this Tribe: ſee *Joſ.* 19. v. 1. and 9. where thus much is expreſſly noted by *Volat. Geog. l.* 11. *f.* 244.

The *Reguli*, or petty Kings thereof, were called *Aſcalonitæ*: of which *Volaterran* out of *Xanthus*, in the Hiſtory of the *Lydians*, reports, that *Tantalus* and *Aſcalus* were the Sons of *Hymenæus*: and that *Aſcalus* being imployed by *Aciamus* King of the *Lydians*, with an Army in *Syria*, falling in love with a young Woman of that Countrey, built this City, and called it after his own name: The ſame hath *Nicolaus* in his Hiſtory, ſaith *Volaterran*.

Diodorus

Diodorus Siculus in his third Book remembreth a Lake near *Ascaion*, wherein there hath been a Temple dedicated to *Derceto*, the Goddess of the *Syrians*; having the Face of a Woman, and the Body of a Fish: who, as I have said before in the story of *Ninus*, was the Mother of *Semiramis*, feigned to be cast into this Lake, and fed and relieved by Doves. And therefore was the Dove worshipped both in *Babylonia* and *Syria*, of which *Tibullus* the Poet:

Alba Palæstino sancta Columba Syro.

The white Dove is for holy held in *Syria Palœstine.*

It was one of the chiefest and strongest Cities of the *Philistims*. It bred many learned Men (saith *Volaterran*, as *Antiochus*, *Sosus*, *Cygnus*, *Dorotheus* the Historian, and *Artemidorus*, who wrote the story of *Bythinia*. *Vol. ut supra.*

In *Ascalon*, as some say, was that wicked *Herod* born, that seeking after our Saviour, caused all the Male-Children of two years old and under to be slain. In the Christian times it had a Bishop, and after that, when it was by the *Saladine* defaced, *Richard* King of *England*, while he made War in the *Holy Land*, gave it a new Wall and many buildings. *Ejus murus cum* Saladinus *diruisset*, Richardus *Anglorum Rex instauravit*, saith *Adrichomius*. *Adrich. in Trib. Simeon.*

In *Davids* time it was one of the most renowned Cities of the *Philistims*: for he nameth *Gath* and *Ascalon* only, when he lamenteth the death of *Saul* and *Jonathan*: not speaking of the other three. *Tell it not in Gath, nor publish it in the Streets of Ascalon*: It is now called *Scalone*. *Gabinus* restored it as he did *Azotus* and *Gaza*. 2 *Sam.* 1.

Next to *Ascalon* stood *Gaza*, or *Gazera*, which the *Hebrews* call *Hazza*, the *Syrians*, *Azan*, of *Azonus* (as they say) the Son of *Hercules*. Other profane Writers affirm, that it was built by *Jupiter*. *Pomp. Mela* gives the building thereof to *Cambyses* the *Persian*; because belike he re-built it, and *Gaza* in the *Persian* tongue is as much as to say, as Treasure. This *Gaza* was the first of the five *Satrapies* of the *Philistims*, and the South bound of the Land of *Canaan* towards *Egypt*. But this City was far more antient than *Cambyses*, as it is proved by many Scriptures. It was once taken by *Caleb*: but the strength of the *Anakims* put him from it. At such time as *Alexander Macedon* invaded the Empire of *Persia*, it received a Garrison for *Darius*: in despight whereof it was by the *Macedonians* after a long seige demolished, and was called *Gaza* of the *Desart*. *Vol. l.* 11. *Steph. de Urb. Jud.* 16. 16. 1 *Kings* 6. *& alib. Jos.* 13. *ant.* 19.

Alexander Janeus King of the Jews surprised it, and slew five hundred Senators in the Temple of *Apollo*, which fled thither for Sanctuary: but this *Gaza* was not set up in the same place again, to wit, on the Foundations which *Alexander Macedon* had overturned, but somewhat nearer the Sea-side: though the other was but two mile off. It was a Town of great account in the time of the *Macchabees*, and gave many wounds to the Jews, till it was forc't by *Simon*: of which he made so great account, as that he purposed to reside therein himself and in his absence left *John* his Son and Successour, to be Governour. In *Brochard* his time it was still a goodly City, and known by the name of *Gazara*. *Mac.* 1. 15. *Broch. Itin*

At the very out-let of the River of *Besor*, standeth *Majoma* the Port of *Gaza*: to which the priviledg of a City was given by the great *Constantine*, and the place called *Constance*, after the name of the Emperours Son. But *Julian* the *Apostata* soon after favouring the *Gazeans*, made it subject unto them, and commanded it to be called *Gaza maritima*, *Hist. trip. l.* 6. *c.* 4. *Niceph.* 10. *hist. cap.* 4.

On the other side of *Besor* standeth *Anthedon*, defac'd by *Alexander Janneus*, restored by *Herod*, and called *Agrippias*, after the name of *Agrippa*, the favorite of *Augustus*. *Jos* 13. *in* 19. 21.

Then *Raphia*, where *Philopater* overthrew the great *Antiochus*: and beyond it *Rhinocura*, whose Torrent is known in the Scriptures by the name of * *the Torrent of Egypt*, till the *Septuagint* converted it *Thœocura*: to difference it, *Es.* 27. 12. giving the name of the City to the Torrent that watereth it. *Pliny* calls it *Rhinocolura*: and *Josephus Rhinocorura*: † *Epiphanius* reports it as Tradition, that at this place the World was divided by lot between the three Sons of *Noah*. *Jos.* 13. *ant.* 19, 21. 14, *&c.* * *Junius* calls it *Vallis Ægypti*, the name of the stream seems to be *Sichor*. See in *Ascer*, *c.* 7. *sect.* 3. ‖ 8. in the margent. † *Epiph. tom.* 2 *in resal Manich & in Ancorato Gen.* 10. 19.

Within the Land, and upon the River of *Besor* they place *Gerar*: which the Scripture placeth between *Kadesh* and *Shur*, *Gen.* 20. 1. That it was near to the Wilderness of *Beersheba*, it appears *Gen.* 20. 31. and therefore no marvel that as elsewhere *Beersheba*, so sometime *Gerar*, be made the South bound of *Canaan*. It was of old a distinct Kingdom from the *Philistim Satrapies*: the Kings by one common name were called *Abimelechs*; St. *Hierome* saith afterwards it was called *Regio salutaris*, *the healthly Countrey*: so that it was no marvel that *Abraham* and *Isaac* lived much in those parts. Of King *Asa's* conquest of the Cities about *Gerar*, see 2 *Chron.* 14. 14.

More within the Land was *Siceleg*, or *Tsiglak*, which was burnt by the *Amalekites*, when *David* in his flying from *Saul* to the *Philistims* had left his carriages there, but *David* followed them over the River of *Besor*, and put them to the slaughter, and recovered the prey. 1 *Sam.* 30.

Next *Dabir*, sometime *Cariath-Sepher*, a City of Letters, the University, as they say, or *Academy* of old *Palæstine*. In St. *Hierom's* time, it seems, it had the name of *Daema*: *Jos.* 15. 49. it is called *Urbs Sannæ*: from the name, as it seems, of some of the *Anakims*, as *Hebron* was called *Urbs Arbahi*. For even hence also were these Giants expelled. It was taken chiefly by *Othoniel*, incouraged by *Calebs* promise of his Daughter in marriage: but that *Josua* and the Host of *Israel* were at the surprise, it appears, *Jos.* 10. 39. This City *Jos.* 21. 15. is named among those which out of *Simeon* and *Juda* were given to the *Levites*. And hence it seems they attribute it to this Tribe. *Josep.* 10, 11, 12. *Jos.* 11. 11.

Besides these, there are many others in the Tribe of *Simeon*, but of less fame, as *Hajin*, of which *Jos.* 19. 7. which also *Jos.* 21. 16. is reckoned for one of the Cities of the *Levites*, given out of the portion of *Juda* and *Simeon*, (for which *Junius* thinks *Hasham* is named 1 *Chron.* 6. 59. though * in the place of *Josua*, these two are distinguished) also *Tholad*, so named 1 *Chro.* 4. 29. for which *Jos.* 19. 4. we have *Eltholad*. *Chatzar-Susa*, so named. *Jos.* 19. 5. for which *Jos.* 15. we have *Chatzar-Gadda*, both names agreeing in signification: for *Gadda* is *Turma*, and *Susa*, *Equitatus*. * And also 1 *Chron.* 4. 31.

In the same places of *Josua* and of the *Chronicles*, *Chorma* is named, which they think to be the same with that of which *Num.* 14. 45. to which the *Amalekites* and *Canaanites* pursued the *Israelites*: But that *Chorma* cannot be in *Simeon*, nor within the Mountains of *Edumæa*. For *Israel* fled not that way: but back again to the Camp, which lay to the South of *Edumæa*, in the *Desart*. *Deut.* 1.

The same places also name *Beersheba* in this Tribe; so called of the Oath between *Abraham* and *Abimelec*: neer unto which *Hagar* wandred with her Son *Ismael*. It was also called the City of *Isaac*, because he dwelt long there, While the *Christians* held the *Holy Land*, they laboured much to strengthen this *Gen.* 21. 31.

this place, ſtanding on the border of the *Arabian* Deſart, and in the South bound of *Canaan*. It hath now the name of *Gibelin*. The other Cities of *Simeon* which are named in the places of *Joſhua*, and of the *Chronicles* above noted, becauſe they help us nothing in ſtory, I omit them. In the time of *Ezekia* King of *Juda*, certain of this Tribe being ſtrengthened in his own Territories, paſſed to * *Gedor*, as it is *1 Chron.* 4.39. (the ſame place which in *Joſ.* 15.36. is called *Gedera* and *Gederothaima*) which at that time was inhabited by the iſſue of *Cham*: where they ſeated themſelves: as alſo five hundred others of this Tribe, deſtroyed the Reliques of *Amalek* in the Mountains of *Edom*, and dwelt in their places.

* As it ſeems in the Land of *Juda*. See in the firſt *Paragraph* of this Chapter in the Cities of *Dan*.

The Mountains within this Tribe are few, and that of *Samſon* the chiefeſt: unto which he carried the Gate-poſt of *Gaza*. The Rivers are, *Beſor*, and the *Torrent* of *Egypt*, called *Shichar*, as is noted in *Aſſer*.

Jud. 16.3.

SECT. III.

THE TRIBE OF JUDA.

OF *Juda*, the fourth ſon of *Jacob* by *Lea*, there were multiplied in *Egypt* 74600. all which, (*Caleb* excepted) periſhed in the *Deſarts*. And of their ſons there entred the Land of *Canaan* 76500, bearing arms. Agreeable to the greatneſs of this number was the greateſt Territory given, called afterward *Judæa*: within the bounds whereof were the portions allotted to *Dan* and *Simeon* included: And many Cities named in thoſe Tribes, did firſt, as they ſay, belong unto the Children of *Juda*: who had a kind of Soveraignty over them: as *Succoth*, *Cartathiarim*, *Lachis*, *Bethſemes*, *Tſiglag*, *Beerſheba*, and others. The multitude of people within this ſmall Province (if it be meted by that ground given to this Tribe only) were incredible, if the witneſs of the Scriptures had not warranted the report. For when *David* numbred the people, they were found five hundred thouſand fighting men.

The Cities of *Juda* were many. But I will remember the cheifeſt of them: beginning with *Arad*, or *Horma*, which ſtandeth in the entrance of *Judæa* from *Idumæa*: whoſe King firſt ſurprized the *Iſraelites* as they paſſed by the border of *Canaan* towards *Moab*, and took from them ſome ſpoils, and many priſoners: who being afterward overthrown by the *Iſraelites*, the ſons of *Keni*, the Kinſmen of *Moſes*, obtained a poſſeſſion in that Territory: who before the coming of the *Iſraelites*, dwelt between *Madian* and *Amalek*.

Num. 21.3 *Joſ.* 12.14. *Jud.* 1.16.

Num. 34.4 *Deut.* 8 15

Following this Frontier towards *Idumæa* and the South, *Aſcenſus Scorpionis*, or *Acrabbim* is placed the next to *Arad*: ſo called becauſe of Scorpions, which are ſaid to be in that place: from which name of *Acrabbim*, *Hierom* thinks that the name of the *Toparchie*, called *Acrabathena*, was denominated: of which we have ſpoken in *Manaſſes*. On the South ſide alſo of *Judæa* they place the Cities of *Jagur*, *Dimona*, *Adada*, *Cedes*, *Aſhna*, *Jethnam*, and *Aſſor*, or *Chatſor*, moſt of them Frontier Towns.

And then *Ziph*: of which there are two places ſo called: one beſides this in the body of *Juda*, of which the *Deſart* and Forreſt adjoyning took name: where *David* hid himſelf from *Saul*. After theſe are the Cities of *Eſron*, *Adar*, *Karkah*, and *Aſcemona*, or *Hatſmon*, of no great fame.

Turning now from *Idumæa* towards the North, we find the Cities of *Danna*, *Shemah*, *Amam*, the other *Aſor*, or *Chatſor*, *Behaloth*, and the two *Sochoes*: of all which ſee *Joſ.* 15. alſo *Carioth*, by *Joſ.* 15. 25. called *Kerioth*: whence *Judas* the Traitor was called *Iſ-carioth*, as it were a man of *Carioth*. Then *Hetham*, the abode of *Sampſon*, which *Rehoboam* re-edified. Beyond theſe, towards the North border, and towards *Elutheropolis*, is the City of *Jethar*, or *Jathir*, belonging to the Levites. In St. *Heirom's* time it was called *Jethira*: and inhabited altogether with *Chriſtians*: neer unto this City was that remarkable battel fought between *Aſa* King of *Juda*, and *Zara* King of the *Arabians*, who brought into the field a Million of fighting men: and was notwithſtanding beaten and put to flight: *Aſa* following the victory as far as *Gerar*, which at the ſame time he recovered.

Fud. 15 8. 1 *Chr.* 11.6 *Jun.* out of the 1 *Chr.* 4.31. notes that this *Hetham*, though it were within the bounds of *Juda*, belonged to *Simeon*. *Joſ.* 15.48. *Hieron. in loc. Hebr.*

Not far from *Jether* ſtandeth *Jarmuth*, whoſe King was ſlain by *Joſhua*, and the City overturned. Next unto it is *Mereſa* the Native City of the Prophet *Michæa*: between it and *Odolla*, *Judas Machabæus* overthrew *Gorgias*, and ſent thence ten thouſand *Drachmas* of ſilver to be offered for ſacrifice.

2 *Mac.* 12. 35.

Odolla, or *Hadullam* it ſelf, was an antient and magnificent City, taken by *Joſhua*, and the King thereof ſlain, *Jonathan Macchabæus* beautified it greatly. Then *Ceila*, or *Keila*, afterward *Echela*, where *David* ſometime hid himſelf: and which afterward he delivered from the aſſaults of the *Philiſtims*: neer which the Prophet *Habakkuk* was buried: whoſe monument remained, and was ſeen by S. *Hierom.*

Gen. 38.1. *Joſ.* 12.15 1 *Sam.* 23.1

Neer it is *Hebron*, ſometime called *the City of Arbah*, for which the *Vulgar* hath *Cariatharbe*: the reaſon of this name they give, as if it ſignified the City of four: becauſe the four Patriarchs, *Adam*, *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, were therein buried, but of *Adam* it is but ſuppoſed: and it is plain by the places, *Joſh.* 14. 14. and 15.13. and 20.11. that *Arbah* here doth not ſignifie four, but that it was the name of the Father of the Giants, called *Anakim*, whoſe ſon as it ſeems *Anak* was: and *Achiman*, *Sheſhai*, and *Talmai*, (whom *Caleb* expelled, *Joſh.* 15.) were the ſons of *Anak*. *Num.* 13. 23. The name of *Anak* ſignifieth *Torquem*, a chain worn for ornament; and it ſeems that this *Anak*, inriched by the ſpoils which himſelf and his father got, wore a chain of gold, and ſo got this name: and leaving the cuſtom to his poſterity, left alſo the name: ſo that in *Latine* the name of *Anakim* may not amiſs be expounded by *Torquati*.

The City *Hebron* was one of the antienteſt Cities of *Canaan*, built ſeven years before *Tſoan*, or *Tanis*, in *Egypt*: and it was the head and chief City of the *Anakims*, whom *Caleb* expelled: to whom it was in part given, to wit, the Villages adjoyning, and the reſt to the Levites, It had a Biſhop in the *Chriſtian* times, and a magnificent Temple built by *Helen* the mother of *Conſtantine*.

Not far hence they find *Eleutheropolis*, or the free City, remembred often by St. *Jerom*. Then *Eglon*, whoſe King *Dabir* aſſociated with the other four Kings of the *Amorites*, to wit, of *Jeruſalem*, *Hebron*, *Jarmuth*, and *Lachis*, beſieging the *Gibeonites*, were by *Joſhua* utterly overthrown. From hence the next City of fame was *Emaus*, afterward *Nicopolis*, one of the Cities of Government or *Præſidencies* of *Judæa*. In ſight of this City, *Judas Macchabæus* (after he had formerly beaten both *Apollonius* and *Seron*) gave a third overthrow to *Gorgias*, Lieutenant to *Antiochus*.

Joſ. 10.11 *Macc.* 1. 3 *Euſeb. in Chron. Broch. Iſm.* 6.

In the year 1301. it was overturned by an earthquake, ſaith *Euſebius*. In the Chriſtian times, it had a Biſhops ſeat of the Dioceſs of *Cæſarea* of *Paleſtine*.

* Alſo 1 *Chro* 4.39. as is abo e remembred in the Tribe of *Simeon*.

From *Emaus* toward the Weſt Sea, there are the Cities of *Nahama*, *Bethdagon*, and *Gader*, or *Gedera*, or *Gederothaima*, of which, and of *Gederoth*, * *Joſh.* 15.36. and 41. Then *Azecha*, to which *Joſhua* followed

lowed the slaughter of these five Kings before named, a City of great strength in the Valley of [a] *Terebinth*, or *Turpentine*, as the *Vulgar* readeth, 1 *Sam.* 17. 2. whence (as it seems) they seat it neer unto *Soco*, and unto *Lebna* of the Levites. It revolted from the subjection of the Jews while *Joram* the son of *Josophat* ruled in *Jerusalem*: And next unto this standeth *Maceda*, which *Joshua* utterly dis-peopled.

[a] *Junius*, for *in Valle Terebinthi*, hath *in Valle quercetti*. *Vatablus* keeps the *Hebrew*, reading *in Valle Elah*.

On the other side of *Emaus* towards the East, standeth *Bethsur*, otherwise *Bethsora*, and *Bethsor*: one of the strongest and most sought for places in all *Juda*. It is seated on a high Hill; and therefore called *Bethsur* (*the house on the Rock*, or *of strength*.) It was fortified by *Roboam*, and afterward by *Judas Macchabæus*. *Lysias* forced it: and *Antiochus Eutapor* by famine, *Jonathas* regained it: and it was by *Simon* exceedingly fortified against the *Syrian* Kings.

Jos. 13. *ant.* 9. *Macc.* 1. 6.

Gen. 53. 48

Bethleem is next unto it within six miles of *Jerusalem*, otherwise *Lehem*: sometime *Ephrata*; which name, they say, it had of *Calebs* wife, when as it is so called by *Moses*, before *Caleb* was famous in those parts, *Gen.* 38. 16. Of this City was *Abessan*, or *Ibsan* Judge of *Israel* after *Jephtah*, famous for the thirty sons and thirty daughters begotten by him. *Elimelek* was also a *Bethlemite*, who with his wife *Naomi* sojourned in *Moab* during the famine of *Juda* in the time of the Judges, with whom *Ruth* the daughter-in-law of *Naomi* returned to *Bethleem*: and married *Booz*, of whom *Obed*, of whom *Isai*, of whom *David*. It had also the honour to be the native City of our Saviour *Jesus Christ*; and therefore shall the memory thereof never end.

Ruth 1.

Hieron. in com. super. Mat. c. 2. *Matth.* 2. 1 *Amos.* 1. 1. 1 *Mac.* 6. 32. *Jos. ant.* 12. *c.* 14. 1 *Macc.* 6. 36.

In *Zabulon* of *Galilee* there was also a City of the same name: and therefore was this of our Saviour called *Bethleem Juda*.

From *Bethleem* some four or five mile standeth *Thecua*, the City of *Amos* the Prophet: and to this place adjoyning is the City of *Bithzacaria*, in the way between *Bethsura* and *Jerusalem*: on whose Hills adjoyning, the glorious guilt shields of *Antiochus* shined like lamps of fire in the eyes of the *Jews*. The City of * *Bezek* was also neer unto *Bethleem*, which *Adonibezek* commanded; who had during his reign torture'd 70 Kings, by cutting off the joynts of their Fingers and Toes; and made them gather bread under his Table: but at length the same end befell himself by the sons of *Juda*, after they had taken him prisoner.

* See in *Manasse. c.* 7. §. 7. ‖ 1

Jud. 1. 6, 7

The rest of the Cities in this part (most of them of no great estimation) we may pass by, until we come to the magnificent Castle of *Herodium*, which *Herod* erected on a Hill, mounting thereunto with 200 Marble steps, exceeding beautiful and strong. And towards the *Dead Sea*, and adjoyning to the *Desart* of *Jeruel*, between it and *Tekoa*, is that *Clivus floridus*, where, in the time of *Jehosaphat*, the *Jews* stood and lookt on the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, and *Edomites*, massacring one another, when they had purposed to joyn against *Juda*: neer which place is the Valley of blessing, where the *Jews* the fourth day after, solemnly came and blessed God for so strange a deliverance.

Jos. 14. *ant.* 22.

2 *Chro.* 20. 16. and 26 2 *Chro.* 11 * Some call it *Balsalisa* and *Vitula consternans*. See in *Gad. c.* 10 *sect.* 5. *post principium in Haroher.*

Now the Cities of *Juda* which border the *Dead Sea*, are these; *Aduran* beautified by *Roboam*: and *Tsohar*, which the *Vulgar* calleth * *Segor*: so called, because *Lot* in his prayer for it, urged that it was but a little one: whence it was called *Tsohar*, which signifieth a little one: when as the old name was *Belah*, as it is *Gen.* 14. 2. In the *Romans* time it had a Garrison, and was called (as they say) *Pannier*: in *Jerom's* time, *Balexona*. Then *Engaddi*, or *Hen-gaddi*, first *Asasonthamar*: neer unto which are the Gardens of *Balsamum*, the best that the world had, called *Opo-Balsamum*: the most part of all which Trees *Cleopatra* Queen of *Egypt* sent for out of *Judæa*, and *Herod*, who either feared or loved *Anthony* her Husband, caused them to be rooted up, and presented unto her: which she re-planted neer *Heliopolis* in *Egypt*. This City was first taken by *Chedorlaomer*, and the *Amorites* thence expelled. It was one of the most remarkable Cities of *Judæa*; and one of the Presidencies thereof.

Gen. 19. 20 *Gen.* 14. 7.

Hieron. in Ose. Hebr. Chatsatson-thamar. 2 *Chro.* 20. 2.

The rest of the Cities are many in the In-land, and among them *Jesrael*: not that which was the City of *Naboth*, of which already, but another of the same name, the City of *Achinoan*, the wife of *David*, the mother of that *Ammon* whom *Absalom* slew: also, as some think, the City of *Amasa*, *Absaloms* Lieutenant, and the Commander of his Army. But this seemeth to be an errour grounded upon the neerness of the words *Israel* and *Jesrael*: and because the 2 *Sam.* 17. 25. *Amasa's* father is called an *Israelite*, who in the first of the *Chron.* 2. 17. is called an *Ishmaelite*: indeed the *Hebrew* Orthography sheweth that *Amasa's* father is not said to be of the City *Jesrael*, but an *Israelite* in Religion, though otherwise an *Ishmaelite*.

1 *Reg.* 21. 2 *Sam.* 17. 25.

In this Tribe there were many high Hills and Mountains: as those of *Engaddi* upon the *Dead Sea*: and the Mountains of *Juda*, which begin to rise by *Emaus*, and end neer *Taphna*, and these part *Juda* from *Dan* and *Simeon*. Of others which stand single, there is that of *Hebron*, at the foot whereof was that Oak of *Mamre*, where the three Angels appeared to *Abraham*; which S. *Jerom* calleth a Fir-tree, and saith, That it stood till the time of *Constantine* the younger. There is also that Mountain called *Collis Achillæ*, on the South of *Ziph*: on the top whereof the great *Herod*, inclosing the old Castle, erected by *Jonathan Macchabæus*, and called *Massada*, garnished it with twenty seven high and strong Towers: and therein left Armour and Furniture for an hundred thousand men; being, as it seemeth a place unaccessable, and of incomparable strength.

Hieron. in loc. Heb. & *quæst. Hebr.* *Jos.* 14. *Ant. c.* 20.

In the Valley afterward called the *Dead Sea*, or the Lake *Asphaltitis*, this Country had four Cities, *Adama*, *Sodom*, *Seboim*, and *Gomorrha*, destroyed with fire from Heaven for their unnatural sins.

SECT. IV.

THE TRIBE OF REUBEN, and his Borderers.

‖ I.

The seats and bounds of Midian, Moab, *and* Ammon, *part whereof the* Reubenites *won from* Sehon *King of* Hesbon.

ON the other side of the *Dead Sea*, *Reuben* the eldest of *Jacob's* sons inhabited: of whose children there were numbred at Mount *Sinai* 46000. who dying with the rest in the Desarts, there remained to possess the Land promised 43700 bearing arms. But before we speak of these, or the rest that inhabited the East side of *Jordan*; something of their borderers: to wit, *Midian*, *Moab*, and *Ammon*, whose Land in our Writers are confusedly described, and not easily distinguished. And first we are to remember, that out of *Abraham's* kindred came mighty Families: as by *Isaac* and *Jacob* the Nation called *Israel*, and afterward *Jews*: by *Esau*, or *Edom*, the *Idumæans*: by *Ishmael*,

Iſhmael, the eldeſt Son of *Abraham*, the *Iſhmaelites:* and by *Ketura*, his laſt wife, the *Midianites*. And again, by *Lot*, *Abraham*'s brothers ſon, thoſe two valiant Nations of the *Moabites* and *Ammonites:* all which being but ſtrangers in the Land of *Canaan* (formerly poſſeſt by the *Canaanites*; and by the Families of them deſcended) theſe iſſues and alliance of *Abraham*, all but *Jacob*, whoſe children were bred in *Egypt*, inhabited the frontier places adjoyning.

Eſau and his ſons held *Idumæa*, which bounded *Canaan* on the South, *Iſhmael* took from the South-eaſt part of the *Dead Sea*; ſtretching his poſſeſſion over all *Arabia Petræa*, and a part of *Arabia* the *Deſart*, as far as the River of *Tygris*, from *Sur* to *Havilah*.

Moab took the reſt of the coaſt of the *Dead Sea*, leaving a part to *Midian*, and paſſing over *Arnon*, inhabited the Plains between *Jordan* and the Hills of *Abarim*, or *Arnon*, as far North as *Eſſebon*, or *Cheſbon*.

Ammon ſate down on the North-eaſt ſide of *Arnon*, and poſſeſt the Tract from *Rabba*, afterward *Philadelphia*, both within the Mountains of *Gilead*, and without them as far forth as *Aroer*, though in *Moſes*'s time he had nothing left him in all that Valley: for the *Amorites* had thruſt him over the River of *Jaboc*, as they had done *Moab* over *Arnon*. As theſe Nations compaſſed ſundry parts of *Canaan*, ſo the border between the River of *Jaboc* and *Damaſcus*, was held by the *Amorites* themſelves, with other mixt Nations: all which Territory on the Eaſt ſide of *Jordan*, and on the Eaſt ſide of the *Dead Sea*, was granted by *Moſes*, to the Tribes of *Reuben*, *Gad*, and half *Manaſſe*; whereof that part which *Moab* had, was firſt poſſeſt by the *Emims*, a Nation of Giants, weakned and broken by *Chedorlaomer*, after repulſed by the *Moabites*, as before remembred. That which the *Ammonites* held, was the Territory and antient poſſeſſion of the *Zamzummims*, or *Zutæi*, who were alſo beaten at the ſame time by *Chedorlaomer*, *Amraphel*, and the reſt: and by them an eaſie way of conqueſt was prepared for the *Ammonites*.

Joſ. 13. *Num.* 21. 24. *Gen.* 14.

Now where it is written, that *Arnon* was the border of *Moab*, the ſame is to be underſtood according to the time when *Moſes* wrote. For then had *Sehon* or his Anceſtor, beaten the *Moabites* out of the plain Countries, between *Abarim* and *Jordan*, and driven them from *Hesbon* over *Arnon*; and this hapned not long before *Moſes*'s arrival upon that border, when *Vaheb* governed the *Moabites*. For he that ruled *Moab* when *Moſes* paſt *Arnon*, was not the ſon of *Vaheb*, but his name was *Balak*, the ſon of *Zippor*. And it may be that thoſe Kings were elective, as the *Edumæans* antiently were.

Now, allthat part of *Moab*, between *Arnon* and *Jordan*, as far North as *Eſſebon*, was inhabited by *Reuben*. And when *Iſrael* arrived there out of *Egypt*, it was in the poſſeſſion of *Sehon*, of the race of *Canaan* by *Amoreus:* and therefore did *Jephtah* the Judge of *Iſrael* juſtly defend the regaining of thoſe Countries againſt the claim of the *Ammonites:* becauſe (as he alledged) *Moſes* found them in the poſſeſſion of the *Amorites*, and not in the hands of *Moab*, or *Ammon:* who (ſaith *Jephtah*) had 300 years time to recover them, and did not: whence he inferreth, that they ought not to claim them now.

Judg. 11.

And leſt any ſhould marvel why the *Ammonites* in *Jephtahs* time ſhould make claim to theſe Countries: whereas *Moſes* in the place *Num.* 21.26. rather accounts them to have been the antient poſſeſſion of the *Moabites*, than of the *Ammonites:* it is to be noted, that *Deut.* 3. 11. when it is ſaid that the Iron bed of *Og* was to be ſeen at *Rabbath*, the chief City of the *Ammonites*, it is alſo ſignified, that much of the Land of *Og*, which the *Iſraelites* poſſeſſed, was by him or his Anceſtors got from the *Ammonites:* as much of *Sehons* was from the *Moabites*.

And as the *Canaanite* Nations were ſeated ſo confuſedly together, that it was hard to diſtinguiſh them, ſo alſo were the ſons of *Moab* and *Ammon*, *Madian*, *Amalek*, and *Iſhmael*. Yet the reaſon ſeemeth plain enough why *Ammon* commanded in chief, in *Jephtah*'s time; for ſometime the one Nation, and ſometime the other of all thoſe borderers acquired the Soveraignty: and again, that one part of the Land which *Gad* held, namely, within the Mountains of *Galaad*, or *Gilead*, and as far South as *Aroer*, belonged to the *Ammonites*. And therefore taking advantage of the time, they then ſought how to recover it again. Yet at ſuch time as *Moſes* overthrew *Sehon* at *Jahaz*, the *Ammonites* had loſt to the *Amorites* all that part of their poſſeſſion which lay about *Aroer*, and between it and *Jaboc:* *Sehon* and *Og*, two Kings of the *Amorites*, having diſplanted both *Moab* and *Ammon* of all within the Mountains. For it is written in *Numb.* 21. 24. that *Iſrael* conquered the Land of *Sehon* from *Arnon* unto *Jaboc*, *even unto the children of Ammon:* ſo as at this time the River of *Jaboc* was the South bound of *Ammon* within the Mountains, when as antiently they had alſo poſſeſſions over *Jaboc*, which at length the *Gadites* poſſeſt, as in the thirteenth Chapter of *Joſhua*, verſe twenty fifth, it appears.

Joſ. 13. 25. *Junius* notes that the one half of the land of *Hammon*, which in this place of *Joſhua* is ſaid to have been given to the *Gadites*, was taken firſt from the *Ammonites* by *Sehon*: but the place *Deut.* 2. 11 proves that as well *Og*, as *Sehon* had gotten lands out of the hands of the *Ammonites*.

‖. II.

Of the memorable places of the Reubenites.

THe chief Cities belonging to *Reuben* were theſe, *Kedemoth*, for which the Vulgar, without any ſhew of warrant, readeth *Jethſon*. The Vulgar or *Jerom* followed the *Septuagint*, thoſe two Verſes, 36. and 37. in *Joſ.* 22. being wanting in the old Hebrew Copies, and the *Septuagint* read *Kedſon* for *Kedmoth*, which *Kedſon* by writing ſlipt into *Jethſon*.

Joſ. 21. 37.

This City which they gave to the Levites, imparts her name to the Deſart adjoyning: from whence *Moſes* ſent his Embaſſage to *Sehon*. In the ſame place of *Joſhua*, where this *Kedemoth* is mentioned, the Vulgar for *Betſar & villa ejus*, reads *Boſor in ſolitudine Miſor*, without any ground from the Hebrew: whence *Adrichomius* makes a Town called *Miſor*, in the border between *Reuben* and *Gad*. Farther from *Kedemoth*, near the *Dead Sea* (for the Country between, being Mountainous, hath few Cities) they place two Towns of note, *Laſa* or *Leſhaſh*, of which *Gen.* 10.19. The Greeks call it *Calirhoe:* near which there is a Hill, from whence there floweth Springs both of hot and cold, bitter and ſweet water; all which ſoon after their riſing, being joyned in one ſtream, do make a very wholeſome Bath, eſpecially for all contraction of ſinews: to which *Herod* the elder, when he was deſparate of all other help, repaired, but in vain. Others ſay, that theſe Springs ariſe out of the Hills of *Machærus*, in this Tribe. The like fountains are found in the *Pyrenyes*, and in *Peru*, called *the Baths of the Inga's*, or *Kings*. The other Town is *Machærus*, the next between *Laſa* and *Jordan:* of all that part of the world the ſtrongeſt In-land City and Caſtle, ſtanding upon a Mountain every way unacceſſible. It was firſt fortified by *Alexander Jannæus*, who made it a frontier againſt the *Arabians:* but it was demoliſhed by *Gabinius* in the war with *Ariſtobulus*, ſaith *Joſephus*. It was thither (ſaith *Joſephus*) that *Herod* ſent *John Baptiſt*, and wherein he was ſlain: his Army ſoon after being utterly overthrown by *Aretas* King of *Arabia*, and himſelf after this

Deu. 2.26. It was a marginal note out *Deut.* 3. where the *Septs.* kept the word *Miſor*, ſignifying a plain, which after crept into the Text. *Joſ.* 17. *ant.* c. 9. & *Hieron. in quæſt. Heb. in Gen. Acoſta* l. 3. *Joſ. ant.* 13 *cap.* 24. & 14. *ant.* c. 10. & *Abbi. Joſeph. bel. Jud.* l. 7. c. 25.

Deut. 4. 43 *Joſ.* 20. & *Euſeb. in Chron. Hier. in loc. heb.*

this murther never prospering. Not far from *Machærus* was *Bosor*, or *Bozra*, a town of refuge, and belonging to the Levites, and near it *Livias* upon Jordan, which *Herod* built in honour of *Livia*, the mother of *Tiberius Cæsar*.

*Num.*25.1 To the North of *Livias* is *Setim*, or *Sittim*: where the children of *Israel* imbraced the daughters of *Midian*, or *Moab*: and where *Phineas* pierced the body of *Zimri* and *Cosbi* with his spear, bringing due vengeance upon them when they were in the midst of their sin; and from hence *Joshua* sent the discoverers *Jos.* 13. 1. to view *Jericho*, staying here until he went over *Jordan*. As for the Torrent *Setim*, which in this place *Adrichomius* dreams of, reading *Joel* 3. 18. *irrigabit torrentem Setim*: The Vulgar hath *torrentem spinarum*: and *Junius*, *vallem Cedrorum*: expounding it not for any particular place in *Canaan*: but for the Church, in which the just being placed, grow as the cedars, *Psal.* 92. 13.

The plain Country hereabout, by *Moses* called, *Deut.*34.1 *The plains of Moab*, where he expounded the book of *Deuteronomy* to the people a little before his death, is in the beginning of the same book precisely bounded by *Moses*. On the South it had the great Desart of *Paran*, where they had long wandred. On the East it had *Chatseroth*, and *Dizahab* (of which two, the former is that *Gazorus*, of which *Ptolomy* in *Palæstina*: the later was a Tract belonging to the *Nabathæi* in *Arabia Petræa*, where was * *Mezahab*, of which, *Gen.* 36. 39.) by the Geographers called *Medava*, and *Medaba*. On the West it had *Jordan*, and on the North it had *Laban* (in *Junius*'s edition, by the fault of the Print, *Lamban*, *Deut.* 1. 1.) the same which the Geographers call *Libias*: and some confound it with *Livias*, of which even now we spake.

* The same as it seems which *Nu.* 21. 30. is called *Medeba*, whence we read of the plains of *Medeba*, *Jos.* 13. 9. 16. of which also we read in the wars of *David* against *Hanun* the *Ammonite*, 1 *Chr.* 19. 7. Also 1 *Mac.* 9. 36 *Isa.* 16. 2. See before c. 2. §. 7.

Also on the same North side towards the confines of *Cœlosyria*, it had *Theophel*: whereabout sometime *Pella* of *Cœlosyria* stood: which was in the Region of *Decapolis*; and, as *Stephanus* saith, was sometime called *Butis*. It is also noted in *Moses* to be over against or near unto *Suph*, for which the Vulgar hath the *Red Sea*, as also *Num.* 2. 14. it translateth the word *Suphah* in like manner: whereas in this place of *Deuteronomy* there is no addition of any word in the Hebrew to signifie the Sea: and yet the Scripture, when this word is so to be taken, useth the addition of *Mara*, thereby to distinguish it from the Region of *Suph*, or *Suphah*: which doubtless was about these plains of *Moab* towards the *Dead Sea*: where the Country being full of reeds, was therefore thus called: as also the *Red Sea* was called *Mare Suph*, for like reason.

John 1. 28 *Jud.* 7. 24. *Josep. ant.* 4. 7. The place in these large plains of *Moab* where *Moses* made those divine exhortations, some say was *Bethabara*, where *John* baptized, which in the story of *Gideon* is called *Beth-bara*. *Josephus* says it was where after the City *Abila* stood, near *Jordan*, in a place set with Palm-trees: which sure was the same as *Abel-sittim* in the plains of *Moab*, *Numb.* 33. 49. (that some call *Abel-sathaim*, and *Bel-sathim*) which is reckoned by *Moses* in that place of *Numbers* for the 42 and last place of the *Israelites* incamping in the *Num.* 15. 1 *Exo.* 25. 10 time of *Moses*: This place is also called *Sittim*: which word if we should interpret, we should rather bring it from Cedars than from Thorns, with *Adrichomius* and others. It was the wood of which the Ark of the Tabernacle was made.

Toward the East of these plains of *Moab*, they place the Cities, *Nebo*, *Baal-Meon*, *Sibma*, and *Hes-* *Nu.* 31. 37. *Gen.* 14. 5. *Num.* 32. *bon* the chief City of *Sehon*, and *Elhalel*, and *Kiriathaima* the seat of the Giants *Emim*. Of the two first of these *Moses* seems to give a note that the names were to be changed, because they tasted of the *Moabites* * Idolatry. For *Nebo* (in stead of which, *Junius*, *Isa.* 46. 1. reads *Deus vaticinus*) was the name of their Idol-Oracle, and *Baal-meon*, *is the habitation of Baal*. Of the same Idol was the Hill *Nebo* in these parts denominated: from whose top, which the common Translators call *Phasgah*, *Moses* before his death saw all the land of *Canaan* beyond *Jordan*. In which story *Junius* doth not take *Phasgah*, or *Pisgah* for any proper name: but for an appellative, signifying a Hill: and so also *Vatablus* in some places, as *Num.* 21. 20. where he noteth, that some call *Pisgah* that top which looketh to *Jericho*, and *Hair* as it looketh to *Moab*, which opinion may be somewhat strengthened by the name of a City of *Reuben*, mentioned *Jos.* 13. 20. called *Ashdoth-Pisga*, which is as much as *decursus Pisgæ*: to wit, where the waters did run down from *Pisga*. In the same place of *Josua* there is also named *Beth-Peor*, as belonging to *Reuben*: so called from the Hill *Peor*: from whence also *Baal* the Idol was called *Baal-Peor*; which, they say, was the same as *Priapus*: the chief place of whose worship seems to have been *Bamoth-Baal*, of which also *Jos.* 13. in the Cities of *Reuben*: for which, *Num.* 22. 41. they read, *the high places of Baal* (for so the word signifieth) to which place *Balaak* first brought *Balaam* to curse the *Israelites*.

* *Exod.* 23 13. *Nomen deorum alienorum ne recordamini, ne audiatur in ore tuo.* Psal. 26. 4. *Non assumpturus sum nomina eorum in labiis meis*: Hos. 2. 17. *Amovebo nomina Bahalimorum ab ore ejus*: what name they used for *Nebo* it doth not appear: but *Baal-meon* it seems they named sometime *Bajith* as *Esa* 15. 2. and sometime *Beth-meon*, *Esay* 48. 23.

§. III.

Of divers places bordering Reuben, *belonging to* Midian, Moab, *or* Edom.

THere were besides these, divers places of note over *Arnon*, which adjoyned to *Reuben*: amongst which they place *Gallim*, the City of *Phalti*: to whom *Saul* gave his daughter *Michol* from *David*: but *Junius* thinks this Town to be in *Benjamin*: gathering so much out of *Esa.* 10. 29. where it is named among the Cities of *Benjamin*. With better reason perhaps out of *Num.* 21. 19. we may say, that *Mathana* and *Nahaliel* were in those confines of *Reuben*: through which places the *Israelites* past after they had left the Well, called *Beer*: Then *Deblathaim*, *Jerem.* 48. which the Prophet *Jeremy* threatneth with the rest of the Cities of *Moab*.

1 *Sam.* 25. *ult.*

Madian also is found in these parts, the chief City of the *Madianites* in *Moab*: but not that *Midian*, or *Madian* by the *Red Sea*, wherein *Jethro* inhabited. For of the *Madianites* there were two Nations; of which, these of *Moab* became Idolaters, and received an exceeding overthrow by a Regiment of twelve thousand *Israelites*, sent by *Moses* out of the Plains of *Moab*: at such time as *Israel* began to accompany their Daughters: their five Kings with *Balaam* the Soothsayer, were then slain, and their Regal City with the rest destroyed. The other *Madianites*, over whom *Jethro* was Prince or Priest, forgat not the God of *Abraham* their Ancestor; but relieved and assisted the *Israelites* in their painful travels through the Desarts: and were in all that passage their guides. In the South border of *Moab* adjoyning to *Edom*, and some- *Esay* 16. 1 time reckoned as the chief City of *Edom*, there is that *1 Kings* 14 *Petra*, which in the Scriptures is called *Selah*, which 7. is as much as *rupes*, or *petra*. It was also called *Joctheel*, as appears by the place, 2 *Kings* 14. It was built *Lib.* 4. *ant.* 7. (saith *Josephus*) by *Recem*, one of those five Kings of the *Madianites*: slain as before is said: after whom it was called *Recem*. Now, they say, it is called *Crac*, and *Mozera*. The Soldans of *Egypt*, for the exceeding strength thereof, kept therein all their treasures of *Egypt* and *Arabia*: of which it is the first and strongest City: the same perhaps which *Pliny* and *Strabo* call *Nabathea*, whence also the Province adjoyning took name: which name seems to have

been taken at first from *Nabajoth*, the Son of *Abraham* by *Kethura*. For *Nabathea* is no where understood for all *Arabia Petræa* (at least where it is not misunderstood) but it is that Province which neighboureth *Judæa*. For *Pharan* inhabited by *Ismael*, whose people *Ptolomy* calleth *Pharanites*, instead of *Ismaelites*, and all those Territories of the *Cusites*, *Madianites*, *Amalekites*, *Ismaelites*, *Edomites*, or *Idumeans*, the Lands of *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Hus*, *Sin*, and of *Og* King of *Basan*, were parts of *Arabia Petræa*: though it be also true, that some part of *Arabia* the Desart belonged to the *Amalekites*, and *Ismaelites*: all which Nations the Scriptures in the first of *Chronicles*, the fifth, calls *Hagarens* of *Hagar*.

1 *Chron.* 5 19. & 20.

This City *Petra*, *Scaurus* besieged with the *Roman* Army, and finding the place in shew impregnable, he was content by the perswasion of *Antipater*, to take a composition of money, and to quit it. Yet *Amasias* King of *Juda* (after he had slaughtered ten thousand of the *Arabians* in the Valley called *Sallinarum*) wan also this City. St. *Hierime* finds *Ruth* the *Moabite* to be natural of this City. In the mean time, when the *Christians* held the Kingdom of *Jerusalem*, it had a Latine Bishop, having before, been under the *Greek Church*. It is seated nor far from *Hor*, where *Aaron* died, and on the other side towards the North is the River *Zared*, or *Zered*, by which *Moses* encamped in the 38 station. *Adrichomius* describeth the Waters of *Memrim*, or rather *Nemrim*, in his Map of *Reuben*, not far hence, and between *Zared* and *Arnon*: and so he doth the Valley of *Save*: but the waters of *Nimra*, or *Beth-Nimra* (for it seems *Adrichomius* writ *Nemrim*) refresh the plains of *Moab*: and the confluence of those waters of *Nimra* are in the Tribe of *Gad*. *Save* also cannot be found in this place, that is, to the South of *Arnon*, and under *Midian*. For after *Abraham* returned from the pursuit of the *Assyrian* and *Persian* Princes, the King of *Sodom* met him in the Valley of *Save*, or *Saveh*, which is the Kings *Dale*, where *Absalom* set up his Monument, as it seems, not far from *Jerusalem*. And at the same time *Melchisedek* King of *Salem* also encountred him. But *Abraham* coming from the North, and *Melchisedek* inhabiting, either neer *Bethsan*, otherwise *Scythopolis*, in the half Tribe of *Manasse*, or in *Jerusalem* (both places lying to the West of *Jordan*) could not encounter each other in *Arabia*: and therefore *Save*, which was also called *the Kings Dale*, could not be in these parts.

Wil. Tyr. 20. *bel. sacr.* *Num.* 21. *Deut.* 2. 13.

Num. 32. 3 *Jos.* 13. 27. *Esay* 15. 1.

* So *Junius* reads for the *Hebrew. Haraboth* every where; and so also the edition of *Varablus*, *Deut.* 3. 17. though *Deut.* 4. 44. it hath *mare solstitiale*, as also 2 *Reg.* 14. 25. the reason of this name seems to be because it joyns to the plains of *Moab*, which are called *Harboth Moab*, *Deut.* 34. 1. as also we have *Cesulothin Harbath*, that is, in the plains, to wit, of *Zabulon*, 1 *Mac.* 9. 2. whence *Adrichomius* imagines a City in *Zabulon*, called *Araba*.

* *Desert. Sanct.*

¶. IV.

Of the Dead Sea.

NOw because the Sea of *Sodom*, or the *Dead Sea*, called also the Lake *Asphaltitis*, and the Salt Sea (in distinction from the Sea of *Tiberias*, which was fresh Water) also the Sea of the Wilderness, or rather the Sea * of the Plains, is often remembred in the Scriptures, and in this story also, therefore I think it not impertinent to speak somewhat thereof. For it is like unto the *Caspian* Sea, which hath no out-let, or disburthening. The length of this Lake *Josephus* makes a hundred eighty furlongs (which makes 22 miles and a half of ours) and about 150 in breadth, which make 18 of our miles, and somewhat more. *Pliny* makes it a great deal less: but those that have of late years seen this Sea, did account it (saith * *Weissenburg*) eight Dutch miles (which is two and thirty of ours) in length: and two and a half of theirs (which is ten of ours) in breadth. Of this Lake or Sea, *Tacitus* maketh this report: *Lacus est in immenso ambitu, specie maris, sapore corruptior, gravitate odoris accolis pestifer: neque vento impellitur, neque pisces aut suitus aquis volucres patitur, incertum unde superjecta ut solido feruntur, periti, imperitique nandi perinde attolluntur, &c.* That it is very great, and (as it were) a Sea of a corrupt taste: of smell infectious, and pestilent to the borderers: it is neither moved nor raised by the Wind, nor indureth fish to live in it, or fowl to swim in it. Those things that are cast into it, and the unskilfull of swiming, as well as the skilfull, are born up by the Water. At one time of the year casteth it up *Bitumen*: the art of gathering which, Experience (the finder of other things) hath also taught. It is used in the trimming of ships, and the like businesses.

And then of the Land, he speaketh in this sort: *The fields not far from this Lake, which were sometime fruitful, and adorned with great Cities, were burnt with lightning; of which the ruines remain, the ground looking with a sad face, as having lost her fruitfulness; for whatsoever doth either grow, or is set thereon, be it fruits or flowers, when they come to ripeness, having nothing within them, but moulder into ashes*: Thus far *Tacitus*. And it is found by experience, that those Pomegranates, and other Apples or Oranges, which do still grow on the banks of this cursed Lake, do look fair, and are of good colour on the outside, but being cut, have nothing but dust within. Of the *Bitumen* which this Lake casteth up, it was by the *Greeks* called *Asphaltitis*. *Vespasian* desirous to be satisfied of these reports went on purpose to see this Lake, and caused certain Captives to be cast into it, who were not only unskilful in swimming, but had their hands also bound behind them, yet notwithstanding they were carried on the face of the waters, and could not sink.

¶. V.

Of the Kings of Moab, *much of whose Countrey within Arnon,* Reuben *possest.*

OF the Kings of *Moab*, whose Countrey (within *Arnon*) *Reuben* possest (though not taken from *Moab*, but from *Sehon* the *Amorite*) few are known. *Junius* in the 21. of *Num. v.* 14. nameth *Vaheb*: which seems to be the Ancestor or Predecessor of *Balac*, the Son of *Zippor*: which *Balac* sent for *Balaam* to curse *Israel*. For fearing to contend with *Moses* by arms, by the examples of *Sehon*, and *Og*, he hoped by the help of *Balaams* cursings or inchantments, to take from them all strength and courage, and to cast on them some pestilent diseases. And though *Balaam* at the first, moved by the spirit of God blest *Israel*, contrary to the hope and desire of *Moab*: yet being desirous in some sort to satisfie him, and to do him service, he advised *Moab* to send *Madianitish* women among the *Israelites*: hoping by them, as by fit instruments of mischief, to draw them to the Idolatry of the *Heathen*, but in the end, he received the reward of his falling from God, and of his evil counsel, and was slain among the rest of the Princes of *Midian*.

Num. 21, 22, 23, 24. *Jos.* 24.

After these times the Kings of the *Moabites* are not named: saving that we find in the first of *Chronicles*, the fourth, that *Jokim* and the Men of *Chozeba*, and *Joash*, and *Sareph*, all being of the issue of *Juda*, sometime had the Dominion in *Moab*: but as it is written in the same Verse, *These also are antient things*: to wit, as some expound it, the particulars of these Mens governments are no where extant or remaining, or as others, *hæc prius fuere*, these Families of *Juda* were once thus famous: but now their

Ver. 22.

their posterity choose rather to abide in *Babylon*, and be Clay-workers to the King there.

Judges 3. Then we find *Eglon* King of *Moab*, who with the help of *Ammon* and *Amalec* mastered *Israel*, and commanded them eighteen years: which *Eglon*, *Ehud* slew in his own house, and afterward a 1000 of his Nation. What name the King of *Moab* had, unto whom *David* fled, fearing *Saul*, it doth not appear:

1 *Sam.* 22. or whether it were the same against whom *Saul* made War, it is not manifest, for neither are named. But in respect that this *Moabite* was an enemy to *Saul* he

1 *Sam.* 14. received *David*, and relieved him; knowing that *Saul* sought his life.

After this, *David* himself entred the Region of *Mo-*

2 *Sam.* 8. *ab*, but not likely in the same Kings time: for he slaughtered two parts of the people, and made the third part tributary: whereupon it was said of *David*,

1 *Chro.* 18. *Ps.* 60. 10. *Moab is my wash-pot, over Edom will I cast my shooe*: meaning, that he would reduce them to such an abjection, and appoint them for base services: and that he would tread down the *Idumæans*.

The next King after *Davids* time of the *Moabites*, whose name liveth, was *Mesha*, who falling from *Juda*, (perhaps in remembrance of the severity of

2 *Kings* 3. *David*) fastned himself to the Kings of *Israel*, and paid tribute to *Ahab*, 100000 Lambs, and 200000 Rams with the Wooll: who revolting again from *Israel* after the death of *Ahab*, was invaded by *Jehoram*, with whom joyned the Kings of *Juda* and *Idumæa*: and being by these three Kings prest and broken, he fled to *Kir-hareseth*, as is elsewhere shewed. There is also mention made of the *Moabites* without the Kings name; when that Nation, assisted by the *Ammonites* and *Idumæans*, invaded *Jehoshaphat*: and by reason of some private quarrels among themselves, the *Moabites* and *Ammonites* set upon the *Idumæans*, and slaughtered them: and then one against another,

2 *Chro.* 20. so as *Jehoshaphat* had a notorious victory over them all, without either blood or wound. Also in the time of *Hieremy* the Prophet, there was a King of *Moab*

Hiirem 7. which is not named, which was after *Mesha* of *Moab* many descents: for *Mesha* lived with *Jehoram*, and this *Moabite* in *Zedekia*'s time, 14 Kings of *Juda* coming between, who wasted three hundred and odd years.

SECT. V.

Of the memorable places of the Gadites, and the bordering places of Ammon.

THe Territory adjoyning to *Reuben*, is that of *Gad*: whereof all that part which joyned to the Mountains, was sometime in the possession of

Gen. 30. the *Ammonites*, as far to the South as *Aroer*. Of the

Num. 32. Children of *Gad*, the seventh Son of *Jacob* by *Zelpha*,

Jos. 13. the hand-maid of *Lea*, there parted out of *Egypt*, and died in the *Desarts*, 45550 and of their Sons there entred the Land promised, 45000 bearing Arms: for the half Tribe of *Manasse*, the River of *Jaboc* divided them: from *Reuben*, the Cities of *Hesbon*, *Elbele*, and *Aphec*.

Esay 15. The chief City of *Gad* was *Aroer*, which they make

Deut. 2. to be the same with *Ar*, or *Rabbath Moab*, the great or commanding *Moab*. But the learned *Junius* attending diligently to those words of *Moses*, *Deut.* 2. 36. *Ab Harobero, quæ est in ripa fluminis Arnon, & civitate ipsa quæ est in flumine: Where the City in the River is distinguished from the City upon the bank of the River*, as also in like manner, (*Jos. c.* 12. *v.* 2. and *c.* 13. 9.) thinketh that *Harober*, which doubtless belonged to the *Gadites* (as *Numb.* 32. 34. it is said that they built it) was indeed seated neer *Har* of the *Moabites*, but divers from it. For that *Har* was never possest by *Moses*, it is plain *Deuteronomy* 2. 9. where God forbidding *Moses* to touch it, saith, he hath given *Har* for an inheritance to the Sons of *Lot*. Now that this City, which in divers places is said to be within, and in the middle of the River of *Arnon* (and so distinguished from *Harober*, which is said in the same places to be on the bank of *Arnon*) is *Har* of the *Moabites*, the same *Junius* proveth out of *Numbers*, *chap.* 21. *v.* 15. where *Arnon* is said to be divided into divers streams, where or among which *Har* is seated: And the same is confirmed by the place of *Jos.* 13. *ver.* 25. where *Haroher* is said to be seated before *Rabbah*: which *Rabbah*, as it seems, cannot be the *Rabbah* of the *Ammonites* (for they seat not *Haroher* neer it, nor in sight of it) and therefore by *Rabbath* here, we must understand *Rabbah* of *Moab*, which they make to be *Ar*, or *Har*: and so we must needs distinguish it from *Haroher*. And as for * *Har*, (which also gave the name to the coast adjoyning) it seems, it continued in the possession of the *Moabites*, after they had once expelled the Giant-like people called *Emims*, first weakned by *Chedorlaomer* and his Associates: but *Haroher* by the enterchange of times suffered many ancient changes, as being won from the *Moabites* by *Sehon*, and from him by the *Israelites*, and from them, as it seems in the story of *Jephta* by the *Ammonites*: and from the *Ammonites* again by the *Israelites* under the conduct of *Jephta*.

In St. *Hieroms* time the greatest part of this City perished by an earth-quake, as also *Zoar*, in which *Lot* saved himself in the destruction of *Sodom*, seated not far hence; which, they say was therefore called *Vitula consternans*, because as a wanton tumbling heifer, she was thrice overthrown with earth quakes: for which cause also *Hierom* seems to think that this *Zoar* was called *Salissa*, or *Bal-Salissa*, as if *Baal* had been a remainder of the old name *Balah*, or *Belah*, (of which *Gen.* 14. 2.) and *Salisha*, which hath a signification of the *ternary number*, had alluded to the three Earth-quakes.

Brochard takes *Haroher* to be *Petra*, but erroneously, as before it is noted; seeing that *Petra* was in the South border of *Moab* adjoyning to *Edom*, whereas *Haroher* is in the North-East border. Between *Haroher* and *Jordan* they seat *Dibon*, which is attributed to the *Gadites*, because they are said to have built it, *Num.* 32. 34. though *Jos.* 13. *v.* 17. it is said that *Moses* gave it to the *Reubenites*. Of this City, among the rest of *Moab*, both *Esay* and *Jeremy* propheſied, that it should perish, and the Lakes about it run with the blood of the Inhabitants. It was a great Village neer *Arnon* in St. *Hierom*'s time.

Keeping the banks of *Arnon*, one of the next Cities of fame to *Aroer*, was *Bethnimrah*, of which *Esay* propheſied, *That the waters thereof should be dried up: and all the vale of Moab withered.* Not far from *Bethnimrah* in this Tribe, *Adrichomius* placeth *Jogbeha* and *Nobach*, or *Nobe*: of both which we read in the story of *Gideon*: and that *Jogbeha* was in *Gad*, built by the *Gadites*, it appears *Numbers* 32. 35. and therefore *Nobach* also must needs be in these parts; but whether in *Gad* or *Manasse* it is not certain: only that it was anciently called *Kenath*, *Moses* witnesseth. *Nobach* also (saith he) *went and took Kenath with her Towns, and called it Nobach of his own name*, where because the Verses precedent speak of the *Manassites*, and because it is not likely that *Moses* would have severed this seat of the *Gadites* from the rest, of which he spake before, *ver.* 34. 35, 36. therefore it may seem that this

* *Deut.* 2. 9. Out of which place the words *Num.* 21. 28. are to be expounded not that the City of *Hor*, but coast adjoyning was wasted by *Sehon*. *Gen.* 14. 5. *Judg* 11. 15. *Hier: in epitap. Paul. & in quæst. & loc. Hebr.* see *Junius* his annotations upon 1 *Sam.* 9. 2. where he makes *Shalisha* a plain country in *Benjamin*, and the same with *Baalshalisha*, 2 *Reg.* 4. 42. where he expounds *Bal*, or *Baal* to be as much as *Planities*.

Esay. 15. *Hier.* 48. *Esay* 15. 21. *Judg* 8. 11.

Num. 32. 35.

this * *Nobach* was in that part of *Manasse* which was in the East of *Jordan*, though *Adrichomius* place it in *Gad*. For whereas he supposeth it to be the same with *Nob*, which *Saul* destroyed, of this we shall speak † in the Tribe of *Benjamin*. And as for that *Karkor*, where *Zebah* and *Zalmunnah* rested themselves in their flight from *Gideon*, to which place *Gideon* marched through this *Nobach* and *Jogbeha*, though some place it in *Gad*, and make it the same with *Kir-chares*, of which *Esay* 15. and 2 *Reg.* 3. 25. yet there can be no certainty that it was in *Gad*: and if it be the same with *Kir-chares*, it is certain, that it was still a principal City held by the *Moabites*, and not in the Tribe of *Gad*.

In the body of this Tribe of *Gad* they place *Hataroth*: of which name the Scripture witnesseth that two Cities were builded by the *Gadites*; the former simply called *Hataroth*, the later *Hatroth-Sophan*: for which later the vulgar makes two Cities, *Roth* and *Shophan*: the name *Hataroth*, is as much as *Coronæ*.

In the Valley of the Kingdom of *Sehon*, together with *Bethnimra* of which we have spoken, *Jos.* 13. 27. nameth *Beth-haram* and *Succoth*: the former, *Numb.* 32. 36. (where it is called *Beth-haram*) together with *Beth-nimra*, is said to have been built by the *Gadites*, which (perhaps the rather, because in *Josua* it is called *Beth-haram*) some take to be *Betaramptha*, of which ‖ *Josephus*, after by *Herod* called *Julias*. But whether this *Betaramptha* were corrupted from *Beth-haram*, or from *Beth-Aramatha* (of which *Aramatha* there is mention in * *Josephus*) or from *Beth-remphan* (of which *Remphan*, an Idol of those Countries, we read, *Acts* 7. 43. and to which *Junius* refers the name of the City *Rephan*, 1 Mac. 37.) of this question it were hard to resolve. But touching *Julias* (according to *Josephus*, sometime *Bataramptha*) the same *Josephus* placeth in the Region of *Perœa*, beyond *Jordan*, which *Regio Perœa*, as the Greek word signifieth, is no more than *Regio ulterior*, *the Countrey beyond the River*; and therefore they which labour to set down the bounds of this *Perœa*, take more pains than needs. Fourteen Villages this *Julias* had belonging unto it, according to *Josephus*. He makes it to have been built by *Herod Antipas*, and named *Julias*, in honour of the adoption of *Livia*, *Augustus* his Wife, into the *Julian* Family: by which adoption she was called *Julia*. Another *Julias*, he saith was built by *Philip* the Brother of *Herod*, in the lower *Gaulanitis*, which, he saith, is the same as *Bethsaida*.

Upon the Sea of *Galilee*, near to *Julias* in *Perœa*, (that is, in the Region over *Jordan*) they find *Vetezobra*, as it is called in *Josephus*, for *Beth-ezob*, which is as much as *domus hissopi*. Of a noble Woman of this City, which for safeguard in the time of War with the *Romans*, came with many others into *Jerusalem*, and was there besieged. *Josephus* in the place noted, reports a lamentable History, how for hunger she eat her own Child, with other tragical accidents hereupon ensuing.

Of *Succoth* (which we said *Jos.* 13 is placed with *Ben-haran*, in the Valley of the Kingdom of *Sehon*) it is plain by the story of *Gideon* that it is near unto *Jordan*: where it is said, that as he was past *Jordan* with his three hundred, weary in the pursuit of *Zebah*, and *Zalmunnah*, he requested relief of the men of *Succoth*: who denying him, and that with contempt, in *Gideons* return were by him tortured, as it seems under a threshing-Car or *Tribulum*, between which and their flesh he put Thorns to tear their flesh as they were prest and trod under the *Tribulum*, and after which sort also *David* used some of the *Ammonites*, though not with Thorns, but with Iron Teeth of the *Tribulum*. As for the name of *Succoth*, which signifieth such Tabernacles as were made in hast, either for Men or Cattel, *Moses*, *Gen.* 33. 17. witnesseth, that the original of the name was from such harbours, which *Jacob* in his return from *Mesopotamia* built in that place: as also the place beyond the *Red Sea*, where the Children of *Israel*, as they came from *Rameses* in *Egypt*, had their first Station, was upon like reason called *Succoth*: because there they set up their first Tabernacles or Tents: which they used after for forty years in the Wilderness. In remembrance whereof the Feast of *Succoth*, or Tabernacles, was instituted.

Other four Cities of *Gad* are named, *Josua* 21. 38. *Ramoth* in *Gilead*, *Machanaiim*, *Chesbon*, and *Jahzer*, all of them by the *Gadites* given to the *Levites*, of which *Jahzer*, as *Chezbon*, or *Hesbon* was a chief City of *Sehon*, whence *Num.* 32. 1. his Countrey is called the Land of *Jahzer*. It was taken by *Moses* having first sent spies to view it. In the first of the *Chronicles* it is made part of *Gilead*. In latter times (as it may be gathered by the Prophecy of *Esay* touching *Moab*) it was possessed by the *Moabites*: to which place of *Esay*, also *Hieremy* in a like prophecy alludes. It was at length regained (but as it seems from the *Ammonites*) by *Judas Macchabæus*: as it is 1 Mac. 5. 8. where *Junius* out of *Josephus*, reads *Jahzer*, though the *Greek* hath *Gazer*. For *Gazer*, or *Gezer* (as he gathereth out of *Jos.* 16. 3. and 8. and *Jud.* 1. 29.) was far from these Countries of *Sehon*, seated in the West border of *Ephraim*, not possessed by the *Israelites*, until *Solomons* time, for whom the King of *Egypt* wan it from the *Canaanite*, and gave it him as a Dowry with his Daughter.

Of *Chesbon* it may be marvelled that in the place of *Josua*, and 1 *Chron.* 6, 81. it should be said to have been given to the *Levites* by the *Gadites*, seeing *Jos.* 13. 17. it is reckoned for a principal City of the *Reubenites*: *Adricomius*, and such as little trouble themselves with such scruples, finding *Casbon*, 1 Mac. 5. 36. among the Cities of *Gilead*, taken by *Judas Macchabæus*, makes two Cities of one: as if this *Casbon* had been the *Chesbon* of *Gad*, and that of *Reuben* distinct from it: but the better reconciliation is, That it being a bordering City, between *Gad* and *Reuben*, was common to both, and that the *Gadites* gave their part to the *Levites*, for so also it seems that in like reason *Dibon* is said in one place built by the *Gadites*, and in another given to *Reuben*, as before is noted. Of *Machanaiim*, which word signifieth a double Army, we read *Gen.* 32. 2. that it was therefore so called, because the Angels of God in that place met *Jacob* in manner of another Hoast or company, to joyn with his, for his defence: as also *Luke* 2. 13. we read of a multitude of the Hoast of Heaven, which appeared to the Shepherds, at the time of our Saviours birth: and so unto the godly King *Oswald* of *Northumberland*, when he was soon after to joyn battel with the *Pagan Penda* of middle *England*, *Beda* reports, that the like comfort appeared: whence the Field where the Battel was fought, in the North parts of *England*, is called *Heaven-field*. In this City of *Machanaiim*, *David* abode during the rebellion of *Absalom*: and the same for the strength thereof, *Abner* chose for the seat of *Ishbosheth*, during the War between *David* and the House of *Saul*.

Of the fourth Town, which was *Ramoth* in *Gilead*, we read often in the Scripture, for the recovering of which, King *Achab* lost his life. *Junius* thinks that *Ramatha Mizpa*, of which *Jos.* 13. 26. was this *Ramoth* in *Gilead*. Concerning the place where *Laban* and *Jacob* sware one to the other, as it was called *Gilead*, which is as much as a witnessing heap, because of the

* *Num.* 21. 30. It is called *Nophach*, and placed in the border of the Kingdom of *Sehon* towards *Basan*, and therefore it is not altogether improbable that it was in *Gad*.

† *Chap.* 12. *sect.* 1.

Judg. 8. 10. *Num.* 32. 34. 35.

‖ *Jos. ant.* 18. *c.* 3.

* *L.* 7. *ant. c.* 7. *ubi. Græcus codex legit* Ἀραμαθα *Latinus Rabatha, Metropolis Hammonitarum.*

Ant. 20. 11.

Jos. ant. 18. 3. & *Bel. Jud.* 2. 8.

Joseph de Bell. Jud. l. 7. *c.* 8.

Judg. 8. 5.

2 *Sam.* 12. 31.

Exod. 12. 37.

Lev. 23. 43.

Num. 22. 32.

1 *Chron.* 27. 31.

Esay. 6. 8. *Hieron.* 48. 92.

the heap of stones which *Laban* and his sons left for a monument; so also that it was called *Mitspah*, which signifieth over-looking (because there they called God to over-see, and be witness to their Covenant) it is plain by the place, *Gen.* 31.49. That in these parts there was not only a Town, but likewise a Region called *Mitspa*, it appears *Jos.* 11.3. where we read of the *Chivites* under *Hermon*, in the Country of *Mitspa*, * the Town of *Mitspa*, as it seems both by this place, and in the eighth verse following, being not in the Hill Country, but in the Valley. But seeing that *Jephta* the Judge of *Israel*, who after he came home from *Tob* (whither his brethren had driven him) dwelt in the Town of *Mitspa*, who doubtless was of the Tribe of *Manasse*, and thence at first expelled by his brethren, it may seem that they do not well, which place this Town of *Mitspa* rather in *Gad* than in *Manasse*. By *Judas Macchabæus* this Town of *Mitspa* (whether in *Gad* or in *Manasse*) was utterly spoiled and burnt, and the Males of it slain: for it was then possest of the *Ammonites*.

* Of other towns of this name, see in the Tribe of *Benjamin*.

Jud. 11.36.

1 *Mac.* 5. 35.

Between *Succoth* (of which we have spoken) and the River *Jaboc*, was that *Peniel*, or *Penuel*, which name signifieth *Locum faciei Dei*; *A place where the face of God was seen*: so called for memory of the Angels appearing to *Jacob*, and wrestling with him there: the churlishness of which City, in refusing to relieve *Gideon*, was the cause that in his return he overthrew their Tower, and slew the chief Aldermen thereof. To these places of the *Gadites*, they add *Rogelim*, the City of that great and faithful subject *Barzillai*, as it seems, not far from *Nahanaima*, where he sustained King *David*, during *Absaloms* rebellion. To these they add the Town of *Gaddi*, *Arnon*, and *Alimis*, of which *Gaddi*, being in *Hebrew* no more than *Gaddita*, is ignorantly made the name of a place. *Arnon* also no where appears to be the name of a Town, but still of a River. *Alimis*, *Adrichomius* frames of ἐν Αλέμοις, 1 Mac. 5. 26. so that the name should rather be *Alema*, but *Junius* out of *Josephus* reads *Mallæ*, for this in *Alimis*: and understanding *Mallæ* to be put for *Millo*, and to be as much as *Munitio* (as we have shewed touching the *Millo* of the *Sechemites*) he takes this *Mallæ* to be *Mitspa Moabitarum*, of which 1 *Sam.* 22.3. As for that *Mageth* which *Adrichomius* finds in this Tribe of *Gad*, it is that *Mahacath*, which *Moses* notes to be as far as the furthest of *Manasses*, out of the bounds of this Tribe. So also *Dathema*, of which 1 Mac. 5. 10. (which *Junius* takes to be * *Rithma*, of which *Num.* 33. 18. a place of strength in the Territory of the *Ammonites*) and in like manner *Minnith*, and *Abel vinearum*, though by some they be attributted to the *Gadites*, or to their borders, yet they are found farther off. For of the two last we read in *Jephta's* pursuit of the *Ammonites*: seated, as it seems by that place of the Book of *Judges*, the former of them in the South border, and the other of them in the East border, both far removed from the *Gadites*. But the chief City of the *Ammonites* was neare, and not far from the borders of *Gad*. It is called in the Scriptures sometimes *Rabbath*, as *Deut.* 3. 11. but more often *Rabba*. It is supposed to be that † *Philadelphia* which *Ptolomy* finds in *Cœlosyria*. *Jerom* and *Calistus*, in *Arabia*. It was conquered by *Og* from the *Ammonites*: but, as it seems, never possest by the *Israelites*, after the overthrow of *Og*, but left to the *Ammonites*: whereupon at length it became the Regal seat of the *Ammonites*, but of old it was the possession of the *Zamzummims*: which is as much to say, as men for all manner of craft and wickedness, infamous. The same were also called *Raphaim*, of whom was *Og*, which recovered much of that which the *Ammonites* had got from his Ancestors: who having been first beaten by the *Assyrians*, and their assistants (as the *Emims* in *Moab*, and the *Horims* in *Seir* had been) were afterward the easier conquered by the *Ammonites*, as the *Emims* were by *Moab*, and the *Horims* by the *Idumæans*. Yet did the races of *Emoreus*, of whom these Giants were descended, contend with the Conquerors for their antient inheritance: and as *Sehon* of *Hesbon* had dispossest *Moab*, so had *Og* of *Basan*, the *Ammonites*, and between them recovered the best part of all the Valley, between the Mountains and *Jordan*. For this *Og* was also master of *Rabba*, or *Philadelphia*: And in the possession of the one or of the other of these two *Moses* and *Israel*, found all those Cities and Countries which were given to *Reuben*, *Gad*, and the half Tribe of *Manasse*. So that though it were 450 years since that these *Zamzummims*, or *Raphaims*, were expelled, yet they did not forget their antient inheritance: but having these two Kings of one kindred, and both valiant and undertaking men, to wit, *Og* and *Sehon*, both *Amorites*, they recovered again much of their lost possessions, and thrust the sons of *Lot* over the Mountains, and into the Desarts. And as the Kings or Captains of *Persia* and *Assyria* (remembred in the 14th of *Genesis*) made way for *Ammon*, *Moab*, and *Edom*; so by that great conquest which *Moses* had over those two *Amorites*, *Og* and *Sehon*, did the *Moabites* and *Ammonites* take opportunity to look back again into those Plains; and when the *Reubenites*, *Gadites*, and *Manassites*, forsook the worship of the living God, and became loathful and licentious; they taking the advantage, invaded them, and cast them out of their possessions: and were sometime their Masters, sometime their Tributaries, as they pleased or displeased God: and according to the wisdom and vertue of their Commanders.

Gen. 32.36

Jud. 8.17.

2 *Sam.* 19. 33.

Deut. 3.14

Jos. 12. 5.

In this City of *Rabba*, was the Iron bed of *Og* found, nine cubits of length, and four of breadth. *Deut.* 3. The City was taken in *Davids* time, and the Inhabitants slain with great severity, and by divers torments. At the first assault thereof *Urias*, was shot to death, having been, by direction from *David*, appointed to be imployed in the leading of an assault, where he could not escape: wherein also many of the best of the Army perished: and wherein *David* so displeased God, as his affairs had ill success afterward, even to his dying day. From hence had *David* the weighty and rich Crown of Gold, which the Kings of *Ammon* wore: or which, as some expound it, was used to be put on the head of their Idol, weighing a talent, 2 *Sam.* 12. which is 60 pound weight, after the common talent. In the time of Christians it had a Metropolitan Bishop, and under him twelve others. *Will. Tyr. Bel. sacr.* 13 *c.* 22. *Pto.*

The mountains which are described within this Tribe, and that of *Manasse*, with a part of *Reuben*, are those that *Ptolomy* calleth *the Hills of Hippus*, a City of *Cœlosyria*: and *Strabo*, * *Trachones*: the same which continue from near *Damascus*, unto the *Desarts* of *Moab*: and receive divers names, as commonly Mountains do, which neighbour and bound divers Countries: for from the South part, as far Northwards as *Astaroth*, the chief City of *Og*, they are called *Galaad*, or *Gilead*; from thence Northward they are known by the name of *Hermon*, for so *Moses* calleth them: The *Sidonians* name them *Shirion*, but the *Deut.* 3.9.

Strab. l. 6. * τραχὼν is *locus asper & salebrosus*: whence it appears, that *Trachonitis regio*, in these parts was properly the hill country.

* The letters *D* and *R* in the *Hebrew* are very like, so that one is oft mistaken for another, and sometime without mistaking, one is put for another, as for *Rodanim*. 1 *Chron.* 7. we have *Dodanim*. *Gen.* 10.4.

† Other names of this City, according to *Stephanus*, were *Ammana* and *Astarte*: but in this latter perhaps he mistook, which might seem to be the same *Astaroth*, one of the chief Cities of *Og*, of which in that which remaineth to be spoken of, *Manasse Adrichomius* says, it was also called *Urbs aquarum*, because of the river *Jaboc*'s winding about it; but in the place 2 *Sam.* 27. whence he gathers this opinion, *Junius* reads *intercepi ab urbe aquam*, if we must read with others, *cepi ut urbem aquarum*, yet it cannot be taken of *Rabba* it self, but of some other Fort adjoyning, *Gen.* 14.

the *Amorites*, *Shenir*, others, *Seir*: of which name all those hills also were called, which part *Judæa* and *Idumæa*: and lastly, they are called *Libanus*, for so
Jer. 2. 2. the Prophet *Jeremy* makes them all one, calling the high Mountains of *Gilead*, the head of *Libanus*.

These Mountains are very fruitful, and full of
Jer. 8, & 9 good pastures, and have many Trees which yield *Balsamum*, and many other medicinable drugs. The Rivers of this Tribe are the waters of *Nimrah*, and *Dibon*, and the River *Jaboc*: others do also fancy another River, which rising out of the Rocks of *Arnon*, falleth into *Jordan*.

SECT. VI.

Of the Ammonites, *part of whose Territories the* Gadites *wan from* Og, *the King of* Basan.

THis Tribe of *Gad* possest half the Country of the *Ammonites*, who together with the *Moabites*, held that part of *Arabia Petræa* called *Nabathea*, as well within as without the Mountains of *Gilead*: though at this time when the *Gadites* wan it, it was in the possession of *Sehon* and *Og*, *Amorites*: and therefore *Moses* did not expel the *Ammonites*, but the *Amorites*, who had thrust the issues of *Lot* over the Mountains *Trachones*, or *Gilead*, as before. After the death of *Othoniel* the first Judge of *Israel*, the *Ammonites* joyned with the *Moabites* against the *Hebrews*, and so continued long. *Jephta* Judge of *Israel* had a great conquest over one of the Kings of *Ammon*, but his name is omitted. In the time of *Samuel* they
Jud. 10. were at peace with them again.

Afterward we find that cruel King of the *Ammonites*, called *Nahas*, who besieging *Jabes Gilead*, gave them no other conditions but the pulling out of their
1 *Sam.* 11. right eyes. The reason why he tendred so hard a composition, was (besides this desire to bring shame upon *Israel*) because those *Gileadites* using to carry a Target on their left arms, which could not but shadow their left eyes, should by losing their right, be utterly disabled to defend themselves: but
Joseph. l. 6. Ant. c. 5. &c. *Saul* came to their rescue, and delivered them from that danger. This *Nahas*, as it may seem, became
2 *Sam.* 10. 4. 18. the confederate of *David*, having friended him in *Saul*'s time, though *Josephus* thinks that this *Nahas* was slain in the battel, when *Saul* raised the siege of *Jabes*, who affirmeth that there were three Kings of the *Moabites* of that name.

Hanun succeeded *Nahas*: to whom when *David* sent to congratulate his establishment, and to confirm the former friendship which he had with his father, he most contemptuously and proudly cut off the Ambassadours garments to the knees, and shaved the half of their beards. But afterward, notwithstanding the aids received from the *Aramites*, subject to *Adadezer*, and from the *Reguli* of *Rehob*, and *Maacah*, and from * *Istob*, yet all those *Arabians*, together with the *Ammonites*, were overturned: their chief City of *Rabba*, after *Philadelphia*, was taken; the Crown which weighed a talent of gold, was set on *David*'s head; all such as were prisoners, *David* executed with strange severity; for with saws and harrows he tare them in pieces, and cast the rest into lime-kills. *Josaphat* governing *Juda*, they assisted the *Moabites* their neighbours against him, and perished together. *Ozias* made them Tributaries, and they were again by *Jotham* inforc't to continue that tribute, and to increase it, to wit, a hundred talents of silver, ten thousand measures of wheat, and ten thousand of barley: which the *Ammonites* continued two years.

* *Istob*, that is, the men of *Thob*: *Thob* is a small Territory under *Arnon* hills. *Rehob* is another between *Hazor* and *Sidon*, in the North bound of *Canaan*, *Nu.* 13. 22. of which see in the Tribe of *Asser*. *Jer.* 40. and 41. 2 *Chr.* 20. 2 *Chr.* 36. 2 *Chr.* 26.

The fifth King of the *Ammonites*, of whose name we read, was *Baalis* the confederate of *Zedekia*: after whose taking by *Nabuchodonosor*, *Baalis* sent *Ishmael*, of the blood of the Kings of *Juda*, to slay *Gedaliah*, who served *Nabuchodonosor*.

SECT. VII.

Of the other half of Manasse.

THe rest of the Land of *Gilead*, and of the Kingdom of *Og* in *Basan*, with the land of *Hus* and *Argob*, or *Trachonitis* (wherein also were part of the small Territories of * *Batania*, *Gaulonitis*, *Gessuri*, *Machati*, and *Auranitis*) was given to the half Tribe of *Manasse* over *Jordan*; of which those three later Provinces defended themselves against them for many ages. But *Batania*, *Ptolomy* setteth farther off, and to the North-East, as a skirt of *Arabia* the *Desart*: and all those other Provinces before named with *Petræa*, and *Ituræa*, he nameth but as part of *Cœlosyria*; as far South as *Rabba*, or *Philadelphia*: likewise all the rest which belonged to *Gad*, and *Reuben*, saving the Land near the *Dead Sea*, he makes a part of *Arabia Petræa*: for many of these small Kingdoms take not much more ground than the country of *Kent*.

* Another territory adjoyning to *Manasse*, whose limits were confounded with some of these, was that *Thisbitis* the country of *Elias*, as it is 1 *Kings* 16. 1. and of *Tobias*, *Tob.* 1. 2. It lay on the East to the Tribe of *Nephtalim* on the right hand of it, as in *Tob.* 1. 2. and was possest by Colonies of the *Israelites* in the time of *Saul*, after his victory over the *Amalekites* and *Ishmaelites* in those parts, as it is gathered out of 1 *Chron.* 5. 10. whence it appears, that it was part of *Ituræa*, of which *chap.* 7. §. 4. ‖. 5, and 6.

Basan, or, after the *Septuagint*, *Basanitis*, stretcheth it self from the River of *Jaboc* to the * *Machati* and *Gessuri*: and from the Mountains to *Jordan*, a Region exceeding fertile; by reason whereof it abounded in all sorts of Cattel. It had also the goodliest woods of all that part of the world: especially of oaks, which bare mast (of which the Prophet *Zacharias*; *Howl, O ye oaks of Bashan*) and by reason hereof they bred so many swine, as † 2000 in one herd were carried headlong into the Sea, by the unclean spirits which *Christ* had cast out of one of the *Gadarens*. It had in it 60 Cities walled and defenced: all which, after *Og* and his sons were slain, *Jair*, descended of *Manasse*, conquered, and called the Country after his own name, *Avoth Jair*, or the Cities of *Jair*.

* So they call them of *Mahacath*, of which somewhat hath been spoken toward the end of the fifth *Paragrah* of this Chapter, see 1 *Mac.* 5. 36 and *Deut.* 3. 14. and *Jos.* 12. 5. † *Mar.* 5. 13.

The principal Cities of this half Tribe (for I will omit the rest) are these, *Pella*, sometimes * *Butis*, otherwise *Berenice*; by *Seleucus* King of *Syria*, it is said to have been called *Pella*, after the name of that *Pella* in *Macedon*: in which both *Philip* the Father, and his Son, *Alexander* the great, were born. It was taken, and in part demolished by *Alexander Jannæus*, King of the *Jews*, because it refused to obey the *Jews* laws: but it was repaired by *Pompey*, and annexed to the Government of *Syria*. It is now but a Village, saith *Niger*. *Carnaim*, by the River of *Jaboc*, taken by † *Judas Macchabæus*: where he set on fire the † Temple of their Idols: together with all those that fled thereunto for Sanctuary; and neer it they place the Castle of *Carnion*, of which 2 *Macc.* 12. 22. Then the strong City of † *Ephron* neer *Jordan*: which refusing to yeild passage to † *Judas Macchabæus*, was forced by him by assault, and taken and burnt with great slaughter.

* Antiently, as it seems, it was called *Tephel*. See above in the bounds of *Meah*, in this Chapter, §. 4. ‖. 2.
† 1 Mac. 5.
† *Jos.* 12. *ant.* 12.
† 1 Mac. 5.
† 2 Mac. 12. 27.

Jabes Gilead, or *Jabesus*, was another of the Cities of this half Tribe, which being besieged by *Nahas* † King of the *Ammonites*, was delivered by *Saul*, as is † elsewhere mentioned. In memory whereof these Citizens † recovered, embalmed and buried the bodies
† 1 *Sam.* 11.
† *Jos.* 6. *ant.* 5.
† 1 *Sam.* 31.

dies of *Saul* and his ſons: which hung deſpightfully
†1 *Chr.* 10 over the walls of *Bethſan*, or *Scythopolis*. † *Gaddara*, or *Gadara*, is next to be named, ſeated by *Pliny* on a Hill neer the River *Hieromiace*, which River *Ortelius* ſeems to think to be *Jaboc*. At the foot of the Hill there ſpring forth alſo hot baths, as at *Machærus*. *Alexander Jannæus* after ten months ſiege, wan it, and ſubverted it. *Pompey* reſtored it: and *Gabinius*
†*Joſ.* 14. *ant.* 13. † made it one of the five Courts of Juſtice in *Paleſtine*. *Jeruſalem* being the firſt, *Gadara* the ſecond, *Emath*, or *Amathus* the third, *Jerico* and *Sephora* in *Galilee*, the fourth and fifth. The Citizens impatiently bearing the tyranny of *Herod*, ſurnamed *Aſcalonita*, accuſed him to *Julius Cæſar* of many crimes: but perceiving that they could not prevail, and that *Herod* was highly favoured of *Cæſar*, fearing the terrible
†*Joſ.* 15. *ant.* 13. † revenge of *Herod*, they ſlew themſelves: ſome by ſtrangling, others by leaping over high Towers, others by drowning themſelves.

* Of *Miſpa* in *Gilehad*, the city of *Jephtha*; ſee in the Tribe of *Gad*.

To the Eaſt of *Gadara* they place *Sebei* * in which, *Joſ. ant.* 5. 13. ſaith, *Jephtha* was buried: whence others reading with the *Vulgar*, *Jud.* 12.7. *Sepultus eſt in Civitate ſua Gilehad*, (for *in una Civitatum Gilehad*) imagine *Gilehad* to be the name of a City, and to be the ſame with *Sebei*. In like manner following the Vulgar, 1 Mac. 5. 26. where it readeth *Caſphor* for *Chesbon*; the ſame *Adrichomius* imagineth it to be *ampla & firma Gilehaditarum Civitas*: ſo of one City *Hesbon*, or *Chesbon*, which they call *Eſſebon*, the chief City of *Sehon*, in the Tribe of *Reuben*, he imagineth two more: This *Caſphor* in *Manaſſes*, and a City in *Gad* which he calleth *Casbon*, of which we have admoniſhed the Reader heretofore. Of *Gamala* (ſo called, becauſe the Hill on which it ſtood, was in faſhion like the back of a Camel) which *Joſephus* placeth not far from *Gadara*, in the lower *Gaulanitis* over againſt *Tarichea*, which is on the Weſt ſide of the Sea
*e.p.*1. & 3. or Lake of *Tiberias*, ſee this, *Joſephus* in the fourth book of the Jewiſh War: where he deſcribes the place by nature to be almoſt invincible: and in the ſtory of the ſiege, ſhews how *Veſpaſian* with much danger of his own perſon, entring it, was at firſt repulſed, with other very memorable accidents: and how at length, after the coming of *Titus* when it was taken, many leaping down the rocks with their wives and children, to the number of five thouſand, thus periſhed: beſides four thouſand ſlain by the *Romans*: ſo that none eſcaped, ſave only two women that hid themſelves.

In vita ſua. About four miles Weſt from *Gadara*, and as much Eaſt from *Tiberias* (which is on the other ſide of the Lake) *Joſephus* placeth *Hippus*, or *Hippene*, whence *Ptolomy* gives the names to the Hills that compaſs the Plains in which it ſtandeth: ſo that it may ſeem to have been of no ſmall note. It is ſeated far from the hill Country: on the Eaſt of the Lake, as alſo *Pliny* noteth, *lib.* 5. *cap.* 15. It was reſtored by *Pompey*: after by *Auguſtus* added to *Herod*'s Tetrarchy: it was
Joſ. bel. Jud. l. 2. *c.* 19. waſted by the *Jews*, in the beginning of their rebellion: when by many maſſacres of their Nation, they were inraged againſt their borderers.

Of another *Edrehi* in *Nepht.* ſee *Joſ.* 19. 37 *Deut.* 3. 1. & 10. *Item Joſ.* 13. 31. The next City of note, but of more antient fame, is *Edrehi*, or *Edrai*, wherein *Og* King of *Baſan* chiefly abode, when *Moſes* and *Iſrael* invaded him: and neer unto this his Regal City, it was, that he loſt the battel and his life. In flood in S. *Jerom*'s time: and had the name of *Adar*, or *Adara*. Not far from theſe Towns neer *Jordan*, in this Valley, ſtood *Geraſſa*, or *Gergeſſa*, inhabited by the *Gergeſites*, deſcended of the fifth ſon of *Canaan*. Of theſe *Gergeſites*
Mat. 8. 28. we read, *Mat.* 8. 28. that *Chriſt* coming from the other ſide of the Lake of *Tiberias*, landed in their coaſts: where caſting the Devils out of the poſſeſſed, he permitted them to enter into the herd of Hoggs: in which ſtory, for *Gergeſites*, or *Gergeſins*, St. *Luke* and St. *Mark* have *Gadarens*: not as if theſe were all one (for *Gergeſſa*, or *Geraſſa* is a diſtinct Town in theſe parts from *Gadara*) but the bounds being confounded, and the Cities neighbours, either might well be named in this ſtory. This City received many changes and calamities: of which *Joſephus* hath often mention. For beſides other adventures, it was taken by *L. Annius*, Lieutenant to *Veſpaſian*: and 1000 of the ableſt young men put to the ſword, and the City burnt. In the Year 1120. it was rebuilt by *Baldwine* King of *Damaſcus*: and in the ſame year recovered by *Baldwine de Burgo* King of *Jeruſalem*: and by him utterly razed. Neer unto *Geraſa* is the Village of *Mogedan*, or, after the *Syriak*, *Magedu*, or, after the *Greek*, *Magdala*, where the *Phariſees* and *Sadducees* deſired of our Saviour a ſign from Heaven: the ſame place, or ſome adjoyning to it, which St. *Mark* calleth *Dalmanutha*. By the circumſtances of which ſtory it appears that this coaſt lay between the Lake of *Tiberias* and the Country of *Decapolis*. *Brochard* makes both theſe places to be one; and finds it to be *Phiale*, the fountain of *Jordan*, according to *Joſephus*: but this *Phiale* is too far from the Sea of *Galilee*, and from *Bethſaida*, to be either *Magdala* or *Dalmanutha*. For as it appears by the ſtory, not far hence, towards the North, was the *Deſart* of *Bethſaida*, where *Chriſt* filled 5000 people with the five barley loaves and two fiſhes.

Mark 5. *Luke* 8. *Mark* 15. *Mark* 8. *Broch. itin.* 2. Of this *Phiale* ſee in *Neph.c.* 7. §. 4. ll. 3. *Matt.* 14. *Mark* 6. *Luke* 9. *John* 6.

On the North of this *Bethſaida*, they place *Julias*, not that which was built by *Herod*, but the other by *Philip*, which boundeth the Region *Trachonitis* towards the South. It was ſometime a Village, and not long after the birth of *Chriſt*, it was compaſſed with a wall by *Philip* the *Tetrarch* of *Ituræa* and *Trachonitis*: and after the name of *Julia*, the wife of *Tiberias*, called *Julias*, as hath been further ſpoken in the Tribe of *Gad*: where it was noted that *Joſephus* makes this *Julias* to be the ſame as *Bethſaida*. Upon the Eaſt ſide of the ſame Lake of *Tiberias* ſtands *Corozaim*, or *Corazim*, of which *Chriſt* in *Matthew*; *Wo be unto thee, Corazim*.

Joſeph 18. *ant.* 3. & *alibi.*

But the principal City of all theſe in antient time was *Aſteroth*: ſometime peopled with the Giants *Raphaim*: and therefore the Countrey adjoyning called the Land of Giants, of whoſe race was *Og* King of *Baſan*. In *Geneſis* this City is called *Aſteroth Carnaim*, whence 1 Mac. 5. 26. it is called ſimply *Carnaim*, as *Joſ.* 13. 21. it is called *Aſteroth*, without the addition of *Carnaim*. The word *Carnaim* ſignifieth a pair of Horns, which agree well with the name of their Idol *Aſteroth*, which was the image of a ſheep, as it is elſewhere noted, that *Aſteroth* in *Deuteronomy* ſignifieth ſheep. Others, from the ambiguity of the Hebrew take *Carnaim* to have been the name of the people which inhabited this City: and expound it *Heroes* * *radiantes*. For of old the *Raphæi* which inhabited this City (*Gen.* 14. 5.) were Giant-like men, as appears by comparing the words *Deut.* 3. 11. *Og ex reſiduo gigantum*, with the words *Joſ.* 13. 12. *Og ex reliquiis Raphæorum*: but if the *Carnaim* (or *Carnajim*) were theſe *Raphæi*, the word would not have been in the dual number: neither would *Moſes* in the places of *Geneſis* have ſaid the *Raphæi* in *Aſteroth* of the *Carnaim*, but either the *Raphæi* in *Aſteroth* of the *Raphæi*, or ſome other way fitteſt for perſpicuity: for this naming of both thus in the ſame clauſe, diſtinguiſheth one from the other.

Gen. 14. 5. See *chap.* 7. §. 3. ll. 2. * Becauſe horn when it is poliſhed, ſhineth: hence it is that the Verb of this Noun is ſometime *Lucere*: as it were *corneum eſſe*: whereupon the *Vulgar*, *Exo.* 34 19 reading *cornutam cornutam*, or *luciſam faciem*, gave occaſion to the fabulous Painters to paint *Moſes* with Horns. *Judith* 1. 8. 1 *Cant.* 5.

Not far from *Aſteroth*, *Adricomius* out of *Brochard* and *Breidenbachius* placeth *Cedar* in the way out of *Syria* into *Galilee*, four miles from *Corazin*. This City (ſaith he) is remembred in the *Canticles*, and

in

in the book of *Judith*, and there are that of this City understand *David* in his 120. *Pſalm:* and here the Sepulchre of *Job* is yet to be ſeen, ſaith *Breidenbach*.

Now concerning the Texts which he citeth, it is ſo that the Greek hath *Galaad* in ſtead of the word *Cedar*, which the Vulgar doth uſe in that place of *Judith*, and joyneth *Camèl* and *Galilee*. The *Canticles* and the 120. *Pſalm* do rather prove that *Cedar* was not hereabout, than any way help *Adricomius*. For that they ſpeak of *Scenitæ Cedareni*, it is apparent, and as evident by the place in the *Canticles*, that they were *decolores*, much more than any under the Climates of the Land of *Canaan:* whence *Junius* out of *Lampridius* and *Pliny* placeth them in *Arabia Petræa*, far from theſe parts. Touching the Sepulchre of *Job*, it is certain that the *Arabians* and *Saracens* (holding thoſe places) feign many things to abuſe the *Chriſtians*, and to get mony. Further, it may well be affirmed, that many (if not all) the hiſtorical circumſtances of *Job* are ſo obſcure, that we ſhould rather by finding his Country ſeek to get ſome knowledge of him, than by any preſumptions founded upon him, infer what his Country was, and build unto him a City by conjecture.

* *Rup. Lyran. Oleaſt in Gen. Bel. in Cont. lib. 1. de ver. Dei S. Am. ſup. Ep. ad Rom. Aug. de Civit. Dei. l. 18. c. 4. Chryſ. Hom. 2. De patientia Job. Greg. com. in Job.*

Of *Job* himſelf, whether he was the ſame *Jobab* remembred in the 36. of *Geneſis*, deſcended from *Eſau* King alſo of *Idumæa*, though * *Rupertus*, *Lyranus*, *Oleaſter*, and *Bellarmine* are of another opinion, yet Saint *Ambroſe*, *Auguſtine*, *Chryſoſtome*, and *Gregorie*, with *Athanaſius*, *Hippolitus*, *Irenæus*, *Euſebius Emiſſenus*, *Apollinaris*, *Euſtachius*, and other cited by St. *Jerom* in his 126. Epiſt. to *Evagrius*, take him for the ſame.

For *ευ* and *αυ* are often changed one into the other: whence they uſed *Auſitis* for *Ouſitis*, &c. Hence alſo by *Junius* and others it is called *Auſanitis*, and ſo as it ſeems they read it in the *Septuagint*, *Jun.* in *Gen.* 10. 23.

The Land of *Huts* or *Hus*, wherein *Job* dwelt, is from the Greek ους, which the *Septuagint* uſe for the word *Hutz*, tranſlated by the Vulgar ſometimes *Hus*, as *Job* 1. 1. ſometime *Auſitis*, as *Jer.* 25. 20. This Land is placed by *Junius* between *Palæſtine* and and *Cæloſyria*, beſides *Chamatha* (or *Hamatha*) under *Palmyrene*, in the Countrey called by *Ptolomy Trachonitis*, or *Bathanæa*, the bounds of which Countries are confounded with *Baſan* in this half Tribe of *Manaſſes*. And that this Land of *Hus* was thus ſeated, it may in part be gathered out of the place of *Jer.* 25. 20. where he reckons the *Huſhites* among the promiſcuous borders of the *Iſraelites*, whom he therefore calleth promiſcuous, or *miſcellaneam turbam*, becauſe their bounds were not only joyned but confounded, and their *Seigniories* mingled one with the other: but of this place the words of *Jeremy*, *Lam.* 4. 21. ſpeaketh of the ſame Prophecy, of which he ſpeaketh in the 25th Chapter, muſt needs be expounded, as *Junius* reads them, diſtinguiſhing the Land of *Hus* from *Edom: O filia* Edomi, *O quæ habitas in terra* Hutzi; *O daughter of* Edom, *O thou which dwelleſt in the Land of* Hus. Now becauſe the Vulgar doth not ſo diſtinguiſh, but readeth, *Filia* Edom *quæ habitas in terra* Hus; *Daughter of* Edom *which dwelleſt in the land of* Hus: Hence, as it ſeems, ſome of the learned have thought that *Job* was an *Edomite*, as we have ſaid, and King of *Edom*, which if they underſtand by it *Idumæa*, or *Edom*, ſo called in *Moſes*'s time, they are greatly miſtaken, making this *Land* of *Hus* to be in *Idumæa*. For it is very probable that *Eſau*, when he firſt parted from *Jacob*, did not ſeat himſelf in *Edom*, or *Seir*, which lieth on the South border of *Judæa*, but inhabited *Seir* far to the Eaſt of *Jordan*, and held part of thoſe Mountains, otherwiſe called *Galaad*, and *Hermon*, which by corruption the *Sidonians* call *Shirion*, and the *Amorites*, *Shenir*, for *Seir*; and from this his habitation did *Eſau* incounter *Jacob*, when he returned out of *Meſopotamia*, who paſſed by the very border of *Eſau* his abiding. It is true, that at ſuch time as *Moſes* wandered in the *Deſarts*, that the poſterity of *Eſau* inhabited *Seir* to the South of *Judæa:* for it is like that the *Amorites*, who had beaten both *Ammon* and *Moab*, did alſo drive the *Edomites* out of thoſe parts, who thence-forwaad ſeated themſelves to the South of *Judæa*, bordering the *Deſart Paran*, and ſtretched their habitations over the *Deſarts* as far as *Hor* where *Aaron* died.

Deut. 3. 9.

Now for this *Hus*, which gave the name to a part of the Land of *Trachonitis*, whether it were *Hus* the the ſon of *Aram*, as *Junius* thinks in his note upon *Gen.* 10. 23. or rather *Hus* the ſon of *Nachor*, *Abrahams* brother, the queſtion is doubtful. For my part I rather encline to think, that it was *Hus* the ſon of *Nachor:* partly becauſe theſe Families of *Aram* ſeem long before to have been loſt: and partly becauſe in *Job* 32. 2. *Elihu* the fourth of *Jobs* friends, which ſeems to be of *Jobs* own Country, is called a *Buzite*, of *Buz* the brother of *Hus*, the ſon of *Nachor:* as alſo *Jer.* 25. in the ſame continuation (though ſome other Nations named between) where *Hus* is ſpoken of, there *Buz* is alſo named. Neither doth it hinder our conjecture, that in the place of *Job.* 32. *Elihu* the *Buzite* is ſaid to be of the Family of *Ram:* (which *Junius* expounds to be as much, as of the Family of *Aram*) for that by his *Aram* we are not to underſtand *Aram* the ſon of *Sem*, *Junius* himſelf maketh it plain, both in his annotation upon the beginning of his book, where he ſaith, that one of *Jobs* friends (which muſt needs be this *Elihu*) was of the poſterity of *Nachor* (as alſo in this place he confeſſeth ſo much expreſly) and in as much as he readeth not *è Familia Aram*, or *Ram*, but *è Familia Syriæ*; like as elſe where *Laban*, who ſprung of *Nachor*, is called a *Syrian*.

Whence the *Septuagint* call him *ex regione Auſitide.*

As for the other three of *Jobs* friends (of whom by this note of *Elihu* his being of the *Syrian* Family, or of the Family of *Nachor*) it is implyed that they were of other kindreds, as alſo by the *Septuagints* addition, that this *Elihu* was of the Land of *Hus*, or *Auſitis*, it is implyed that they thought only *Elihu* to have been of *Jobs* own Country.

See *Sixtus Senenſis.*

Franciſcus Brochard the Monk, in his deſcription of the *Holy Land*, in the journey from *Acon* Eaſtward, findeth *Suetha*, and *Theman* on the Eaſt of the Sea of *Galilee:* both very near to the Land *Hus*, whereof the one may ſeem to have denominated *Bildad* the *Shuchite*; the other *Eliphaz* the *Themanite:* two of the three friends of *Job*, of the which *Job.* 2. 11. But *Junius* thinks that the *Shuchites* were inhabitants of *Arabia the Deſart*, deſcended of *Shuach* the ſon of *Abraham* and *Ketura:* of whom *Gen.* 25. 2. perhaps, ſaith he, the ſame whom *Pliny* calls *Saccæi*. So alſo he thinketh the *Themanites*, of whom *Eliphaz* was, to have been of *Arabia the Deſart:* and *Eliphaz* himſelf to have been of the poſterity of *Theman* the ſon of *Eliphaz*, which was the ſon of *Eſau*. And ſo alſo *Nahamah*, whence *Tſophar* the third of *Jobs* friends (which in this place of *Job.* 2. 11. are mentioned) is by the ſame learned Expoſitor, thought either to be named of *Thimnah* by tranſpoſition of letters (which *Thimnah*, *Gen.* 36. 40. is named among the ſons of *Eſau*, that gave denomination to the places where they were ſeated) or elſe to be the ſame *Nahamah*, which *Joſ.* 15. 41. is reckoned for a City of *Juda* in the border, as he thinks, of *Edom*. And yet I deny not but that near the Land of *Hus*, in *Baſan*, as it ſeems, in the Tribe of *Manaſſes*, there is a Region which (at leaſt) in later times was called *Suitis*, or of ſome like name. For this is evident by the Hiſtory of *Will. Tyrius*, which reports of a Fort in this Region of *Suita*, or *Suites* (as he calls it diverſly) of exceeding great ſtrength and uſe for the retaining of the whole Country: which, in the time of *Baldwine* the ſecond King of *Jeruſalem*, was with great digging through

De bel. ſac. lib. 22. *c.* 15. *and* 21

through rocks recovered by the *Christians*; having not long before been lost, to the great disadvantage of the Country, while it was in the hands of the *Saracens*. The situation of this Fort is by *Tyrius* described to be sixteen miles from the City *Tiberias*, on the East of *Jordan*: by *Adrichomius* four miles Northward from the place where *Jordan* enters the Lake *Tiberias* at *Corazin*.

Other Cities of this part of *Manasses* named in the Scripture, are these: *Golan*, *Beheshthera*, *Mitspa* of *Gilead*, and *Kenath*, which after the coming of the *Israelites* was called *Nobach*. Of *Nobach* or *Kenath*, and *Mitspa* of *Gilead*, we have spoken by occasion among the Cities of *Gad*. The other two were given to the *Levites*, and *Golan* made one of the Cities of refuge: from which *Golan* we have both *Gaulanitis superior* and *inferior*, oft in *Josephus*. *Beheshthera* is accounted the chief City of *Basan* by some, but the Writers corrupting the name into *Bozra*, it is confounded with *Betser*, or *Bozra* of *Reuben*, and with *Bozra* of *Edom*. *Argob* is oft named for a Region in this Tract, and hence *Jerom* hath *Arga*, a name of a City placed by some about the waters of *Merom* (as they are called by *Josua*) which make the Lake *Samachonitis*, as *Josephus* calls it. This Lake, being as it were in the midst between *Cæsarea Philippi* and *Tiberias*, through which, as through the Lake of *Tiberias*, *Jordan* runneth, boundeth part of this half Tribe on the West. When the snow of *Libanus* melteth, it is very large, saith *Brochard*: otherwise more contract, leaving the marish ground on both sides, for Lions and other wilde beasts, which harbour in the shrubs that plentifully grow there.

Jos 21.27. *Deut.* 4 43

Adjoyning to this Lake in this Country of *Manasses*, *Josephus* names two places of strength, fortified by himself in the beginning of the *Jews* rebellion: *Seleucia* the one, and *Sogane* the other. In the North side of this half Tribe of *Manasse*, and in the North-East, the Scripture nameth divers bordering places towards *Damascus*, as *Tsedad*, *Chauram*, and *Chatsar-Henan*, lying in a line drawn from the West; of which three Cities we read, *Ezek.* 47. 15. with which also agrees the place, *Num.* 34. 8. where for *Chauram* between *Tsedad*, and *Chatsar-Henan*, *Ziphron* is named. From this *Chauram* is the name of *Auranitis Regio*, in *Josephus* and *Tyrius*, whose bounds (as also the bounds of *Gessur* and *Mahacath*, or *Macati*, which were likewise borderers to *Manasses* towards the North-East) are unknown: only that *Gessur* was of might, it appears in that *David* married *Mahaca* the daughter of *Thalmay* King of *Gessur*: by whom he had the most beautiful, but wicked and unfortunate *Absalom*.

1 *Chron.* 3. 2.

CHAP. XI.

The History of the Syrians, *the chief Borderers of the* Israelites *that dwelt on the East of* Jordan.

SECT. I.

Of the City of Damascus, *and the divers Fortunes thereof.*

Damascus of all other in this border, and of that part of the world, was the most famous, excelling in beauty, antiquity, and riches, and was therefore called the City of joy or gladness, and the House of pleasure; and is not only remembred in many places of Scripture, but by the best Historians and Cosmographers. The *Hebrews*, saith *Josephus*, think it to have been built by *Hus* the son of *Aram*: of which opinion S. *Jerom* upon *Esay* seemeth to be: though in his Hebrew questions he affirmeth, that it was founded by *Damascus* the son of *Eliezer*, *Abraham*'s Steward; a thing very unlikely, seeing the City was formerly known by that name, as appears by *Abraham*'s calling this his Steward *Eliezer* of *Damasco*. *David* was the first that subjected it to the Kingdom of *Juda*, after the overthrow of *Adadezer* their King; but in *Solomons* time, *Rezon* recovered it again, though he had no title at all or right to the Principality: but *David* having overthrown *Hadadezer* King of *Sophena* (otherwise *Syria Soba*, or *Zoba*) *Razon* or *Rezon*, with the remainder of that broken Army, invaded *Damascena*, and possest *Damascus* it self, and became an enemy to *Solomon* all his life.

Joseph. l. 1. *c.* 14. *In Esa.* 17. *Gen.* 15. 2. 1 *King.* 11. 40.

The next King of *Damascus* was *Adad* the *Edomite*, who flying into *Egypt* from *David* and *Joab*, when they slew all the males in *Edom*, was there entertained, and married *Taphnes* the King of *Egypts* Wives sister: of whom, *Taphnes* in *Egypt* was so called. This *Adad* returning again, became an enemy to *Solomon* all his life, and (as some Writers affirm) invaded *Damascus*, and thrust *Rezon* thence out. In the Line of *Adad* that Kingdom continued nine descents (as hereafter may be shewed in the Catalogue of those Kings of *Syria*) to whom the *Assyrians*, and then the *Grecians* succeeded. This City was exceeding strong, compassed with waters from the Rivers of *Abanah*, and *Pharpar*: whereof one of them, prophane Writers call *Chrysorrhoas*, the golden River. *Junius* takes it for *Adonis*. The Country adjoyning is very fruitful of excellent Wines and Wheats, and all manner of excellent fruits. It had in it a very strong Castle, built as it seems by the *Florentines*, after it became Christian: the Lillies being found cut in many Marbles in that Citadel. Against this City the Prophets *Amos*, *Esay*, *Jeremy*, and *Zacharias*, prophesied that it should be taken, burnt, demolished, and made a heap of stones. In the time of the last *Rezon*, and tenth King of the *Damascens*, *Teglatphalasser*, invited by *Achaz* King of *Juda*, carried away the Naturals of *Damascus* into the East: leaving of his own Nation to inhabit it. After that it was utterly ruined by the *Babylonians*, saith *Jerom* upon *Esay*: which thing was performed by *Salmanasser*, according to *Junius* in his note upon that place, five years after the Prophecy. In time it was restored by the *Macedonians*, and the *Ptolomies*; but long after, when *Syria* fell into the hands of the *Romans*, it was taken by *Metellus*, and *Lollius*. In the time of the Christians it had an Archbishop: Saint *Jerom* living, as he affirmeth upon the *Acts*, it was the *Metropolis* of the *Saracens*: being taken by

2 *King.* 5. *Horold.* 6. *bell. sacr.* 1. 3. 8. 10. & 17. 49. & 9. 2 *King.* 16 *Esay* 17. *Jos. ant.* 4.

Haomer their King from the *Romans*, in the year of our redemption 636 and in the year 1147. *Conrad* the third, Emperour of *Rome*, *Lewis* King of *France*, *Baldwine* the third King of *Jerusalem*, *Henry* Duke of *Austria*, Brother to *Conrad*, *Frederick Barbarossa* afterward Emperour, *Theoderick* Earl of *Flaunders*, and other Princes assembled at *Ptolomais Acon*, on the Sea-coast, determined to recover *Damascus*: but being betrayed by the *Syrians*, they failed of the enterprize.

Onuphrius in Chron. Vitric. 46. Will. Tyr. bell. sacr. lib. 17 c. 1. 23. 4 5.

In the year 1262. *Halon* the *Tartar* incompast it, and having formerly taken the King, brought him under the Walls, and threatned extreme torture unto him, except the Citizens rendred the place: but they refusing it, the King was torn asunder before them, and in fine the City taken, *Agab* the Son of *Halon*, was by his Father made King thereof.

Hereld bel. sacr 4 c. 14.

In the year 1400. *Tamberlain* Emperour of the *Parthians*, invaded that Region, and besieged the City with an Army of 1200000 (if the number be not mistaken.) He entred it, and put all to the sword, filling the Ditch with his prisoners; those that retired into the Castle, which seemed a place impregnable, he overtopped with another Castle adjoyning: he forbore the demolishing of the City, in respect of the beauty of the Church, garnished with forty Gates, or sumptuous Porches. It had within it 9000 Lanterns of Gold and Siver: but while he invaded *Egypt*, they again surprized *Damascus*. Lastly, in his return after three Months siege, he forc't it: the *Mahometans* prostrating themselves with their Priests, desired mercy. But *Tamberlain* commanding them to enter the Church he burnt them and it, to the number of 30000 and did so demolish it, as those that came afterwards to see their Houses, knew them not by the Foundations. And as a Trophee of his victory, he raised three Towers with great art, builded with the heads of those whom he had slaughtered. After this, it was restored and re-possest by the *Soldane* of *Egypt* with a Garrison of *Mammalukes*: And in the year 1517. *Selimus* Emperour of the *Turks* wrested it out of the hands of the *Egyptians*: in whose possession it now remaineth, inhabited with Mahometans and Christians of all neighbouring Nations.

Herold. l. 6. c. 4.

SECT. II.

Of the first Kings of Damascus, *and of the growing up of their power.*

NOw be it that *Damascus* were founded by *Hus*, the Son of *Aram*, or by *Damascus* the Son of *Eliezer*, *Abraham*'s steward, we find no relation of their Kings, or Common-wealth till *Davids* time. For it stood without the bounds of *Canaan*: and therefore neglected by *Moses*, *Josua*, and the *Judges*, as impertinent to that Story. But were it so, that it had some *Reguli*, or petty Kings over it, as all the Cities of those parts had, yet none of them became famous for ought that is left to writing, till such time as *David* overthrew *Adadezer* Prince of *Sophena*, or *Syria Zoba*: the same Nation which *Pliny* calleth *Nubei*, inhabiting between *Batania* and *Euphrates*. Now the better to understand the story of those *Syrian* Princes, whom soon after the Kings of *Damascus* made their Vassals, the Reader may inform himself, That on the North-East parts of the Holy Land, there were three chief Principalities, whereof the Kings or Commanders greatly vexed or disturbed the State or Common-wealth of *Israel*, namely, *Damascus*, or *Aram*, *Sophena*, or *Syria Zoba*, and *Chamath*, or *Chamath Zoba*; of which these were the Princes in *David*'s and *Solomon*'s times: *Razon*, or *Rezon* of *Damascus*, *Adadezer* of Syria *Zoba*, and *Tohu* of *Chamath*. But it seemeth, that *Damascus* was one of the Cities subject to *Adadezer* when *David* invaded him, though when *Saul* made war against *Zoba*, *Damascus* was not named. And as *Josephus* affirmeth, the leaders of those succours, which were levied and sent to *Hadad-Hezer* from *Damascus*, had the name of *Adad*: who was in that battel slain with 22000 *Aramites* of *Damascus*: whereof, as of the overthrow of *Adadezer*, *Rezon* the Commander of his Army, taking advantage, made himself King of *Damascus*: *Adadezer*, and *Adad* of *Damascus*, being both slain. About the same time *Tohu* King of *Chamath*, or *Iturea*, hearing that his neighbour and enemy *Adadezer* was utterly overthrown, sendeth for peace to *David*, and presenteth him with rich gifts: but *in dolo*, saith St. *Hierome*; it was craftily done of him. Now to the North of the Holy Land, and to the West of *Damascus*, the *Tyrians* and *Zidonians* inhabited: but they for the most part were in league and peace with the *Judæans* and the *Israelites*. But to return to the Kings of *Syria*, I mean of *Syria* as it is taken in the Scriptures, containing *Damascena*, *Soba* or *Zoba*, and *Chamath*, or *Iturea*; to which I may add *Geshur*, because it is so accounted in the second of *Sam.* 15. as joyning in the Territory to *Damascus* (for *Syria* at large is far greater, of which *Palæstina* it self is but a Province, as I have noted in the beginning of this Tract:) It is not agreed among the Historians of former times, nor of our later Writers who was the first of those *Adads* of *Syria Zoba*, and *Damascus*:

Plin. l. 6. c. 28.

1 Sam. 14. 47.

3082.

2 Sam. 8.

1 Kings 11.

Some account *Rezon*, others *Adad* of *Idumæa*: of whom it is written in the first of *Kings*, that *David* having invaded that Region, and left *Joab* there to destroy all the male Children thereof: *Adad* of the Kings seed, fled into *Egypt*; and was there married to *Taphnes* the Queens Sister, as before; who hearing of *David*'s death, and of the death of his Captain *Joab* (whom indeed all the bordering Nations feared) he turned again: and, as *Bunting* thinketh, this *Adad* did expel *Rezon* out of *Damascus*, and was the first of the *Syrian* Kings. To me it seemeth otherwise. For, as I take it, *Adadezer*, the Son of *Rehob*, whom *Saul* invaded, was the Founder of that Principality: and the first of *Adads* who forsaking his Fathers name, as he grew powerful, took upon him the stile of *Adad*, the great God of the *Assyrians*, saith *Macrobius*, which signified Oneness of Unity. I also find a City called *Adada*, in the same part of *Syria*: of which whether these Princes took the name, or gave it, I am ignorant. For *Adad-ezer*, *Ben-hadad*, *El-adad* were the same in name, with the differences of *Ezer*, *Ben*, and *Eli* adjoyned. And that *Adadezer* was of greatest power, it appeareth first, because it is against him, that *David* undertook the war: Secondly, because he levied 22000 *Aramites* out of the Territory of *Damascus*: as out of his proper Dominions: for had the *Damascens* had a King apart, it is probable that the Scriptures would have given us his name: Thirdly, because *Syria Zoba*, of the most of which *Adadezer* was King, was an exceeding large Territory, and contained of *Arabia* the *Desart*, as far as to *Euphrates*, according to *Pliny*: and the greatest part of *Arabia Petræa*, according to *Niger*. Whosoever was the first, whether *Adadezer*, or *Adad* of *Idumæa*, *Rezon*, was the second: *Who was an enemy to Israel all the days of Solomon*. Besides the evil that *Adad* did, seemeth to be referred to *Hadad* of *Idumæa*, lately returned out of *Egypt*: to wit, 23 Years after he was carried thither.

2 Sam. 8. 3. & 12. 1 Sam. 14. 47.

Plin. l 6. c. 18.

1 King 11.

The

The third King of *Damascus*, and of *Zobah* both, was *Hezion*; to *Hezion* succeeded *Tabremmum*, or *Tabrimmum*; to him *Benhadad*, as is proved in the first of Kings: For *Asa* King of *Juda* the Son of *Abiam*, the Son of *Roboam*, the Son of *Solomon*, being vexed and invaded by *Baasha*, the successour of *Nadab*, the Son of *Jeroboam*, sent to *Benhadab* the Son of *Tabrimmon*, the Son of *Hezion*, King of *Aram*, that dwelt at *Damascus*, to invade *Israel* (while *Baasha* sought to fortifie *Rama* against *Asa*: thereby to block him up, that he should not enter into any of the territories of *Israel*) who according to the desire of *Asa*, having received his presents, willingly invaded the Countrey of *Nepthalim*, and took divers Cities, and spoils thence: *Asa* in the mean while carrying away all the Materials, which *Baasha* had brought to fortifie *Rama* withal, and converted them to his own use.

1 Kings 15. 18.

This *Benhadads* Father, *Tabremmon*, was in league with *Asa*: and so was his Father *Hezion*: for *Asa* requireth the continuance of that friendship from *Benhadad*, his Son: though it seemeth that the Gold and Silver sent him out of the Temple, was the most forcible argument. And that this *Tabremmon* invaded *Israel*, before the enterprize of his Son *Benhadad*, it is conjectured. For *Benhadad* when he was prisoner with *Achab*, spake as followeth: *The Cities which my Father took from thy Father, I will restore, and thou shalt, make Streets or Keepers of the borders for thee in Damascus, as my Father did in Samaria.* And herein there ariseth a great doubt (if the argument it self were of much importance) because *Tabremmon* was Father indeed to *Benhadad*, which invaded *Baasha*, at the request of *Asa*: But this *Benhadad* that twice entred upon *Achab*, and was the second time taken prisoner, was rather the Son of *Benhadad*, the first of that name, the confederate of *Asa* and *Abiam*, as before, than the Son of *Tabremmon*. For between the invasion of *Benhadad* the first, in *Baasha*'s time, and the siege of *Samaria*, and the overthrow of *Benhadad* by *Achab*, there past 49 years, as may be gathered out of the reigns of the Kings of *Israel*. So that if we allow 30 years of age to *Benhadad*, when he invaded *Baasha*, and after that 49 years ere he was taken by *Achab*, which make eighty, lacking one, it is unlikely that *Benhadad* at such an age should make War. Besides all this, the first *Benhadad* came with no such pomp; but the second *Benhadad* vaunteth, that he was followed with 32 Kings: and therefore I resolve, that *Benhadad* the Son of *Tabremmon* invaded *Baasha* and *Omri*; and *Benhadad* the second invaded *Achab*, at whose hands this *Benhadad* received two notorious overthrows: the first at *Samaria*, by a sally of 700 *Israelites*: the second at *Aphec*, where with the like number in effect, the *Israelites* slaughtered 200000 of the *Aramites*; besides 27000 which were crush't by the fall of the wall of *Aphec*. And this *Benhadad*, *Achab* again setteth at liberty: to whom he rendreth those Towns that his Father had taken from the Predecessour of *Achab*, but being returned, he refused to render *Ramoth Gilead*, a frontier Town, and of great importance. Now three years after (for so long the league lasted) *Ramoth* not being delivered, *Achab* invaded *Gilead*, and besieged the City, being assisted by *Josaphat*. The *Aramites* came to succour and fight: in which *Achab* is wounded, and dieth that night. After this, *Benhadad* sendeth the Commander of his forces, called *Naaman*, to *Joram* the son of *Achab* to be healed of the leprosie, and though *Elizeus* had healed him, yet he picked a quarrel against *Joram*: and when *Joram*, by *Elizeus* his intelligence had escaped his plot, he sent Men and Chariots to take the Prophet, as is aforesaid. After *Benhadad* besieged *Samaria* again, and being terrified thence from Heaven he departed home, and sickneth, and sendeth *Azael* with great gifts to *Elizeus*, to know his estate, if he might live. *Azael* returning, smothereth him. *Zonaras* and *Cedrenus* call this *Benhadad* *Adar*, and the Son of *Adar*: *Amos* and *Jeremy* mention the Towers of *Benhadad*. *Josephus* writeth that *Benhadad* and his successour *Azael* were worshipped for Gods by the *Syrians* to his time, for the sumptuous Temples which they built in *Damascus*. The *Syrians* also boasted much of their antiquity, ignorant, saith he, that scarce yet 1100 years are compleat since their wars with the *Israelites*.

1 Kings 15. 28.

1 Kings 20. 34.

1 Kin. 15.

1 Kin. 20.

1 Kin. 22. 3227. 3232.

2 Kin. 5. 2 Kin. 6. 2 Kin. 6.

2 Kin. 7. 3234. Amo. 1. Jer. 49.

ant. l. 8. c. 1.

Hazael or *Azael*, the first King of the race of the *Adads* of *Damascus*, was anointed by *Elisha*, or *Elizeus*, when he was sent by *Benhadad* to the Prophet, to know whether *Benhadad* should recover his present sickness: He waged War with *Joram*, who received divers wounds at the encounter of *Ramoth* in *Gilead*: from whence returning to be cured at *Jesrel*, he and the King of *Juda*, *Ahaziah* or *Ochozias*, are slain by *Jehu*, as before is said. After the death of *Joram*, *Azael* continued War against Jehu, and wasted *Gilead*, and all those portions of *Gad*, *Reuben*, and *Manasse*, over *Jordan*. He then invaded *Juda*, and took *Gath*; but by gifts from *Joas* he was averted from attempting *Jerusalem*: for he presented him all the *hollowed things which* Jehosophat, Jehoram, *and* Ahaziah *his Fathers*, *Kings of* Juda, *had dedicated*, *and which he himself had dedicated*; *and all the Gold which was found in the treasures of the Lord and in the Kings house.* This was the second time that the Temple was spoiled to please the *Adads* of *Damascus*. For *Asa* did present *Benhadad* with those treasures, when he invited him to War upon *Baasha* King of *Israel*. And notwithstanding this composition between *Joas* and *Azael*, yet a part of his Army spoiled the other Provinces of *Judæa*, and slaughtered many principal persons. Lastly, *Azael* vexed *Joahaz* the Son of *Jehu*, and brought him to that extremity, as he left him but fifty Horse-Men, ten Chariots, and ten thousand Foot-men, of all his people.

2 Reg. 12. 17.

2 Reg. 12.

1 Reg 15.

2 Reg. 13. 7.

SECT. III.

Of the later Kings, and decay and overthrow of their power.

After *Hazael*, *Benhadad* the second, or rather the third of that name, the Son of *Hazael* reigned in *Damascus*: who fought against *Israel* with ill success: for *Joas* King of *Israel*, the Son of the unhappy *Joachaz*, as he was foretold by *Elisha* the Prophet, beat *Benhadad* in three several battels: and he lost all those Cities to *Israel*, which his Father *Hazael* had taken violently from *Joachaz*,

2 Reg. 13. Jos. ant. c. 9.

After this *Benhadad* the Son of *Hazael*, there succeeded three others by the same name, of whom the Stories are lost, only *Nicholaus Damascenus* cited by *Josephus*, makes mention of them: and in one of these Kings times it was that *Jeroboam* the second, the Son of *Joas* recovered *Damascus* it self to *Juda*, saith the *Geneva*, but better in *Junius*, *Utque recuperabat Damascum*, *& Chamatham Judææ pro Israele*; that is, *And how he recovered for Israel*, *Damascus and Chamatha of Judæa*; for these Cities sometimes conquered by *David*, did of right belong to the Tribe of *Juda*.

Jos. ant. l. 7. c. 6.

1 Kin. 14. 28.

And it is likely, that this conquest upon the *Adads* was performed: the first of these three *Adads* then living, of whom there is no Story. For when as *Jehoas* the King of the ten Tribes had thrice overcome the *Syrians* in the time of *Benhadad* the Son of

Hazael had won from *Israel*; and so left his Kingdom to his Son *Jeroboam* the second; it seemeth that this *Jeroboam* without delay, and having nothing else left for him to enterprize, instantly followed his Fathers good Fortune, and invaded *Damascus*.

Razin, or *Rezin*, after *Josephus*, *Rases*; after *Zonaras*, *Raason*, the tenth *Adad*, making league with *Pekah*, or *Phacas* King of *Israel*, against *Achaz* King of *Juda*, both carry away a great number of prisoners. After this they both besiege *Achaz* in *Jerusalem*: but in vain. Then *Adad* alone invadeth *Elath*, and beating out the Jews, maketh it a Colony of *Syrians*. Wherefore *Achab* brought *Teglatphalasser* against *Razin*, who took him and beheaded him, and won *Damascus*: with whom ended the line of the *Adads*, and the Kingdom of *Damascus*: the *Assyrians* becoming masters both of that and *Israel*. These *Adads*, as they reigned in order are thus reckoned:

2 *Kin.* 16. 5. 5. *Esay* 7. *Joseph. ant. l.* 9. *c.* 11.

1 *Adadezor* the Son of *Rehob*.
2 *Rezin* the Son of *Eliadad*, or *Razin*.
3 *Hezion*.
4 *Tabremmon*.
5 *Benhadad*, who invaded *Baasha*.
6 *Benhadad* the second, taken prisoner by *Achab*.
7 *Hazael*, whom *Elisha* foretold with tears, of his advancement; the same who overthrew *Joram* King of *Israel* at *Ramoth Gilead*. And that there was a second *Hazael* which preceded *Benhadad* the third, it is not improbable, because that *Hazael* which took *Geth*, and compounded the War with *Joas*, made the Expedition thirty years, and perchance more, after the first *Hazael* which stifled his master *Benhadad*, and had slain *Joram* the Son of *Achab* King of *Israel*. For *Joas* began to reign in the seventh year of *Jehu* King of *Israel*; and after he had reigned twenty three years, the Temple was not yet repaired, after which (and how long we know not) it is said that *Hazael*, took *Geth*, and turned his Face towards *Jerusalem*. It is also some proof that *Hazael*, that took *Geth*, was not the same with *Hazael* that murdered *Benhadad*, because he could not at that time be of good years, being as it seemeth, the second person in the Kingdom, and Commander of *Benhadads* Men of War. To this *Hazael* (be he the first or second) succeeded.
8 *Benhadad*, the third, whom *Joash* King of *Israel* thrice overthrew.
9 *Resin*, or *Rezin*, the last, who joyned with *Pekah* King of *Israel*, against *Juda*, at which time *Achaz* King of *Juda*, waged for his defence *Teglatphalasser*.

Now betwen *Benhadad* the third and *Rezin* the last, *Nicolaus Damascenus* finds three other Kings of the *Adads*, which make twelve in all.

For the rest of the Princes of *Syria*, which were but *Reguli*, as those of *Emath*, and *Gessur*, we find that *Tobu* was King of *Emath*, or *Camath*, in *Davids* time, to whom he sent his Son *Joram* with presents, after *Davids* victory against *Adadezer*. Also *Senacherib* speaketh of a King of *Emath*, but names him not.

2 *Sam.* 8. 9. *Esay* 37.

II. IV.

Of Other lesser Kingdoms of the Syrians, which being brought under the Assyrians, never recovered themselves again.

OF *Gessur* we find two Kings named; to wit, *Talmai*, and his Father *Ammihur*: to *Talmai*, whose Daughter *David* married, it was, that *Absalom* fled, who was his maternal Grandfather. Of the Kings of *Sephena*, of *Syria*, *Soba*, or *Cœlosyria*, there are two named, *Rehob*, or *Rechob*, the Father of *Adadezer*, and *Adadezer* himself; and it is plain that after his death the seat of the Kings of *Soba* was transferred to *Damascus*, a City better fitting their greatness. After, *Rezin* became Lord of both Principalities. And the race of these Kings of *Syria* (which became so potent, and joyned *Soba*, *Damascus*, *Emath*, and the *Desart* of *Arabia*, with other Provinces into one, under *Rezin* the second of the *Adads*) as it began with *David*, so it ended at once with the Kingdom of *Israel*. For *Ahaz* King of *Juda* waged the *Assyrian Teglatphalasser* against *Pekah* King of *Israel*, and against *Rezin* the last King of *Damascus*: which *Teglath* first invaded *Damscena*, and the Region of *Soba*, and took *Damscus* it self, and did put to death *Rezin* the last, carrying the Inhabitants captive. This was the second time that the *Assyrians* attempted *Israel*. For first *Phul Belochus* entred the borders thereof (*Menahem* governing *Israel*) who stopt the enterprise of *Phul* with a thousand talents of Silver: for this *Phul Belochus*, whose pedigree we will examine hereafter, being scarce warm, as yet, in his seat at *Babylon*, which he, with the help of his companion *Arbaces*, had wrested from *Sardanapalus*: having besides this King of *Syria* in his way, who seemed to be a great and strong Prince, was content to take the composition of a thousand talents of the King of *Israel* for that present time. But his Son *Teglath* following the purpose of his Father *Belochus*, and finding so excellent an occasion, as the War begun between *Israel* and *Juda*, *Pekah* commanding in the one, and *Achaz* in the other, his neighbour *Rezin* being also wrapt in that War, and wasted in strength thereby, did willingly accept the offer of *Achaz* King of *Juda*, his impress and entertainment. So, first attempting *Damascus*, which lay in his path towards *Israel*, he carried it (as is before remembred) and then with great ease possest himself of the Cities of *Nephtalim*; leading with him a great part of the people captive. And his Son *Salmanasser*, whom *Ptolemy* called *Nabonasser*, after the revolt of *Hosea*, forced *Samaria*, and rent that Kingdom asunder. So as the line and race of *Ninus* in *Sardanapalus*, whom *Belochus* supplanted, the race and Monarchy of the *Syrian Adads* in *Rezin*, whom *Teglath* slaughtered; the Kingdom of *Israel* in *Hosea*, whom *Salmanasser* overturned, happened near about a time: that of *Ninus* in the days of *Belochus*, and the other two in the days of *Teglatphalasser*, and *Salmanasser* his Son. For *Sardanapalus* perished, *Osia* ruling *Juda*; and the other two Kingdoms were dissolved, *Achaz* yet living.

Lastly, the Kingdom of *Juda* it self, being attempted by *Senacherib*, the Son of *Salmanasser*, in vain, and and preserved for the time by God miraculously, was at length utterly overturned. *Jerusalem* and the Temple burnt 132 years after the captivity of *Israel* and *Samaria*: the destruction of *Israel* being in the ninth year of *Hosea*: that of *Juda* in the eleventh of *Zedechia*. Now the Emperours of *Assyria* and

and *Babylon* held also the Kingdom of *Syria*, from the eighth year of *Salmanasser*; to the last of *Baltasser*, whom *Herodotus* calleth *Labynitus*: in all about 200 years. After these the *Persians* from *Cyrus* to *Darius* their last King, held *Syria*, about 220 years.

3603. 3811.

Then *Alexander Macedon* took this among other Provinces of the *Persian* Empire, and his successors the *Seleucidæ* reigned therein, till it became subject unto the power of the *Romans*, from whom it was wrested long after by the *Saracens*, and remaineth now in possession of the *Turk*, as shall be shewed in due place. Thus much of the Nations bordering upon the *Israelites*, with whom they had most to do, both in War and Peace, being the onely people, whose History in those antient times carried an assured face of Truth.

CHAP. XII.

Of the Tribe of Benjamin, *and of* Jerusalem.

SECT. I.

Of divers memorable places in the Tribe of Benjamin, *whereof* Jericho, Gilgal, Mitspa, Bethel, Rama, Gobah, *and* Gibba.

OF the Tribe of *Benjamin*, the twelfth and youngest Son of *Jacob*, whom he had by *Rachel*, there were mustered at Mount *Sina* 35000 able bodies: all which perishing in the *Desarts*, there entred the *Holy Land* of their issues 45600 fit to bear Arms: and these had their Territory on this side *Jordan*, between *Juda* and *Ephraim*: The Cities within this Tribe neareſt *Jordan*, are *Lod*, *Hadid*, and *Ono*: of which, *Lod* and *Ono* were built by *Shemed* a *Benjamite*: they were all three re-inhabited with *Benjamites*, after the return out of Captivity, as is mentioned *Nehem.* 11.35. and *Esd.* 2. 35. where *Adrichomius* reading *Lod*, *Hadid*, *Ono*, makes besides *Hadid* in *Nebemia*, a City called *Lodhadid*: This *Hadid* or *Chadid* was rebuilt by *Simon Macchabæus*.

1 *Chron.* 8. 12.

Mac. 12.38.

Samarim, or *Tsemaraim*, named of *Tsemary* one of the Sons of *Canaan*, was another of their Cities: and further into the Land standeth *Jericho*, one of the Toparchies and the last of *Juda*, seated in a most fruitful Valley adorned with many Palm-trees: and therefore elsewhere called the City of Palms. From the time of *Josua*, who utterly destroyed it, it lay waste until the time of *Achad*: in whose days *Chiel* of *Bethel* laid the new foundation of it, in the loss of *Abiram* his eldest Son, and built the gates of it in the loss of his youngest Son *Segub*: according to the curse of *Josua*: in which and other respects, *Hos* 12.14. calleth *Josua* a Prophet. In aftertimes it was destroyed by *Vespasian*, and rebuilt by *Adrian*.

1 *Kin.* 16. 34. *Jos.* 6. 29.

* 1 *Chr.* 6. 60. This *Halmon* is called *Halemeth*, whence they make a new City *Almath*, as if this Tribe had given five Cities to the *Levites*.

To the South-east of *Jericho* stood * *Halmon* of the *Levites*, of which *Jos.* 21. 18. To the South, *Betharaba*, of which *Jos.* 21. 18. Then that *Gilgal* of which there is so much mention in the Scripture, where *Josua* first eate of the fruits of the land, circumcised all those born in the *Desarts* and celebrated the Passover.

The reason of the name, or rather a memorable application of the Etymology of this name (for it seems by the place, *Deut.* 11.30. that the name was known before the coming of the *Israelites* into *Canaan*) is noted *Jos.* 5.9. *Ob devolutionem probri Ægyptiaci*, because their fore-skins (the people being there circumcised) were tumbled down the Hill: which from thence was called *Collis præputiorum*. This *Gilgal* was also called *Geliloth*, as appears by comparing the places, *Jos.* 15. 7. and 18. 17. for it was in the borders of *Jordan*, of which *Jos.* 22. 13. and *Geliloth* signifieth borders. It stood (though in some distance) directly Eastward, over against the two Hills *Garazim* and *Hebal*: upon the one of which the blessings, and on the other the cursings were to be read to the people, both being the Mountains of *Ephraim*. Further, for the situation of this *Gilgal*, it is to be noted, that both it, and *Mitspa* of *Benjamin* (of which also we read oft in the Scripture) were seated about the midst of the length of the Land of *Canaan*: for which reason † *Samuel* chose these two places, to either of which he came yearly to give judgment to the *Israelites*; of which two, *Gilgal* (as is said) was near *Jordan* on the East side of this Tribe and *Mitspa*, near the West Sea, towards the land of the *Philistims*.

Deut. 11. 30.

† 1 *Sam.* 7. 15.

The third place, which is named with these two, whither also *Samuel* used yearly to come, is ‖ *Bethel*: which also was seated in this Tribe of *Benjamin*. But to return to *Gilgal*, which was the first place where the *Ark* resided, after they past over *Jordan* (from whence it was carried to *Silo*, and thence to *Kiriath-Jeharim*, and at length to *Jerusalem*) here in *Gilgal* it was, that *Josua* pitched up the 12 Stones, which were taken out of the Channel of *Jordan*, when it was dry, that the *Israelites* might pass over it: by which Story, as it is set down *Jos.* 4. it appears, that the same day that they passed over *Jordan*, they lodged at *Gilgal*. At the same *Gilgal*, to omit many other memorable things, it was, that *Samuel* hewed *Agag* the King of the *Amalekites* in pieces. And as for *Mitspa*, whither *Samuel* came yearly to give judgment, there also were often the greatest meetings held: as that for the revenge of the *Levites* Wife against *Gibba*, and the *Benjamites*, *Jos.* 20. 1. and another against the *Philistims*, 1 *Sam.* 7. 12. Thither also *Judas Macchabæus* gathered the Jews (when *Jerusalem* was possest by the *Heathen*) as it is 1 *Mac.* 3. 47. in which place this reason of their meeting is added; *Quia locus orationi fuerat Mitspæ anteà Israeli.* Touching this *Mitspa*, to avoid confusion, it is to be remembred, that the Scriptures mention four places of this name: *Mitspa* of *Juda*, of which neither is it easie to expound *Bethel* otherwise than for the City *Bethel*. though *Junius* also takes it for the place where the *Ark* was, 1 *Sam.* 10. 3.

‖ *Junius* in this place, for *Bethel* reads *Domum Dei fortis*, and interprets it, *Kireath-jeharim*, where the *Ark* abode. For (saith he) by the Law, *Exo.* 23. 17. the greatest meetings in their annual feasts were to be, where the *Ark* was, but this place doth not speak of festival, but of judicial meetings: and besides the Priests did use to bring the *Ark* to their great meetings, wheresoever they were, as appears 1 *Sam.* 12: 11. & 14. 18.

Jos.

Jos. 15. 38. * *Mitspa* of *Gilead*, of which we have spoken already in the Tribe of *Gad*. *Mitspa* of the *Moabites*, where *David* for a while held himself, commending his Parents to the King of *Moab*, 1 *Sam.* 22. 3. and lastly, this chief *Mitspa* of the *Benjamites*. And as in this place the chief meetings were held both before *Jerusalem* was recovered from the *Jebusites*, and also in the time of the *Macchabees* (as we have said) when *Jerusalem* was held by the wicked under *Antiochus*, so also in the time of *Jeremy*, after the destruction of the Temple by the *Chaldees*, *Gedaliah*, whom *Nabuchodonosor* left in *Jewry*, as Governour over those that were left in the land, held his abiding in this place: until (to the great hurt of the *Jews*) he was slain by the treason of *Ishmael*, one of the royal blood of *Juda*, as it is *Jer.* 41.

* It was no other than this *Mitspa* of *Gilead*, of which *Jos.* 11. 8. as appears by that which is added, *Versus orientem*, for *Josua* notes the three quarters, North, West, and East, to which he followed the *Canaanites*, though *Adrichomius* and others, out of this place, imagine a *Mitspa* or *Mispha* (as they write it) in the Tribe of *Asser*.

Neer unto this *Mitspa*, the Scripture mentioneth *Bethcar*, after called *Aben-Hezer*, that is, the Stone of help: where *Samuel* pitched up the pillar or Stone, for a Trophy against the *Philistims*.

Touching *Bethel*, which (as it seems) was the third place where *Samuel* held his chief meetings for the ministring of Justice, that it was antiently called *Luz*, and how it was taken by the issue of *Joseph* (though it belonged to the portion of *Benjamin*, as it is *Neh.* 11. 31. and *Jos.* 18. 22.) and how another City called *Luz* † near adjoyning to it, was built by the man of the City which shewed the entrance to the Spies, as it is *Jud.* 1. and of the occasion of the name from *Jacob*'s vision: and how *Jeroboam*, by erecting one of his calves here, of *Bethel* (which signifieth the house of God) made it * *Bethaven*, that is, the house of Vanity, *Hos.* 4. 15. and 10. 5. as also other memorable things of this place, they are so well known out of the Histories of the Scripture, that we may well pass them over.

† 1 *Sam.* 7. 11. *Jos.* 16. 1.

* Borrowing the name of a neighbour town in the confines of the Kingdom of *Juda* and *Israel* between *Hai* and *Bethel*, *Jos.* 7. 2. and 18. 12.

The Territory of *Bethel*, which at the first belonged to the Kingdom of the ten Tribes, from the time of the great victory of *Abia* against *Jeroboam*, of which 2 *Chron.* 13. was taken from them, and adjoyned to the Kingdom of *Juda*: and so it continued, as appears by the Story of *Josias*: which performed the Prophecies against the altar of *Bethel*, 2 *Reg.* 23. whence those coasts 1 *Macc.* 11. 34. are called *Apherema*, which Greek word signifieth as much as, *A thing taken away*, to wit, from the ten Tribes. It was one of the three *Seigniories*, or *Præfectures* which *Demetrius* in his Epistle mentioneth, as added by him to the *Ditton* of the *Jews*, out of the *Samaritan Country*. A part of it, as appears 2 *Chron.* 13. 19. was *Hephravin*, which *Jos.* 18. 23. is called *Hophram*, belonging to this Tribe of *Benjamin*.

Not far from this *Bethel*, in this Tribe, we find three other Cities, often mentioned in the Scriptures, *Rama*, *Gidha*, and *Geba*. Of the name *Rama*, * it is noted already, in the description of *Ephraim*, that there were many Towns so called, because of their high situation. But whereas they find out *Rama* in the Tribe of *Juda* (as it seems, because *Matt.* 2. it appears that it bordered *Bethlehem*) and also out of *Brochard* and *Breidenbach* make *Silo* to have been called *Rama*, and find yet another *Rama* in *Zabulon*; these three have no warrant in the Scripture. Of *Rama* in the Tribe of *Asser*, as it seems, we have testimony, *Jos.* 19. 29. and of another in *Nephtalim*, *Jos.* 19. 36. of a third *Rama*, where *Samuel* dwelt in Mount *Ephraim*, 1 *Sam.* 25. 1. which, more often is called * *Ramatha*, and 1 *Sam.* 1. 1. *Ramathaim Tsophim*: for which the *Septuagint* have *Aramathaim-Sophim*, taking the Article affixed in the beginning, for a part of the word, whence they think *Joseph* of *Aramathæa*, *Matt.* 27. 57. was denominated.

* See *c.* 9. §. 1.

* Of this *Ramatha* I understand the place. 1 *Mac.* 11. 34. where it is named for one of the three *Præfectures* which *Demetrius* yeilded to the *Jews* out of the country of *Samaria*: this lying toward the East to *Jericho*, and *Lydda* toward the West, and *Apherema* (of which even now we spake) lying in the middest between the two other. A sixth it seems there was in the Tribe of *Simeon* toward the South, which *Josh.* 19. 8. is called *Rama* of the South, and otherwise *Baalath-beer*.

Of a fourth *Rama* we read, 2 *Reg.* 8. 29. which is *Ramoth* in *Gilead*. The first, which is most often mentioned, is *Rama* of *Benjamin*, seated, as we said, near *Bethel* the uttermost South-border of the Kingdom of the ten Tribes: for which cause *Baasha* in the time of *Asa* King of *Juda*, fortified it, to hinder those that did fly from him to *Asa*. Of this *Rama*, or *Ramatha*, I should rather think *Joseph* was, that buried *Christ*: because it was nearer to *Jerusalem*, and after the Captivity belonged to *Judæa*, as it appears, *Esd.* 2. 26. wherein that it is joyned with *Geba*, it is plain that he speaketh of that *Rama* with whose stones (after *Baasha* had ceased to build it) *Asa* (as it is 1 *Reg.* 25. 22.) built *Gebah* adjoyning to it: both being in *Benjamin*. And as *Rama* was the South border of the ten Tribes, so was *Gebah* the North-border of the Kingdom of *Juda*: whence 2 *Reg.* 23. 8. we read that *Josiah* through all his Kingdom, even from *Gebah*, which was the North-border, to *Beer-sheba*, which was the South-border, destroyed the places of Idolatry.

The third City *Gibha*, which was the City of *Saul* (the wickedness of which City in the time of the *Judges* had almost utterly rooted out this Tribe) *Adrichomius* confounds with *Gebah*, making one of two (as they are evidently distinguished, *Esa.* 10. 27.) of which word * *Gibha*, in another from *Gibbath*, he imagineth *Gibbaath*, another City in this Tribe, making two of one. The vicinity of this City also to *Rama* of *Benjamin* appears, *Jud.* 19. 13. where the *Levite* with his Wife, not able to reach to *Rama*, took up his lodging at *Gibha*. By that place of 1 *Sam.* 22. 6. it seems that there was in this *Gibha* some Tower or Cittadel called *Rama*: where *Junius* reads *in excelso*, for *in Rama*: but it may be that the name of the Kings Palace in this City, was *Rama*: as it seems that in *Rama* of *Samuel*, the name of the chief place where *Samuel* with the *Colledge* of *Prophets* abode, was *Najoth*. The great City of *Hai* overthrown by *Josua*, which *Jos.* 7. 2. is placed neer *Beth-aven*, upon the East of *Bethel*, was in this Tribe, as is proved, *Neh.* 7. 10. 30. though it be not named by *Jos.* c. 18. for it was burned by him and laid desolate, as it is *Jos.* 8, 28. *In solitudinem, in tumulum perpetuum.* Another City of chief note is reckoned *Jos.* 18. 25. In this Tribe was *Gibbon*, the chief City of the *Hevites*: whose cunning to bind the *Israelites* by oath to save their lives, is set down, *Jos.* 9. whence they were reckoned among the * *Nethinæi*, or *Proselytes*, and were bound to certain publick services in the house of God: which oath of saving these *Gibeonites*, broken in part after by *Saul*, was by God punished by a famine, 2 *Sam.* 21. 1. This *Gibeon*, or *Gibbon* with *Almon* and *Jebah* (of both which we have spoken) and with *Hanothoth*, the natal place of *Jeremy* the Prophet, were said *Jos.* 21. 28. to be given to the *Levites* by the *Benjamites*. Near to this *Hanothoth* was *Nob*, as appears, 1 *Reg.* 2. 26. where *Abiathar* the Priest, which was of *Nob*, before it was destroyed by *Saul*, is sent to his grounds at *Hanothoth*. It is reckned in the Tribe of *Benjamin*, *Neh.* 9. 31. and though in the time of *Saul* the residing place of the *Ark* was at *Kireath-*

* *Gibha* in construction, that is, Governing a genitive case, is *Gibbath*: whence the *Vulgar* out of the *Septuagint* read *Jos.* 24. 33. *Gibbath Phinees*: for which *Junius* hath *Collis Phineasi* (for this word is oft-times an Appellative, signifying a Hill) but *Adrichomius* taking notice of this, builds his City *Gabaath* upon this Text, and placeth it in *Benjamin*, when as the words adjoyned, note that this Hill was in the Mountains of *Ephraim*.

* The word *Nethinim*, or *Nethinæi*, is as much as *dati* (as it were à *Deo dati*) or as *Junius* expounds it, *deditiii*: it is used 1 *Chr.* 9. 2. and in *Esdras* and *Nehemias* often.

Kireath-jeharim: yet by the lamentable tragedy of bloud-shed, which *Saul* raised in this place (as it is set down 1 *Sam.* 21, and 22.) in the judgement of *Junius*, it is proved that the Tabernacle was there for a time.

Micmas also in this Tribe, *Nehem.* 9. 31. was a place of fame, of which *Esay.* 10. 28. where also he nameth *Gallim*, and *Migron* in this Tribe. In *Micmas*, *Saul* had his Camp, 1 *Sam.* 13. 2. (when he left *Gibha* to *Jonathan*) and there also was *Jonathan Maccabæus* his abode, 1 *Macc.* 9. 73. Of *Giscala* in *Galilee*, *Josephus* makes often mention, but of any here in *Benjamin*, which they make the natal place of St. *Paul*, whence (they say) when it was taken by the *Romans*, he sailed with his parents to *Tharsis*, of this I find no good warrant. Other places of less importance I omit, and come to the City of *Jerusalem*, and the Princes and Governours of this City: A great part whereof was in the Tribe of *Benjamin*, whence *Jos.* 18. 28. it is named among the Cities of *Benjamin*.

SECT. II.

Of divers memorable things concerning Jerusalem.

AT what time *Jerusalem* was built (which afterward became the Princes of all Cities) it doth not appear. Some there are who imagine that *Melchisedec* was the Founder thereof in *Abraham*'s time. But, * according to others, that City out of which *Melchisedec* encountred *Abraham* (in his return from the overthrow of the *Assyrian* and *Persian* Kings or Captains, when *Lot* was made prisoner) standeth by the River of *Jordan*, in the half Tribe of *Manasse* bordering *Zabulon*, which was also called *Salem*, and and by the Greeks *Solima*.

* See in the hither halt of *Manasse*.

Jerusalem (whensoever, or by whomsoever built) was a principal City in *Josua* his time: yet not so renowned as *Hazor* the *Metropolis* (in those days and before) of all the *Canaanites*. *Adonizedek* (whom *Josua* slew) was then King of *Jerusalem*. That it was belonging to the *Jebusites* it is manifest: for how long soever they held it before *Moses*'s time, they were Masters and Lords thereof almost 400 years after him: even till *David* won it: and therefore in all likelihood, it was by the *Jebusei* (the children of *Jebusæus* the son of *Canaan*) built; after whom it was called *Jebus*. And so much did that Nation rely on the strength of the place, as when *David* attempted it, they bragged that their lame, and blind, and impotent people should defend it.

2 *Sam.* 5. 6.

David, after he had by Gods assistance possest it, and turned out the *Jebusites*, gave it an exceeding great increase of circuit; strengthened it with a Citadel or Castle: and beautified it with many Palaces, and other buildings: changing the name from *Jebus-salem*, the City of the *Jebusites*, to *Jerusalem*, which the Greeks call *Hierosolima*. After *David*'s time *Solomon* amplified, beautified and strengthened it exceedingly. For besides the work of the Temple, which was no less admirable than renowned among all Nations, the Palaces, Gates, and Walls, could not any where in the world be exampled: and besides, that it had 150000 Inhabitants, the women and children not accounted. The ditch had 60 foot depth, cut out of the very rock: and 250 foot of breadth: whereof the like hath seldom been heard of, either since or before.

Jos. cont. Ap. l. 1. Strab. geog. l. 16.

After the death of *Solomon*, and that the Kingdom of the *Jews* was cut asunder, *Shishak* King of *Egypt*, and his Predecessor, having bred up for that purpose *Adad* the *Idumæan*, and *Jeroboam Solomon*'s servant; and both married to *Egyptians*: the State by the one disturbed, by the other broken: *Shishak* first invaded the Territory of *Juda*, entred *Jerusalem*, and sack't it, and became Master not only of the riches of *Solomon*, but of all those spoils which *David* had gotten from *Adadezer*, *Tohu*, the *Ammonites*, and other Nations. It was again sack't, and a part of the wall thrown down by *Joas* King of *Israel*; while *Amasia* the twelfth King thereof governed *Juda*.

2 *Chron* 12

2 *King.* 14

2 *King.* 16

Not long after, *Achas* the fifteenth King of *Juda* impoverished the Temple, and presented *Teglatphalasser* with the treasures thereof. And *Manasses* the son of *Ezekiah*, the son of *Achaz*, by the vaunts made by *Ezekiah*, to the Embassadors of *Merodach*, lost the remain, and the very bottom of their treasures. It was again spoiled by the *Babylonians*, *Joakim* then reigning. But this ungrateful, Idolatrous and rebellious Nation, taking no warning by these Gods gentle corrections and afflictions, but persisting in all kind of impiety, filling the City even to the mouth with innocent bloud, God raised up that great *Babylonian* King *Nebuchodonosor*, as his scourge and revenger, who making this glorious City and Temple, with all the Palaces therein, and the Walls and Towers, which embraced them, even and level with the dust, carried away the spoils with the Princes and people, and crusht them with the heavy yoke of bondage and servitude full seventy years, insomuch as *Sion* was not only become as a torn plowed-up field, *Jerusalem* an heap of stones, and rubble, the Mountain of the Temple as a grove, or wood of thorns and briars, but (as *Jerom* speaketh) even the birds of the Air scorned to fly over it, or the beasts to tread on that defiled soil.

1 *Chron.* 5. 26.

2 *King.* 25

2 *King.* 19. 2 *Chr.* 18.

Mich. 3. *Jer.* 25. 26. 29.

Then 70 years being expired, according to the Prophecy of *Daniel*, and the *Jews* by the grace of *Cyrus* returned: the Temple was again built, though with interruption and difficulty enough: and the City meanly inhabited, and without Walls or other defences, for some 60 and odd years, till *Nehemia* by the favour of *Artaxerxes* re-built them. Then again was the Temple and City spoiled by *Bagoses*, or *Vagoses*, the Lieutenant of *Artaxerxes*: after by * *Ptolomæus* the first; then by *Antiochus Epiphanes*: and again by *Apollonius* his Lieutenant. By *Pompey* it was taken long after, but not destroyed, nor robbed, though *Crassus* in his *Parthian* expedition took as much as he could of that which *Pompey* spared.

Hier. tom. 3. trad. Heb.

Neh. 12. 34 &c.

* The first of the *Egyptian* Kings after *Alexander Macedon*, who dissembling his Religion, came up to *Jerusalem* to offer sacrifice. *Jos. 12. ant. 1.*

But the damages which it sustained by the violence of sacrilegious Tyrants, were commonly recompenced by the industry or bounty of good Princes, the voluntary contribution of the people, and the liberality of strangers. Before the captivity, the people of the Land, through the exhortation of godly Kings, made many and large offerings to repair the Temple of *Solomon*. The wrong done by *Ptolomæus Lagi* to the second Temple, was requited by the bounty of his son *Ptolomæus Philadelphus*. The mischief wrought by *Antiochus Epiphanes* and his followers, was amended partly by the great offerings which were sent to *Jerusalem* out of other Nations. Finally, all the losses, which either the City or Temple had endured, might well seem forgotten in the reign of *Herod*, that usurping and wicked, but magnificent King, who amplified the City, new built the Temple, and with many sumptuous works did so adorn them, that he left them far more stately and glorious than they had been in the days of *Solomon*.

M. T. C. pro Scylla.

SECT.

SECT. III.

Of the Deſtruction of Jeruſalem *by the* Romans.

IN this flouriſhing eſtate it was at the coming of our *Saviour Chriſt Jeſus:* and after his death and aſcenſion, it ſo continued about forty years. But then did *Titus* the *Roman*, being ſtirred up by God to be the revenger of *Chriſt* his death, and to puniſh the *Jews* ſinful ingratitude, incompaſs it with a *Roman* Army, and became Lord thereof. He began the ſiege at ſuch time as the *Jews* from all parts were come up to the celebration of the *Paſſover:* ſo as the City was then filled with many hundreds of thouſands of all ſorts: and no manner of proviſion or ſtore for any ſuch multitudes. An extreme famine, with the civil diſſenſion, oppreſt them within the Walls; a forcible enemy aſſailed them without. The *Idumæans* alſo, who lay in wait for the deſtruction of the *Jews* Kingdom, thruſt themſelves into the City, of purpoſe to betray it: who alſo burnt the Temple, when *Nabuchodonoſor* took it. And to be ſhort, there periſhed of all ſorts, from the firſt beſieging, to the conſummation of the victory, eleven hundred thouſand ſouls: and the City was ſo beaten down and demoliſhed, as thoſe which came afterward to ſee the deſolation thereof, could hardly believe that there had been any ſuch place or habitation. Only the three *Herodian* Towers, (works moſt magnificent, and overtopping the reſt) were ſpared, as well for lodgings for the *Roman* Garriſons, as that thereby their victory might be the more notorious and famous: for by thoſe buildings of ſtrength and ſtate remaining, after ages might judge what the reſt were; and their honour be the greater and more ſhining, that thereover became victorious.

1 Eſdr. 4. 45.

After this, ſuch *Jews* as were ſcattered here and there in *Judæa*, and other Provinces, began again to inhabit ſome part of the City; and by degrees to re-build, and ſtrengthen it as they could, being then at peace, and Tributaries to the *Roman* State: but after 65 years, when they again offered to revolt and rebel, *Ælius Adrianus* the Emperour ſlaughtered many thouſands of them, and overturned thoſe three *Herodian* Towers, with all the reſt, making it good which Chriſt himſelf had foretold; *That there ſhould not ſtand one ſtone upon another* of that ungrateful City. Afterward, when his fury was appeaſed, and the prophecy accompliſhed, he took one part without the Wall, wherein ſtood *Mount Calvary, and the Sepulchre of Chriſt*, and excluding of the reſt the greateſt portion, he again made it a City of great capacity, and called it after his own name, *Ælia Capitolia*. In the gate toward *Bethel*, he cauſed a Sow to be cut in Marble, and ſet it in the front thereof, which he did in deſpight of the *Jews* Nation: making an Edict, that they ſhould not from thenceforth ever enter into the City, neither ſhould they dare ſo much as to behold it from any other high place over-topping it.

Guil. Tyr. bell. ſacr. l. 14. c. 12.

But the Chriſtian Religion flouriſhing in *Paleſtina*, it was inhabited at length by all Nations, and eſpecially by Chriſtians; and ſo it continued 500 years.

Onuphrius Coron.

It was afterward in the 636 year after Chriſt, taken by the *Egyptian Saracens*, who held it 400 and odd years.

Guil. Tyr. l. 8. c. 5. 18 19. &c.

In the year 1099, it was regained by *Godfrey* of *Buillon*, by aſſault, with an exceeding ſlaughter of the *Saracens*; which *Godfrey*, when he was elected King thereof, refuſed to be crowned with a Crown of Gold, becauſe Chriſt, for whom he fought, was therein crowned with thorns. After this recovery, it remained under the Succeſſours of *Godfrey*, fourſcore and eight years: till in the year 1197, it was regained by *Saladine* of *Egypt:* and laſtly, in the year 1517, in the time of *Selim*, the *Turks* caſt out the *Egyptians*, who now hold it, and call it *Cuzumbarec*, or the Holy City. Neither was it *Jeruſalem* alone that had ſo often times been beaten down and made deſolate, but all the great Cities of the World have with their Inhabitants, in ſeveral times and ages, ſuffered the ſame ſhipwrack. And it hath been Gods juſt will, to the end others might take warning, if they would, not only to puniſh the impiety of men, by famine, by the ſword, by fire, and by ſlavery; but he hath revenged himſelf of the very places they poſſeſt; of the walls and buildings, yea, of the ſoil and the beaſts that fed thereon.

For, even that land, ſometime called holy, hath in effect loſt all her fertility and fruitfulneſs; witneſs the many hundreds of thouſands which it fed in the days of the Kings of *Juda* and *Iſrael:* it being at this time all over, in effect, exceeding ſtony and barren. It alſo pleaſed God, not only to conſume with fire from Heaven the Cities of the *Sodomites*; but the very ſoil it ſelf hath felt, and doth feel the hand of God to this day. God would not ſpare the beaſts that belonged to *Amalek*, no not any ſmall number of them to be ſacrificed to himſelf: neither was it enough that *Achan* himſelf was ſtoned, but that his moveables were ſo conſumed and brought to aſhes.

SECT. IV.

Of the vain and malicious reports of Heathen Writers, touching the ancient Jews.

OF the original of the *Jews*, prophane Writers have conceived diverſly and injuriouſly. *Quintilian* ſpeaks infamouſly of them, and of their Leader; who (ſaith he) gathered together a pernicious Nation. *Diodore* and *Strabo* make them *Egyptians*. Others affirm, that while *Iſis* governed *Egypt*, the people were ſo increaſed, as *Jeroſolimus* and *Judas* led thence a great multitude of that Nation, with whom they planted the neighbour Regions: which might be meant by *Moſes* and *Aaron:* for the name of *Moſes* was accidental, becauſe he was taken up and ſaved out of the waters. But *Juſtine*, of all other moſt malicious, doth derive the *Jews* from the *Syrian* Kings; of whom, *Damaſcus*, ſaith he, was the firſt: and to him ſucceeded *Abraham*, *Moſes*, and *Iſrael*. He again ſuppoſeth (ſomewhat contrary to himſelf) that *Iſrael* had ten ſons, among whom he divided the land of *Juda*; ſo called of *Judas* his eldeſt, who had the greateſt portion. The youngeſt of the ſons of *Iſrael* he calleth *Joſeph:* who being brought up in *Egypt*, became learned in Magical Arts, and in the interpretation of Dreams, and ſigns prodigious; and this *Joſeph* (ſaith he) was father to *Moſes:* who with the reſt, by reaſon of their foul diſeaſes, and leaſt they ſhould infect others, were baniſhed *Egypt*. Further, he telleth how theſe men thus baniſhed, when in the Deſarts they ſuffered exream thirſt and famine, and therein found relief the ſeventh day, for this cauſe ever after obſerved the ſeventh day, and kept it Holy; making it a law among themſelves; which afterward became a branch of their Religion. He addeth alſo, that they might not marry out of their own Tribes, leſt diſcovering their uncleanneſs, they might alſo be expelled by other Nations, as they were by the *Egyptians*. Theſe and the like fables hath *Juſtine*.

Juſtin. l. 36.

Cornelius

Cornelius Tacitus doth as grosly belie them, in affirming, that in the inmost Oratory of their Temple, they had the golden head of an Ass, which they adored. But herein *Tacitus* forgetteth himself, having in the fifth book of his own History truly confessed of the *Jews*, that they worshipped one only God: and thought it most prophane to represent the *Deity* by any material figure, by the shape of a man, or any other creature: and they had therefore in their Temples no Image or Representation, no not so much as in any City by them inhabited. Somewhat like this, hath *Alexander Polyhistor*, in *Stephanus*; who also makes *Judas* with *Idumæa*, the first parents of the *Jews*. Cited by *Stephanus* in *Judæa*.

Claudius Iolaus draws them from *Judæus*, whose parents were *Sparton* and *Thebis*; whence it came, that the *Spartans* or *Lacedæmonians* challenged kindred of the *Hebrews*: but they did it as descended of *Abraham*, saith *Josephus*. Some of these reports seem to have been gathered out of divine letters, though wrested and perverted, according to the custom of the Heathen. For so have they obscured and altered the Story of the Creation, of Paradise, of the Flood; and given new names to the children of *Adam* in the first age, to *Noah* and his sons in the second: and so to *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, *Moses*, and the rest of the Fathers, and Leaders of the *Hebrews*: all which feignings, as touching the *Jews* and their originals, *Josephus* against *Appion*, and *Tertullian* have sufficiently answered. For that the *Hebrews* were the children of *Arphaxad* and *Heber*, no man doubteth: *Tert. in Apol.*

and so *Chaldæans* originally taking name either of *Heber*, the son of *Sale*, or else (saith *Montanus*) of wandring, as is before remembred. And therefore doth *Stephanus*, the Greek *Grammarian*, derive the *Hebrews*, or *Jews*, from *Arabon*; having mistaken the name of *Abraham*, who was the son of *Heber*, in the sixth descent. Their antient names were first changed by the two grand-children of *Abram*: for after *Jacob*, otherwise *Israel*, the chief part were called *Israel*, another part after *Esau* or *Edom*, *Edomites*; at length the remnant of *Jacob*, being most of the Tribe of *Juda*, honoured the name of *Judas*, the son of *Jacob*, and became *Judæans*, or *Jews*: as also for a time in the name of *Ephraim* the son of *Joseph*, the chief of the Patriarchs of the ten Tribes, the rest of the ten Tribes were comprehended: but were first rooted out when the Kingdom of *Israel* fell. The *Judæans* continued their names, though they suffered the same servitude not long after, under *Nabuchodonosor*. *Caleb. f. 63.*

The government which this Nation under-went, was first paternal: which continued till they served the *Egyptians*. They were secondly ruled by their Captains and Leaders, *Moses* and *Josua*, by a policy Divine. Thirdly, they subjected themselves to Judges. Fourthly, they desired a King, and had *Saul* for the first: Of whom, and his Successours, before we intreat, we are first to speak of their government under Judges, after the death of *Josua*: with somewhat of the things of Fame in other Nations about these times.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the memorable things that happened in the World, from the death of Josua, *to the War of* Troy: *which was about the time of* Jephtha.

SECT. I.

Of the Inter-regnum *after* Josua's *death: and of* Othoniel.

WHen *Josua* was now dead, who with the advice of the 70 Elders, and the high Priest, held authority over the people, and ordered that Common-weal: it pleased God to direct the Tribe of *Juda* (in whom the Kingdom was afterward established) to undertake the War against the *Canaanites*, over whom (with Gods favour, and the assistance of *Simeon*) they became victorious.

In the first attempt which they made, they not only slew ten thousand, but made *Adonibezek* prisoner: the greatest and cruellest Commander, both of the *Canaanites* and *Perizites*. This Tyrant's cruelty, as elsewhere hath been signified, they returned in the same kind upon his own head: and so by the torments which he now felt in his own person (before no otherwise known unto him but by his malicious imagination) made him confess and acknowledge Gods judgments against himself.

The Tribes of *Juda* and *Simeon* did also master and possess duting this *Inter-regnum* (or as some think, before the death of *Josua*) the Cities of *Azotus*, *Askolon*, *Ekron*, and *Jerusalem*, which they burnt, and the *Jebusites* after re-edified. They took also the Cities of *Hebron*, *Debir*, or *Kiriathsepher*, and *Zephath*, afterwards *Horma*. And although it be not set down in express words that any one person commanded in chief over the people, as *Moses* and *Josua* did: yet it seemeth that *Caleb* was of greatest authority among them: and that he, with the advice of *Phinees*, directed and ordered their wars. For if any think that they proceeded without a Chief, the good success which followed their undertakings, witnesseth the contrary. And it was *Caleb*, even while *Josua* governed, as appears, *Jos.* 10. 39. that propounded the attempt of *Debir*, to the rest of the Captains: for the performance of which enterprise, he promised his daughter *Achsah*: which he performed to *Othoniel* his younger brother after the conquest: whose behaviour in that service was such, as (next unto the ordinance of God) it gave him the greatest reputation among them, and may be esteemed the second cause of his preferment and election for their first Judge soon after. But while those of *Juda* made war with their borderers, from whom they only recovered the mountainous Countries (for they could not drive out the Inhabitants of the Vallies, *because they had Chariots of Iron.*) *Judg.* 1. 19. The rest of the Tribes sought also to enlarge and establish their own Territories. In which war they laboured with variable success: for as the house of *Joseph* recovered *Bethel*, or *Luz*, from the *Hittites*, *Judg.* 1. 25. so did the *Amorites* recover from *Dan* all the plain *Judg.* 1. 30. Countries, and forc't them to save themselves in the

Mountains. And now the *Israelites*, unmindful of Gods benefits, and how often he had miraculously a-fore-time defended them, and made them victorious over their enemies (the Elders being also consumed, who better advised them in the *Inter-regnum*) did not only joyn themselves in marriage with the Heathen Nations: but (that which was more detestable) they served the Idols of *Baal*, and *Asteroth*, with other the dead gods of the *Canaanites* and *Amorites*. And therefore did the Lord God, whom they had provoked with their Idolatry, deliver them into the hands of the *Aramites* of *Mesopotamia*, whom *Cushan Rishathaim* at that time commanded. But after they had felt the smart of Gods displeasure against them eight years, it pleased him to have compassion on his people, and to raise up *Othoniel* to be their Judge and Leader: who, by God assisted, delivered his brethren from oppression, and inforced the *Aramites* to return into their own Desarts, and into *Mesopotamia* adjoyning: after which the *Israelites* had peace forty years, during all the time of *Othoniels* government. This *Othoniel* is thought by *Tostatus*, to have been the younger brother of *Caleb*, for as much as in the book of *Judges*, he is twice called *Othoniel*, the son of *Cenaz*, *Calebs* younger brother. Others do rather interpret those words [*Calebs* younger brother] as if they signified the meanest of his kindred. Indeed it is not likely that *Calebs* Daughter should marry with her own Uncle; yet it follows not therefore that *Othoniel* should have been the meanest of the kindred. Wherefore we may better think that he was the Nephew of *Caleb*, (as some learned men expound it) and as the very words of Scripture seem to enforce. For *Caleb* was the son of *Jephunneth*, and *Othoniel* the son of *Cenas*, *Calebs* younger brother; that is, he was not brother to *Caleb*, but his younger brothers son; to whom it was not only lawful, but commendable to marry with his Cousin German *Calebs* Daughter.

Jud. 3.10.

2608.
2648.

How long it was from the death of *Josua*, to the government of *Othoniel*, it cannot be found: but it seems to have been no short time. For many wars were made in that space against the people of the Land. *Laish* was then taken (as is thought) by the *Danites*; and the best Writers are of opinion, that between the times of *Josua* and *Othoniel*, that civil war brake out between the *Benjamites* and the rest of *Israel*, for the forcing to death of the *Levites* Wife. For it is written, *that in those days there was no King in* Israel, *but every Man did that which was good in his own eyes.* And as *Juda* led the people against the *Canaanites*, during the *Inter-regnum*, so was he commanded to do against *Benjamin*, even by the Lord God, whose direction they craved, as wanting a Judge to appoint what should be done; which sheweth it to have been when *Josua* was dead, and before the government of *Othoniel*, especially considering, that all other times wherein they wanted Governours, were spent under such oppression of strangers, as would have given them no leave to have attempted such a civil war, if their power had been as great, as it was in the managing of this action; wherein they so weakned the the body of their estate, by effusion of blood, that in many ages they could not bring into the field such numbers as formerly they had mustered against their bordering enemies.

Judg. 17. & 18. & 19.

SECT. II.

Of the memorable things of this age in other Nations: and of the difficulty in the computation of times.

THere lived in this age of *Othoniel*, *Pandon*, or *Pandareus*, according to *Homer*, the fifth King of *Athens*; who began to rule in the twentieth year of *Othoniel*, and governed forty years. He was father to *Erictheus*: his daughters were *Progne* and *Philomela*, so greatly mentioned in fables.

Cadmus also about this time obtained *Thebes*: of whose daughter *Semele* was born *Dionysius*, or *Liber Pater*: under whom *Linus* the Musician lived. In his time also the Cities of *Melus*, *Paphus*, and *Tharsus* were built.

Ida and *Dactylus* flourished in this age, who are said to have found out the use of Iron: but *Genesis* hath taught us the contrary, and that *Tubalcain* long before wrought cunningly both in Iron and Brass. Not long after this time, *Amphion* and *Zethus* governed *Thebes*: whom divers Chronologers find in *Ehuds* time. But St. *Augustine* making a repetition of those fables, which were devised among the *Grecians* and other Nations, during the government of the Judges, begins with *Triptolemus*, of whose parentage there is as little agreement. *Vives* upon the thirteenth Chapter of S. *Augustine de Civit. Dei*, and the eighteenth book, hath gathered all the opinions of this mans progeny, where, he that desires his pedigree may find it. *Lactantius* and *Eusebius* make him native of *Attica*: and the son of *Eleusius* King of *Elusina*: which *Elusius* by careful industry had fed the people of that Territory in the time of a great famine. This, when upon the like occasion *Triptolemus* could not perform, fearing the fury of the people, he fled thence by Sea in a kind of Galley or long Boat, which carried in her Prow a graven or carved Serpent; who because he made exceeding great speed to return and to relieve his people with Corn from some neighbour Nation: it was feigned by the Poets, that his Coach was carried by Serpents through the air.

Gen. 4.12. Whence came the name of *Vulcan* by *Aphæresis* of the two first letters.

Aug. de civit. Dei, l. 18. *c.* 13.

Whether the times of these Kings, which lived together with *Othoniel*, and after him, with the rest of the Judges and Kings of *Israel* and *Juda*, be precisely set down, I cannot avow; for the *Chronologers*, both of the former and latter times, differ in many particulars; to examine all which would require the whole time of a long life: and therefore I desire to be excused, if in these comparisons I erre with others of better judgment. For whether *Eusebius* and all that follow him, or his opposites (who make themselves so conversant with these antient Kings, and with the very year when they began to rule) have hit the mark of time, of all other the fartheſt off and most defaced, I cannot but greatly doubt. First, because the Authors themselves, from whom the antienteſt Chronologers have borrowed light, had nothing for the warrant of their own works, but conjecture. Secondly, because their own disagreement and contention in those elder days, with that of our own age among the labourers in times, is such, as no man among them hath yet so edified any mans understanding, save his own; but that he is greatly distracted, after what pattern to erect his buildings.

This disagreement is found not only in the reigns of Heathen Kings and Princes; but even in the computation of those times which the indisputable authority of holy Scripture hath summed up, as in that of *Abrahams* birth; and after in the times of the Judges

Judges and the oppreſſions of *Iſrael*, in the times from the egreſſion to the building of *Solomon*'s Temple, in the Perſian Empire, the ſeventy Weeks, and in what not? Whereſoever the account of times may ſuffer examination, the arguments are oppoſite, and contentions are ſuch, as for ought that I ſee, men have ſought by ſo many ways to uncover the Sun, that the days thereby are made more dark, and the clouds more condenſed than before: I can therefore give no other warrant, than other men have done in theſe computations: and therefore that ſuch and ſuch Kings and Kingdoms took beginning in this or that year, I avow it no otherwiſe than as a borrowed knowledge, or at leaſt as a private opinion: which I ſubmit to better judgments. *Nam in priſcis rebus veritas non ad unguem quærenda*; *In antient things we are not to require an exact narration of the truth*, ſays *Diodore*.

SECT. III.

Of Ehuds *time, and of* Proſerpina, Orithya, Tereus, Tantalus, Tytius, Admetus, *and others that lived about theſe times.*

After the death of *Othoniel*, when *Iſrael* fell back to their former Idolatry, God incouraged *Moab* to invade and ſuppreſs them: to perform which, he joyned the forces of *Ammon*, and *Amalek* unto his own, and ſo (as all kind of miſery readily findeth out thoſe whom God hath abandoned, or for a time with-drawn his help from, thereby to make them feel the difference between his grace and his diſpleaſure) theſe Heathen neighbouring Nations had an eaſie conqueſt over *Iſrael*, whom God himſelf expoſed to thoſe perils, within which they were ſo ſpeedily folded up. In this miſerable eſtate they continued full eighteen years under *Eglon* King of the *Moabites* and his confederates. Yet, as the mercies of God are infinite, he turned not his ears from their crying repentance: but raiſed up *Ehud* the ſon of *Gera* to deliver them: by which weak man, though maimed in his right hand, yet confident in the juſtneſs of his quarrel, and fearing that the *Iſraelites* were too few in numbers to contend with the Head of thoſe valiant Nations, he reſolved to attempt upon the perſon of *Eglon*, whom if he could but extinguiſh, he aſſured himſelf of the following victory: eſpecially giving his Nation no time to re-eſtabliſh their government, or to chooſe a King to command and direct them in the Wars. According to which reſolution, *Ehud* went on as an Embaſſadour to *Eglon*, loaden with preſents from the *Iſraelites*, as to appeaſe him, and obtaining private acceſs, upon the pretence of ſome ſecret to be revealed, he pierc't his body with a Poniard, made of purpoſe with a double edge: and ſhutting the doors of his cloſet upon him, eſcaped.

It may ſeem, that being confident of his good ſucceſs, he had prepared the ſtrength of *Iſrael* in readineſs. For ſuddenly after his return, he did re-paſs *Jordan*, and invading the Territory of *Moab*, overthrew their Army, conſiſting of 10000 able and ſtrong men: whereof not any one eſcaped. After which victory, and that *Samgar* his Succeſſor had miraculouſly ſlain 600 *Philiſtims* with an Ox goad: the Land and People of *Iſrael* lived in peace unto the end of fourſcore years from the death of *Othoniel*, which term expired in the Worlds year 2691.

In the days of *Ehud*, *Naomi*, with *Elimelech* her husband, and with her two ſons, travelled into *Moab*, and ſo the ſtory of *Ruth* is to be referred to this time. About the beginning of the fourſcore years which are given to *Ehud*, it was that *Orcus* King of the *Moloſſians*, otherwiſe *Pluto*, ſtole *Proſerpina*, as ſhe walked to gather flowers in the fields of *Hipponium* in *Sicilia*: or (according to *Pauſanias*) by the River *Cephiſus*, which elſewhere he calleth *Chemer*, if he mean not two diſtinct Rivers. This ſtealth being made known to *Pyrithous*, with whom *Hercules* and *Theſeus* joyned themſelves, they agreed together to recover her: but *Pluto*, or *Orcus* (whom others call *Aidonius*) had (as they ſay) a very huge Dog, which faſtened on *Pyrithous*, and tare him in pieces, and had alſo worried *Theſeus*, but that *Hercules* ſpeedily reſcued him, and by ſtrength took and maſtered the Dog *Cerberus*: whereof grew the fable of *Hercules* his delivering *Theſeus* out of Hell. But *Zezes*, as I take it, hath written this ſtory ſomewhat more according to the truth. For *Theſeus* and *Pyrithous*, ſaith he, attempted to ſteal *Proſerpina* Daughter to *Aidonius*, King of the *Moloſſians*, who had *Ceres* to Wife, the mother of *Proſerpina*: *Proſerpina* being a general name alſo for all fair women. This purpoſe of theirs, being known to *Aidonius*, *Theſeus* and *Pyrithous* were both taken; and becauſe *Pyrithous* was the principal in this conſpiracy, and *Theſeus* drawn on by a kind of affection or inforcement, the one was given for food to *Aidonius* his great Dog *Cerberus*, the other held priſoner, till *Hercules*, by the inſtigation of *Euriſtheus*, delivered him by ſtrong hand. The *Moloſſi*, which *Stephanus* writes with a ſingle (*S*) were a people of *Epirus*, inhabiting near the Mountains of *Pindus*: of which Mountains *Oeta* is one of the moſt famous, where *Hercules* burnt himſelf. The River of *Acheron* (which the Poets deſcribe to be in Hell) riſeth out of the ſame Hills. There is another Nation of the *Moloſſi* in *Theſſali*: but theſe are neighbours to the *Caſſiopæi*, ſaith *Plutarch* in his Greek queſtions.

Pauſ. in Att.

The rape of *Orithya*, the daughter of *Erytheus*, King of *Athens*, taken away by *Boreas* of *Thrace*, is referred to the time of *Ehud*. The Poets aſcribe this rape to the North-wind, becauſe *Thrace* is ſituate North from *Athens*. In this time alſo *Tereus* raviſhed *Philomela*, of which the fable was deviſed of her converſion into a Nightingale. For *Tereus* having married her ſiſter *Progne*, conducting *Philomela* from *Athens* to ſee her ſiſter, forced her in her paſſage, and withall cut out her tongue, that ſhe might not complain; perſwading *Progne* his Wife, that *Philomela* died in the mid-way: all which her Brother-in-law's mercileſs behaviour towards her, *Philomela* expreſſed by her needle upon cloath, and ſent unto *Progne*. In revenge whereof, *Progne* cauſed her only ſon *Itys* to be cut in pieces, and ſet before *Tereus* her husband, ſo dreſt, as it appeared to be ſome other ordinary food: of which when he had eaten his fill, ſhe cauſed his head, hands and feet, to be preſented unto him: and then fled away with ſuch ſpeed towards *Athens*, where her Father *Pandion* yet lived, as the Poets feigned, that ſhe was turned into a Swallow. The place where it was performed, *Strabo* finds to be *Daulis*, in *Phocis*: and the Tomb of *Tereus*, *Pauſanias* hath built near the Rocks *Mergi*, in the Territory of *Athens*. By which, as alſo by the name *Daulis*, where theſe things are ſuppoſed to have been done (whence alſo *Philomela* is called *Daulias Ales*) it appears that it is true, which *Thucydides* notes by way of digreſſion in his *Peloponneſian* War, That this *Tereus* was not King in that which is now called *Thracia*, or in *Odryſe*, (as the Poets call him *Odryſius*) but that *Phocis* a Country in *Greece* not far from *Attica*, a City whereof is called *Daulia*, was in *Pandions* time inhabited by *Thracians*, of which this *Tereus* was King: whence *Pandion*, to have amity

Lib. 9. Pauſ. in Att.

Thucyd. l. 2.

with his neighbours, made him his Son-in-law: as it is good to believe, saith *Thucydides*, that *Pandion* King of *Athens* made that alliance with a neighbour King, from whom he might have succour, rather than with any *Tereus*, that should have held the Kingdom of *Odrysæ*, which was greatly distant from thence. The occasion that the Poet chose a Swallow for *Progne*, to be turned into, may seem to have been, partly because, as *Pausanias* says, *Daulidè, nec nidificant, nec habitant in tota circum regione Hirundines*; as if a Swallow, remembring the wrong that was there done to her, and her Sister, did for ever after hate that place.

Near this time *Melampus* (who is said to have understood the voices of Birds and Beasts) flourished, being also esteemed for an excellent Physician. He restored to their former health the Daughters of *Prætus* King of the *Argives*, who (as the Poets please) were made mad by *Juno*: and thinking themselves to be Kine, fled into the Woods, fearing to be constrained to the Plough: for in those Countries where the Ground was light, they did use often to plough with Kine.

Paus. l. 1. *Homer Odys. 11.* *Paus.*

In the seven and fortieth year of *Ehud*, *Tros* began to reign in *Dardania*, and gave it his own name; about which time *Phemone* the chief Priest of *Apollo* in *Delphos*, devised the Heroical Verse.

Of the same date was *Tantalus*, King of *Lydia*: whom *Eusebius* makes King of *Phrygia*: and also of that part of which the people were antiently *Mæones*. Of *Tantalus* was devised the fable that some Poets have applyed to the passion of love: and some to the covetous that dare not injoy his riches. *Eusebius* calls this *Tantalus* the Son of *Jupiter*, by the Nymph *Pleta*: *Diaconus* and *Dydimus* in *Zezes*, give him another Mother. He was said to be the Son of *Jupiter*, as some will have it; because he had that Planet in his ascendent, betokening Wisdom and Riches. It is said, that when he made a feast to the gods, having nothing more precious, he caused his own Son to be slain and drest to the Banquet: of whom *Ceres* eat part of one of the shoulders; whereby was signified, that those Men which seek after Divine knowledg, prefer nothing on earth before it: no not the care of their own Children, of all else the most deareſt. And where it was devised, that he had always Water and Fruit offered to his lips, and yet suffered the torment of hunger and thirst, it was ment thereby, that though he abounded (by reason of his riches) in all delicacy of the World, yet his mind being otherwise, and to higher desires transported, he enjoyed no pleasure at all by the rest. Of whom *Ovid*:

Euseb. prap. Ev. in. l. 2. Zezez. h st. 10. Chil. 5.

Quærit aquas in aquis, & poma fugacia captat
Tantalus, *hoc illi garrula lingua dedit.*

Here *Tantalus* in water seeks for water, and doth miss.
The fleeting fruit he catcheth at: His long tongue brought him this.

This punishment, they say, was inflicted upon him, for that he discovered the secrets of the gods: that is, because he taught Wisdom and Vertue to mortal Men: which Story, *Cornelius Gallus* hath elegantly expresst in Verse. Others expound this Fable otherwise, and say, That *Tantalus*, though he excelled in riches, yet being thirsty of more abundance, was never satisfied. Of whom *Horace* against covetousness.

Tantalus *à labiis sitiens fugientia captat*
Flumina; quid rides? mutato nomine de te
Fabula narratur.

The thirsting *Tantalus* doth catch at streams, that from him flee.
Why laugheſt thou? the name but chang'd, the tale is told of thee.

Others conceive, where it is feigned of *Tantalus*, that he gave the *Nectar* and *Ambrosia* of the gods, to vain and unworthy Men, that he was therefore by them in that sort punished. Of which *Natalis*, out of *Pindarus*:

Immortalitatem quod furatus,
Cœtaneis convivis,
Nectar Ambrosiamque dedit.

Because that stealing immortallity,
He did both *Nectar* and *Ambrosia* give
To guests of his own age, to make them live.

Whereby it was meant, that the secrets of Divinity ought not to be imparted to the unpure Vulgar. For as the cleaneſt Meats in a foul stomack, are therein corrupted, so the most high and reserved mysteries are often perverted by an unclean and defiled mind.

To you it is given (saith *Christ* in *Mark*) *to know the mystery of the Kingdom of God, but unto them that are without, all things be done in Parables.* So it is said of him, that *he expounded all things to his Disciples apart.* And therefore doth *Gregory Nazianzen* infer upon a place of St. *Paul*: *Quod si* Paulo *licuisset effari ea, quorum ipsi cognitionem cœlum tertium & usque ad illud progressio suppeditavit, fortasse de Deo, nobis aliquid amplius constaret*; *If* Paul *might have uttered the things, the knowledg whereof the third Heavens, and his going thither, did bring unto him, peradventure we might know somewhat more of God.* *Mark 4. 11* *Mark 4. 34.* *Greg. in Orat. de recta rationc disp. de Deo.* *2 Cor. 12.*

Pythagoras, saith *Revelin*, thought it not the part of a wise Man, *Asino lyram exponere, aut mysteria, quæ ita reciperet, ut Sus tubam, & fidem Graculus, & unguenta Scarabæus: quare silentium indixit discipulis, nè vulgo divinorum arcana patefacerent, quæ meditando facilius quàm loquendo apprehendantur*; *To set an Ass to a Harp, or to learn mysteries: which he would handle as a Swine doth a Trumpet, or a Jay a Viol, or Scarabies, and unclean flies soveraign Ointment. Wherefore he commanded silence to his Disciples, that they should not disclose divine misteries to the common sort, which are easier learned by meditation than by babling.* And therefore did the Egyptians communicate their mysteries among their Priests in certain *Hieroglyphick* letters, to the end that their secrets might be hidden from the Vulgar: and that they might bestow the more time in the contemplation of their covered meanings.

But to porceed with the contemporaries of *Aod*, or *Ehud*, with him it is also said, that *Tytius* lived, whom *Apollo* slew, because he sought to force his Mother *Latona*. *Euphorion* hath it thus, that *Tytius* was the Son of *Elara*, the Daughter of *Orchomenus*; which *Elara* being beloved of *Jupiter*, to avoid *Juno*'s revenge, he hid *Elara* in the Earth, where she was delivered of *Tytius*: whose Mother dying, and himself therein nourished, he was therefore called the Son of the Earth. *Pausanias* speaking of the grave of this Giant, affirms, that his body occupied the third part of a furlong. But *Tibullus* hath a louder lie of his stature out of *Homer*:

Por-

Hom. Od. 11. *Porrectúsque novem* Tytius *per jugera terræ,*
Assiduus atro viscere pascit aves.

Nine furlongs stretcht, lies *Tytius*, who for his wicked deeds,
The hungry Birds with his renewing Liver daily feeds.

This *Strabo* doth thus expound; That *Apollo* killing this cruel and wicked Tyrant of *Panopea*, a City in *Phocis*, it was feigned by the Poets, to the terrour of others, That he was still eaten in Hell by Birds, and yet still lived, and had his Flesh renewed.

Admetus, King of *Thessaly*, lived also in this age, whom it is said that *Apollo* first served as a Herd-man, and afterward, for his excellent wit, was by him advanced; but having slain *Hyacinthus*, he crost the *Hellespont*, and fled into *Phrygia:* where, together with *Neptune*, he was entertained by *Laomedon*, and got his Bread by working in Brick, for building of the Walls of *Troy*, not by making the Bricks leap into their places by playing on his Harp: according to him, in *Ovid*, which saith:

Illion aspicies, *firmataque turribus altis*
Mœnia, Apollineæ *structa canore lyræ.*

Strong *Ilion* thou shalt see with walls and towers high,
Built with the harp of wise *Apollo*'s Harmony.

Thus the Poets: but others, that he laboured with his hands, as hired in this work. And that he also laboured at the building of the *Labyrinth* in *Greece*, all the *Megariens* witness, saith *Pausanias*. *Paus. in Att.*

In these days also of *Ehud*, or (as some find it) in the days of *Deborah*, lived *Perseus*, the Son of *Jupiter* and *Danae*, by whose Souldiers (as they sailed out of *Peloponnesus*, to seek their adventure on *Africa* side) *Medusa*, the Daughter and Successour of *Phorcus*, being weakly accompanied, as she hunted near the Lake *Tritan*, was surprised and slain: whose beauty, when *Perseus* beheld, he caused her Head to be imbalmed, and carried into *Greece:* the beauty whereof was such, and so much admired, and the beholders so astonished which beheld it, as thereof grew the fiction, that all that looked on *Medusa*'s head, were turned into Stones. *Triton* a Lake of *Africa*, which *Plini* calleth *Pallantias. Didym. in pereg. Hist.*

Cecrops, the second of that name, and seventh King of *Athens*, and *Acrisius* the 13. or, after *Eusebius*, the fourteenth King of the *Argives*, began also their reigns, as it is said, in the time of this Judge: of which, the first ruled forty years, and the second, thirty one years. *Euseb. in Chron.*

Also *Bellerophon* lived in this age, being the Son of *Glaucus*, the Son of *Sisyphus:* who inticed by *Antea*, or *Sthenobia*, the Wife of *Prætus* of the *Argives*, to accompany her, but refusing it, she accused him to her husband, that he offered to force her: whereupon *Prætus* sent *Bellerophon* into *Lycia*, about some affairs of weight, between him and his Son-in-law *Jobates:* giving secret orders to *Jobates* to dispatch him: but *Jobates* thinking it dishonourable to lay violent hands on him, imployed him against *Chimæra*, a Monster, vomiting, or breathing fire. Now the gods (as the report is) pittying his innocency, sent him the winged Horse, *Pegasus*, sprung up of the blood of *Medusa*, formerly slain by the Souldiers of *Perseus* in *Africa*, to transport him: a Horse that none other could master or bridle but *Minerva:* upon which Beast *Bellerophon* overcame *Chimæra:* and performed the other services given him in charge: which done, as he returned towards *Lycia*, the *Lycians* lay in ambush to have slain him: but being victorious also over all those, he arrived to *Jobates* in safety: whom *Jobates* for his eminent vertues honoured, first with one of his Daughters: and afterward with his Kingdom: after which he grew so insolent, as he attempted to flie up to Heaven upon his *Pegasus:* whose pride, *Jupiter* disdained, caused one of his stinging Flies so to vex *Pegasus*, as he cast of *Bellerophon* from his back, into the Valley of *Cilicia*, where he died blind; of which burthen, *Pegasus* being discharged (as the fable goeth) flew back to Heaven: and being fed in *Jupiters* own stable, *Aurora* begg'd him of *Jupiter* to ride on before the Sun. This tale is diversly expounded; as first by some, That it pleaseth God to relieve Men in their innocent and undeserved adversity, as to cast down those which are too high minded: according to that which is said of *Bellerophon:* that when he was exposed to extream hazard, or rather certain death, he found both deliverance and honour: but waxing overproud and presumptuous in his glorious fortunes, he was again thrown down into the extremity of sorrow, and ever-during misery. Secondly by others, That under the name of *Chimæra*, was meant a cruel Pyrat of the *Lycians*, whose Ship had in her prow a Lyon, a Goat in the mid-ship, and a Dragon in the Stern, of which three Beasts, this Monster *Chimæra* was said to be compounded, whom *Bellerophon* pursued with a kind of Gally, of such swiftness, that it was called the flying Horse; to whom the invention of Sayls (the Wings of a Ship) are also attributed. Many other expositions are made of this tale by other Authors: but it is not unlikely, that *Chimæra* was the name of a Ship, for so *Virgil* calleth one of the greatest Ships of *Æneas*. *Plutar. in claris mulier.* *L. 5. Ænesd. Homer in hym. ad Apoll.*

Ion also, from whom the *Athenians* (being ignorant of the antiquity of their parent *Javan*) derive their name of *Ions*, is said to have ben about *Ehuds* time: *Homer* calls them *Jaones*, which hath a near resemblance to the word *Javan*. Perhaps it might be so that *Ion* himself took name from *Javan:* it being a custom observable in the Histories of all times, to revive the antient name of a fore-Father, in some the principal of his issue.

The invasion of *India* by *Liber-Pater*, is by some reported as done in this age: but St. *Augustine* makes him far more ancient: placing him between the coming out of *Egypt*, and the death of *Josua*. *Li. 18. c. 12. de Ci. Dei. l. 18. c. 15.*

About the end of the eighty years, ascribed to *Ehud*, and *Samger*, *Pelops* flourished: who gave name to *Peloponnesus* in *Greece*, now called *Morea*.

SECT. IV.

Of Deborah *and her Contemporaries.*

After *Israel* had lived in peace and plenty to the end of these 80 years, they again began to forget the Giver of all goodness, and many of those being worn out, which were witnesses of the former misery, and of Gods deliverance by *Ehud*; and after him by *Samgar*; the rest began to return to their former neglect of Gods commandments. For as Plenty and Peace are the parents of idle security; so is security as fruitful in begetting and bringing forth both danger and subversion: of which, all estates in the World have tasted by interchange of times. Therefore when their sins were again ripe for punishment, *Jabin* King of *Hazor*, after the death of *Ehud*, invaded the territory

ritory of *Iſrael*; and having in his ſervice 900 iron Chariots, beſides the reſt of his forces, he held them in ſubjection twenty years, till it pleaſed God to raiſe up *Deborah* the Propheteſs, who incouraged *Barac* to levy a force out of *Nepthalim*, and *Zabulon*, to incounter the *Canaanites*. That the Men of *Nepthalim* were more forward than the reſt in this action, it may ſeem to have proceeded partly from the authority, that *Barac* had among them, being of the ſame Tribe; and partly from their feeling of the common grievance, which in them was more ſenſible than in others, becauſe *Hazor* and *Haroſeth* the chief holds of *Jabin*, were in *Nepthalim*. So in the days of *Jeptha* the *Gileadites* took the greateſt care, becauſe the *Ammonites*, with whom the War was, preſſed moſt upon them, as being their borderers. Now as it pleaſed God by the left hand of *Ehud* to deliver *Iſrael* from the *Moabites*: and by the counſel and courage of a Woman, to free them from the yoak of *Canaan*, and to kill the valiant *Siſera* by *Jael* the *Kenites* wife: ſo was it his will at other times, to work the like great things by the weakeſt means. For the mighty *Aſſyrian Nabuchodonoſor*, who was a King of Kings, and reſtleſs, he overthrew by his own imaginations, the cauſers of his brutiſh melancholy: and changed his matchleſs pride into the baſe humility of a Beaſt. And to approve that he is the Lord of all power, he ſometime puniſheth by inviſible ſtrength, as when he ſlaughtered the Army of *Senacherib* by his Angel, or as he did the *Egyptians* in *Moſes*'s time: ſometime by dead bodies, as when he drowned *Pharaoh* by the waves of the Sea; and the *Canaanites* by hail ſtones in the time of *Joſua*: ſometimes by the miniſtery of Men, as when he overthrew the four Kings of the Eaſt, *Chedorlaomer*, and his companions, by the houſhold Servants of *Abraham*. He cauſed the *Moabites* and *Ammonites* to ſet upon their own confederates, the Army of the *Edomites*; and having ſlain them, to kill one another in the ſight of *Joſaphat*: and of the like to theſe, a volume of examples may be gathered. And to this effect did *Deborah* the Propheteſs, ſpeak unto *Barac* in theſe words, *But this journey that thou takeſt, ſhall not be for thine honour, for the Lord ſhall ſell* Siſera *into the hands of a Woman.* In which victory all the ſtrength of the *Canaanite Jabin* fell to the ground, even to the laſt Man: in the end of which War it ſeemeth, that *Jabin* himſelf alſo periſhed, as appeareth by the laſt Verſe of the fourth of *Judges*.

2 *Chron.* 20.

Judg. 49.

After all which, *Deborah* giveth thanks to God, and after the acknowledgement of all his powerfulneſs, and great mercies, ſhe ſheweth the weak eſtate whereinto *Iſrael* was brought for their Idolatry, by the *Canaanites*, and other bordering Nations, in theſe words: *Was there a ſhield or ſpear ſeen among forty thouſand of Iſrael?* She alſo ſheweth how the *Iſraelites* were ſevered and amazed, ſome of them confined over *Jordan*, and durſt not joyn themſelves to the reſt; as thoſe of *Reuben* in *Gilead*: that the *Aſherites* kept the Sea-coaſt, and forſook their habitations towards the Land; and the Children of *Dan*, who neighboured the Sea, crept into their Ships for ſafety, ſhewing thereby that all were diſperſed, and all in effect, loſt. She then curſed the Inhabitants of *Meroz*, who dwelling near the place of the battel (belike fearing the ſucceſs) came not out to aſſiſt *Iſrael*, and then bleſſeth *Jael* the Wife of *Heber* the *Kenite*, who who nailed *Siſera* in her Tent: ſhewing the ancient affection of that race to the *Iſraelites*. For though the Family of *Heber* were inforced in that miſerable time of ſubjection, to hold correſpondency with *Jabin* the *Canaanite*, yet when occaſion offered them means, they witneſſed their love and faith to their ancient Friends. Laſtly, ſhe derideth the Mother of *Siſera* who promiſed her Son the victory in her own hopes: and fancied to her ſelf, and deſcribed the ſpoils both of Garments and Maidens by him gotten. For concluſion, ſhe directeth her praiſe and thanks to God only victorious.

Jud. 5. v. 18.

verſ. 17.

From the beginning of *Jabins* oppreſſion to the end of that peace, which *Deborah* and *Barac* purchaſed unto *Iſrael*, there paſſed forty years. In which time the Kingdom of *Argos*, which had continued 544 years, was tranſlated to *Mycænæ*: The tranſlation of this Kingdom, *Vives* out of *Pauſanias* writeth to this effect: After *Danaus*, *Lynceus* ſucceeded in *Argos*, after whom the Children of *Abas*, the Son of *Lynceus* divided the Kingdom: of which *Acriſius* being eldeſt, held *Argos* it ſelf: *Prætus* his Brother poſſeſt *Ephyra*, or *Corinth*, and *Tirynthos*, and other Cities, with all the Territory towards the Sea: there being many Monuments in *Tyrinthos*, which witneſs *Prætus*'s poſſeſſion, ſaith *Pauſanias*.

Pau. in Corinthiacis.

Now *Acriſius* was foretold by an Oracle, that he ſhould be ſlain by the Son of his Daughter *Danae*: whereupon he cauſed her to be incloſed in a Tower, to the end that no Man might accompany her. But the Lady being exceeding fair, it is feigned that *Jupiter* turned himſelf into a golden ſhower: which falling into her lap, begat her with Child: the meaning whereof was, that ſome Kings Son, or other worthy Man, corrupted her Keepers with gold, and enjoyed her, of whom *Perſeus* was born; who when he grew to Mans eſtate, either by chance (ſaith *Cteſius*) or in ſhewing his Grand-Father the invention of the *diſcus*, or Leaden Ball, ſlew him unwillingly. After this, *Perſeus*, to avoid the infamy of *Patricide* in *Argos*, changed Kingdomes with his Uncle *Prætus*: and built *Mycænæ*. This impriſonment of *Danae*, *Sophocles* reporteth otherwiſe: and that ſhe was incloſed in a brazen vault under the Kings Hall with her Nurſe and Keepers. Upon this cloſe cuſtody, *Horace* hath this witty obſervation:

Incluſam Danaen *turris ahenea,*
Robuſtæque fores, & vigilum canum
Triſtes excubiæ munierant ſatis
Nocturnis ab Adulteris:

Si non Acriſium *Virginis abditæ*
Cuſtodem pavidum, Jupiter *&* Venus
Riſiſſent, fore enim tutum iter & patens,
Converſo in pretium Deo.

Aurum per medios ire ſatellites,
Et perrumpere amat ſaxa, potentius
Ictu fulmineo.

The brazen tower with doors cloſe barr'd,
And watchful bandogs frightful guard,
Kept ſafe the maidenhead
Of *Danae* from ſecret love:
Till ſmiling *Venus*, and wiſe *Jove*
Beguil'd her Fathers dread.
For chang'd into a golden ſhowre,
The God into her lap did poure
Himſelf, and took his pleaſure.
Though guards and ſtony wals to break,
The thunder-bolt is far more weak,
Than is a golden treaſure.

The first Kings of the Argives *were these.*

Inachus the first King, who began to reign in the first year of *Jacob*, and the 61 of *Isaac*: from which time, to the end of *Sthelenus*, *Castor* misreckoneth 400 years. This Kingdom before the translation, *Eusebius* accounteth to have stood 544 years, others but at 417. *Io* was the Daughter of this *Inachus*: whom the *Egyptians* called *Isis*.

Phoroneus,	*Sthenelus*,
Apis,	*Danaus*,
Argus,	*Lynceus*,
Pirasus,	*Abas*,
Phorbas,	*Acrisius*,
Triopas,	*Pelops*.
Crotopus,	

After the translation to *Mycenæ*, *Mar. Scotus* finds these Kings:

Perseus,	*Eurysteus*,
Sthenelus,	

Atreus, and *Thyestes*. } The Sons of *Pelops* by *Hippodamia*: *Atreus* by *Europe* had *Agamemnon* and *Menelaus*.

Agememnon,	*Tisamenus*,
Ægysthus,	*Penthilus* and
Orestes,	*Cometes*.

Of these Kings *Mercator* and *Bunting* leave out the two first, and the last, beginning with *Eurysthеus*: and ending with *Penthilus*. In *Tisamenus*'s time the *Heraclidæ* returned into *Peloponnesus*: of which hereafter.

The Contemporaries of *Barac* and *Debora*, were *Midas*, who reigned in *Phrygia*: and *Ilus*, who built *Ilium*: with others mentioned in our *Chronological* Table, as Contemporaries with *Debora*.

SECT. V.

Of Gideon, *and of* Dædalus, Sphinx, Minos, *and others that lived in this Age.*

DEbora and *Barac* bein dead, the *Midianites*, assisted by the *Amalekites*, infested *Israel*. For when, under a Judge, who had held them in the fear of the Lord, they had enjoyed any quiet or prosperity: The Judg was no sooner dead, than they turned to their former impious Idolatry. Therefore, now the neighbouring Nations did so master them in a short time (the hand of God being withheld from their defence) as to save themselves, they crept into caves of the mountains, and other the like places of hardest access: their enemies possessing all the plains
Jud. 6. and fruitful vallies: and in harvest time, by themselves, and the multitude of their cattel, destroying all that grew up: covering the Fields as thick as grashoppers: which servitude lasted seven years.

Then the Lord by his Angel stirred up *Gideon* the
Jud. 8. v. 5. Son of *Joash*, afterward called *Jerubbaal*: whose fear and unwillingness, and how it pleased God to hearten him in his enterprize, it is both largely and precisely set down in the holy Scriptures: as also how it pleased God by a few select persons, namely 300 out of 32000 Men, to make them know that he only was the Lord of Hosts. Each of these 300 by *Gideons* appointment carried a Trumpet, and light, in a pitcher, instruments of more terrour than force, with which he gave the great Army of their enemies an alarum: who hearing so loud a noise, and seeing (at the crack of so many pitchers broken) so many lights about them, esteeming the Army of *Israel* to be infinite, and strucken with a sudden fear, they all fled without a stroke stricken, and were slaughtered in great numbers: two of their Princes being made prisoners and slain. In his return the *Ephramites* began to quarrel with *Gideon*, because he made war without their assistance, being then greedy of glory, the victory being gotten: who (if *Gideon* had failed and fallen in the enterprize) would no doubt have held themselves happy by being neglected. But *Gideon* appeasing them with a mild answer, followed after the enemy, in which pursuit being tyred with travel, and weary even with the slaughtering of his enemies, he desired relief from the inhabitants of *Succoth*, to the end, that (his Men being refreshed) he might over-take the other two Kings of the *Midianites*: which had saved themselves by flight. For they were four Princes of the Nations, which had invaded and wasted *Israel*: to wit, *Oreb* and *Seeb*, which were taken already, and *Zebah* and *Zalmunna*; which fled. *Jud. c. 6. & 7.*

Gideon being denyed by them of *Succoth*, sought the like relief from the Inhabitants of *Pennel*, who in like sort refused to succour him. To both of these places he threatned therefore the revenge, which in his return from the prosecution of the other two Princes, he performed: to wit, that he would tear the flesh of those of *Succoth* with thorns and briars, and destroy the Inhabitants and City of *Pennel*. Now why the people of these two Cities should refuse relief to their brethren the *Israelites*, especially after so great a victory: if I may presume to make conjecture, it seems likely, first, that those Cities set over *Jordan*, and in the way of all invasions, to be made by the *Moabites*, *Ammonites* and *Midianites*, into *Israel*, had either made their own peace with those Nations, and were not spoiled by them; or else they knowing that *Zeba* and *Zalmunna* were escaped with a great part of their Army, might fear their revenge in the future. Secondly, it may be laid to the condition and dispositions of these Men: as it is not rare to find of the like humour in all ages. For there are multitudes of Men especially of those which follow the War, that both envy and maligne others, if they perform any praise-worthy actions, for the honour and safety of their own Countrey, though themselves may be assured to bear a part of the smart of contrary success. And such malicious hearts can rather be contented that their Prince and Country should suffer hazzard and want, than that such Men as they mislike, should be the authors or actors of any glory or good to either.

Now *Gideon*, how or whersoever it were that he refreshed himself and his weary and hungry Souldiers, yet he followed the opportunity, and pursued his former victory to the uttermost: and finding *Zebah* and *Zalmunna* in *Karkor* (suspecting no further attempt upon them) he again surprized them, and slaughtered those 15000 remaining: having put to the sword in the former attempt 120000 and withall he took *Zebah* and *Zalmunna* prisoners: whom because themselves had executed *Gideon*'s Brethren before at *Tabor*, he caused them both to be slain: or (as it is written) at their own request, slew them with his own hands; his Son whom he first com-

A place in *Basan*, as it is thought *Jud.* 8. 19.

commanded to do it, refusing it; and in his return from the consummation of this marvellous victory, he took revenge of the Elders of *Succoth*, and of the Citizens of *Penuel*: forgiving no offence committed against him, either by strangers, or by his Brethren the *Israelites*. But such mercy as he shewed to others, his own Children found soon after his death, according to that which hath been said before. The debts of cruelty and mercy are never left unsatisfied: for as he slew the 70 Elders of *Succoth*, with great and unusual torments, so were his own 70 Sons, all but one, murthered by his own Bastard *Abimelec*: The like *Analogy* is observed by the *Rabbines*, in the greatest of the plagues which God brought upon the *Egyptians*, who having caused the male Children of the *Hebrews* to be slain, others of them to be cast into the River and drowned: God rewarded them even with the like measure, destroying their own first born by his *Angel*, and drowned *Pharaoh* and his Army in the Red Sea. And hereof a world of examples might be given both out of the Scriptures and other Histories.

In the end so much did the people reverence *Gideon* in the present, for his victory, and there own deliverance, as they offered him the Sovereignty over them, and to establish him in the Government which *Jud.* 8.23. he refused, answering; *I will not reign over you, neither shall my Child reign over you, but the Lord shall, &c.* But he desired the people that they would bestow on him the golden Ear-rings which every Man had gotten. For the *Ismaelites*, neighbours, and mixt with the *Midianites*, used to wear them: the weight of all which was a thousand and seven hundred shekles of Gold, which makes of ours 2380. *li.* if we follow the account of the shekle vulgar. And because *Exod.* 28. he converted that Gold into an *Ephod*, a Garment of *Jud.* 8.28. Gold, blew Silk, Purple, Scarlet, and fine Linnen, belonging to the High Priest only, and set up the same in his own City of *Ophra* or *Ephna*, which drew *Israel* to Idolatry, the same was the destruction of *Gideon* and his house.

There was another kind of *Ephod* besides this of the High Priests, which the Levites used, and so did *David* when he danced before the *Ark*: and *Samuel* while he was yet young, which was made of linnen only.

Now if any Man demand how it was possible for *Gideon* with 300 Men to destroy 120000 of their enemies, and afterward 15000 which remained, we may remember, that although *Gideon* with 300 gave the first alarm, and put the *Midianites* in rout and disorder; yet all the rest of the Army came in to the slaughter, and pursuit: for it is written; *That the* *Jud.* 7.23. *Men of Israel being gathered together out of* Nepthali, *and out of* Asher, *and out of* Manasse, *pursued after the* Midianites: for, this Army *Gideon* left in the Tents behind him, when he went down to view the Army of his enemies, who with the noise of his 300 Trumpets came after him to the execution.

There lived with *Gideon*, *Ægeus*, the Son of *Pandion*, who reigned in *Athens*: *Eurystheus* King of *Mycenæ*: *Atreus* and *Thyestes* the Sons of *Pelops*, who bare dominion over a great part of *Peloponnesus*, and after the death of *Eurystheus*, the Kingdom of *Mycenæ* fell into the hand of *Atreus*. This is that *Atreus*, who holding his Brother in jealousie, as an attempter, both of his Wife and Crown, slew the Children of *Thyestes*, and causing their flesh to be drest, did therewith feast their Father. But this cruelty was not unrevenged. For both *Atreus* and his Son *Agamemnon* was slain by a base Son of *Thyestes*, yet the grand Children, and all the linage of *Atreus* died by the same sword.

In *Gideon*'s time also those things were supposed to have been done, which are written of *Dædalus* and *Icarus*. *Dædalus*, they say, having slain his Nephew *Attalus*, fled to *Minos* King, of *Crete* for succour; where, for his excellent workmanship he was greatly esteemed, having made for *Minos* a *Labyrinth*, like unto that of *Egypt*. Afterward he was said to have framed an artificial Cow for *Pasiphae* the Queen, that she, being in love with a fair Bull, might by putting her self into the Cow, satisfie her lust; a thing no less unnatural than incredible, had not that shameless Emperour *Domitian* exhibited the like beastly spectacle openly before the people of *Rome*, in his *Amphitheater*; of purpose, as may seem, to verifie the old Fable. For so it appears by those Verses of *Martial*, wherein the flattering Poet magnifieth the abominable shew, as a goodly Pageant, in those vitious times.

Junctam Pasiphaen Dicæo credite Tauro
Vidimus, accepit fabula prisca fidem.
Nec se miratur Cæsar, longæva vetustas,
Quicquid fama canit, donat arena tibi.

But concerning that which is reported of *Pasiphae*, *Servius* makes a less unhoneſt construction of it, thinking that *Dædalus* was of her counsel, and her Pandar for the enticeing of a Secretary of *Minos* called *Taurus* which signifieth a Bull, who begat her with Child; and that she being delivered of two Sons, the one resembling *Taurus*, the other her husband *Minos*, it was feigned that she was delivered of the Monster *Minotaur*, half a Man, and half a Bull. But this practise being discovered, and *Dædalus* appointed to be slain, he fled out of *Creta* to *Cocalus* King of *Sicily*: in which passage he made such expedition, as it was feigned that he fashioned wings for himself and his Son to transport them. For whereas *Minos* pursued him with Boats which had Oars only, *Dædalus* framed Sails both for his own Boat, and for his Sons, by which he out-went those that had him in chase. Upon which new invention, *Icarus* bearing himself over-bold, was over-born and drowned.

It is also written of *Dædalus*, that he made Images that could move themselves, and go, because he carved them with Legs, Arms and Hands; whereas those that preceded him; could only present the Body and Head of those Men, whom they carried to counterfeit, and yet the workmanship was esteemed very rare. But *Plutarch*, who had seen some of those that were called the Images of *Dædalus*, found them exceeding rude.

With *Gideon* also flourished *Linus* the *Theban*, the *Herinf.* Son of *Apollo*, and *Terpsichore*, who instructed *Thamaris*, *Orpheus*, and *Hercules*. He wrote of the Creation, of the Sun and Moons course, and of the Generation of living Creatures, but in the end he was slain by *Hercules*, his Scholar, with his own Harp. *Plut. Parall.* *l.* 9.

Again, in this age those things spoken of *Sphinx*, *Strab. l.* 9. and *Oedipus*, are thought to have been performed. This *Sphinx* being a great robber by Sea and Land, was by the *Corinthian* Army, led by *Oedipus*, overcome. But that which was written of her propounding of riddles, to those whom she mastered, was meant by the rocky and unaccessible Mountain near *Thebes*, which she defended; and by *Oedipus* dissolving her probleme, his victory over her. She was painted with wings, because exceeding swift, and with the body of a Lion, for her cruelty. But that which *Palæphatus* reports of *Sphinx*, were more probable, did not the time disprove it, for he calls her an *Amazonite*, and the Wife of *Cadmus*: who when by her

her help he had cast *Draco* out of *Thebes* (neglecting her) he married the Sister of *Draco*, which *Sphinx* taking in despightful part, with her own Troop she held the Mountain by *Thebes*, from whence she continued a sharp War upon the *Thebans*, till by *Oedipus* overthrown. About this time did *Minos* thrust his Brother out of *Crete*, and held sharp War with the *Megarians* and *Athenians*, because his Son *Androgeus* was slain by them. He possest himself of *Megara*, by the treason of *Scylla*, Daughter of *Nisus* the King. He was long Master of the Sea, and brought the *Athenians* to the tribute of delivering him every year seven of their Sons: which tribute *Theseus* released, as shall be shewed, when I come to the time of the next Judg *Thola*. In the end he was slain at *Camerinus* or *Camicus* in *Sicilia*, by *Cocalus* the King, while he pursued *Dædalus*: and was esteemed by some to be the first Law-giver to those Islands.

Aristot. pol. l. 1.

To this time are referred many deeds of *Hercules*, as the killing of *Antæus* the Giant, who was said to have 60 and odd cubits of length, which though *Plutarch* doth confirm, reporting that there was such a body found by *Sertorius* the *Roman*, in *Lybia*, where *Hercules* slew *Antæus*: yet for my self I think it but a loud lie. That *Antæus* was of great strength, and a cunning wrestler *Eusebius* affirmeth: and because he cast so many Men to to the ground, he was feigned to be the Son of the earth. *Pliny* saith, that he inhabited near the Gardens *Hesperides* in *Mauritania*. St. *Augustine* affirms, that this *Hercules* was not of *Greece*, but of *Lybia*: and the *Hydra* also which he overcame, *Plato* expoundeth to be a subtle Sophister.

Euseb. in Chro.

Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. 18. c. 12.

Euseb in Chro.

SECT. VI.

Of the Expedition of the Argonauts.

ABout the eleventh year of *Gideon*, was the famous expedition of the *Argonauts* of which many fabulous discourses have been written, the Sum of which is this:

Pelias the Son of *Neptune*, Brother by the Mothers side to *Æson*, who was *Jasons* Father, reigning in *Jolcos* a Town of *Thessaly*, was warned by the *Oracle* of *Apollo* to take heed of him that wore but one shoe. This *Pelias* afterward sacrificing to *Neptune*, invited *Jason* to him, who coming hastily, lost one shoe in passing over a brook: whereupon *Pelias* demanded of him what course he would take (supposing he were able) against one of whom an Oracle should advise him to take heed? to which question when *Jason* had briefly answered, that he would send him to *Colchos* to fetch the golden Fleece, *Pelias* immediately commanded him to undertake that service. Therefore *Jason* prepared for the voyage, having a Ship built by *Argus* the Son of *Phryxus*, by the counsel of *Pallas*: whein he procured all the bravest Men of *Greece* to sail with him: as *Typhis* the Master of the Ship, *Orpheus* the famous Poet, *Castor* and *Pollux* the Sons of *Tyndarus*, *Telamon* and *Peleus* Sons of *Æacus*, and Fathers of *Ajax* and *Achilles*, *Hercules*, *Theseus* *Zetes* and *Calais* the two winged Sons of *Boreas*, *Amphiaraus* the great Southsayer, *Meleager* of *Calidon*, that slew the great wild Boar, *Ascalaphus* and *Jalmenus*, or *Almenus*, the Sons of *Mars*, who were afterwards at the last War of *Troy*, *Laërtes* the Father of *Ulysses*, *Atalanta* a warlike Virgin, *Idas* and *Lynceus*, the Sons of *Aphareus*, who afterwards in fight with *Castor* and *Pollux*, slew *Castor*, and wounded *Pollux*, but were slain themselves: *Lynceus* by *Pollux*, *Idas* by *Jupiter* with lightning.

These and many other went with *Jason* in the Ship *Argo*: in whose Prow was a table of the Beech of *Dodona*, which could speak. They arrived first at *Lemnos*; the Women of which *Island* having slain all the Males, purposing to lead an *Amazonian* life, were nevertheless contented to take their pleasure of the *Argonauts*. Hence they came to the Countrey about *Cyzicus*: where dwelt a people called *Doliones*: over whom then reigned one *Cyzicus*, who entertained them friendly; but it so fell out, that loosing thence by night, they were driven by contrary winds back into his Port, neither knowing that it was the same Haven, nor being known by the *Doliones* to be the same Men: but rather taken for some of their bordering Enemies: by which means they fell to blows, insomuch that the *Argonauts* slew the most part of the *Doliones*, together with their King *Cyzicus*: which when by day-light they perceived, with many tears they solemnized his Funeral. Then departed they again, and arrived shortly in *Mysia*, where they left *Hercules* and *Polyphemus* the Son of *Elates* who went to seek *Hylas* the darling of *Hercules*, that was ravished by the *Nymphs*.

Polyphemus built a Town in *Mysia* called *Cios*, wherein he reigned. *Hercules* returned to *Argos*. From *Mysia* the *Argonauts* sailed into *Bithinia*, which then was peopled by the *Bebryses*, the ancient Inhabitants of the Country, over whom *Amycus* the Son of *Neptune* was then King. He being a strong Man, compelled all strangers to fight with him at whorlbats, in which kind of fight he had slain many, and was now himself slain by *Pollux*. The *Bebryces* in revenge of his death flew all upon *Pollux*, but his companions retcued him with great slaughter of the people. They sailed from hence to *Salmydesus* a Town in *Thrace* (somewhat out of the way) wherein *Phineus* a South-sayer dwelt, who was blind, and vexed with the *Harpyes*. The *Harpyes* were said to be a kind of Birds which had the Faces of Women, and foul long claws, very filthy Creatures, which when the table was furnished for *Phineus*, came flying in, and devouring or carrying away the greater part of the victuals, did so defile the rest, that they could not be endured. When therefore the *Arognauts* craved his advise and direction for their voyage: You shall do well (quoth he) first of all to deliver me from the *Harpyes*, and then afterwards to ask my counsel. Whereupon they caused the Table to be covered, and Meat set on; which was no sooner set down, than that presently in came the *Harpyes*, and played their accustomed pranks: when *Zetes* and *Calais* the winged young Men, saw this, they drew their Sword, and pursued them through the Air: Some say, that both the *Harpyes* and the young Men died of weariness in the fight, and pursuit. But *Apollonius* saith, that the *Harpyes* did covenant with the youths, to do no more harm to *Phineus*, and were thereupon dismissed. For this good turn, *Phineus* gave them informations of the way, and advertised them withall of the dangerous Rocks, called *Symplegades*, which by force of windes running together, did shut up the passage; wherefore he willed them to put a Pigeon before them in the passage: and if that passed safe, then to adventure after her; if not, then by no means to hazzard themselves in vain. They did so, and perceiving that the Pigeon had only lost a piece of her taile, they observed the next opening of the Rocks, and then rowing with all their might, passed through safe, onely the end of their Poop was bruised.

From thence forward (as the tale goeth) the *Symplegades* have stood still, for the Gods, say they, had decreed that after the passage of a ship,

they ſhould be fixed. Thence the *Argonauts* came to the *Mariandini*, a people inhabited about the mouth of the River *Parthenius*, where *Lycus* the King entertained them courteouſly, Here *Idmon* a Southſayer of their company was ſlain by a wild Boar, alſo here *Typhis* dyed: and *Anceus* undertook to ſtear the Ship. So they paſſed by the River *Thermodon*, and Mount *Caucaſus*, and came to the River *Phaſis*, which runs through the land of *Colchos*. When they were entred the Haven, *Jaſon* went to *Æetes* the King of *Colchos*, and told him the Commandment of *Pelias*, and cauſe of his coming, deſiring him to deliver the golden Fleece; which *Æetes*, as the Fable goeth, promiſed to do, if he alone would yoak together two brazen hooft Bulls, and plowing the ground with them, ſowe Dragons Teeth, which *Minerva* had given to him, being part of thoſe which *Cadmus* did ſowe at *Thebes*. Theſe Bulls were great and fierce and breathed out Fire: *Vulcan* had given them to *Æetes*.

Whileſt *Jaſon* was in a great perplexity about this task, *Medæa* the Daughter of *Æetes* fell into a moſt vehement love of him, ſo far forth, that being excellent in *Magique*, ſhe came privily to him, promiſing her help if he would aſſure her of his marriage. To this *Jaſon* agreed, and confirmed his promiſe by oath. Then gave ſhe to him a medicine wherewith ſhe bade him to annoint both his body and his armour, which would preſerve him from their violence: further ſhe told him, that armed Men would riſe out of the ground, from the Teeth which he ſhould ſowe, and ſet upon him. To remedy which inconvenience, ſhe bade him throw ſtones amongſt them as ſoon as they came up thick, whereupon they would fall together to blows, in ſuch wiſe that he might eaſily ſlay them. *Jaſon* followed her counſel; whereto when the event had anſwered, he again demanded the Fleece. But *Æetes* was ſo far from approving ſuch his deſire, that he deviſed how to deſtroy the *Argonauts*, and burn their Ship; which *Medæa* perceiving, went to *Jaſon*, and brought him by night to the Fleece, which hung on an Oak in the Grove of *Mars*, where, they ſay it was kept by a Dragon that never ſlept. This Dragon was by the Magick of *Medæa* caſt into a ſleep: ſo taking away the Golden Fleece, ſhe went with *Jaſon* into the Ship *Argo*; having with her, her Brother *Abſyrtus*.

Æetes underſtanding the practices of *Medæa*, provided to purſue the Ship, whom when *Medæa* perceived to be at hand, ſhe ſlew her Brother, and cutting him in peices, ſhe ſcattered his limbs in divers places; of which *Æetes* finding ſome, was fain to ſeek out the reſt, and ſuffer his Daughter to paſs: the parts of his Son he buried in a place, which thereupon he called *Tomi*; the *Greek* word ſignifieth *Diviſion*. Afterwards he ſent many of his ſubjects to ſeek the Ship *Argo*, threatning that if they brought not back *Medæa*, they ſhould ſuffer in her ſtead. In the mean while the *Argonauts* were driven about the Seas, and were come to the River *Eridanus*: which is *Po* in *Italy*.

Jupiter, offended with the ſlaughter of *Abſyrtus*, vexed them with a great tempeſt, and carried them they knew not whether; when they came to the Iſlands *Abſyrtides*, there the Ship *Argo*, (that their might want no incredible thing in this Fable) ſpake to them and ſaid, that the anger of *Jupiter* ſhould not ceaſe, till they came to *Auſonia*, and were cleanſed by *Circe*, from the murder of *Abſyrtus*. Now they thereupon ſailing between the coaſts of *Lybia* and *Gallia*, and paſſing through the Sea of *Sardinia*, and alongſt the coaſts of *Hetruria*, came to the Iſle of *Æea*, wherein *Circe* dwelt, who cleanſed them. Thence they ſailed by the coaſt of the *Syrens*, who ſang to allure them into danger: but *Orpheus* on the other ſide ſang ſo well, that he ſtayed them. Onely *Butes* ſwam out unto them, whom *Venus* raviſhed, and carried to *Lylibæum* in *Sicily* to dwell.

Having paſt the *Syrens*, they came between *Scylla* and *Carybdis*, and the ſtragling Rocks, which ſeemed to caſt out great ſtore of flames and ſmoak. But *Thetis* and the *Nereides*, conveyed them ſafe through at the appointment of *Juno*. So they coaſted *Sicilie*, where the Beeves of the Sun were, and touched at *Corcyra*, the Iſland of the *Phæaces*, where King *Alcinous* reigned. Mean while the Men of *Colchos*, that had been ſent by *Æetes* in queſt of the Ship *Argo*, hearing no news of it and fearing his anger, if they fulfilled not his will, betook themſelves to new habitations: Some of them dwelt in the Mountains of *Corcyre*, others in the Iſlands of *Abſyrtides*, and ſome coming to the *Phæaces*, they found the Ship *Argo*, and demanded *Medæa* of *Alcinous*: whereto *Alcinous* made anſwer, that if ſhe were not *Jaſons* Wife, they ſhould have her; but if ſhe were already married, he would not take her from her husband. *Arete*, the Wife of *Alcinous*, hearing this, married them: wherefore they of *Colchos*, not daring to return home, ſtayed with the *Phæaces*, ſo the *Argonauts* departed thence, and after a while came to *Crete*. In this Iſland, *Minos* reigned who had a Man of braſs given to him (as ſome of the Fablers ſay) by *Vulcan*. This Man had one vein in his body reaching from the neck to the heel, the end whereof was cloſed up with a brazen nail; his name was *Talus*, his cuſtom was to run thrice a day about the Iſland for the defence of it. When he ſaw the Ship *Argo* paſs by, he threw Stones at it, but *Medæa* with her Magick deſtroyed him. Some ſay that ſhe ſlew him by potions, which made him mad; others, that promiſing to make him immortal, ſhe drew out the nail that ſtopt his vein, by which means all his blood ran out, and he died: others there are that ſay he was ſlain by *Pæan*, who wounded him with an arrow in the heel. From hence the *Argonauts* ſailed to *Ægina*, where they were fain to fight for freſh Water. And laſtly, from *Ægina* they ſailed by *Eubæa* and *Locris*, home to *Jolchos*, where they arrived, having ſpent four whole months in the expedition.

Some there are that by this journey of *Jaſon*, underſtand the myſtery of the Philoſophers Stone, called the golden Fleece, to which alſo, other ſuperfine *Chimiſts* draw the twelve labours of *Hercules*. *Suidas* thinks that the golden Fleece was meant a golden Book of Parchment, which is of ſheeps-skin, and therefore called golden, becauſe it was taught therein how other mettals might be tranſmuted. Others would ſignifie by *Jaſon*, Wiſdom, and Moderation, which overcometh all perils: but that which is moſt probable, is the opinion of *Dercilus*, that the ſtory of ſuch a paſſage was true, and that *Jaſon* with the reſt went indeed to rob *Colchos*, to which they might arrive by Boat. For not far from *Caucaſus*, there are certain ſteep falling Torrents, which waſh down many Grains of Gold, as in many other parts of the World; and the people there inhabiting uſe to ſet many fleeces of Wooll in thoſe deſcents of Waters, in which the grains of gold remain, and the water paſſed thorow, which *Strabo* witneſſeth to be true. The many Rocks, Straits, Sands, and Currents in the paſſage between *Greece* and the bottom of *Pontus*, are Poetically converted into thoſe fiery Bulls, the armed Men riſing out of the ground, the Dragon caſt aſleep, and the like. The Man of braſs, the *Syrens*, *Scylla* and *Carybdis*, were other hazzards

zards and adventures which they fell into in the *Mediterran Sea*, disguised, as the rest, by *Orpheus*, under Poetical morals: all which *Homer* afterward used (the man of brass excepted) in the description of *Ulysses* his travels on the same In-land seas.

SECT. VII.

Of Abimelech, Tholan, *and* Jair, *and of the* Lapythæ, *and of* Theseus, Hippolytus, *&c.*

After the death of *Gideon*, *Abimelech* his base son, begotten on a Concubine of the *Sechemites*, remembring what offers had been made to his father by the people, who desired to make him and his their perpetual Princes; and, as it seemeth, supposing (notwithstanding his fathers religious modesty) that some of his brethren might take on them the Soveraignty, practised with the Inhabitants of *Sechem* (of which his mother was native) to make election of himself; who being easily moved with the glory, to have a King of their own, readily condescended: and the better to enable *Abimelech*, they borrowed seventy pieces of silver of their Idol *Baal-*
Judg. 9. 4. *berith*, with which treasure he hired a company of loose and desperate vagabonds, to assist his first detestable enterprise, to wit, the slaughter of his seventy brethren, the sons of *Gideon*, begotten on his Wives, of which he had many; of all which none
Verse 5. escaped but *Jotham* the youngest, who hid himself from his present fury: all which he executed on one stone; a cruelty exceeding all that hath been written of in any age. Such is humane ambition, a monster that neither feareth God (though all powerful, and whose revenges are without date, and for everlasting) neither hath it respect to nature, which laboureth the preservation of every being: but it rageth also against her, though garnished with beauty, which never dieth, and love that hath no end. All other passions and affections, by which the souls of men are tormented, are by their contraries often-times resisted or qualified. But ambition, which begetteth every vice, and is it self the child and darling of *Satan*, looketh only towards the ends by it self set down, forgetting nothing (how fearful and inhumane soever) which may serve it: remembring nothing, whatsoever justice, piety, right or Religion can offer and alledge on the contrary. It ascribeth the lamentable effects of like attempts, to the error or weakness of the undertakers, and rather praiseth the adventure, than feareth the like success. It was the first sin that the World had, and began in *Angels*: for which they were cast into Hell, without hope of redemption. It was more antient than man, and therefore no part of his natural corruption. The punishment also proceeded his creation, yet hath the Devil, which felt the smart thereof, taught him to forget the one as out of date, and to practise the other, as befitting every age, and mans condition.

Jotham, the youngest of *Gideons* sons, having escaped the present peril, sought by his best perswasions to alienate the *Sechemites* from the assisting of this mercilesse Tyrant, letting them know, that those which were vertuous, and whom Reason and Religion had taught the safe and happy estate of moderate subjection, had refused to receive as unlawful, what others had no power to give, without direction from the King of Kings: who from the beginning (as to his own peculiar people) had appointed them, by whom and how to be governed. This he taught them by the Olive, which contented it self with its Fatness, the Fig-tree with its sweetness, and the Vine with the good juice it had: the Bramble only, who was most base, cut down all the rest, and accepted the Soveraignty. He also fore-told them by a Prophetical spirit, what should befall them in the end, and how a fire should come out of the Bramble, and consume the Cedars of *Lebanon*.

Now (as it is an easie matter to call those men back whom rage without right led on) *Gaal* the son of *Ebed* withdrew the Citizens of *Sechem* from the Service of *Abimelech*: who therefore after some assaults entred the place, and mastered it; and in conclusion fired the Town, wherein their Idol *Baal-berith* was worshipped, and put all the people of all sorts to the slaughter. Lastly, in the assault of the Castle or Tower of *Tebet*, himself was wounded in the head with a stone thrown over the wall by a woman; and finding himself mortally bruised, he commanded his own Page to pierce his body, thereby to avoid the dishonour of being slain by so feeble a hand.

While *Abimelech* usurped the Government, the *Lapithæ* and *Centaurs* made war against the *Thebans*. These Nations were descended of *Apollo*, and were the first in those parts that devised to manage horses, to bridle and to sit them: insomuch, as when they first came down from the Mountains of *Pindus*, into the plains, those which had never seen horsmen before, thought them creatures compounded of men and horses; so did the *Mexicans*, when *Ferdinando Cortes* the *Spaniard*, first invaded that Empire. *Palæp. l. 1. de incredi.*

After the death of *Abimelech*, *Tholo* of *Issachar* governed *Israel* 23 years, and after him *Jair* the *Gileadite* 22 years, who seems to be descended of *Jair* the son of *Manasse*, who in *Moses*'s time conquered a great part of *Gilead*, and called the same after his own name, *Havoth Jair*. For to this *Jair* there remained thirty years of those Cities which his Ancestor had recovered from the *Amorites*. Of these Judges, because there is nothing else written, it is an argument, that during all their times *Israel* lived without disturbance, and in peace. *Deut.* 3. 14. *Numb.* 12. 41. *Judg.* 10.

When *Jair* judged *Israel*, *Priamus* began to reign in *Troy*, who at such time as *Hercules* sacked *Ilium*, was carried away captive with his sister *Hesione* into *Greece*, and being afterward redeemed for ransom, he re-built and greatly strengthened and adorned *Troy*; and so far enlarged his Dominions, as he became the supreme Lord in effect of all *Asia* the less. He married *Hecuba* the Daughter of *Cisseus* King of *Thrace*, and had in all (saith *Cicero*) fifty sons, whereof seventeen by *Hecuba*, of whom *Paris* was one; who attempting to recover his Aunt *Hesione*, took *Helena* the Wife of *Menelaus*, the cause of the war which followed. 2091. *In Tusc.*

Theseus the tenth King of *Athens*, began likewise to reign in the beginning of *Jair*: some Writers call him the son of *Neptune* and *Æthra*: but *Plutarch* in the Story of his life, finds him begotten by *Ægeus*, of whom the *Grecian* Sea, between it and *Asia* the less, took name. For when *Minos* had mastered the *Athenians*, so far as he forc'd them to pay him seven of their sons every year for tribute, whom he inclosed within a *Labyrinth*, to be devoured by the Monster *Minotaur*: because, belike the sons of *Taurus*, which he begat on *Pasiphae* the Queen, had the charge of them: among these seven *Theseus* thrust himself, not doubting by his valour to deliver the rest, and to free the Countrey of that slavery occasioned for the death of *Androgeus*, *Minos* his son.

And having possest himself of *Ariadnes* affection, who was *Minos*'s daughter, he received from her a bottom of thred, by which he conducted himself through all the crooked and inextricable turnings of the

Labyrinth, made in all like that of the City of *Crocodiles* in *Egypt*; by means whereof having slain *Minotaur*, he found a ready way to return. But whereas his father *Ægeus* had given order, that if he came back with victory and in safety, he should use a white sail in sign thereof, and not that mourful black sail under which they left the port of *Athens*: This instruction being either forgotten or neglected, *Ægeus* descrying the ship of *Theseus* with a black sail, did cast himself over the Rocks down into the Sea, afterward called of his name *Ægeum*.

One of the first famous acts of *Theseus*, was the killing of *Scyron*, who kept a passage between *Megara* and the *Peloponnesian Isthmos*, and threw all whom he mastered into the Sea, from the high Rocks. Afterward he did the like to *Cercyon*, by wrestling, who used by that art to kill others. He also rid the Country of *Procrustes*, who used to bend down the strong limbs of two trees, and fastned by cords such, as he took part of them to one, and part to the other bough, and by the springing up tare them asunder. So did he root out *Periphetes* and other mischievous thieves and murtherers. He overthrew the Army of the *Amazons*, who after many victories and vastations, entred the Territory of *Athens*. *Theseus* having taken their Queen *Hippolita* prisoner, begat on her *Hippolitus*; with whom afterward his mother-in-law *Phædra*, falling in love, and he refusing to abuse his fathers bed, *Phædra* perswaded *Theseus*, that his son offered to force her: after which it is feigned, that *Theseus* besought *Neptune* to revenge this wrong of his sons by some violent death. *Neptune* taking a time of advantage, sent out his Sea-Calves, as *Hippolitus* passed by the Sea-shore, and so affrighted his horses, as casting the Coach over, he was (by being intangled therein) torn in pieces. Which miserable and undeserved destiny, when *Phedra* had heard of, she strangled her self. After which, it is feigned, that *Diana* intreated *Æsculapius* to set *Hippolitus* his pieces together, and to restore him to life: which done, because he was chaste, she led him with her into *Italy*, to accompany her in her hunting, and field sports.

It is probable that *Hippolitus*, when his father sought his life, thinking to escape by Sea, was affronted thereat, and did receive many wounds in forcing his passage and escape; which wounds, *Æsculapius*, to wit, some skilful Physician, or Chirurgion, healed again: after which, he passed into *Italy*, where he lived with *Diana*, that is, the life of a Hunter, in which he most delighted. But of those antient prophane Stories *Plutarch* saith well, that as *Cosmographers* in their descriptions of the World, where they find many vast places whereof they know nothing, fill the same, with strange Beasts, Birds, and Fishes, and with *Mathematical* lines; so do the *Grecian* Historians and Poets imbroider and intermixe the Tales of antient times, with a world of fictions and fabulous discourses. True it is, that *Theseus* did many great things in imitation of *Hercules*, whom he made his pattern, and was the first that gathered the *Athenians*, from being dispersed in thin and ragged Villages: in recompence whereof, and for devising them Laws to live under, and in order, he was by the beggarly, mutable, and ungrateful multitude, in the end banished. Some say, *per Ostracismum*, by the Law of Lots, or names written on shells, which was a device of his own.

He stole *Helen* (as they say) when she was fifty years old, from *Aphidna*, which City, *Castor* and *Pollux* overturned, when they followed after *Theseus* to recover their sister. *Eratostratus* and *Pausanias* write, that *Theseus* begot her with child at *Argos*, where she erected a Temple to *Lucina*: but her age makes that Tale unlikely to be true, and so doth *Ovid*, *Non tamen ex facto fructum tulit ille petitum, &c.* The rape *Eusebius* finds in the first of *Jair*, who governed *Israel* twenty two years, to whom succeeded *Jephta* or *Jepte*, six years, to whom *Ibzan*, who ruled seven years, and then *Habdon* eight years: in whose time was the fall of *Troy*. So, as if *Theseus* had a child by her in the first of *Jair*, (at which time we must count her no less than fifteen years old: for the women did not commonly begin so young as they do now) she was then at least two and fifty years old at the destruction of *Troy*: and when she was stollen by *Paris*, eight and thirty: but herein the *Chronologers* do not agree. Yet *Eusebius* and *Bunting*, with *Halicarnasseus*, do in effect consent, that the City was entred and burnt in the first year of *Demophoon* King of *Athens*, the Successour of *Mnestheus*, the Successour of *Theseus*, seventeen days before the *Summer Tropick*; and that about the eleventh of *September* following, the *Trojans* croft the *Hellespont* into *Thrace*, and wintered there, and in the next spring that they navigated into *Silicia*, where wintering the second year, the next Summer they arrived at *Laurentum*, and builded *Lavinium*. But S. *Augustine* hath otherwise, That when *Polyphides* governed *Sicyon*; *Mnestheus*, *Athens*; *Tautanes*, *Assyria*; *Habdon*, *Israel*; then *Æneas* arrived in *Italy*, transporting with him in twenty ships, the remainder of the *Trojans*: but the difference is not great; and hereof more at large in the story of *Troy* at hand.

In epist. Helen.

Judg. 10. 3.

Bunt Chr. Euseb. Cron. Hal. l. 1.

Aug. de Civit. Dei. l. 18. *c.* 19.

In *Sicyonia*, *Phestus* the two and twentieth King, reigned eight years, beginning by the common account in the time of *Thola*. His successours, *Adrastus*, who reigned four years, and *Polyphides*, who reigned thirteen, are accounted to the time of *Jair*; so is also *Mnestheus* King of *Athens* and *Arteus*, who held a great part of *Peloponnesus*. In *Assyria*, during the government of these two peaceable Judges, *Mitreus*, and after him *Tautanes* reigned. In *Egypt*, *Amenophis*, the son of *Rameses*, and afterwards *Annemanes*.

SECT. VIII.

Of the War of Thebes, *which was in this age.*

IN this age was the War of *Thebes*, the most antient that ever Greek Poet or Historian wrote of: Wherefore the Roman Poet *Lucretius*, affirming (as the *Epicures* in this point held truly against the *Peripateticks*) that the World had a beginning, urgeth them with this objection:

—— Si nulla fuit genitalis origo
Rerumque & Mundi, semperque æterna fuêre,
Cur supra bellum Thebanum, *& funera* Trojæ,
Non alias alii quoque res cecinere Poetæ?

If all this World had no original,
But things have ever been as now they are:
Before the siege of *Thebes*, or *Troys* last fall,
Why did no Poet sing some elder War?

It is true, that in these times *Greece* was very salvage, the Inhabitants being often chaced from place to place, by the Captains of greater Tribes: and no man thinking the ground whereon he dwelt his own, longer than he could hold it by strong hand. Wherefore merchandize and other intercourse they used little; neither did they plant many trees, or sow more

Strab. l. 9. *Paus. in Lon.*

more corn than was neceſſary for their ſuſtenance. Money they had little or none; for it is thought that the name of money was not heard of in *Greece*, when *Homer* did write, who meaſures the value of Gold and Braſs by the worth in cattel: ſaying, that the golden Armour of *Glaucus* was worth an hundred Beeves; and the Copper Armour of *Diomedes* worth nine.

Roberies by Land and Sea were common and without ſhame, and to ſteal Horſes or Kine was the uſual exerciſe of their great Men. Their Towns were not many, whereof thoſe that were walled were very few, and not great. For *Mycenæ*, the principal City in *Peloponneſus*, was a very little thing, and it may well be thought that the reſt were proportionable: briefly, *Greece* was then in her infancy, and though in ſome ſmall Towns of that half Iſle of *Peloponneſus*, the Inhabitants might have enjoyed quietneſs within their narrow bounds; as likewiſe did the *Athenians*, becauſe their Country was ſo barren, that none did care to take it from them: yet that the Land in general was very rude, it will eaſily appear to ſuch as conſider, what *Thucydides* the greateſt of their Hiſtorians hath written to this effect, in the Preface to his Hiſtory. Wherefore, as in theſe later times, idle *Chroniclers* uſe when they want good matter, to fill whole Books with reports of great Froſts, or dry Summers, and other ſuch things which no man cares to read; ſo did they, who ſpake of *Greece* in her beginnings, remember only the great Flouds which were in the times of *Ogyges* and *Deucalion*: or elſe rehearſe Fables of men changed into Birds, of ſtrange Monſters, of adultery committed by their gods, and the mighty men which they begat, without writing ought that ſavoured of humanity before the time of the war of *Thebes*: the brief whereof is this.

Oedipus the ſon of *Laius* King of *Thebes*, having been caſt forth when he was an Infant, becauſe an *Oracle* foretold what evil ſhould come to paſs by him, did afterwards in a narrow paſſage, contending for the way, ſlay his own Father, not knowing either then or long after, who he was. Afterward he became King of *Thebes*, by marriage of the Queen *Jocaſta*, called by *Homer*, *Epicaſte*: on whom, not knowing her to be his mother, he begat two ſons, *Eteocles* and *Polynices*. But when in proceſs of time, finding out by good circumſtances, who were his Parents, he underſtood the grievous murther and inceſt he had committed, he tore out his own eyes for grief, and left the City. His Wife, (and Mother) did hang her ſelf. Some ſay, that *Oedipus* having his eyes pulled out, was expelled *Thebes*, bitterly curſing his ſons, becauſe they ſuffered their father to be caſt out of the Town, and aided him not. Howſoever it were, his two ſons made this agreement, that the one of them ſhould reign one year, and the other another year, and ſo by courſe rule interchangeably. But this appointment was ill obſerved. For when *Polynices* had after a years government reſigned the Kingdom to his brother: or (according to others) when *Eteocles* had reigned the firſt year, he refuſed to give over the rule to *Polynices*. Hereupon *Polynices* fled unto *Argos*, where *Adraſtus* the ſon of *Talaus* then reigned, unto whoſe Palace coming by night, he was driven to ſeek lodging in an out-houſe, on the backſide.

Hom. Odyſſ. 11.

There he met with *Tydeus* the ſon of *Oeneus*, who was fled from *Calydon*: with whom ſtriving about their lodging, he fell to blows. *Adraſtus* hearing the noiſe came forth and took up the quarrel. At which time, perceiving in the ſhield of *Tydeus* a Bore, in that of *Polynices*, a Lion, he remembred an old Oracle by which he was adviſed to give his two Daughtes in marriage to a Lyon and a Bore: and accordingly he did beſtow his Daughter *Argia* upon *Tydeus*, and *Deipyle* upon *Polynices*, promiſing to reſtore them both to their Countries. To this purpoſe levying an Army, and aſſembling as many valiant Captains as he could draw to follow him, he was deſirous among others to carry *Amphiaraus* the ſon of *Oicleus* a great Soothſayer, and a valiant man, along with him. But *Amphiaraus*, who is ſaid to have fore-ſeen all things, knowing well that none of the Captains ſhould eſcape, ſave only *Adraſtus*, did both utterly refuſe to be one in that expedition, and perſwaded others to ſtay at home. *Polynices* therefore dealt with *Eriphyle* the Wife of *Amphiaraus*, offering unto her a very fair Bracelet, upon condition that ſhe ſhould cauſe her Husband to aſſiſt him. The Soothſayer knowing what ſhould work his deſtiny, forbade his Wife to take any gift of *Polynices*. But the Bracelet was in her eye ſo precious a Jewel, that ſhe could not refuſe it. Therefore, whereas a great controverſie between *Amphyaraus* and *Adraſtus*, was by way of compromiſe put unto the deciſion of *Eriphyle*, either of them being bound by ſolemn oath to ſtand to her appointment: ſhe ordered the matter ſo, as a Woman ſhould that did love a Bracelet better than her Husband. He now finding that it was far more eaſie to foreſee then avoid deſtiny, ſought for ſuch comfort as revenge might afford him, giving in charge unto his ſons, that when they came to full age, they ſhould kill their Mother, and make ſtrong war upon the *Thebans*.

Now had *Adraſtus* aſſembled all his forces, of which, the ſeven chief Leaders were, Himſelf, *Amphiaraus*, *Capaneus*, and *Hippomedon* (in ſtead of whom ſome name *Meciſſeus*) all *Argives*, with *Polynices* the *Theban*, *Tydeus* the *Ætolian*, and *Parthenopeus* the *Arcadian*, ſon of *Meleager* and *Atalanta*. When the Army came to the *Nemæan* Wood, they met a Woman, whom they deſired to help them to ſome Water; ſhe having a Child in her arms, laid it down, and led the *Argives* to a Spring: but ere ſhe returned, a Serpent had ſlain the Child. This Woman was *Hypſipyle* the Daughter of *Thoas* the *Lemnian*, whom ſhe would have ſaved when the Woman of the Iſle ſlew all the Males by conſpiracy, intending to lead an *Amazonian* life. For ſuch her Piety, the *Lemnian* Wives did ſell her to Pyrates, and the Pyrates to *Lycurgus* Lord of the Countrey about *Nemæa*, whoſe young ſon *Opheltes*, or *Archemorus* ſhe did nurſe, and loſt, as is ſhewed before. When upon the Childs death ſhe hid her ſelf for fear of her Maſter, *Amphiaraus* told her Sons where they ſhould find her: and the *Argives* did both kill the Serpent which had ſlain the Child, and in memory of the chance, did inſtitute ſolemn funeral games, called *Nemæan*, wherein *Adraſtus* wan the prize with his ſwift horſe *Areon*, *Tydius* with the whorlbars, *Amphiaraus* at running and quoiting, *Polynices* at wreſtling, *Parthenopæus* at ſhooting, and one *Laodocus* in darting. This was the firſt inſtitution of the *Nemæan* games, which continued after famous in *Greece* for very many ages. There are, who think that they were ordained in honour of one *Opheltus* a *Lacedæmonian*. Some ſay by *Hercules*, when he had ſlain the *Nemæan* Lyon: but the common opinion agrees with that which is here ſet down.

From *Nemæa* the *Argives* marched onwards, arrived at *Citheron*, whence *Tydeus* was by them ſent Embaſſadour to *Thebes*, to require of *Eteocles* the performance of Covenants between him and *Polynices*. This meſſage was nothing agreeable to *Eteocles*, who

who was throughly reſolved to hold what he had, as long as he could: which *Tydeus* perceiving, and intending partly to get honour, partly to try what mettle was in the *Thebans*, he made many challenges, and obtained victory in all of them, not without much envy and malice of the people, who laid fifty men in ambuſh to intercept him at his return to the army, of which fifty he ſlew all but one, whom he ſent back to the City as a Reporter and Witneſs of his Valour. When the *Argives* underſtood how reſolved *Eteocles* was, they preſented themſelves before the City, and encamped round about it. *Thebes* is ſaid to have had at that time ſeven gates, which belike ſtood not far aſunder, ſeeing that the *Argives* (who afterward when they were very far ſtronger, could ſcarce muſter up more thouſands than *Thebes* had gates) did compaſs the Town, *Adraſtus* quartered before the Gate *Homoloides*, *Capaneus* before the *Oygean*, *Tydeus* before *Crenis*, *Amphiaraus* at *Proëtis*, *Hippomedon* at *Anachis*, *Parthenopæus* at *Electa*, and *Polynices* at *Hyp'ſiſta*. In the mean ſeaſon, *Eteocles* having armed his men, and appointed Commanders unto them, took advice of *Tireſias* the Soothſayer, who promiſed Victory to the *Thebans*, if *Menœcius* the ſon of *Creon*, a principal man of the City, would vow himſelf to be ſlain in honour of *Mars* the god of War. So full of malice and pride is the Devil, and ſo envious at his Creators glory, that he not not only challengeth honour due to God alone, as oblations and ſacrifice, with all Divine worſhip, but commandeth us to offer our ſelves and our children unto him, when he hath ſufficiently clouded mens underſtanding, and bewitched their Wills with ignorance and blind devotion. And ſuch abominable ſacrifice of men, maids, and children hath he exacted of the *Syrians*, *Carthaginians*, *Gauls*, *Germans*, *Cyprians*, *Egyptians*, and of many other, if not of all Nations, when through ignorance or fear they were moſt filled with ſuperſtition. But as they grew more wiſe, ſo did he wax leſs impudent in cunning, though not leſs malicious in deſiring the continuance of ſuch barbarous inhumanity. For King *Diphilus* in *Cyprus* without advice of any *Oracle*, made the Idol of that Country reſt contented with an Ox in ſtead of a man. *Tiberius* forbade humane ſacrifices in *Africa*, and crucified the Prieſts in the Groves where they had practiſed them. *Hercules* taught the *Italians* to drown men of hay in ſtead of the living: yet among the ſalvages in the Weſt *Indies* theſe cruel offerings have been practiſed of late Ages: which, as it is a ſufficient argument that *Satan*'s malice is only covered and hidden by this ſubtilty among civil people: ſo it may ſerve as a probable conjecture of the barbariſms then raigning in *Greece*. For *Menœcius*, as ſoon as he underſtood that his death might purchaſe Victory to his people, beſtowed himſelf (as he thought) upon *Mars*, killing himſelf before the gates of the City. Then was a battel fought, wherein the *Argives* prevailed ſo far at the firſt, that *Capanius* advancing laddars to the Walls, got up upon the Rampart: whence, when he fell, or was caſt down, or (as Writers wave it) was ſtricken down by *Jupiter* with a thunder bolt, the *Argives* fled. Many, on each part were ſlain in this battel, which cauſed both ſides to deſire that *Eteocles* and *Polynices* might try out the quarrel in ſingle fight; whereto the two brethren according, ſlew each other.

Another battel was fought after their death, wherein the ſons of *Aſtacus* behaved themſelves very valiantly: *Iſmarus* one of the ſons, ſlew *Hippomedon*, which was one of the ſeven Princes: *Parthenopæus* being another of the ſeven (who was ſaid to have been ſo fair, that none would hurt him when his face was bare) was ſlain by *Amphidicus*, or, as ſome ſay, by *Periclymenus* the ſon of *Neptune*: and the valiant *Tydeus*, by *Menalippus*: yet ere *Tydeus* died, the head of *Menalippus* was brought unto him by *Amphiaraus*, which he cruelly tore open, and ſwallowed up the brains. Upon which fact, it is ſaid, that *Pallas*, who had brought from *Jupiter* ſuch remedy for his wounds, as ſhould have made him immortal, refuſed to beſtow it upon him: whereby perhaps was meant that his honour which might have continued immortal, did periſh through the beaſtly rage that he ſhewed at his death.

The hoſt of the *Argives* being wholly diſcomfited, *Adraſtus* and *Amphiaraus* fled: of whom, *Amphiaraus* is ſaid to have been ſwallowed quick into the earth, near to the River *Iſmenus*, together with his Chariot, and ſo loſt out of mens ſight, being peradventure overwhelmed with dead carkaſſes, or drowned in the River: and his body never found, nor greatly ſought for. *Adraſtus* eſcaped on his good horſe *Arion*, and came to *Athens*; where ſitting at an Altar, called the Altar of Mercy, he made ſupplication for their aid to recover their bodies. For *Creon* having obtained the government of *Thebes* after the death of *Eteocles*, would not ſuffer the bodies of the *Argives* to be buried: but cauſed *Antigone*, the only daughter then living of *Oedipus*, to be buried quick, becauſe ſhe had ſought out and buried the body of her brother *Polynices*, contrary to *Creons* Edict. The *Athenians* condeſcending to the requeſt of *Adraſtus*, did ſend forth an Army under the conduct of *Theſeus*, which took *Thebes*, and reſtored the bodies of the *Argives* to ſepulture: at which time, *Evadne* the Wife of *Capaneus* threw her ſelf into the funeral fire, and was burnt willingly with her Husband. But it little contented the ſons of thoſe Captains which were ſlain at *Thebes*, that any leſs revenge ſhould be taken of their Fathers death, than the ruine of the City: Wherefore ten years after, having levied Forces, *Egialeus* the ſon of *Adraſtus*, *Diomedes* of *Tydeus*, *Promachus* of *Parthenopæus*, *Sthenelus* of *Capaneus*, *Therſander* of *Polynices*, and *Euripylus* of *Meciſteus*, marched thither under the conduct of *Alcmæon*, the ſon of *Amphiaraus*: with whom alſo went his brother *Amphylacius*. *Apollo* promiſed Victory, if *Alcmæon* were their Captain, whom afterward by another *Oracle*, he commanded to kill his own Mother.

When they came to the City, they were encountred by *Laodamas* the ſon of *Eteocles* then King of the *Thebans* (for *Creon* was only Tutor to *Laodamas*) who though he did valiantly in the battel, and ſlew *Ægialeus*, yet was he put to the worſt, and driven to fly, or (according to *Apollodorus*) ſlain by *Alcmæon*. After this diſaſter, the Citizens began to deſire compoſition; but in the mean time they conveyed themſelves with their Wives and Children away from thence by night, and ſo began to wander up and down, till at length they built the Town called *Eſtiæa*. The *Argives*, when they perceived that their enemies had quitted the Town, entring in it, ſacked it, threw down the Walls, and laid it waſte; howbeit it is reported by ſome, that the Town was ſaved by *Thirſander* the ſon of *Polynices*, who cauſing the Citizens to return, did there reign over them. That he ſaved the City from utter deſtruction, it is very likely; for he reigned there, and led the *Thebans* to the War of *Troy*, which very ſhortly after enſued.

SECT.

SECT. IX.

Of Jephta, *and how the three hundred years which he speaketh of,* Judg. 11. 28. *are to be reconciled with the places,* Acts 13. 20. 1 Reg. 6. 1. *together with some other things touching Chronology about these times.*

AFter the death of *Jair* (near about whose time these things hapned in *Greece*, and during whose Government, and that of *Thola*, *Israel* lived in peace and in order) they revolted again from the Law and Service of God, and became more wicked and idolatrous than ever. For whereas in the former times they worshipped *Baal* and *Asteroth*, they now became followers of all the Heathen Nations adjoyning, and imbraced the Idols of the *Aramites*, of the *Zidonians*, *Moabites*, and *Ammonites*: with those of the *Philistims*. And as before it pleased God to correct them by the *Aramites*, by the *Amalekites*, and *Midianites*: so now he scourged them by the *Ammonites*, and afterward by the *Philistims*.

Judg. 10. * The persecution of the *Ammonites* lasted 18 years, and ended in the year of the World 2820. in which year *Jephta* began,

Now among the *Israelites*, those of *Gilead* being most oppress, because they bordered upon the *Ammonites*, they were inforc't to seek *Jephta*, whom they had formerly despised and cast from them, because he was base born; but he (notwithstanding those former injuries) participating more of godly compassion, than of devilish hatred and revenge, was content to lead the *Gileadites* to the War, upon condition that they should establish him their Governour after Victory. And when he had disputed with *Ammon* for the Land, disproved *Ammon*'s right, and fortified the Title of *Israel* by many arguments, the same prevailing nothing, he began the war; and being strengthened by God, overthrew them: and did not only beat them out of the Plains, but forc't them over the Mountains of *Arabia*, even to *Minneth*, and *Abel* of the vineyards, Cities expreſt heretofore in the description of the *Holy Land*. After which victory it is said, that he performed the vain vow which he made, to sacrifice the first living creature he incountred, coming out of his house to meet him; which happned to be his own daughter, and only child, who with all patience submitted her self, and only desired two moneths time to bewail her Virginity on the Mountains of *Gilead*; because in her the issues of her Father ended: but the other opinion, that she was not offered, is more probable, which *Borhæus* and others prove sufficiently.

Judg. 11. 28. *Judg.* 11. 33. *Bor. in Judg.*

After these things the children of *Israel*, of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, either envious of *Jephta*'s victory, or otherwise making way to their future calamity, and to the most grievous slavery that ever *Israel* suffered, quarrelled with *Jephta*, that they were not called to the War, as before time they had contested with *Gideon*. *Jephta* hereupon inforced to defend himself against their fury, in the incounter, slew of them 42000 which so weakened the body of the Land, as the *Philistims* had an easie conquest of them all not long after. *Jephta*, after he had judged *Israel* six years, died: to whom succeeded *Ibzan*, who ruled seven years: after him *Elon* was their Judge ten years: in all which time *Israel* had peace. *Eusebius* finds not *Elon*, whom he calleth *Adon*, for in the *Septuagint*, approved in his time, this Judge was omitted.

Judg. 12. 2925. 2942.

Now before I go on with the rest, it shall be necessary upon the occasion of *Jephta*'s account of the times, *Judg.* 11. 28. (where he says that *Israel* had then possest the East side of *Jordan* 300 years) to speak somewhat of the times of the Judges, and of the differing opinions among the Divines and Chronologers: there being found three places of Scripture touching this point, seeming repugnant or disagreeing: the first is in this dispute between *Jephta* and *Ammon*, for the right and possession of *Gilead*: the second is that of St. *Paul*, *Acts* 13. the third is that which is in the first of *Kings*. *Jephta* here challengeth the possession of *Gilead* for 300 years: S. *Paul* giveth to the *Judges*, as it seems, from the end of *Josua* to the last of *Heli*, 450 years. In the first of Kings it is taught, that from the departing of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, to the foundation of *Solomon*'s Temple, there were consumed 480 years. To the first, *Beroaldus* findeth *Jephta*'s 300 years to be but 266 years, to wit, 18 of *Josua*, 40 of *Othoniel*, 80 of *Aod* and *Samgar*, 40 of *Debora*, 40 of *Gideon*, 3 of *Abimelech*, 23 of *Thola*, and 22 of *Jair*: But *Jephta* (saith *Beroaldus*) putteth or proposeth a certain number for an uncertain: *Sic ut dicat annum agi prope trecentesimum, ex quo nullus litem ea de re moverit Israeli*; *So he speaketh* (saith he) *as meaning, that then it was about, or well-nigh, the three hundredth year, since Israel possessed those Countries, no man making question of their right.* *Codoman* on the contrary, finds more years than *Jephta* named by 65, to wit, 365, whereof 71 were spent in *Israels* captivity, at several times, of which (as *Codoman* thinketh) *Jephta* forbare to repeat the whole sum, or any great part, lest the *Ammonites* should have justly objected, that 71 of those years the *Israelites* were in captivity, and vassals to their neighbour Princes, and therefore knowing that to name three hundred years, it was enough for prescription, he omitted the rest.

Judg. 11. 21. *Act.* 13. 20 1 *Kin.* 6. 1. *Id facit, numero certo pro incerto proposito.*

To justifie this account of 365 years, besides the 71 years of captivity or affliction, to be added to *Beroaldus* his 266, he addeth also 28 years more, and so maketh up the sum of 365. These 28 years he findeth out thus: twenty years he gives to the *Seniors* between *Josua* and *Othoniel*: and where *Beroaldus* alloweth eighteen years to *Josua* his government, *Codoman* accounts that his rule lasted 26, according to *Josephus*; whereas Saint *Augustine* and *Eusebius* give him 27. *Melanchon* 32. The truth is, that this addition of 28 years, is far more doubtful than the other of 71. But though we admit not of this addition, yet by accounting of some part of the years affliction (to wit 34 years of the 71) if we add them to the 266 years of *Beroaldus*, which reckoneth none of these, we have the just number of 300 years. Neither is it strange that *Jephta* should leave out more than half of the years of affliction: seeing, as it is already said, the *Ammonites* might except against the 71 years, and say, that during these years, or at least a good part of them, the *Israelites* had no quiet possession of the Countries in question. *Martin Luther* is the author of a third opinion, making those 300 years remembred by *Jephta*, to bee 306, which odd years, saith he, *Jephta* omitteth. But because the years of every Judge, as they reigned, cannot make up the number of 306, but do only compound 266, therefore doth *Luther* add to this number the whole time which *Moses* spent in the Desarts of *Arabia Petræa*; which forty years of *Moses* added to the number which *Beroaldus* findeth of 266, make indeed 306.

But I see nothing in the Text to warrant *Luther*'s judgment herein; for in the dispute between *Jephta* and *Ammon* for the Land of *Gilead*, it is written in the person of *Ammon*, in these words: *Because* Israel *took my Land, when they came up from* Egypt, *from* Arnon *unto* Jaboc, *&c. now therefore restore those Lands quietly*;

quietly; or in peace. So by this place it is plain, that the time is not to be accounted from *Moses*'s departure out of *Egypt*: but from the time that the Land was possest. For it is said, *Quia cepit* Israel *terram meam, Behold* Israel *took my Land*: and therefore the beginning of this account is to be referred to the time of the taking: which *Jephta*'s answer also confirmeth in these words: *When* Israel *dwelt in* Heshbon, *and in her Towns, and in* Aroer, *and in her Towns, and in all the Cities that are by the coast of* Arnon 300 *years: why did ye not then recover them in that space?* so as this place speaks it directly, that *Israel* had inhabited and dwelt in the Cities of *Gilead* 300 years: and therefore to account the times from the hopes or intents that *Israel* had to possess it, it seemeth somewhat strained to me: for we do not use to reckon the time of our conquests in *France*, from our Princes intents or purposes, but from their victories and possessions.

Judg. 11. 28.

Junius nevertheless likes the opinion of *Luther*, and says, that this time of 300 years hath reference, and is to take beginning from the first of *Jephta*'s narration: when he makes a brief repetition of *Moses*'s whole journey: to wit, at the sixteenth Verse of the eleventh Chapter of *Judges*, in our translation in these words: *But when* Israel *came up from* Egypt, &c. and therefore *Moses*'s his 40 years (as he thinks) are to be accounted, which make the number of 305 years: and not only the time in which *Israel* possest *Gilead*, according to the Text, and *Jephta*'s own words: of which I leave the judgment to others; to whom also I leave to judge, whether we may not begin the 480 years, from the deliverance out of *Egypt* to the Temple, even from the first departure out of *Egypt*, and yet find a more probable reconciliation of Saint *Pauls* and *Jephta*'s account with this reckoning, than any of those that as yet have been signified. For first, touching *Jephta*'s three hundred years of possession of the East-side of *Jordan*, it is to be remembred, that for a good while before the *Israelites* possessed it, *Sehon* and *Og* had dispossessed *Moab* and *Ammon* thereof: so that when the *Israelites* had conquered *Sehon* and *Og*, the right of possession which they had, passed to *Israel*; and so *Jephta* might say, that they had possessed those Countries 300 years, reckoning 266 years of their own possession, and the rest of the possession of the two Kings, *Sehon* and *Og*, whose right the *Israelites* had by the law of conquest.

Junius in 11. of *Judg.* annot.

Read the 24. of *Jos.* and the 2. of *Jud.* 7. *Funct. Chro. f.* 4. *Beza* in his annotations upon the 13. of *Act. v.* 10.

The second place disputed is this of Saint *Paul*, *Acts* 13. that from the end of *Josua*, to the beginning of *Samuel*, there past 450 years. And this place *Luther* understandeth also besides the letter, (as I find his opinion cited by *Functius Krentzhemius*, and *Beza*) for I have not read his Commentaries. For he accounteth from the death of *Moses*, to the last year of *Heli*, but 357 years: and this he doth the better to approve the times from the egression out of *Egypt* to the building of the Temple, which in the first of *Kings* 6. is said to be 480 years.

Act. 13. 20.

Now forasmuch as Saint *Paul* (as it seems) finds 450 years from the death of *Josua* to the last of *Heli*, and leaves but thirty years for *Saul* and *Samuel*, who governed 40, for *David* who ruled 40, and for *Solomon* who wore the Crown three whole years ere that the foundation of the Temple was laid; therefore *Luther* takes it, that there was errour in the Scribe, who wrote out this piece of Scripture of Saint *Paul*: to wit, *Then afterward he gave unto them Judges about* 450 *years, unto the time of* Samuel *the Prophet*: the words [*then afterward*] being clearly referred to the death, or after the death of *Josua*, as shall be hereafter proved. But where Saint *Luke*, rehearsing the words of Saint *Paul*, wrote 350 years (saith *Luther*) the Scripture in the transcription being deceived by the affinity of those two *Greek* words, whereof the one signifieth 300, and the other 400. wrote *Tetracosiois*, for *Triacosiois*; 400 years for 300 years; and 450 for 350. This he seeketh to strengthen by many arguments: to which opinion *Beza* in his great annotations adhereth. A contrary judgement to this hath *Codoman*: where *Luther* and *Beza* begin at *Moses*'s death, he takes his account from the death of *Josua*, and from thence to the beginning of *Samuel* he makes 430 years: to wit, of the *Judges* (not reckoning *Sampsons* years) 319, and of years of servitude and affliction under strangers, 111. The reason why he doth not reckon *Sampsons* twenty years is, because he thinks that they were part of the 40 years, in which the *Philistims* are said to have oppressed *Israel*. For it is plain, that during all *Sampsons* time, they were Lords over *Israel*. So then of the Judges, besides the 111 years of servitude, *Codoman* reckoneth (as I have said) 319 years, which two sums put together, make 430 years. And whereas Saint *Paul* nameth 450 years, he finds 20 years to make up Saint *Paul*'s number, to have been spent after the death of *Josua* by the *Seniors*, before the Captivity of *Cushan*, or the election of *Othoniel*: which 20 years added to 430 make 450, according to Saint *Paul*. To approve this time of the Elders, he citeth two places of Scriptures, namely the 24 of *Josua*, and the second of *Judges*, in each of which places it is written, that *Israel served the Lord all the days of* Josua, *and all the days of the Elders that over-lived* Josua: so as to these times of the Elders, *Codoman* giveth 20 years, which make as before 450, according to Saint *Paul*. Neither would it breed any great difficulty to this opinion, if here also the 20 years of the *Seniors* between *Josua* and *Othoniel* should be denied. For they which deny these years, and make *Othoniels* 40 to begin presently upon the death of *Josua*, as in the beginning of this reckoning, they have 20 years less than *Codoman*, so toward the end of it (when they reckon the years of affliction apart from the years of the *Judges*) in the number of *Sampsons* years, and of the forty years of the *Philistims* oppressing the *Israelites*, they have 20 years more than *Codoman*. For they reckon these 40 years of oppression all of them apart from *Sampsons* 20: but *Codoman*, as is said, makes *Sampsons* 20 to be the one half of the forty of the *Philistims* oppressions; so that if the 20 years of the *Seniors* be not allowed to *Codoman*, then he may reckon (as the letter of the Text seems to inforce) that the *Philistims* in any *Inter-regnum*, before *Sampson* judged *Israel*, vexed the *Israelites* 40 years, besides the 20 while *Sampson* was their Judge; and so the reckoning will come to 450 years between the end of *Josua*, and the beginning of *Samuel*, though we admit not of an *Inter-regnum* of the *Seniors* between *Josua* and *Othoniel*; For, if the times of their afflictions be summed, they make 111 years, to which if we add the years of the Judges, 339, we have the just sum of 450. And this computation either one way or other, may seem to be much more profitable, than theirs that correct the Text, although we should admit of their correction thereof, and read with them 350 for 450. For whereas they conceive that this time of 350 years, is to begin immediately, or soon after the death of *Moses*: certainly the place of Saint *Paul* doth evidently teach the contrary, though it be received for true that there was *vitium scriptoris* in the rest. For these are Saint *Pauls* words: *And about the time of forty years, God suffered their manners in the wilderness: and he destroyed seven Nations in the Land of* Canaan, *and divided*

Judg. 13.

Judg. 13. 11.

divided their Land to them by lot. Then afterward he gave unto them Judges about 450 *years, unto the time of* Samuel *the Prophet.* So as first in the eighteenth verse he speaketh of *Moses*, and of his years spent in the Wilderness, then in the nineteenth verse he cometh unto the acts of *Josua*; which were, that he destroyed seven Nations in the Land of *Canaan*, and divided their Land to them by lot. In the twentieth Verse it followeth, *Then afterward he gave them Judges about* 450 *years*, &c. *Jos.* 14. 1. and therefore to reckon from the death of *Moses*, is wide of Saint *Pauls* meaning, so far as my weak understanding can pierce it. The only inconvenience of any weight in opinion of *Codoman* touching this place in the *Acts*, is, that it seems irreconcileable with the account, 1 *Reg.* 6. 11. For if indeed there were spent 450 years between the end of *Josua* and the beginning of *Samuel*, certainly there must needs be much more than 480 years between the beginning of the *Israelites* journeying from *Egypt*, and the foundation of the Temple by *Solomon*. To this difficulty *Codoman* answereth, that these 480 years, 1 *Reg.* 6. 1. must begin to be reckoned, not in the beginning, but in the ending of their journeying from *Egypt*, which he makes to be 25 years after the beginning of *Othoniels* government; from whence if we cast the years of the Judges, with the years of servitude (which sums, according to his account, of which we have already spoken, make 397 years) and so to these years add the 40 of *Samuel*, and *Saul*, and the 40 of *David*, and the 3 of *Solomon*, we shall have the just sum of 480 years. Neither is it hard, saith he, that the *annus egressionis*, 1 *Kings* 6. 1. should be understood *egressionis non incipientis, sed finitæ*, the year of their coming out of *Egypt* (for so it is in the original) or the year after they came out of *Egypt*, may well be understood for the year after they were come out thence, that is, after they had ended their wandring from thence. For so we find that things which were done forty years after they had set foot out of *Egypt*, are said to have been done in their going out of *Egypt*; as *Psal.* 114. *When* Israel *came out of* Egypt, Jordan *was driven back.* And *Deut.* 4. 45. *These are the testimonies which* Moses *spake when they came out of* Egypt. And thus far it seems we may very well agree with *Codoman*, for the interpretation of the *ab exitu*, to be as much as *quum exivissent*, or *ab exitu finito*: for if *Junius*, *Deut.* 4. 45. do well read *quum exivissent*, for *in exitu*, as it seems that herein he doth well, why may not we also, to avoid contradiction in the Scripture, expound *ab exitu* to be, *postquam exivissent?*

The next point to be cleared, is how their journeying should be said not to have had end until the 25 year after the victory of *Othoniel*. To this *Codoman* answereth, that then it had no end, till when all the Tribes had obtained their portions, which happened not until this time: at which time the *Danites* at length seated themselves, as it is declared, *Judg.* 18. *Judg.* 18. 1 For doubtless to this time the Expedition may most conveniently be referred. And thus without any great inconvenience to him appearing, doth *Codoman* reconcile the account of *Jephta*, and of Saint *Paul*, with that in the first of *Kings* 6. Now whereas it is said, that the Expedition of the *Danites* was when there was no King in *Israel*: to this *Codoman* answereth, that it is not necessary that we should suppose that *Othoniel* lived all those 40 years of rest, of which *Judg.* 3. 11. so that by the 25 year after his victory, either he might have been dead, or at least, as *Gideon* did, he might have refused all Soveraignty, and so either way it might truly be said that at this time (to wit, the 25 year after *Othoniels* victory) there was no King in *Israel*. This opinion of *Codoman*, if it were as consonant to other Chronologers, grounding their opinions on the plain Text, where it is indisputable, as it is in it self round enough and coherent, might perhaps be received as good; especially considering, that the speeches of St. *Paul* have not otherwise found any interpretation, maintaining them as absolutely true, in such manner as they sound, and are set down. But seeing that he wanteth all help of authority, we may justly suspect the supposition whereupon his opinion is grounded; it being such as the consent of many Authors would hardly suffice to make very probable. For who hath told *Codoman*, that the conquest of *Laish*, by the Tribe of *Dan*, was performed in the five and twentieth year of *Othoniel?* Or what other probability hath he than his own conjecture, to shew that *Othoniel* did so renounce the office of a Judge after five and twenty years, that it might then be truly said there was no King in *Israel*, but every man did that which was good in his own eyes?

Now concerning the rehearsal of the Law by *Moses*, and the stopping of *Jordan*, they might indeed be properly said to have been, when *Israel* came out of *Egypt*: like as we say that King *Edward* the first was crowned when he came out of the Holy Land, for so all journeys with their accidents commonly take name from the place either whence or whither they tend. But I think that he can find no such phrase of speech in Scripture as limiteth a journey by an accident, or saith by converting the proposition, when *Jordan* was turning back, *Israel* came out of *Egypt*. Indeed most unproper it were to give date unto actions commenced long after, from an expedition finished long before, namely, to say, that King *Edward* at his arrival out of *Palestina* did win *Scotland*, or died at *Carlile*. How may we then believe that enterprize performed so many years after the division of the Land (which followed the conquest at the journeys end) should be said to have been at the time of the departure out of *Egypt?* Or who will not think it most strange, that the most notable account of time, serving as the only guide for certain ages in sacred Chronology, should not take name and beginning from that illustrious deliverance out of *Egypt*, rehearsed often by God himself among the principal of his benefits to *Israel*, whereof the very day and moneth are recorded in Scripture (as likewise are the year and moneth wherein it expired) and the form of the year upon that occasion changed; but should have reference to the surprizing of a Town by six hundred men, that robbed a Chappel by the way, and stole from thence Idols to be their guides, as not going to work in Gods Name? For this accident whereupon *Codoman* buildeth, hath either no time given to it, or a time far different from that which he supposed, and is indeed rather by him placed in such a year, because it best stood with his interpretation so to have it, than for any certainty or likelihood of the thing it self.

Wherefore we may best agree with such as affirm, that the Apostle Saint *Paul* did not herein labour to set down the course of time exactly (a thing no way concerning his purpose) but only to shew that God, who had chosen *Israel* to be his people, delivered them out of bondage, and ruled them by *Judges* and *Prophets* unto the time of *Saul*, did raise up our *Lord Jesus Christ* out of the seed of *David* the King, in whose succession the Crown was established, and promise made of a Kingdom that should have no end. Now in rehearsing briefly thus much which tended as a Preface to the declaration following (wherein he sheweth Christ to have been the true *Messias*) the

Apoſtle was ſo far from labouring to make an exact calculation of times (the Hiſtory being ſo well known and believed of the *Jews* to whom he preached) that he ſpake as it were at large of the 40 years conſumed in the Wilderneſs, whereof no man doubted, ſaying, that God ſuffered their manners in the Wilderneſs about 40 years. In like manner he proceeded, ſaying, that from the diviſion of the Land unto the days of *Samuel* the Prophet, in whoſe time they required to have a King, there paſſed about 450 years. Neither did he ſtand to tell them, that an hundred and eleven years of bondage mentioned in this middle while, were by exact computation to be included within the 339 years of the *Judges*; for this had been an impertinent digreſſion from the argument which he had in hand. Wherefore it is not a work ſo needful as laborious, to ſearch out of this place that which the Apoſtle did not here intend to teach, when the ſum of 480 years is ſo expreſly and purpoſely ſet down.

Now that the words of St. *Paul* (if there be no fault in the copy through error of ſome Scribe) are not ſo curiouſly to be examined in matter of *Chronology*, but muſt be taken, as having reference to the memory and apprehenſion of the Vulgar, it is evident by his aſcribing in the ſame place 40 years to the reign of *Saul*: whereas it is manifeſt that thoſe years were divided between *Saul* and *Samuel*, yea, that far the greater part of them were ſpent under the government of the Prophet, howſoever they are here included in the reign of the King. As for thoſe that with ſo much cunning forſake the general opinion, when it favoureth not ſuch expoſition as they bring out of a good mind, to help where the need is not over-great; I had rather commend their diligence, than follow their example. The words of St. *Paul* were ſufficiently juſtified by *Beroaldus*, as having reference to a common opinion among the Scribes in thoſe days, that the 111 years of ſervitude were to be reckoned apart from the 339 years aſcribed to the *Judges*; which account the Apoſtle would not in this place ſtand to contradict, but rather choſe to ſpeak as the Vulgar, qualifying it with a *quaſi*, where he ſaith, *quaſi quadringentis & quinquaginta annis*; *As it were four hundred and fifty years.* But *Codoman* being not thus contented, would needs have it be ſo indeed, and therefore diſ-joyns the members to make the account even. In ſo doing he daſheth himſelf againſt a notable Text, whereupon all Authors have builded, (as well they might and ought) that purpoſely and preciſely doth caſt up the years from the departure out of *Egypt*, unto the building of *Solomon*'s Temple, not omitting the very moneth it ſelf.

Acts 13.

1 King. 6.

Now (as commonly the firſt apprehenſions are ſtrongeſt) having already given faith to his own interpretation of St. *Paul*, he thinketh it more needful to find ſome new expoſition for that which is of it ſelf moſt plain, and to examine his own conjecture upon a place that is full of controverſie. Thus by expounding after a ſtrange Method, that which is manifeſt by that which is obſcure, he loſeth himſelf in thoſe ways wherein before him never man walked. Surely if one ſhould urge him to give reaſon of theſe new opinions, he muſt needs anſwer, that *Othoniel* could not govern above 25 years, becauſe then was the taking of *Laiſh*; *at which time there was no King in* Iſrael; That the *Danites* muſt needs have taken *Laiſh* at that time, becauſe elſe we could not reckon backwards from the foundation of the Temple to any action that might be termed the coming of *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*, without excluding the years of ſervitude; And that the years of ſervitude muſt needs be included, for that otherwiſe he himſelf ſhould have ſpent his time vainly, in ſeeking to pleaſure St. *Paul* with an expoſition. Whether this ground be ſtrong enough to uphold a Paradox, I leave it to the deciſion of the judicious Reader.

And now to proceed in our ſtory. To the time of *Jephta* are referred the death of *Hercules*, the rape of *Helen* by *Paris*, and the proviſions which her huſband *Menelaus*, reigning then in *Sparta*, & his brother *Agamemnon* King of *Mycenæ*, made for her recovery. Others refer this rape of *Helen* to the fourth year of *Ibzan*: from which time, if the war of *Troy* (as they ſuppoſe) did not begin till the third of *Ailon* or *Elon*, yet the *Greeks* had ſix years to prepare themſelves: the rule holding not true in this War, *Longa præparatio belli celerem affert victoriam*; *That a long preparation begets a ſpeedy victory*: for the *Greeks* conſumed ten years in the attempt; and *Troy*, as it ſeems, was entred, ſackt, and burnt in the third year of *Habdon*.

Three years after *Troy* was taken, which was in the ſixth year of *Habdon*, *Æneas* arrived in *Italy*. *Habdon* in the eighth year of his rule, died, after he had been the Father of 40 ſons, and 30 grand-children. And whereas it is ſuppoſed, that the 40 years of *Iſraels* oppreſſion by the *Philiſtims* (of which *Judg.* 13. 1.) took beginning from the ninth year of *Jair*, and ended with the laſt of *Habdon*: I ſee no reaſon for that opinion. For *Ephraim* had had little cauſe of quarrel againſt *Jephta*, for not calling them to war over *Jordan*, if the *Philiſtims* had held them in ſervitude in their own territories; and if *Ephraim* could have brought 42000 armed men into the field, it is not likely that they were then oppreſt: and had it been true that they were, who will doubt but that they would rather have fought againſt the *Philiſtims* with ſo powerful an Army for their own deliverance, than againſt their own brethren the *Iſraelites*? but *Ammon* being overthrown, it ſeemed at that time, that they feared no other enemy. And therefore theſe 40 years muſt either be ſupplied elſewhere, as in the time of *Sampſon*, and afterward: or elſe they muſt be referred to the *Inter-regnum* between the death of *Habdon*, and the deliverance of *Iſrael* by *Sampſon*, ſuch as it was.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the War of Troy.

SECT. I.

Of the Genealogie of the Kings of Troy, *with a note touching the antient Poets, how they have observed historical truth.*

THe War at *Troy*, with other ſtories hereupon depending (becauſe the ruine of this City, by moſt *Chronologers* is found in the time of *Habdon* Judg of *Iſrael* whom in the laſt place I have mentioned) I rather chooſe here to treat of in one entire narration, beginning with the lineal deſcent of their Princes, than to break the ſtory into peices by rehearſing a-part in divers years, the diverſity of occurrents.

The Hiſtory of the antient Kings of *Troy* is uncertain, in regard both of their original, and of their continuance. It is commonly held that *Teucer* and *Dardanus* were the two Founders of that Kingdom. This is the opinion of *Virgil:* which if he (as *Reineccius* thinks) took from *Beroſus*, it is the more probable: if *Annius* borrowed it of him, then it reſts upon the authority of *Virgil*, who ſaith thus:

Æneid. 3.

Creta Jovis *magni medio jacet inſula Ponto:*
Mons Idæus ubi, & gentis cunabula noſtræ.
Centum Urbes habitant magnas, uberrima regna:
Maximus undè Pater (ſi ritè audita recordor)
Teucrus *Rhœteas primum eſt advectus ad oras,*
Optavitque locum regno. Nondum Ilium & arces
Pergameæ ſteterant: habitabant vallibus imis.
Hinc Mater cultrix Cybele, Corybantiaque æra,
Idæumque nemus.

In the main Sea the Ile of *Crete* doth lie;
Where *Jove* was born, thence is our progeny.
There is a mount *Ida:* there in fruitful Land
An hundred great and goodly Cities ſtand.
Thence (if I follow not miſtaken fame)
Teucer the eldeſt of our grand-ſires came
To the *Rhœtean* ſhores: and reigned there,
Ere yet fair *Ilion* was built, and ere
The Towers of *Troy:* their dwelling place they ſought
In loweſt Vales. Hence *Cybels* rites were brought:
Hence *Corybantian Cymbals* did remove;
And hence the name of our *Idæan* grove.

Thus it ſeemeth by *Virgil*, who followed ſurely good authority, that *Teucer* firſt gave name to that Countrey, wherein he reigned ere *Troy* was built by *Dardanus*: of which *Dardanus* in the ſame book he ſpeaks thus:

Eſt locus, Heſperiam Graii cognomine dicunt:
Terra antiqua, potens armis atque ubere gleba,
Oenotrii coluere viri; nunc fama minores
Italiam dixiſſe, ducis de nomine gentem.
Hæ nobis propriæ ſedes: hinc Dardanus *ortus:*
Jaſiuſque Pater, genus à quo principe noſtrum.

Heſperia the *Græcians* call the place:
An antient fruitful Land, a warlike race,
Oenotrians held it: now the later progeny
Gives it their Captains name, and calls it *Italy:*
This ſeat belongs to us; hence *Dardanus*,
Hence came the Author of your ſtock, *Jaſius*,

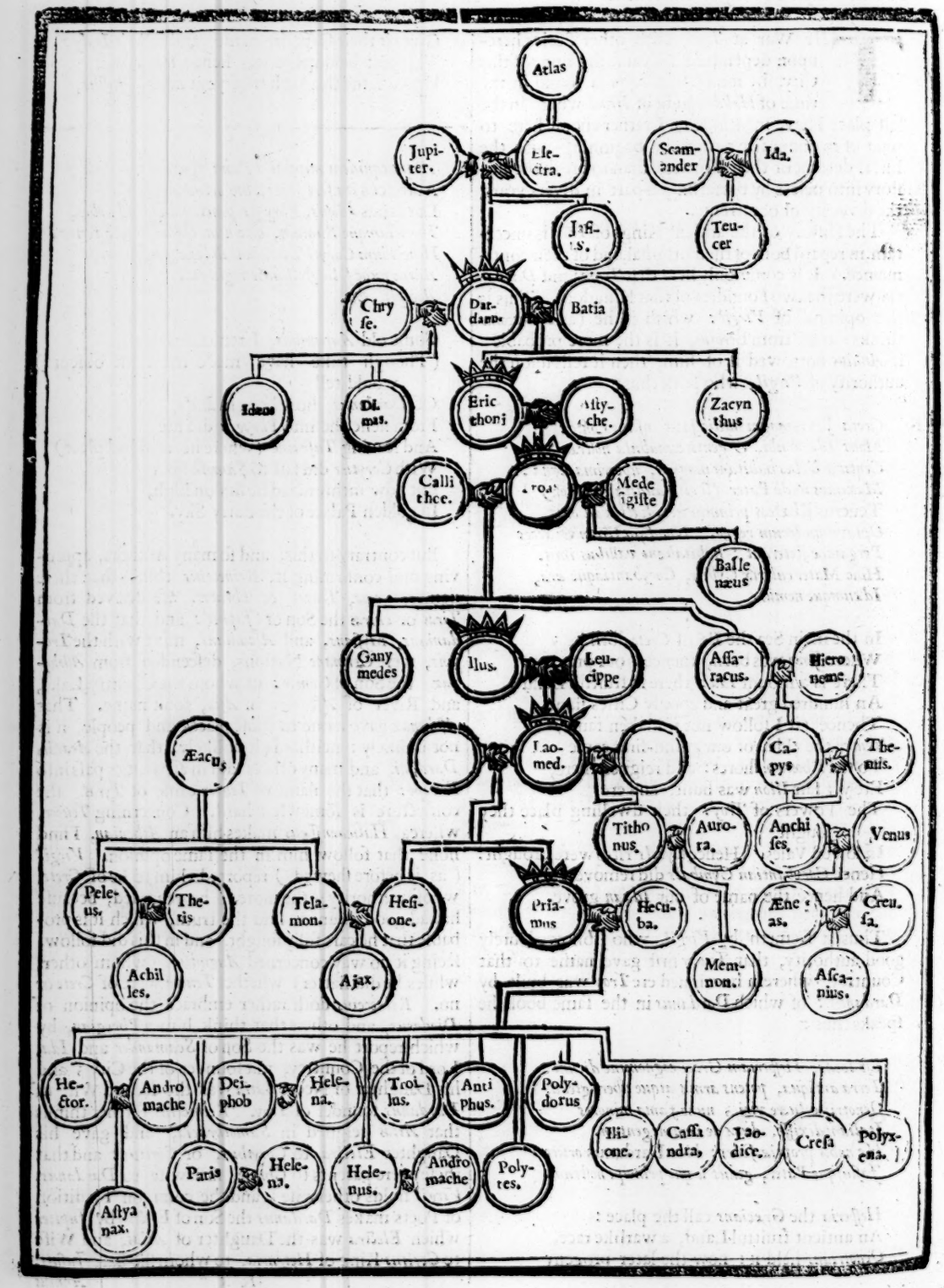
Atque equidem memini (fama eſt obſcurior annis)
Auruncos *ita fere ſenes, hic ortus ab agris*
Dardanus *Idæus, Phrygiæ penetravitque ad urbes,*
Threiciamque Samum, quæ nunc Samothracia fertur.
Hinc illum Coryti Tyrrhena ab ſede profectum,
Aurea nunc ſolio ſtellantis regia cœli
Accipit, &c.

Some old *Auruncans*, I remember well,
(Though time have made the fame obſcure) would tell
Of *Dardanus*, how born in *Italy*,
From hence he into *Phrygia* did flie
And leaving *Tuſcaine* (where he earſt had place)
With *Corytus* did ſail to *Samothrace*;
But now inthronized he ſits on high,
In golden Palace of the ſtarry Sky.

But contrary to this, and ſo many Authors, approving and confirming it, *Reineccius* thinks that theſe names, *Troes*, *Teucri*, & *Thraces*, are derived from *Tiras* or *Thiras* the Son of *Japhet*: and that the *Dardanians*, *Myſians*, and *Aſcanians*, mixt with the *Troians*, were *Germane* Nations, deſcended from *Aſhkenaz*, the Son of *Gomer*: of whom the Country, Lake, and River of *Aſcanius* in *Aſia*, took name. That *Aſhkenaz* gave name to thoſe places and people, it is not unlikely: neither is it unlikely, that the *Acanii*, *Dardani*, and many others did in aftertimes paſs into *Europe*: that the name of *Teucer* came of *Tyras*, the conjecture is ſomewhat hard. Concerning *Teucer*, whereas *Halicarnaſſæus* makes him an *Athenian*, I find none that follow him in the ſame opinion. *Virgil* (as is before ſhewed) reported him to be of *Crete*, whoſe authority is the more to be regarded, becauſe he had good means to find the truth, which it is probable that he carefully ſought, and in this did follow, ſeeing it no way concerned *Auguſtus* (whom other whiles he did flatter) whether *Teucer* were of *Crete* or no. *Reineccius* doth rather embrace the opinion of *Diodorus*, and others that think him a *Phrygian*, by which report he was the Son of *Scamander* and *Ida*, Lord of the Countrey, not founder of the City; and his Daughter or Neece *Batia* was the ſecond Wife of *Dardanus* founder of *Troy*. *Reineccius* further thinks that *Atlas* reigned in *Samothracia*, and gave his Daughter *Electra* to *Corythus*, or *Coritus*: and that theſe were parents to *Chryſe*, firſt wife to *Dardanus*. *Virgil* holds otherwiſe; and the common Tradition of Poets makes *Dardanus* the Son of *Electra* by *Jupiter* which *Electra* was the Daughter of *Atlas*, and Wife to *Coritus* King of *Hetruria*, to whom ſhe bare *Jaſius*.

Annius out of his *Berosus* finds the name of *Comblobascon*, to whom he gives the addition of *Corytus* as a Title of dignity, making him Father of *Dardanus* and *Jasius*; and further telling us very particularly of the faction between these Brethren, which grew to such a heat, that finally *Dardanus* killed his Brother, and therefore fled into *Somothrace*. The obscurity of the History gives leave to *Annius* of saying what he list. I, that love not to use such liberty, will forbear to determine any thing herein. But if *Dardanus* were the Son of *Jupiter*, it must have been of some elder *Jupiter* than the Father of those that lived about the War of *Troy*. So it is likewise probable that *Atlas* the Father of *Electra* was rather an *Italian* than an *African*, which also is the opinion of *Boccace*. For (as hath often been said) there were many *Jupiters*, and many of almost every name of Gods: but it was the custome to ascribe to some one, the acts of the rest, with all belonging to them. Therefore I will not greatly trouble my self with making a narrow search into these fabulous Antiquities, but set down the Pedigree according to the general fame; allowing to *Teucer* such Parents as *Diodorus* gives, because others giving him none, and carrying the line of *Dardanus* in manner following.

Dcor. l. 4. c. 3. Boccace de gen.



Concerning

Concerning the beginning and continuance of the *Trojan* Kingdom, with the length of every Kings reign, I have chosen good Authors to be my guides, that in a History whereon depends the most ancient computation of times among the Greeks, I might not follow incertainties, ill cohering with the consent of Writers, and general passage of things elsewhere done. And first for the destruction of *Troy*, which was of greater note than any accident befalling that City whilst it stood, it is reckoned by *Diodorus* to be 780 years more ancient than the beginning of the ninty fourth *Olympiad*. Whereas therefore 372 did pass between the beginning of the *Olympiads*, and the first year of the 94, it is manifest that the remainder of 780 years, that is, 408 years went between the destruction of *Troy*, and the first institution of those games by *Iphitus*, if the authority of *Diodorus* be good proof, who elsewhere tells us, that the return of the *Heraclidæ*, which was 80 years after the fall of *Troy*, was 328 years before the first *Olympiad*.

Diod. in præf.

Dionys. Halic. Antiq. 2.

Hereunto agrees the authority of *Dionysius Hilicarnasseus*, who placing the foundation of *Rome* in the first of the seventh *Olympiad*, that is, four and twenty years after the beginning of those games, accounts it 432 later then the fall of *Troy*. *Solinus* in expres words, makes the institution of the *Olympiads* by *Iphitus*, whom he calleth *Iphiclus*, 480 years later than the destruction of *Troy*. The sum is easily collected by necessary inference out of divers other places in the same book. Hereunto doth *Eusebius*, reckoning exclusively agree: and *Eratosthenes* (as is cited by *Clemens Alexandrinus*) makes up out of many particulars, the same total sum, wanting, but one year, as reckoning likewise exclusively.

Solin. Po. hist. c. 2.

Euseb. de prap. Evan l. 10. *c.* 3. *Cle. Alex. Strom. lib.* 1.

The other collections of divers Writers that are cited by *Clemens* in the same place, do neither cohere any way, nor depend upon any collateral History, by which they may be verified.

The destruction of *Troy* being in the year before the *Olympiads* four hundred and eight: we must seek the the continuance of that from the beginning to the end, out of *Eusebius*, who leads us from *Dardanus* on-wards, through the reigns of four Kings, by the space of two hundred and five and twenty years, and after of *Priamus*, with whom also at length it ended. As for the time which passed under *Laomedon*, we are fain to do as others have done before us, and take it upon trust from *Annius* his Authors; believing *Manetho* so much the rather, for that in his account of the former Kings reigns, and of *Priamus*, he is found to agree with *Eusebius*, which may give us leave to think that *Annius* hath not herein corrupted him. But in this point we need not be very scrupulous: for seeing that no History or account of time depends upon the reign of the former Kings, but only upon the ruins of the City under *Priamus*, it may suffice that we are careful to place that memorable accident in the due year.

True it is, that some objections appearing weighty, may be alledged in maintenance of different computations, which with the answers I purposely omit, as not willing to dispute of those years, wherein the *Greeks* knew no good form of a year; but rather to make narration of the actions which were memorable, and acknowledged by all Writers, whereof this destruction of *Troy* was one of the most renowned.

The first enterprise that was undertaken by general consent of all *Greece*, was the last War of *Troy*, which hath been famous even to this day, for the numbers of Princes and valiant Commanders there assembled, the great battails fought with variable success; the long endurance of the siege; the destruction of that great City; and the many *Colonies* planted in sundry countries, as well by the remainder of the *Trojans*, as by the victorious *Greeks* after their unfortunate return. All which things, with enumerable circumstances of especial note, have been delivered unto posterity, by the excellent wits of many Writers, especially by the *Poems* of that great *Homer*, whose Verses have given immortality to the action, which might else perhaps have been buried in oblivion; among other worthy deeds, done both before and since that time. For it is true which *Horace* saith:

Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona
Multi, sed omnes illacrimabiles
Urgentur, ignotiq; longa
Nocte: carent quia Vate sacro.

Many by valour have deserv'd renown
Ere *Agamemnon*; yet lie all oppress
Under long night, unwept for, and unknown:
For with no sacred Poet were they blest.

Yet so it is, that whilst the Writers have with strange fables, or (to speak the best of them) with Allegories far strained, gone about to enlarge the commendations of those noble undertakers: they have both drawn into suspition that great vertue which they sought to adorn, and filled after-ages with almost as much ignorance of the History, as admiration of the persons. Wherefore it is expedient that we seek for the knowledg of such actions, in Histories; learning their qualities who did manage them, of Poets, in whose works are both profit and delight; yet small profit to those which are delighted otherwise: but such as can interpret their fables, or separate them from the naked truth, shall find matter in Poems, not unworthy to be regarded of Historians. For those things excepted, which are gathered out of *Homer*, there is very little, and not without much disagreement of Authors, written of this great War. All Writers consent with *Homer*, that the rape of *Helen* by *Paris* the Son of *Priamus*, was the cause of taking Arms: but how he was hereunto emboldned, it is doubtful.

SECT. II.

Of the rape of Helen: *and strength of both sides for the War.*

Herodotus fetcheth the cause of this rape from very far; saying, That whereas the *Phœnicians* had ravished *Io*, and carried her into *Egypt*, the *Greeks*, to be revenged on the *Barbarians*, did first ravish *Europa*, whom they brought out of *Phœnicia* into *Creta*, and afterward *Medæa*, whom they fetcht from *Colchos*, denying to restore her to her Father, till such time as they might be satisfied for the rape of *Io*. By these deeds of the *Greeks*, *Paris* (as the same *Herodotus* affirms) was emboldned to do the like; not fearing such revenge as ensued. But all this narration seems frivolous, for what had the King of *Colchos* to do with the injury of the *Phœnicians*? Or how could the *Greeks*, as in revenge of *Io*, plead any quarrel against him, that never had heard the name of *Phœnicians*? *Thucydides*, a writer of unquestionable sincerity, maketh it plain, that the name of *Barbarians* was not used at all in *Homers* time, which was long after the War of *Troy*: and that the *Greeks* themselves were not then called all by one name, *Hellenes*, as afterwards. So that it were unreasonable to think, that they should have sought revenge upon all Nations, as barbarous, for the injury received by one: or that all

all people elſe ſhould have eſteemed of the *Greeks*, as of a people oppoſed to all the World; and that even then when as the *Greeks* had not yet one common name among themſelves. Others with more probability ſay, that the rape of *Helen* was to procure the redelivery of *Heſione*, King *Priamus* his Siſter, taken formerly by *Hercules*, and given to *Telamon*. This may have been true: for *Telamon* (as it ſeems) was a cruel Man, ſeeing his own Son *Teucer* durſt not come in his ſight, after the War of *Troy*, but fled into *Cyprus*, only becauſe his Brother *Ajax* (which *Teucer* could not remedy) had ſlain himſelf. Yet, were it ſo, that *Heſione* was ill entreated by *Telamon*, it was not therefore likely that *Priamus* her Brother would ſeek to take her from her Husband, with whom ſhe had lived about thirty years, and to whom ſhe had born Children, which were to ſucceed in his Dominion. Whereupon I think that *Paris* had no regard either to the rape of *Europa*, *Medæa*, or *Heſione*, but was meerly inticed by *Venus*, that is, by his luſt, to do that which in thoſe daies was very common. For not only *Greeks* from *Barbarians*, and *Barbarians* from *Greeks*, as *Herodotus* diſcourſeth; but all people were accuſtomed to ſteal Women and Cattel, if they could by ſtrong hand or power get them: and having ſtoln them,, either to ſell them away in ſome far Country, or keep them to their own uſe. So did *Theſeus* and *Pirython* attempt *Proſerpina*; and ſo did *Theſeus* (long before *Paris*) raviſh *Helen*. And theſe practiſes, as it appears in *Thucydides*, were ſo common, that none durſt inhabit near unto the Sea, for fear of pyracy, which was accounted a trade of life no leſs lawful than merchandiſe: wherefore *Tyndareus*, the Father of *Helen*, conſidering the beauty of his daughter, and the rape which *Theſeus* had made, cauſed all her Wooers, who were moſt of the principal Men in *Greece*, to bind themſelves by ſolemn oath, that if ſhe were taken from her Husband, they ſhould with all their might help to recover her. This done, he gave free choice of a husband to his Daughter, who choſe *Menelaus* Brother to *Agamemnon*. So the cauſe which drew the *Greeks* unto *Troy* in revenge of *Helens* rape, was partly the oath which ſo many Princes had made unto her Father *Tyndareus*. Hereunto the great power of *Agamemnon* was not a little helping: for *Agamemnon*, beſides his great Dominions in *Peloponneſus*, was Lord of many Iſlands; he was alſo rich in Money, and therefore the *Arcadians* were well contented to follow his pay, whom he embarked for *Troy* in his own Ships, which were more than any other of the *Greek* Princes brought to that expedition.

Thus did all *Greece*, either as bound by oath, or led by reputation and power of the two Brethren, *Agamemnon*, and *Menelaus*; or deſirous to partake of the profit and honour of that great enterpriſe: take Arms againſt the *Trojans*. The *Greeks* Fleet was (by *Homer*'s account) 1200 ſayl, or thereabouts: but the veſſels were not great: for it was not then the manner to build Ships with decks: only they uſed (as *Thucydides* ſaith) ſmall Ships, meet for robbing on the Sea; the leaſt of which carried fifty Men, the greateſt 120, every Man (except Captains) being both a Mariner and a Souldier. By this proportion it appears that the *Grecian* Army conſiſted of 100000 Men or thereabout. This was the greateſt Army that ever was raiſed out of *Greece*: and the greatneſs of this Army doth well declare the ſtrength and power of *Troy*, which ten whole years did ſtand out againſt ſuch forces: yet were the *Trojans* which inhabited the City, not the tenth part of this number, as *Agamemnon* ſaid in the ſecond of *Homers Iliads*; but their followers and aids were very many and ſtrong. For all *Phrygia*, *Lycia*, *Miſſia*, and the greateſt part of *Aſia* the leſs, took part with the *Trojans*. The *Amazons* alſo brought them ſuccour. And *Rheſus* out of *Thrace*, and *Memnon* out of *Aſſyria* (though ſome think out of *Æthiopia*) came to their defence.

SECT. III.

Of the Grecians *journey, and Embaſſage to* Troy, *and of* Helena's *being detained in* Egypt, *and of the ſacrificing of* Iphigenia.

WHerefore the *Greeks*, unwilling to come to tryal of arms, if things might be compounded by treaty ſent *Menelaus* and *Ulyſſes* Embaſſadours to *Troy*: who demanded *Helen*, and the goods were taken with her out of *Menelaus* his Houſe. What anſwer the *Trojans* made hereunto it is uncertain, *Herodotus* from the report of the *Egyptian* Prieſts, makes it very probable, that *Helen* was taken from *Paris* before his return to *Troy*. The ſum of his diſcourſe is this.

Paris in his return with *Helena*, being driven by foul weather unto the coaſt of *Egypt*, was accuſed for the rape of *Helen* by ſome bondmen of his, that had taken Sanctuary. *Proteus* then King of *Egypt*, finding the accuſation true by examination, detained *Helen*, and the goods taken with her, till her Husband ſhould require them: diſmiſſing *Paris* without further puniſhment, becauſe he was a ſtranger. When therefore the *Greeks* demanding *Helen*, had anſwer, that ſhe was in *Egypt*, they thought themſelves deluded, and thereupon made the War which ended with the ruine of *Troy*. But when after the City taken, they perceived indeed ſhe had not been there, they returned home, ſending *Menelaus* to ask his Wife of *Proteus*. *Homer*, and the whole Nation of *Poets* (except *Euripides*) vary from this Hiſtoy, thinking it a matter more magnificent, and more graceful to their Poems, for the retaining of a fair Lady, than that they endured all by force, becauſe it lay not in their power to deliver her. Yet in the fourth of his *Odyſſes*, *Homer* ſpeaks of *Menelaus* his being in *Egypt*, before he returned home to *Sparta*; which voyage it were not eaſily believed that he made for pleaſure, and if he were driven by contrary Winds, much more may we think that *Paris* was likely to have been driven thither by foul Weather. For *Paris* immediately upon the rape committed, was enforced to fly, taking ſuch Winds as he could get, and rather enduring any ſtorm, than to commit himſelf to any Haven in the *Greek* Seas: whereas *Menelaus* might have put into any Port in *Greece*, and there have remained with good entertainment, until ſuch time as the Wind had come about, and ſerved for his Navigation.

One great argument *Herodotus* brings to confirm the ſaying of the *Egyptian* Prieſts; which is, that if *Helen* had been at *Troy*, it had been utter madneſs for *Priamus* to ſee ſo many miſeries befall him, during the war, and ſo many of his Sons ſlain for the pleaſure of one, who neither was heir to the Kingdom (for *Hector* was elder), nor equal in vertue to many of the reſt. Beſides it may ſeem that *Lucian* ſpake not more pleaſantly then truly, when he ſaid that *Helen*, at the War of *Troy*, was almoſt as old as Queen *Hecuba*, conſidering that ſhe had been raviſhed by *Theſeus* the companion of *Hercules*, who took *Troy* when *Priamus* was very young; and conſidering further, that ſhe was Siſter to *Caſtor* and *Pollux* (ſhe and *Pollux* being ſaid by ſome to have been twins) who ſailed with the *Argonauts*, having *Telamon*

mon the Father of *Ajax* in their company, before the time that *Hesione* was taken; on whom *Telamon* begat *Ajax*, that was a Principal Commander in the *Trojan* war. But whether it were so that the *Trojans* could not, or would not restore *Helen*, so it was that the Embassadours returned ill contented, and not very well entreated, for there wanted not some that advised to have them slain. The *Greeks* hereupon incensed, made all hast towards *Troy*: at which time *Calchas* (whome some say to have been a runnagate *Trojan*, though no such thing be found in *Homer*) filled the Captains, and all the Host with many troublesome answers and divinations. For he would have *Agamemnons* daughter sacrificed to appease *Diana*, whose anger, he said, withstood their passage. Whether the young Lady were sacrificed, or whether (as some write) the *Goddess* was contented with a Hind, it is not needful here to be disputed of. Sure it is, that the malice of the Devil, which waits for all opportunities, is never more importunate, than where mens ignorance is most. *Calchas* also told the *Greeks*, that the taking of *Troy* was impossible, till some fatal impediments were removed: and that till ten years were past, the Town should hold out against them. All which notwithstanding, the *Greeks* proceeded in their enterprise, under the command of *Agamemnon*, who was accompanied with his brother *Menelaus*, *Achilles* the most valiant of all the *Greeks*, his friend *Patroclus*, and his Tutor *Phœnix*, *Ajax* and *Teucer*, the sons of *Telamon*; *Idomeneus*, and his companion *Meriones*; *Nestor* and his sons *Antilochus* and *Thrasymides*; *Ulisses*, *Menestheus* the son of *Petreus*, Captain of the *Athenians*; *Diomedes* the son of *Tydeus*, a man of singular courage; the wise and learned *Palamedes*, *Ascalaphus*, and *Talmenus*, the sons of *Mars*, who had sailed with the *Argonauts*; *Philoctetes* also the son of *Pœan*, who had the arrows of *Hercules*, without which *Chalcas* said, that the City could not be taken, *Ajax* the son of *Oilius*, *Peneleus*, *Thoas*, *Eumelus*, *Tysandrus*, *Euripilus*, *Athamas*, *Sthenelus*, *Tlepolemus* the son of *Hercules*; *Podalyrius*, and *Machon*, the sons of *Æsculapius*; *Epeus*, who is said to have made the wooden Horse, by which the Town was taken; and *Protesilaus*, who first leapt on shore, neglecting the *Oracle* that threatned death to him that landed first.

SECT. IV.

Of the Acts of the Græcians *at the siege.*

THese, and many other of less note, arriving at *Troy* found such sharp entertainment, as might easily perswade them to think that the war would be more than one years work. For in the first encounter, they lost *Protesilaus*, whom *Hector* slew, and many others, without any great harm done to the *Trojans*; save only that by their numbers of men, they wan ground enough to encamp themselves in, as appeareth in *Thucydides*. The principal impediment which the *Greeks* found, was want of victuals, which grew upon them by reason of their multitude, and the smalness of their vessels, wherein they could not carry necessaries for such an Army. Hereupon they were compelled to send some part of their men, to labour the ground in *Cherronesus*: others to rob upon the Sea for the relief of the Camp. Thus was the war protracted nine whole years, and either nothing done, or if any skirmishes were, yet could the Town receive little loss by them, having equal numbers to maintain the field against such *Greeks* as continued the siege, and a more safe retreat, if the enemy got the better.

Wherefore *Ovid* saith, That from the first year, till the tenth, there was no fighting at all, and *Heraclide* commends as very credible, the report of *Herodicus*, that the *Greeks* did not lye before *Troy* the first nine years; but only did bear up and down the Seas, exercising their men, and inriching themselves, and so by wasting the Enemies Country, did block up the Town, unto which they returned not, until the fatal time drew near when it should be subverted.

This is confirmed by the enquiry which *Priamus* made, when the *Greek* Princes came into the field, the tenth year, for he knew none of them; and therefore sitting upon an high Tower (as *Homer* tells) he learned their names of *Helen*: which though it is like to be a fiction, yet could it not at all have been supposed that he should be ignorant of them, if they had shewed themselves before the Town so many years together. Between these relations of *Thucydides* and *Herodicus*, the difference is not much, the one saying, that a few of the *Greeks* remained in the Camp before *Troy*, whilest the rest made purveyance by Land and by Sea: the others that the whole army did spend the time in wasting the Sea-coasts. Neither do the Poets greatly disagree from these authors: for they make report of many Towns and Islands wasted, and the people carried into Captivity; in which actions *Achilles* was employed, whom the army could not well, nor would have spared, if any service of importance had been to be performed before the City. Howsoever it was, this is agreed by general consent, that in the begininng of that Summer, in which *Troy* was taken, great booties were brought into the Camp, and a great pestilence arose among the *Greeks*: which *Homer* saith, that *Apollo* sent in revenge of his Priest's Daughter, whom *Agamemnon* had refused to let go for any ransome: but *Heraclides* interpreting the place, saith, that by *Apollo* was meant the Sun, who raised pestilent Fogs, by which the Army was infected, being lodged in a moorish piece of ground. And it might well be that the Camp was over-pestered with those who had been abroad, and now were lodged all close together: having also grounded their Ships within the fortifications.

Hom. Iliad. 3.

About the same time arose much contention between *Agamemnon* and *Achilles* about the booty, whereof *Agamemnon*, as General, having first chosen for his part a captive woman, and *Achilles* in the second place chosen for himself another, then *Ajax*, *Ulysses*, and so the rest of the chief Captains in order: when the South-sayer *Calchas* had willed that *Agamemnons* Woman should be restored to her Father *Apollo*'s Priest, so that the pestilence might cease, then did *Agamemnon* greatly rage, and say that he alone would not lose his part of the spoil, but would either take that which had been given to *Achilles*, or that which had fallen to *Ajax*, or to *Ulysses*. Hereupon *Achilles* defied him, but was fain to suffer all patiently, as not able to hold his Concubine by strong hand, nor to revenge her loss otherwise than by refusing to fight, or to send forth his Captains. But the *Greeks*, encouraged by their Captains, presented themselves before the City without him and his Troops.

The *Trojans* were now relieved with great succours, all the neighbour Countries having sent them aid: partly drawn to that War by their Commanders, who assisted *Priamus* for money, wherewith he abounded when the War began (as appears by his words in *Homer*,) or for love of himself and his Sons, or hope of marriage with some of his many and fair Daughters; partly also (as we may well guess) incited by the wrongs received of the *Greeks* when they wasted the Countries adjoyning unto *Troy*. So that when

when *Hector* issued out of the Town, he was little inferiour to his enemies in numbers of Men, or quality of their Leaders. The principal Captains in the *Trojan* Army, were *Hector*, *Paris*, *Deiphobus*, *Helenus*, and the other Sons of *Priamus*: *Æneas*, *Antenor*, and his Sons *Polidamas*, *Sarpedon*, *Glaucus*, *Asius*, and the Sons of *Panthus*, besides *Rhesus*, who was slain the first night of his arrival; *Memnon*, Queen *Penthesilea*, and others who came towards the end of the War. Between these and the *Greeks* were many battels fought: the greatest of which were, that at the tomb of King *Ilus* upon the Plain: and another at the very trenches of the Camp, wherein *Hector* brake through the fortifications of the *Greeks*, and began to fire their Ships; at which time *Ajax* the Son of *Telamon*, with his Brother *Teucer*, were in a manner the only Men of note that remaining unwounded, made head against *Hector*, when the state of the *Greeks* was almost desperate.

Another battel (for so Antiquity calls it) or rather the same renewed, was fought by *Patroclus*, who having obtained leave, drew forth *Achilles*'s Troops, relieving the weary *Greeks* with a fresh supply. *Agamemnon*, *Diomedes*, *Ulysses*, and the rest of the Princes though sore wounded, yet were driven to put on armour, and with help of *Patroclus*, repelled the *Trojans* very hardly. For in that fight *Patroclus* was lost, and his body, with much contention recovered by his friends, was brought back into the Camp: the armour of *Achilles* which he had put on, being torn from him by *Hector*. It was the manner of those Wars, having slain a Man, to strip him, and hale away his body, not restoring it without ransome, if he were one of Marke. Of the vulgar, little reckoning was made: for they fought all on Foot, slightly armed, and commonly followed the success of their Captains; who rode not upon Horses, but in Chariots, drawn by two or three Horses, which were guided by some trusty followers of theirs, which drave up and down the Field, as they were directed by the Captains, who by the swiftness of their Horses, presenting themselves where need required, threw first their Javelins, and then alighting, fought on Foot, with Swords and Battle-Axes, retiring into the ranks of footmen, or else returning to their Chariots when they found cause, and so began again with a new dart as they could get it, if their old were lost or broken. Their arms defensive were Helmets, Breast-plates, Boots of Brass, or other Mettal, and shields commonly of Leather Plated over. The offensive were Swords and Battel-Axes at hand; and Stones, Arrows or Darts when they fought at any distance. The use of their Chariots (besides the swiftness) was to keep them from weariness, whereto the leaders were much subject, because of their Armour, which the strongest and stoutest ware heaviest, also that from them they might throw their Javelins downwards, with the more violence. Of which Weapon I find not that any carried more than one or two into the Field: wherefore they were often driven to return to their Tents for a new one when the old was gone. Likewise of Armours they had little change or none; every Man (speaking of the chief) carried his own compleat, of which if any peice were lost or broken, he was driven to repair it with the like, if he had any fitting, taken from some Captain whom he had slain, and stripped; or else to borrow of them that had by such means gotten some to spare. Whereas therefore *Achilles* had lost his Armour, which *Hector* (as is said before) had taken from the body of *Patroclus*, he was fain to await the making of new, ere he could enter the fight: whereof he became very desirous, that he might revenge the death of *Patroclus* his dear friend.

At this time *Agamemnon* reconciled himself unto *Achilles*, not only restoring his Concubine *Briseis*, but giving him very great gifts, and excusing former matters as well as he might. In the next Battel *Achilles* did so behave himself, that he did not only put the *Trojans* to the worst, but also slew the valiant *Hector*, whom (if *Homer* may herein be believed) he chased three times about the Walls of *Troy*. But great question may be made of *Homer*'s truth in this narration. For it is not likely that *Hector* would stay alone without the City (as *Homer* doth report of him) when all the *Trojans* were fled into it: nor that he could leap over the Rivers of *Xanthus* and *Simois*, as he must have done in that fight: nor that the *Trojans*, perceiving *Hector* in such an extremity, would have forborn to open some of their gates and let him in. But this is reported only to grace *Achilles*, who having (by what means soever) slain the noble *Hector*, did not only carry away his dead body, as the custome then was, but boring holes in his Feet, and thrusting leathern thongs into them, tyed him to his Chariot, and dragging him shamefully about the Field, selling the dead body to his Father *Priamus* for a very great ransome. But his cruelty and covetousness were not long unrevenged; for he was shortly after slain with an arrow by *Paris*, as *Homer* sayes in the *Scæan* Gate; or as others, in the Temple of *Apollo*, whither he came to have married *Polyxena* the Daughter of *Priamus*, with whom he was too far in love, having slain so many of her Brethren; and his body was ransomed (as *Lycophron* saith) at the self same rate that *Hector*'s was by him sold for. Not long after this, *Penthesilea* Queen of the *Amazons* arrived at *Troy*, who after some proof given of her Valour, was slain by *Pyrrhus* the Son of *Achilles*.

SECT. V.

Of the taking of Troy, *the wooden Horse, the Book of* Dares *and* Dyctis, *the Colonies of the Reliques of* Troy.

FInally, after the death of many Worthy Persons on each side, the City was taken by night, as all Writers agree: but whether by the Treason of *Æneas* and *Antenor*; or by a wooden Horse, as the Poets, and common Fame (which followed the Poets) have delivered, it is uncertain. Some write that upon one of the Gates of *Troy*, called *Scæa*, was the Image of a Horse, and that the *Greeks* entring by that Gate, gave occasion to the report, that the City was taken by an artificial Horse. It may well be, that with some wooden Engine, which they called a Horse, they either did batter the Walls as the *Romans* in after-times used to do with the Ram: or scaled the Walls upon the sudden, and so took the City. As for the hiding of Men in the hollow body of a wooden Horse, it had been a desperate adventure, and serving to no purpose. For either the *Trojans* might have perceived the deceit, and slain all those Princes of *Greece*, that were inclosed in it (which also by such as maintain this report they are said to have thought upon:) or they might have left it a few days without the City (for it was unlikely, that they should the very first day both conclude upon the bringing it into the Town, and break down their Walls upon the sudden to do it:) by which means they who were shut into it, must have perished for hunger, if they had not by issuing

issuing forth, unseasonably discovered the invention. Whereas further it is said, that this Horse was so high and great, that it could not be brought into the Town through any of the Gates, and that therefore the *Trojans* were fain to pull down a part of their Wall to make way for it, through which breach the *Greeks* did afterwards enter; it is hereby manifest, that the inclosing of so many principal men was altogether needless, considering that without their help there was way sufficient for the Army, so that the surprising of any Gate by them was now to no purpose.

John Baptista Gramay in his History of *Asia*, discoursing of this War, saith that the *Greeks* did both batter the Walls with a Wooden Engine, and were also let into the City by *Antenor*, at the *Scæan* Gate: the Townsmen sleeping and drinking without fear or care, because the Fleet of the *Grecians* had hoisted Sail, and was gone the day before to the Ile of *Tenedos*, thereby to bring the *Trojans* into security. That the City was betrayed, the Books of *Dares*, and *Dyctis* must prove, which whether we now have the same that were by them written, it may be suspected; for surely they who have made mention of these Writers in ancient times, would not, as they did, have followed the reports of *Homer* and others quite contradictory in most points to these two Authors, without once taking notice of the opposition, which they having served in that War made against the common report, had it not been that either those books were even in those times thought frivolous, or else contained no such repugnancy to the other Authors as now is found in them.

Also concerning the number of Men slain in this War, which *Dares* and *Dyctis* say to have been above 600000 on the *Trojan* side, and more then 800000 of the *Greeks*, it is a report meerly fabulous; for as much as the whole Fleet of the *Greeks* was reckoned by *Homer*, who extolled their Army and deeds as much as he could, to be somewhat less than 1200 sail, and the Army thereein transported over the *Greek* Seas, not much above 100000 Men, according to the rate formerly mentioned. But it is the common fashion of Men to extol the deeds of their Ancients: for which cause, both *Homer* magnified the Captains of the *Greeks* that served in the War, and *Virgil* with others, were as diligent in commending and extolling the *Trojans* and their City, from which the *Romans* descended. Yea the *Athenians* long after in the War which *Xerxes* the *Persian* King made against all *Greece*: did not forbear to vaunt of the great cunning which *Mnestheus* the Son of *Peteus* had shewed in marshalling the *Grecian* Army before *Troy*: whereupon, as if it had been a matter of much consequence, they were so proud, that they refused to yeild unto *Gelon*, King of almost all *Sicily*, the Admiralty of their Seas, notwithstanding that he promised to bring 200 good fighting ships, and 30000 Men for their defence.

The like vanity possessed many other Cities of *Greece*, and many Nations in these parts of the World, which have striven to bring their descent from some of the Princes that warred at *Troy*; all difficulties or unlikelihoods in such their Pedigree notwithstanding. But those Nations which indeed, or in most probability, came of the *Trojans*, were the *Albanes* in *Italy*; and from them the *Romans*, brought into that Country by *Æneas*: the *Venetians* first seated in *Padua*, and the Country adjoyning, by *Antenor*: the *Chaonians* planted in *Epirus* by *Helenus*, the Son of King *Priamus*. To which *Hellanicus* addeth, that the Posterity of *Hector* did assemble such of the *Trojans* as were left, and reigned over them about *Troy*.

SECT. VI.

Of the distresses and dispersions of the Greeks *returning from* Troy.

COncerning the *Greeks*, they tasted as much misery as they had brought upon the *Trojans*. For *Thucydides* notes, that by reason of their long abode at the siege, they found many alterations when they returned: so that many were driven by their borderers from their antient seats: many were expelled their Countries by faction: some were slain anon after their arrival: others were debarred from the Soveraignty among the people, by such as had stayed at home. The cause of all which may seem to have been the dispersion of the Army, which, weakned much by the calamities of that long War, was of little force to repel injuries, being divided into so many peices, under several Commanders, not very well agreeing. For (besides other quarrels arising upon the division of the booty, and the like occasions) at the time when they should have set Sail, *Agamemnon* and his Brother fell out, the one being desirous to depart immediately, the other to stay and perform some sacrifices to *Minerva*. Hereupon they fell to hot words, half the Fleet remaining with *Agamemnon*, the rest of them sailed to the Isle of *Tenedos*; where when they arrived, they could not agree among themselves, but some returned back to *Agamemnon*; others were dispersed, each holding his own course. But the whole Fleet was sore vexed with tempests: for *Pallas* (as *Homer* saith) would not be perswaded in haste.

They who returned safe were *Nestor*, and *Pyrrhus*, whom *Orestes* afterwards slew: also *Idomeneus* and *Philoctetes*, who nevertheless, as *Virgil* tels, were driven soon after to seek new seats: *Idomeneus* among the *Salentines*, and *Philoctetes* at *Petilia* in *Italy*. *Agamemnon* likewise returned home, but was forthwith slain by his Wife, and by the Adulterer *Ægystus*, who for a while after usurped his Kingdom. *Menelaus* wandring long upon the Seas, came into *Ægypt*, either with *Helen*, or (as may rather seem) to fetch her. *Ulysses*, after ten years having lost all his company, got home in poor estate, with much ado recovering the mastership of his own house. All the rest, either perished by the way, or were driven into exile, and fain to seek out new habitations.

Ajax the Son of *Oileus* was drowned; *Teucer* fled into *Cyprus*; *Diomedes* to King *Daunus*, who was Lord of the *Japiges* in *Apulia*; some of the *Locrians* were driven into *Africk*, others into *Italy*, all the East part whereof was called *Magna Græcia*, by reason of so many Towns which the *Greeks* were driven to erect upon that Coast. Finally, it appears in *Homer*, that the *Grecian* Ladies, whose Husbands had been at the War of *Troy*, were wont to call it, The place where the *Greeks* suffered misery, and the unlucky City not to be mentioned. And thus much for *Troy*, and those that warred there: the overthrow of which City, as hath been said, happened in the time of *Habdon* Judg of *Israel*, whom *Sampson*, after a vacancy or *Inter-regnum* for certain years, succeeded.

CHAP. XV.
Of Sampſon, Eli, *and* Samuel.

SECT. I.
Of Sampſon.

2970. THE birth and acts of *Sampſon* are written at large in the 13,14,15, and *16* of *Judges*; and therefore I ſhall not need to make a repetition thereof. But theſe things I gather out of that Story. Firſt, that the *Angel of God* forbad the Wife of *Monoah* the Mother of *Sampſon*, to drink Wine or ſtrong drink, or to eat any unclean Meat after ſhe was conceived with Child; becauſe thoſe ſtrong liquors hindered the ſtrength, and as it were wither and ſhrink the Child in the Mothers Womb. Though this were even the counſel of God himſelf, and delivered by his Angel, yet it ſeemeth that many Women of this age have not read, or at leaſt will not believe this precept: the moſt part forbearing nor drinks, nor meats, how ſtrong or unclean ſoever, filling themſelves with all ſorts of Wines, and with artificial drinks far more forcible: by reaſon whereof ſo many wretched feeble Bodies are borne into the World, and the races of the able and ſtrong Men in effect decayed.

Secondly it is to be noted, that the *Angel of God* refuſed the ſacrifice which *Manoah* would have offered him, commanding him to preſent it unto the Lord: and therefore thoſe that profeſs divination by the help of Angels, to whom alſo they ſacrifice, may aſſuredly know that they are Divels who accept thereof, and not good Angles, who receive no worſhip that is proper to God.

Thirdly, this *Sampſon* was twice betrayed by his Wives, to wit, by their importunity and deceitful tears: by the firſt he loſt but a part of his Goods; by the ſecond, his life. *Quem nulla vis ſuperare potuit, voluptas evertit: Whom no force could over-maſter, Voluptuouſneſs overturned.*

Fourthly, we may note, that he did not in all deliver *Iſrael* from the oppreſſion of the *Philiſtims*; though in ſome ſort he revenged and defended them: for notwithſtanding that he had ſlain 30 of them in his firſt attempt, burnt their Corn in harveſt time, and given them a great overthrow inſtantly upon it: yet ſo much did *Iſrael* fear the *Philiſtims*, as they aſſembled 3000 Men out of *Juda*, to beſiege *Sampſon* in the Rock or Mountain of *Etam*, uſing theſe Words: *Knoweſt not thou that the Philiſtims are Rulers over us? &c.* After which they bound him, and delivered him unto the *Philiſtims*, for fear of their revenge; though he was no ſooner looſned, but he gave them another overthrow, and ſlew 1000 with the jaw-bone of an Aſs.

Laſtly, being made blind, and a priſoner by the treaſon of his Wife, he was content to end his own life, to be avenged of his enemies, when he pulled down the Pillars of the houſe at the Feaſt whereto they ſent for *Sampſon*, to deride him; till which time he bare his affliction with patience: but it was truely ſaid of *Seneca*; *Patientia ſæpe læſa vertitur in furorem*; *Patience often wounded is converted into fury*: neither is it at any time ſo much wounded by pain and loſs, as by deriſion and contumely.

SECT. II.
Of Eli, *and of the Ark taken; and of* Dagons *fall, and the ſending back of the Ark.*

THe Story of *Eli* the Prieſt, who ſucceeded *Sampſon*, is written in the beginning of *Samuel*; who foretold him of the deſtruction of his houſe, for the wickedneſs of his Sons, which he ſuppreſſed not, neither did he puniſh them according to their deſerts: whoſe ſins were horrible, both in abuſing the Sacrifice, and profaning and polluting the holy places: though *Levi Ben Gerſon*, to extenuate this filthy offence of forcing the Women by the Sons of *Eli*, hath a contrary opinion. In this time therefore it pleaſed God to caſt the *Iſraelites* under the Swords of the *Philiſtims*; of whom there periſhed in the firſt encounter 4000 and in the ſecond battel 30000 footmen; among whom the Sons of *Eli* being ſlain, their Father (hearing the lamentable ſucceſs) by falling from his Chair, brake his neck. He was the firſt that obtained the High-Prieſthood of the ſtock of *Ithamar* the Son of *Aaron*, before whoſe time it continued ſucceſſively in the race of *Eleazar* the eldeſt Brother of *Ithamar*: for *Aaron* was the firſt, *Eleazer* the ſecond, *Phinees* the Son of *Eleazar* the third, *Abiſue* the Son of *Phinees* the fourth, his Son *Bocci* the fifth, *Ozi* the Son of *Bocci* the ſixth, and then *Eli*, as *Joſephus* and *Lyranus* out of divers Hebrew Authors have conceived. In the race of *Ithamar* the Prieſthood continued after *Eli*, to the time of *Solomon*, who caſt out *Abiathar*, and eſtabliſhed *Sadock* and *Achimaas* and their ſucceſſors. The *Ark of God* which *Iſrael* brought into the field, was in this battel taken by the *Philiſtims*. For as *David* witneſſeth, *God greatly abhorred Iſrael, ſo that he forſook the habitation of Shilo: even the Tabernacle where he dwelt among Men, and delivered his power into captivity, &c.*

1 *Sam.* 2. 22.

1 *King.* 2. 27. and 1 *Chron.* 6.

Pſal. 78.

Now as it pleaſed God at this time, that the Ark, whereby himſelf was repreſented ſhould fall in the hands of the Heathen, for the offences of the Prieſts and people: ſo did he permit the *Caldæans* to deſtroy the Temple built by *Solomon*; the *Romans* to overthrow the ſecond Temple; and the *Turks* to overthrow the Chriſtian Churches in *Aſia* and *Europe*. And had not the *Iſraelites* put more confidence in the ſacrament, or repreſentation, which was the Ark, than in God himſelf, they would have obſerved his Laws, and ſerved him only: which whenſoever they did, they were then victorious. For after the captivity they had no Ark at all, nor in the times of *Macchabees*: and yet for their piety it pleaſed God to make that Family as victorious as any that guarded themſelves by the ſign, in ſtead of the ſubſtance. And that the Ark was not made to the end to be carried into the Field as an Enſign, *David* witneſſed, when he fled from *Abſalon*. For when the Prieſts would have carried the Ark with him: he forbad it, and cauſed it to be turned into the City, uſing theſe words: *If I ſhall find favour in the eyes of the Lord, he will bring me again: if not, let him do to me as ſeemeth good in his eyes.*

1 *Sam.* 5. 6.

2 *Sam.* 15.

The *Trojans* believed that while their *Palladium* or the Image of *Minerva* was kept in *Troy*, the City ſhould never be overturned: ſo did the Chriſtians in the laſt fatal battel againſt *Saladine*, carry into the field, as they were made believe, the very Croſs whereon Chriſt

Christ died; and yet they lost the battel, their bodies, and the wood. But *Chrysostom* upon Saint *Matthew* (if that be his work) giveth a good judgment, speaking of those that wrote a part of Saint *John*'s Gospel about their necks, for an amulet or preservative: *Si tibi ea non prosunt in auribus, quomodo proderunt in collo? If those words do not profit men in their ears* (to wit, the hearing of the Gospel preached) *how should it profit them by hanging it about their necks?* For it was neither the wood of the Ark, nor the wood of the Cross, but the reverence of the Father, that gave the one for a memory of his Covenant, and the Faith in his Son, which shed his blood on the other for Redemption, that could or can profit them and us, either in this life or after it.

The *Philistims* returning with the greatest victory and glory which ever they obtained, carried the *Ark of God* with them to *Azotus*, and set it up in the house of *Dagon* their Idol: but that night the Idol fell out of his place, from above to the ground, and lay under the Ark. The morning following they took it up, and set it again in his place. And it fell the second time, and the head brake from the body, and the hands from the arms, shewing that it had nor power nor understanding in the presence of God; for the head fell off, which is the seat of reason and knowledge, and the hands (by which we execute strength) were sundred from the arms. For God and the Devil inhabit not in one house, nor in one heart. And if this Idol could not endure the representation of the true God, it is not to be marvelled, that at such time as it pleased him to cover his only begotten with flesh, and sent him into the world, that all the Oracles, wherein the Devil derided and betrayed mortal men, lost power, speech and operation at the instant. For when that true light which never had beginning of brightness, brake through the clouds of a Virgins body, shining upon the earth which had been long obscured by Idolatry, all those foul and stinking vapours vanished. *Plutarch* rehearseth a memorable accident in that age concerning the death of the great god *Pan*, as he stileth him; where (as ignorant of the true cause) he searcheth his brains for many reasons of so great alteration: yet finds he none out, but frivolous. For not only this old Devil did then die as he supposed, but all the rest, as *Apollo*, *Jupiter*, *Diana*, and the whole rabble became speechless.

Now while the *Philistims* triumphed after this victory, God struck them with the grievous disease of the *Hemorrhoides*, of which they perished in great numbers. For it is written, that *the Lord destroyed them.* It was therefore by general consent ordered, that the Ark should be removed from *Azotus* to *Gath* or *Geth*, another of the five great Cities of the *Philistims*; to prove, as it seemeth, whether this disease were fallen on them by accident, or by the hand of God immediatly: but when it was brought to *Gath* and received by them, the plague was yet more grievous and mortal. *For the hand of the Lord was against this City with a very great destruction, and he smote the men of the City both small and great*, &c. And being not yet satisfied, they of *Gath* sent the Ark to *Ekron* or *Accaron*, a third City of the *Philistims*: but they also felt the same smart, and cryed out, that themselves and their people should be slain thereby; *For there was a destruction and death throughout all the City.* In the end, by the advice of their Priests, the Princes of the *Philistims* did not only resolve to return the Ark, but to offer gifts unto the *God of Israel*, remembring the plague which had fallen on the *Egyptians*, when their hearts were hardned to hold the people of God from their inheritance, and from his service by strong hand. Wherefore confessing the power of the *God of Israel* to be almighty, and that their own Idols were subject thereunto, they agreed to offer a sin-offering, using these words; *So ye shall give glory to the God of* Israel, *that he may take his hand from you, and from your gods, and from your land.* And what can be a more excellent witnessing, than where an enemy doth approve our cause? according to *Aristotle*; *Pulchrum est testimonium, quo nostra probantur ab hostibus.* So did *Pharaoh* confess the living God, when he was plagued in *Egypt*: and *Nabuchadonosar* and *Darius*, when they had seen his miracles by *Daniel.*

1 Sam. 5. 9.

This counsel therefore of the Priests being imbraced, and the golden *Hemorrhoides*, and the golden *Mice* prepared, they caused two milch Kine to be chosen, such as had not been yoaked, and a new Cart or Carriage to be framed: but they durst not drive or direct it to any place certain, thereby to make tryal whether it were indeed the hand of God that had strucken them. For if the Ark of God were carried towards *Bethshemesh*, and into the territory of *Israel*, then they should resolve that from God only came their late destruction. For the *Philistims* knew, that the milch Kine which drew the Ark, could not be forced from their Calves, but that they would have followed them whersoever; much less when they were left to themselves, would they travel a contrary way. For in the darkest night in the world, if calves be removed from their dams, the Kine will follow them through woods and desarts by the foot, till they find them. But the Kine travelled directly towards *Bethshemesh*: and when they came into the fields thereof, to wit, of one *Josua* of the same City, they stood still there; which when the Princes of the *Philistims* perceived, they returned to *Ekron*. After which, God spared not his own people the *Bethshemites*, in that they presumed to look in the Ark. And because they knew God and his commandments, and had been taught accordingly; he struck them more grievously than he did the heathen: for there perished of them fifty thousand and seventy. From hence the Ark was carried to *Kireath-jearim*, and placed in the house of *Abinadab*; where it is written that it remained twenty years in the charge of *Eleazer* his son, until *David* brought it to *Jerusalem.*

2 Sam. 6. & 1 Chro.

Now whereas it is said, that in the mean while the Ark was in *Nob*, *Mispa*, and *Galgala*, it was the Tabernacle, which was at this time severed from the Ark, or at least, it was for the * present occasion brought to these places, and anon returned to *Kireath-jearim.*

* See in this book, c. 12. sect. 1. in the margent.

† 1 Chro. 6. 22.

* Which Region was called *Ephrata*, as appeareth *Judg.* 12. 5. whence for distinction we read *Ruth.* 12. *Ephratæi è Bethlechemo Jehuda*, the town *Ephrata* which is *Bethlehem* in *Juda*, *Gen.* 35. 19. from the region of *Ephrata*, which is in Mount *Ephraim*, whence *Psa.* 132. 6 *Ephrata* is put for *Silo*, which was in the Tribe of *Ephraim*.

SECT. III.

Of Samuel, *and of his Government.*

THese Tragedies overpast and ended, *Samuel*, to whom God appeared while he was yet a child, became now Judge and Governour of *Israel*. He was descended of the family of † *Chore* or *Korach*. For *Levi* had three sons; *Gerson*, *Cheath*, and *Merari*; *Cheath* had *Amram* and *Izaar*; of *Amram* came *Moses* and *Aaron*; of *Izaar*, *Chore*; and of the family of *Chore*, *Samuel*. His father, *Eleana* a Levite, was called an *Ephratæan*; not that the Levites had any proper inheritance, but because he was of * Mount *Ephraim*, like as *Jesse*, *David*'s father was called an *Ephratæan*, because born at *Ephrata*, or *Bethleem*. *Hannah* his mother being long fruitless, obtained him of God by prayers and tears: it being an exceeding shame to the Jewish women to be called barren, in

respect of the blessing of God, both to *Abraham*, that his seed should multiply as the Stars of Heaven, and the sands of the Sea; as in the beginning to *Adam*, *Increase and multiply, &c.* and in *Deuteronomy* the seventh, *There shall be neither male nor female barren among you.*

Samuel was no sooner born, but that his mother, according to her former vow, dedicated him to God, and his service: to which she delivered him even from the dug. For as the first-born of all that were called *Nazarites*, might be redeemed till they were five years old for five shekels, and between five years and and twenty, for twenty shekels: so was it not required by the Law, that any of the race of the Levites should be called to serve about the Tabernacle, till they were five and twenty years old.

Saint *Peter* reckons in the *Acts* the Prophets from *Samuel*, who was the first of the Writers of holy Scriptures, to whom usually this name of a Prophet was given, and yet did *Moses* account himself such a one; as in the 18th of *Deuteronomy*, *The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a Prophet like unto me*, &c. But he is distinguished from those that preceded him, who were called *Seers*; as *before time in* Israel, *when a man went to seek an answer of God, thus he spake; Come and let us go to the Seer: for he that is now called a Prophet, was in old time called a Seer.* And although it pleased God to appear by his Angels to *Moses*, as before to *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*; yet in the time of *Eli*, there was no manifest vision; not that God had altogether withdrawn his grace from *Israel*: but as the *Caldæan* Paraphrast hath it, those revelations before *Samuel*'s time, were more clouded and obscure. The places wherein *Samuel* judged were *Matspa* or *Mitspa*, seated on a hill in *Benjamin* near *Juda*: also *Gilgal* and *Bethel*, of which we have spoken elsewhere.

Verse. 15.

1 Sam. 9.

1 Sam. 13.

See in this book, c. 12. sect. 1.

The *Philistims* taking knowledge of the assembly and preparation of War at *Mitspa*, in the beginning of *Samuel*'s government, gathered their Army, and marched towards the City: at whose approach the *Israelites* strucken with fear, and with the memory of their former slaughters and servitude, besought *Samuel* to pray to God for them; who was * then performing his sacrifice when the *Philistims* were in view. But God being moved with *Samuel*'s prayers (as he was by those of *Moses*, when *Israel* fought against the *Amalekites* at the first entrance into *Arabia*:) it pleased him with thunder and tempest to disperse and beat down the Army of the *Philistims*, according to the prophecy of *Hanna*, *Samuel*'s Mother, *The Lords adversaries shall be destroyed, and out of Heaven shall he thunder upon them*, &c. *Josephus* affirms, that a part of the *Philistims* were swallowed with an earthquake: and that *Samuel* himself led the *Israelites* in the prosecution of their victory. After which, *Samuel* erected a Monument in memory of his happy success, obtained by the miraculous hand of God, which *Josephus* called *Lapidem fortem: Samuel*, *Ebenezer*, or the stone of assistance: and then following the opportunity and advantage of the victory, the *Israelites* recovered divers Cities of their own formerly lost, and held long in the possession of the *Philistims*, who for a long time after did not offer any invasion or revenge. And the better to attend their purposes, and to withstand any of their attempts, the *Israelites* made peace with the *Amorites*, or *Canaanites*, which lay on their backs, and to the North of them, that they might not be assaulted from divers parts at once; having the *Philistims* towards the West and Sea-coast, the *Canaanite* toward the North and East, and the *Idumite* on the South. The estate being thus settled, *Samuel* for the ease of the people gave audience and judgment in divers places by turns, as hath been elsewhere said.

* *Plutarch* reports of *Numa*, the second King of *Rome*, that when as he was sacrificing, it was told him that the enemies approached, he nothing dismaied, answered, *Ego autem sacrifico.* 1 Sam. 2. 10.

CHAP. XVI.

Of SAUL.

SECT. I.

Of the deliberation to change the Government into a Kingdom.

But when age now began to overtake *Samuel*, and that he was not able to undergo the burthen of so careful a government, he put off from himself the weight of the affairs on his sons, *Joel* and *Abijah*, who judged the people at *Beersheba*, a City, the very utmost towards the South of *Judea*. And as the place was inconvenient and far away, so were themselves no less removed from the justice and vertue of their Father: For the thirst of covetousness, the more it swalloweth, the more it drieth, and desireth, finding taste in nothing but gain; to recover which, they set the Law at a price, and sold Justice and Judgment to the best Chapmen. Which when the *Elders* of *Israel* observed, and saw that *Samuel* as a natural man (though a Prophet) could not so well discern the errours of his own, they prayed him to consent to their change of government, and to make them a King, by whom they might be judged as other Nations were; who might also lead them to the War, and defend them against their enemies. For after the ill and lamentable success which followed the rule of *Eli* his sons, when those of *Samuel* by their first blossoms promised to yield fruit no less bitter, they saw no way to put the government from out his race, whom they so much reverenced, but by the choice of a King.

In a cause of so great consequence and alteration, *Samuel* sought counsel from God: which surely he did not for the establishing of his own Sons; who being as they were, God would not have approved his election. Now as it appears by the Text, this speech or motion displeasing him, he used his best arguments to dehort them: which when he perceived to be over-feeble, he delivered unto them from Gods revelation, the inconveniences and miseries which should befal them. And yet, all which he fore-shewed was not intolerable, but such as hath been born, and

and is so still, by free consent of the subjects towards their Princes. For first he makes them know that the King will use their sons in his own service to make them his Horse-men, Chariotters, and Foot-men; which is not only not grievous, but by the Vassals of all Kings, according to their birth and condition, desired: it being very agreeable to subjects of the best quality to command for the King in his Wars; and to till the ground no less proper and appertaining to those that are thereto bred and brought up: so are likewise the offices of women-servants to dress meat, to bake bread, and the like. But whereas immediately it is threatned, *He will take your Fields and your Vineyards, and your best Olive trees, and give them to his servants*; with other oppressions: this hath given, and gives dayly occasion to such as would be ruled by their own discretion, to affirm that *Samuel* describeth here unto them the power of a King governed by his own affections, and not a King that feareth God. But others upon further examination construe this Text far otherwise, as teaching us what Subjects ought with patience to bear at their Soveraigns hand. The former opinion is grounded
Deut. 1. first upon that place of *Deuteronomy*, where God foreshewеth this change of government from Judges to Kings; and after he had forbidden many things unto the Kings, as many wives, covetousness, and the like, he commandeth that the Kings which were to raign over *Israel*, should write the Law of *Deuteronomy*, or cause it to be written: and to shew how greatly the King should honour the Law, he addeth, *It shall be with him, and he shall read therein all the days of his life; that he may learn to fear the Lord his God, and to keep all the words of this Law, and these ordinances for to do them: that he may prolong his days in his Kingdom, he and his Sons.* But to take away any other mans field, say they, is contrary to the Laws
Deut. 6. of God, in the same book written. For it is said, *That which is just and right shalt thou follow, that thou mayst live.* Now if it be not permitted to carry away grapes more than thou canst eat out of another mans
Deut. 23. 24. vineyard, but forbidden by God: it is much less lawful to take the vineyard it self from the owner, and give it to another. Neither are the words of the Text
Loyse. (say they) such as do warrant the Kings of *Israel*, or make it proper unto them, to take at will any thing from their vassals. For it is not said that it shall be lawful for the King, or the King may do this or that: but it is written, that the *King will take your sons*: and again, *This shall be the manner of the King that shall raign over you.* God thereby fore-shewing what power, severed from piety (because it is accountable to God only) will do in the future. And hereof we find the first example in *Achab*, who took from *Naboth* both his Vineyard and his life, contrary to the trust which God had put in him, of governing well
Deut. 16. his people. For God commanded, *That his people should be judged with righteous judgment.* Wherefore, though the King had offered unto *Naboth* compositi-on, as a Vineyard of better value, or the worth in money, which he refused: yet because he was falsly accused, and unjustly condemned (though by colour of law,) how grievously *Achab* was punished by God, the Scriptures tell us. Neither was it a plea sufficient for *Achab* against the all-righteous God, to say that it was done without his consent, and by the Elders of *Israel*. For God had not then left his people to the Elders, but to the King, who is called a living Law, even as *David* testifieth of himself: *Posuisti me in caput gentium*: For this of S. *Augustine* is very true: *Simulata innocentia, non est innocentia: simulata æquitas, non est æquitas: sed duplicatur peccatum in quo est iniquitas & simulatio*; *Feigned innocence, and feigned equity, are neither the one nor the other: but the fault or offence is there doubled, in which there is both iniquity and dissimulation.* Such in effect is their disputation, who think this place to contain the description of a Tyrant. But the arguments on the contrary side, as they are many and forcible, so are they well known to all; being excellently handled in that Princely discourse of *The true Law of free Monarchies*: which Treatise I may not presume to abridge, much less here to insert. Only thus much I will say, that if practice do shew the greatness of authority, even the best Kings of *Juda* and *Israel* were not so tyed by any laws, but that they did whatsoever they pleased in the greatest things; and commanded some of their own Princes, and of their own brethren to be slain without any trial of law, being sometime by Prophets reprehended, sometime not. For though *David* confessed his offence for the death of *Uriah*, yet *Solomon* killing his elder brother and others, the same was not imputed to him as any offence.

That the state of *Israel* should receive this change of government, it was not only foretold by *Moses* in *Deuteronomy*, but perceived by *Jacob* in this Scripture; *The Scepter shall not depart from* Juda, *&c.* It was *Gen.* 49. also promised by God to *Abraham* for a blessing: For *Gen.* 15. it was not only assured that his issues should in num- *Gen.* 17. ber equal the stars in heaven, but that Kings should proceed of him: Which state seeing it is framed from the pattern of his sole rule, who is Lord of the Universe; and the excellency thereof in respect of all other governments, hath been by many judicious men handled and proved, I shall not need to over-paint that which is garnished with better colours already, than I can lay on.

In the time of the Judges every man hath observed that civil war *Israel* had: what outragious slaughters they committed upon each other: in what miserable servitude they lived for many years: and when it fared best with them, they did but defend their own territories, or recover some parts thereof formerly lost. The *Canaanites* dwelt in the best vallies of the Country. The *Ammonites* held much of *Gilead* over *Jordan*; the *Philistims* the Sea-coasts; and the *Jebusites*, *Jerusalem* it self, till *David*'s time: all which that King did not only conquer and establish, but he mastered and subjected all the neighbour Nations and Kings, and made them his tributaries and vassals. But whether it were for that the *Israelites* were moved by those reasons, which allure the most of all Nations, to live under a Monarch, or whether by this means they sought to be cleared from the sons of *Samuel*, they became deaf to all the perswasions *1 Sam.* 8. and threats which *Samuel* used, insisting upon this point, that they would have a King both to judge them and defend them: whereunto *Samuel* had warrant from God to consent, he sent every man to his own City and abiding.

SECT. II.

Of the election of Saul.

After that *Samuel* had dismissed the assembly at *Mizpah*, he forbare the election of a King, till such time as he was therein directed by God: who foretold him the day before, that he would present unto him a man of the Land of *Benjamin*, whom he commanded *Samuel* to anoint. So *Samuel* went unto *Ramath Sophim*, to make a feast for the entertainment of *Saul* (whom yet he knew not, but knew the truth of Gods promises) and *Saul* also having wandred

dred divers days to seek his fathers Asses, at length, by the advice of his servant, travelled towards *Ramath* to find a Seer or Prophet, hoping from him to be told what way to take, to find his beasts. In which journey it pleased God (who doth many times order the greatest things by the simplest passages and persons) to elect *Saul*, who sought an Ass and not a kingdom: like as formerly it had pleased him to call *Moses*, while he fed the sheep of *Jethro*; and after to make choice of *David* the youngest of eight sons, and
k *Sam.* 16 by the Scriptures called a little one, who was then keeping of beasts; and changed his sheep-hook into a Scepter, making him of all other the most victorious King of *Juda* and *Israel*. So *John* and *James* were taken from casting their nets, to become fishers of men, and honoured with the titles of Apostles: a dignity that died not in the grave, as all worldly Honours do; but permanent and everlasting in Gods everlasting Kingdom.

When *Samuel* was entred into *Ramath*, he prepared a banquet for the King, whom he expected, and stayed his arrival at the gate. Not long after came *Saul*, whom God shewed to *Samuel*, and made him know that it was the same whom he had foretold him of, that he should rule the people of God. *Saul* finding *Samuel* in the gate, but knowing him not, though a Prophet and Judge of *Israel*, much less knowing the Honour which attended him, asked *Samuel* in what part of the City the *Seer* dwelt; *Samuel* answered, that himself was the man he sought, and prayed *Saul* to go before him to the high place, where *Samuel* setting him according to his degree, above all that were invited, conferred with him afterwards of the affairs of the kingdom, and of Gods graces to be bestowed on him, and the morning following anointed him King of *Israel*.

After this he told him all that should happen him in the way homeward, that two men should encounter him by *Rachels* Sepulchre, who should tell him that his Asses were found, and that his Fathers cares were changed from the fear of losing his beasts, to doubt the loss of his son: that he should then meet
† *Chrys. in Psa.* 43. three other men in the plain of *Tabor*; then, a company of Prophets: and that he should be partaker of Gods Spirit, and prophecy with them: and that thereby his condition and disposition should be changed from the vulgar, into that which became a King elected and favoured by God.

But the Prophets here spoken of, men indued with spiritual gifts, were not of the first and most reverenced number, who by divine revelation foretold things to come, reprehended without fear the errors of their Kings and wrought miracles, of which number were *Moses*, *Joshua*, *Samuel*, and after them *Gad*, *Nathan*, *Ahias*, *Elias*, *Eliseus*, *Esay*, *Jeremy*, and the rest: for to these Prophets, † saith St. *Chrysostom*, *Omnia tempora percurrunt, præterita, præsentia, & futura*: but they were of those of whom St. *Paul* speaketh, 1 *Cor.* 14. 14. who inriched with spiritual gifts, expounded the Scriptures and the Law.

At *Mizpeh*, *Samuel* assembled the people, that he might present *Saul* to them, who as yet knew nothing of his election: neither did *Saul* acquaint his own Uncle therewith, when he asked him what had past between him and *Samuel*: for either he thought his estate not yet assured, or else that it might be dangerous for him to reveal it, till he were confirmed by general consent. When the Tribes were assembled at *Mizpeh*, the general opinion is, that he was chosen by lot. *Chimhi* thinks by the answer of * *Urim* and *Thummim*: that is, by the answer of the Priest, wearing that mystery upon his breast when he asked the counsel of the Lord. But the casting of lots was not only much used among the *Jews*, but by many others, if not by all nations. The Land of promise was divided by lot: God commanded lots to be cast on the two Goats, which should be sacrificed, and which turned off: a figure of Christs suffering, and our deliverance, for whose garments the *Jews* also cast lots. *Cicero*, *Plautus*, *Pausanias*, and others, have remembred divers sorts of lots, used by the *Romans*, *Grecians*, and other Nations: as in the division of grounds or honours; and in things to be undertaken: the two first kinds were called Divisory; the Third, Divinatory, and unto one of these three, all may be reduced, all which kinds, howsoever they may seem chanceful, are yet ordered and directed by God: as in the *Proverbs*: *The lot is cast into the lap, but the whole disposition is of the Lord.* And in like sort fell the Kingdom of *Israel* on *Saul*, not by chance, but by Gods ordinance, who gave *Samuel* former knowledge of his election: from which election *Saul* withdrew himself in modesty, as both *Josephus* construe it, and as it may be gathered by his former answers to *Samuel*, when he acknowledged himself the least of the least Tribe. But *Samuel* inlightned by God, found where *Saul* was hidden, and brought him among the people, and he was taller than all the rest by the shoulders. And *Samuel* made them know that he was the chosen King of *Israel*, whereupon all the multitude saluted him King, and prayed for him; yet some there were that envied his glory (as in all estates there are such) who did not acknowledge him by offering him presents, as the manner was, of whom *Saul*, to avoid sedition, took no notice.

* The *Urim* and *Thummim* in the ornaments of the High Priest, were inserted within the pectoral, which therefore was *duplicatum*: they were placed in the pectoral over against the heart of the High Priest. It is plain that they were not the precious stones, nor any thing made by the Artificers. See *Exod.* 38. 1 *Cic. de divin. Pausan. in Mes.* 1 *Sam.* 10.

SECT. III.

Of the establishing of Saul *by his first victory.*

NO sooner was *Saul* placed in the Kingdom, but that he received knowledge, that *Nahas* King of the *Ammonites*, prepared to besiege *Jabes Gilead*: which nation since the great overthrow given them by *Jephta*, never durst attempt any thing upon the *Israelites*, till the beginning of *Saul* his rule. And although the *Ammonites* did always attend upon the advantage of time, to recover those Territories which first the *Amorite*, and then *Israel* dispossest them of; which they made the ground of their invasion in *Jephta*'s time, yet they never perswaded themselves of more advantage than at this present. For first, they knew that there were many of the *Israelites* that did not willingly submit themselves to this new King: secondly, they were remembred that the *Philistims* had not long before slain 34000 of their men of War: and besides had used great care and policy that they should have no Smiths to make them swords or spears: neither was it long before, that of the *Bethshemesites*, and places adjoyning, there perished by the hand of God more than 50000 and therefore in these respects, even occasion it self invited them to inlarge their Dominions upon their borderers: *Jabes Gilead* being one of the neerest. Besides it may further be conjectured, that the *Ammonites* were imboldened against *Jabes Gilead*, *Jud.* 13. in respect of their weakness: since the *Israelites* destroyed a great part of them, for not joyning with them against the *Benjamites*: at which time they did not only slaughter the men and male children, but took from them their young women, and gave them to the *Benjamites*: and therefore they were not likely to have been increased to any great numbers: and if they had recovered themselves of this great calamity, yet the *Ammonite* might flatter himself with the opinion, that

that *Israel*, having for long time been disarmed by the *Philistims*, was not apt to succour those, whom they had so deeply wounded and destroyed. But contrariwise, when the tidings came to *Saul* of their danger, and that the *Ammonites* would give them no other condition to ransom themselves, but by pulling out their right eyes, by which they should be utterly disabled for the War, as elsewhere hath been spoken: *Saul*, both to value himself in his first years reign, and because perchance he was descended of one of those 400 Maids taken from the *Gileadites*, and given to the *Benjamites*, gave order to assemble the forces of *Israel*, hewing a yoak of Oxen into pieces, and sending them by messengers over all the coasts, protesting thus: *That whosoever came not forth after* Saul, *and after* Samuel; *so should his Oxen be served*: threatning the people by their goods, and not by their lives at the first. Seven days had *Saul* to assemble an Army, by reason that the *Gileadites* had obtained the respite of these seven days to give *Nahas* the *Ammonite* an answer: who, could they have obtained any reasonable condition, were contented to have severed themselves from *Israel*, and to become Vassals and Tributaries to the Heathen. In the mean while *Saul* assembled the forces which repaired unto him at *Bezec*, near *Jordan*, that he might readily pass the river; which done, he might in one day with a speedy march arrive at *Jabes*, under the Hills of *Gilead*. 1 *Sam.* 11. 8.

The army by *Saul* led, consisting of three hundred and thirty thousand, he returned an answer to those of *Jabes*, that they should assure themselves of succour by the next day at noon. For, as it seemeth, *Saul* marched away in the latter part of the day, and went on all night; for in the morning watch he surprised the army of *Nahas* the *Ammonite*. And to the end that he might set on them on all sides, he divided his forces into three parts, putting them unto the sword until the heat of the day, and the weariness of *Sauls* troop inforced them to give over the pursuit. Now the *Ammonites* were become the more careless and secure, in that those of *Jabes*, promised the next morning to render themselves and their City to their mercy. After this happy success, the people were so far in love with their new King, that they would have slain all those *Israelites* that murmured against his election, had not himself forbidden and resisted their resolutions. Such is the condition of worldly men, as they are violent lovers of the prosperous, and base Vassals of the time that flourisheth; and as despightful and cruel without cause against those, whom any misadventure, or other worldly accident hath thrown down.

1 *Sam.* 11. After the Army removed, *Samuel* summoned the people to meet at *Gilgal*, where *Saul* was now a third time acknowledged, and, as some Commenters affirm, anointed King: and here *Samuel* used an exhortation to all the assembly, containing precepts, and a rehearsal of his own Justice, during the beginning of his government to that day, after *Saul* had now reigned one year before he was established in *Gilgal*, or *Galgala*, he strengthned himself with a good guard of 3000 chosen men, of which he assigned 1000 to attend on *Jonathan* his son at *Gibeah*, the City of his nativity: the rest he kept about his own person in *Micmas*, and in the Hill of *Bethel*. 1 *Sam.* 12.

SECT. IV.

Of Sauls *disobedience in his proceedings in the Wars with the* Philistims *and* Amalekites, *which caused his final rejection.*

Jonathan with his small Army or Regiment that attended him, taking a time of advantage, surprized a Garrison of *Philistims*: the same, as some think, which *Saul* past by, when he came from *Rama*, when he was first anointed by *Samuel*, which they think to have been *Cariath-jearim*: because a place where the *Philistims* had a Garrison, 1 *Sam.* 10. is called the hill of God, which they understand of *Cariath-jearim*: but *Junius* understands this Garrison to have been at *Gebah* in *Benjamin* near *Gibha*, where *Jonathan* abode with his thousand followers. Howsoever, by this it appeareth that the *Philistims* held some strong places, both in the times of *Samuel*, and of *Saul*, within the Territory of *Israel*: and now being greatly inraged by this surprize, they assembled thirty thousand armed Chariots, and six thousand Horse, wherewith they invaded *Judæa*, and incamped at *Machmas* or *Michmas*, a City of *Benjamin*, in the direct way from *Samaria* to *Jerusalem*, and in the middest of the Land between the Sea and *Jordan*. With this sudden invasion the *Israelites* were strucken in so great a fear, as some of them hid themselves in the caves of the Mountains; others fled over *Jordan* into *Gad* and *Gilead*: *Saul* himself with some 2000 men of ordinary, and many other people, staid at *Galgala* in *Benjamin*, not far from the passage of *Joshua* when he led *Israel* over *Jordan*. Here *Saul* by *Samuels* appointment was to attend the coming of *Samuel* seven days: but when the last day was in part spent, and that *Saul* perceived his forces to diminish greatly, he presumed (as some expound the place, 1 *Sam.* 13. 9.) to exercise the office which appertained not unto him, and to offer a burnt offering, and a peace offering unto God, contrary to the *Ecclesiastical* Laws of the *Hebrews*, and *Gods* Commandments: others expound the word *obtulit*, in this place, by *obtulit per Sacerdotem*, and so make the sin of *Saul* not to have been any intrusion into the Priests office, but first a disobedience to Gods Commandment, in not staying according to the appointment, 1 *Sam.* 10. 8. Secondly, a diffidence or mistrust in Gods help, and too great relying upon the strength of the people, whose departing from him he could not bear patiently; and lastly, a Contempt of the holy Prophet *Samuel*, and of the help which the prayers of so godly a man might procure him. But whatsoever was his sin, notwithstanding his excuses, he was by *Samuel* reprehended most sharply, in terms unfitting his estate, had not extraordinary warrant been given to *Samuel* so to do, from God himself; at which time also *Samuel* feared not to let him know, that the Kingdom should be conferred to another (a man after Gods own heart) both from *Saul* and his posterity. 1 *Sam.* 13. 13, 14.

After this, *Samuel* and *Saul* returned to *Gibeah*, where *Saul*, when he had taken view of his army, found it to consist of 600 men: for the most were fled from him and scattered, yea and among those that staid, there was not any that had either sword or spear, but *Saul* and his son *Jonathan* only. For the *Philistims* had not left them any *Smith* in all *Israel*, that made weapons; besides, they that came to *Saul*, came hastily, and left such weapons and armour as they had behind them in their garrisons: for if they had had none at all, it might be much doubted how *Saul* should be able the year before, or in some part of this very year, to succour *Jabes Gilead* with 300 and thirty thousand men, if there had not now been any 1 *Sam.* 13. 19.

any iron weapon to defend themſelves withall, ſave only in the hand of *Saul* and *Jonathan* his ſon. But howſoever, all the reſt of the people were formerly diſarmed by the *Philiſtims*, and all thoſe craftsmen carried out of the land that made weapons: there being left unto the *Iſraelites* only files to ſharpen and amend ſuch ſtuff as ſerved for the Plough, and for nought elſe: yet that they had ſome kind of arms, it is manifeſt, or elſe they durſt not have attempted upon the *Philiſtims* as they did. And it is not ſaid in the Text that there was not any ſword in all *Iſrael*, but only that there was not any found amongſt thoſe 600 ſouldiers, which ſtayed with *Saul* after *Samuels* departure: and it ſeemeth that when *Samuel* had ſharply reprehended *Saul*, that his own guards forſook him, having but 600 remaining of his 3000 ordinary ſouldiers, and of all the reſt that repaired unto him, of which many were fled from him before *Samuel* arrived. 1 *Sam.* 13. 21.

With this ſmall troop he held himſelf to his own City of *Gibeah*, as a place of more ſtrength, and better aſſured unto him, than *Gilgal* was. Neither is it obſcure how it ſhould come to paſs that the *Philiſtims* ſhould thus diſarm the moſt part of the *Iſraelites*, howſoever in the time of *Samuel* much had been done againſt them. For the victories of *Samuel* were not got by ſword or ſpear, but by thunder from Heaven: and when theſe crafts-men were once rooted out of the Cities of *Iſrael*, no marvel if they could not in a ſhort peace under *Samuel*, be replanted again. For this tyranny of the *Philiſtims* is to be underſtood, rather of the precedent times, than under *Samuel*; and yet under him is to be thought that by their crafts they proceeded in the policy, not ſuffering their Artificers to teach the *Iſraelites*, and ſo even to the times of *Saul* kept them from having any ſtore of armour. The ſame policy did *Nebuchodonoſor* uſe after his Conqueſt in *Judæa*: *Dionyſius* in *Sicily*, and many other Princes elſe-where in all ages. But theſe loſt weapons, in part, the *Iſraelites* might repair in *Gilead*, for over *Jordan* the *Philiſtims* had not invaded. The reſt of their defences were ſuch as antiquity uſed, and their preſent neceſſity miniſtred unto them, to wit, clubs, bows, and ſlings. For the *Benjamites* exceeded in caſting ſtones in ſlings: and that theſe were the natural weapons, and the firſt of all nations, it is manifeſt, and ſo in the firſt of *Chronicles* the 12th Chapter, it is written of thoſe that came to ſuccour *David* againſt *Saul*, while he lurked at *Siklag*, *That they were weaponed with bowes, and could uſe the right and the left hand with ſtones*, and with a ſling it was, that *David* himſelf ſlew the Giant *Goliah*.

While the State of *Iſrael* ſtood in theſe hard terms, the *Philiſtims* having parted their army into three troops, that they might ſpoil and deſtroy many parts at once, *Jonathan*, ſtrengthened by *God*, and followed with his Eſquire only, ſcaled a mountain, whereon a company of *Philiſtims* were lodged: the reſt of their army (as may be gathered by the ſucceſs) being encamped in the plain adjoyning. And though he were diſcovered before he came to the hill top, and in a kind of deriſion, called up by his enemies: yet he ſo behaved himſelf, as with the aſſiſtance of God, he ſlew 20 of the firſt *Philiſtims* that he encountered. Whereupon the next companies taking the alarm, and being ignorant of the cauſe, fled away amazed altogether. In which confuſion, fear, and jealouſie, they ſlaughtered one another in ſtead of enemies: whereupon thoſe *Hebrews* which became of their party, becauſe they feared to be ſpoiled by them, took the advantage of their deſtruction, and ſlew of them in great numbers. And laſtly, *Saul* himſelf taking knowledge of the rout and diſorder, together with thoſe *Iſraelites* that ſhrouded themſelves in Mount *Ephraim*, ſet upon them, and obtained (contrary to all hope and expectation) a moſt happy and glorious victory over them. Here was that propheſie in *Deuteronomy* fulfilled by *Jonathan*, *That one of thoſe which feared God, ſhould kill a thouſand, and two of them, ten thouſand.* 1 *Sam.* 14. 12. 1 *Sam.* 14.

This done, the ſmall Army of *Iſrael* made retreat from the purſuit. And although *Saul* had bound the people by an oath not to take food till the evening, yet his ſon *Jonathan*, being infeebled with extream labour and emptineſs, taſted a drop of honey in his paſſage: for which *Saul* his father would have put him to death, had not the people delivered him from his cruelty.

The late miraculous victory of *Saul* and *Jonathan*, ſeems to have reduced, unto the *Philiſtims* remembrance, their former overthrow, likewiſe miraculous in the days of *Samuel*; ſo that for ſome ſpace of time they held themſelves quiet. In the mean while *Saul* being now greatly encouraged, undertook by turns, all his bordering enemies; namely, the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Edomites*, and the *Arabians* of *Zobah*, againſt all which he prevailed. He then aſſembled all the forces he could make, to wit, 210000 men, and receiving the commandment of God by *Samuel*, he invaded *Amalek*, waſting and deſtroying all that part of *Arabia Petræa*, and the *Deſart* belonging to the *Amalekites*, from *Havilah* towards *Tigris* unto *Shur*, which bordereth *Egypt*; in which war he took *Agag* their King priſoner. But whereas he was inſtructed by *Samuel* to follow this Nation without compaſſion, becauſe they firſt of all attempted *Iſrael*, when they left *Ægypt* in *Moſes*'s time: he notwithſtanding did not only ſpare the life of *Agag*, but reſerved the beſt of the beaſts, and ſpoil of the Country, with pretence to offer them in ſacrifice to the living God. Therefore did *Samuel* now a ſecond time make him know that God would caſt him from his royal eſtate, to which he was raiſed when he was of baſe condition, and, as the Text hath it, *little in his own eyes*. And though the offence was great in *Saul* for not obeying the voice of God by *Samuel*, had there been no former precept to that effect: yet ſeeing *Saul* could not be ignorant how ſeverely it pleaſed God to enjoyn the *Iſraelites* to revenge themſelves upon that Nation, he was in all inexcuſable. For God had commanded that the *Iſraelites ſhould put out the remembrance of* Amalek *from under heaven*. For the cruelty with the predeceſſors of this *Agag* uſed againſt the *Iſraelites*, eſpecially on thoſe which were over-wearied, faint, ſick, and aged people, was now to be revenged on him, and his Nation, above 400 years afterward; and now he was to pay the debt of blood, which his forefathers borrowed from the innocent: himſelf having alſo ſinned in the ſame kind, as theſe words of *Samuel* witneſs: *As thy ſword hath made other women childleſs, ſo ſhall thy mother be childleſs among other women*; at which time *Samuel* himſelf (after he had been by many bootleſs intreaties perſwaded to ſtay a while with *Saul*) did cut *Agag* in pieces before the Lord in *Gilgal*, and ſoon after he departed to *Ramath*, *and came no more to ſee* Saul *until the day of his death*. 1 *Sam.* 14. 1 *Sam.* 15. *Exod.* 17. *Deut.* 25. 15. 1 *Sam.* 15. 33.

SECT.

SECT. V.

Of the occurents between the rejection of Saul *and his death.*

NOw while *Samuel* mourned for *Saul*, God commanded him to choose a King for *Israel*, among the sons of *Ishai*: which *Samuel* (doubting the violent hand of *Saul*) feared in a sort to perform, till it pleased God to direct him, how he might avoid both the suspition, and the danger. And if *Samuel* knew that it was no way derogating from the providence of God, that by his cautious care and wisdom, he sought to avoid the inconveniences or dangers of this life: then do these men mistake the nature of his divine ordinance, who neglecting the reason that God hath given them, do no otherwise avoid the perils and dangers thereof, than as men stupified in the opinion of fate or destiny, neglecting either to beg counsel at Gods hands by prayer, or to exercise that wisdom or foresight, wherewith God hath enriched the mind of man for his preservation. Neither did the all-powerful God (who made and could destroy the world in an instant) disdain here to instruct *Samuel*, to avoid the fury of *Saul*, by the accustomed cautious ways of the world.

Of the sons of *Ishai*, *Samuel*, by God directed, made choice of *David*, the youngest, having refused *Eliab*, the first born: who though he were a man of a comely person and great strength; yet unto such outward appearance, the Lord had no respect. For as it is written, *God seeth not as man seeth, &c. but the Lord beholdeth the heart.* He also refusing the other six brethren, made choice of one whom his father had altogether neglected, and left in the field to attend his flock; for of him the *Lord said to* Samuel, *Arise and anoint him, for this is he:* which done, *Samuel* departed and went to *Ramath*. Neither was it long after this, that *Saul* began to seek the life of *David*: in which bloody mind he continued till he died, overcome in battel by the *Philistims*.

1 Sam. 16.

The *Philistims* having well considered (as it seems) the increase of *Saul* his power through many victories by him obtained, whilst they had sitten still and forborn to give impediment to his prosperous courses, thought it good to make new trial of their fortune, as justly fearing that the wrongs, which they had done to *Israel*, might be repayed with advantage, if ever opportunity should serve their often injured neighbours against them, as lately it had done against *Moab*, *Ammon*, and the rest of their ancient enemies. Now for the quality of their Souldiers, and all warlike provisions, the *Philistims* had reason to think themselves equal, if not superiour to *Israel*. The success of their former wars had, for the most part, been agreeable to their own wishes: as for late disasters, they might, according to humane wisdom, impute them to second causes; as to a tempest happning by chance, and to a mistaken alarm, whereby their Army, possessed with a needless fear, had fallen to rout. Having therefore mustered their forces, and taken the field, encamping so neer to the Army, which King *Saul* drew forth against them, that they could not easily depart without the trial of a battel, each part kept their ground of advantage for a while, not joyning in gross, but maintaining some skirmishes, as refusing both of them to pass the Valley that lay between their Camps. Just causes of fear they had on both sides; especially the *Philistims*, whose late attempts had been confounded by the angry hand of God. Upon this occasion perhaps it was, that they sought to decide the matter by single combat, as willing to try in one mans person, whether any stroak from heaven were to be feared. *Goliah* of *Gath*, a strong Giant, fearing neither God nor Man, undertook to defie the whole Host of *Israel*, provoking them with despightful words, to appoint a Champion that might fight with him hand to hand; offering condition, that the party vanquished in its Champion, should hold it self as overcome in gross, and become vassal unto the other. This gave occasion to young *David*, whom *Samuel* by Gods appointment had anointed, to make a famous entrance into publique notice of the people. For no man durst expose himself to encounter the great strength of *Goliah*, until *David* (sent by his father of an errand to the Camp) accepted the combat, and obtained the victory, without other arms, offensive or defensive, than a sling, wherewith he overthrew that haughty Giant, and after with his own Sword strook off his head. Hereupon the *Philistims*, who should have yielded themselves as subjects to the Conquerour, according to the covenant on their own side propounded, fled without stay; and were pursued and slaughtered even to their own gates. By this victory the *Philistims* were not so broken, that either any of their Towns were lost, or their people discouraged from infesting the Territories of *Israel*. But *David*, by whom God had wrought this victory, fell into the grievous indignation of his Master *Saul*, through the honour purchased by his well-deserving. For after such time as the spirit of God departed from *Saul*, and came upon *David*, he then became a cruel Tyrant, faithless, and irreligious. Because the High Priest *Abimelech* fed *David* in his necessity with hallowed bread, and armed him with a sword of his own conquest, taken from *Goliah*; *Saul* not only by his wicked *Edomite Doeg* murthered this *Abimelech* and 85 Priests of *Nob*, but also he destroyed the City, *and smote with the edge of the sword both man and woman, both child and suckling, both Ox and Ass, and Sheep.* And he that had compassion on *Agag* the *Amalekite*, who was an enemy to God and his people, and also spared and preserved the best of his Cattel, contrary to the Commandment and Ordinance of God, both by *Moses* and *Samuel*, had not now any mercy in store for the innocent, for the Lords servants, the Priests of *Israel*. Yea, he would have slain his own son *Jonathan*, for pitying and pleading *Davids* innocency; as also once before, for tasting the honey, when his fainting for hunger made him forget his fathers unreasonable commination. The companions of cruelty are, breach of faith towards men, and impiety towards God. The former he shewed in denying *David* his daughter, whom he had promised him; and again in taking her away from him to whom he had given her: also in that, when as *David* had twice spared his life in the Territory of *Ziph*, and *Saul* twice sworn to do him no hurt, and confessed his errours, yet he sought still to destroy him, by all the means he could. His impiety towards God he shewed, in that he sought counsel of the Witch of *Endor*, which was the last preparative for his destruction. For whereas, when he sought counsel from God, he had been always victorious: from the Oracle of the Devil this success followed, that both himself, and his three sons, with his neerest and faithful servants, were all slaughtered by the *Philistims*: his body with the bodies of his sons (as a spectacle of shame and dishonour) were hung over the walls of *Bethsan*; and there had remained till they had found burial in the bowels of ravenous birds, had not the grateful *Gileadites* of *Jabes*, stoln their carcasses thence, and interred them. This was the end of *Saul*, after he had governed *Israel*, together with *Samuel*, 40 year, and by himself after *Samuel* 20

1 Sam. 13.

1 Sam. 22. 18.

1 Sam. 24. 23.

Acts 13. 21. Cedren. pa. 69. Theoph. l. 3. c. 2. Joseph. l. 28.

years, according to *Cedrenus*, *Theophilus*, and *Josephus*. But yet it seemeth to me, that after the death of *Samuel*, *Saul* did not rule very long: For in the beginning of the 25th chapter, it is written, that *Samuel* died; and in the rest of the same chapter, the passages are written of *David*, *Nabal*, and *Abigail*, after which the death of *Saul* quickly ensued.

An exceeding valiant man he was, and gave a fair entrance to all those victories which *David* afterward obtained: for he had beaten the *Ammonites* with their neigbouring Nations; crusht the *Syrians*, and their adherents; broken the strength of the *Amalekites*; and greatly wasted the power and pride of the *Philistims*.

SECT. VI.

Of such as lived with Samuel *and* Saul; *of* Helen, *and* Hercules, *and of their issues: upon occasion of the* Dores, *with the* Heraclidæ, *entring* Peloponnesus *about this time.*

IN the second year of *Samuel*, according to *Eusebius*, was *David* born: after *Codoman*, later, and in the ninth year: after *Bunting*, in the tenth. For *David*, saith he, was thirty years old when he began to reign: whence it followeth, that he was born in the tenth of the forty years, which are given to *Samuel* and *Saul*. About the eleventh year of *Samuel*, *Æneas Silvius* the son of *Posthumus* began his reign over the Latines in *Alba*, who governed that State one and thirty years. There are who place before him *Latinus Silvius*, as brother to *Posthumus*, calling him the fifth from *Æneas*, and fourth King of *Alba*, whereof I will not stand to dispute. In the eleventh of *Samuel*, *Dercylis* sate in the Throne of *Assyria*, being the one and thirtieth King; he ruled that Empire forty years. In this age of *Samuel* the *Dores* obtained *Peloponnesus*, and at once with the *Heraclidæ*, who then led and commanded the Nation, possest a great part thereof, 328 years before the first *Olympiad*, according to *Diodorus* and *Eratosthenes*. For all *Greece* was anciently possessed by three Tribes or Kindreds, *viz.* the *Ionians*, *Dorians*, and *Æolians*: at length it was called *Hellas*, and the people *Hellenes*, of *Hellen* the son of *Deucalion*, Lord of the Country of *Pthiotis* in *Thessaly*. But before the time of this *Hellen*, yea, and long after, *Greece* had no name common to all the Inhabitants, neither were the people called *Hellenes*, till such time as partly by trading in all parts of the Land, partly by the Plantation of many *Colonies*, and sundry great victories obtained, the issues of *Hellen* had reduced much of the Country under their obedience, calling themselves generally by one name, and yet every several Nation after some one of the posterity of *Hellen*, who had raigned over it. And because this is the fartheſt antiquity of *Greece*, it will not be amiss to recount the Pedigree of her first planters.

Japetus (as the Poets fable) was the son of Heaven and Earth, so accounted, either because the names of his Parents had in the Greek tongue such signification: or perhaps for his knowledge in *Astronomy* and *Philosophy*.

Japetus begat *Promotheus*, and *Epimetheus*: of whom all men have read, that have read Poets. *Prometheus* begat *Deucalion*; and *Epimetheus*, *Pyrrha*; *Deucalion* and his wife *Pyrrha* reigned in *Thessaly*, which was then called *Pyrrha* (as *Cretensis Rhianus* affirmeth) of *Pyrrha* the Queen. In *Deucalions* time was that great flood, of which we have spoken elsewhere. *Deucalion* begat *Hellen*: whose sons were *Xuthus*, *Dorus*, and *Æolus*: of *Dorus* and *Æolus*, the *Dores* and *Æolians* had name. The *Æoles* inhabited *Bœotia*. The *Dores* having first inhabited sundry parts of *Thessaly*, did afterward seat themselves about *Parnassus*, and finally became Lords of the Countries about *Lacedæmon*: *Xuthus* the eldest son of *Hellen*, being banished by his brethren, for having diverted from them to his own use, some part of their Fathers goods, came to *Athens*: where marrying the Daughter of King *Erictheus*, he begat on her two sons, *Achæus* and *Ion*. Of these two, *Achæus*, for a slaughter by him committed, fled into *Peloponnesus*: and seating himself in *Laconia*, gave name to that region: from whence (as some write) he afterwards departed; and levying an Army, recovered the Kingdom of his Grandfather in *Thessaly*.

Ion being General for the *Athenians*, when *Eumolpus* the *Thracian* invaded *Attica*, did obtain a great Victory, and thereby such love and honour of the people, that they committed the ordering of their State into his hands. He divided the Citizens into Tribes, appointing every one to some occupation, or good course of life. When the people multiplied, he planted *Colonies* in *Sycionia*, then called *Ægialos* or *Ægialia*: In which Country *Solinus* then reigning, who thought it safer to give his Daughter *Helice* in marriage to *Ion*, and make him his Heir, than to contend with him. So *Ion* married *Helice*, and built a Town called by his Wives name in *Ægialia*, where he and his posterity reigned long; and (though not obliterating the old name) gave to that Land denomination. But in after times the *Dores* assisting the Nephews of *Hercules*, invaded *Peloponnesus*, and overcoming the *Achæans*, possessed *Laconia*, and all those parts which the *Achæi*, had formerly occupied. Hereupon the *Achæi* driven to seek a new seat, came unto the *Iones*, desiring to inhabit *Ægialia* with them, and alledged in vain, that *Ion* and *Achæus* had been brethren. When this request could not be obtained, they sought by force to expel the *Ionians*, which they performed; but they lost their King *Tisamenes*, the son of *Orestes*, in that War.

Thus were the *Iones* driven out of *Peloponnesus*, and compelled to remove into *Attica*, from whence after a while they sailed into *Asia*, and peopled the Western coast thereof; on which they built twelve Cities, inhabited by them, even to this day, at the least, without any universal or memorable transmigration. The expedition of the *Iones* into *Asia* hath been mentioned of all which have written of that Age, and is commonly placed 140 years after the War of *Troy*, and 60 years after the descent of the *Heraclidæ* into *Peloponnesus*. These *Heraclidæ* were they of whom the Kings of *Sparta* issued; which race held that Kingdom about 700 years. Of their Father *Hercules* many strange things are delivered unto us by the Poets, of which some are like to have been true, others perhaps must be allegorically understood. But the most approved Writers think that there were many called *Hercules*, all whose exploits were by the *Greeks* ascribed to the sons of *Alcmena*, who is said to have performed these 12 great labours.

First he slew the *Nemæan* Lyon: secondly, he slew the serpent *Hydra*, whith had nine heads, whereof one being cut off, two grew in the place: the third was the overtaking a very swift Hart: the fourth was the taking of a wild Bore alive, which haunted mount *Erymanthus* in *Arcadia*: the fifth was the cleansing of *Augias* his Ox-stall in one day, which he performed by turning the River *Alpheus* into it: the sixth was the chasing away of the Birds from the Lake *Stymphalis*: the seventh was the fetching a Bull from *Crete*: the eighth was the taking of the Mares which *Diomedes*

medes King of *Thrace* fed with humane flesh the ninth, was to fetch a Girdle of the Queen of the *Amazons*: the three last were, to fetch *Gerion*'s Beeves from *Gades*; the golden Apples of the *Hesperides*, and *Cerberus* from Hell. The *Mythologicall* interpretation of these I purposely omit, as both over-long to be here set down, and no less perplexed than the labours themselves. For some, by *Hercules* understand Fortitude, Prudence, and Constancy, interpreting the Monsters, Vices. Others make *Hercules* the Sun, and his travels to be the twelve signs of the Zodiak. There are others who apply his works historically to their own conceits; as well assured, that the exposition cannot have more unlikelihood, than the fables. That he took *Elis*, *Pylus*, *Oechalia*, and other Towns, being assisted by such as either admired his vertues, or were beholding unto him; Also that he slew many Theeves and Tyrants, I take to be truely written, without addition of Poetical vanity. His travels through most part of the World, are, or may seem, borrowed from *Hercules Lybicus*. But sure it is that many Cities of *Greece* were greatly bound to him; for that he (binding all his endeavours to the common good) delivered the Land from much oppression. But after his death, no City of *Greece* (*Athens* excepted) requited the vertue and deserts of *Hercules*, with constant protection of his Children, persecuted by the King *Eurystheus*. This *Eurystheus* was Son of *Sthenelus*, and grand-child of *Perseus*; he reigned in *Mycenæ*, the mightiest City then in *Greece*. He it was that imposed those hard tasks upon *Hercules*, who was bound to obey him (as Poets report) for expiation of that Murther, which in his madness he had committed upon his own children; but as others say, because he was his Subject and Servant: wherefore there are who commend *Eurystheus* for employing the strength of *Hercules* to so good a purpose. But it is so generally agreed by the best Writers, that *Hercules* was also of the stock of *Perseus*, and holden in great jealousie by *Eurystheus* because of his vertue, which appeared more and more in the dangerous services, wherein he was imployed, so that he grew great in reputation and power through all *Greece*; and had by many Wives and Concubines above threescore Children. These Children *Eurystheus* would fain have got into his power, when *Hercules* was dead: but they fled unto *Ceyx* King of *Thracinia*, and from him (for he durst not withstand *Eurystheus*) to *Athens*. The *Athenians* not only gave them entertainment, but lent them aid, wherewith they encountred *Eurystheus*. *Iolaus* the brothers son of *Hercules*, who had assisted him in many of his travels, was Captain of the *Heraclidæ*. It is said of him, that being dead he obtained leave of *Pluto* to live again till he might revenge the injuries done by *Eurystheus*: whom when he had slain in battel, he died again. It seems to me, that whereas he had led Colonies into *Sicily*, and abode there a long time forgotten: he came again into *Greece* to assist his Cousins, and afterwards returned back. When the *Peloponnesians* understood that *Eurystheus* was slain, they took *Atreus* the Son of *Pelops* to their King: for he was rich, mighty, and favoured of the People. Against him the *Heraclidæ* marched under *Hyllus*, the son of *Hercules*. But to avoid effusion of bloud, it was agreed, that *Hyllus* should fight with *Echenus* King of the *Tegeatæ*, a people of *Arcadia*, who assisted *Atreus*; with condition, that if *Hyllus* were Victor, he should peaceably enjoy what he challenged as his right: otherwise the *Heraclidæ* should not enter *Peloponnesus* in an hundred years. In that combat *Hyllus* was slain, and the *Heraclidæ* compelled to forbear their Country, till the third generation: at which time they returned under *Aristodemus* (as the best authority doth shew, though some have said, that they came under the conduct of his Children) and brought with them the *Dores* whom they planted in that Country, as is before shewed, having expelled the *Achæi*, over whom the issue of *Pelops* had reigned after the death of *Eurystheus* four generations.

SECT. VII.

Of Homer and Hesiod, and many changes in the World, that happened about this Age.

ABout this time that excellent learned Poet *Homer* lived, as many of the best *Chronologers* affirm. He was by race of the *Mædnes*, descended (as *Funcius* imagineth) of *Berosus* his *Anamion*, who gave name to that people. But this *Funcius* imagineth *Homer* the Poet to have been long after these times, rashly framing his *Æra* according to † *Archilochus* in the tract, or rather fragment *de temporibus*; and makes seven more of this name to have flourished in divers Cities in *Greece*. Whence, perhaps, sprang the diversity of opinions, both of the time, and of the native City of *Homer*. According to this *Archilochus*, *Funcius* finds *Homer* about the time of *Manasse* King of *Juda*, and *Numa* of *Rome*. He was called *Melesigenes* from the place of his birth, and at length *Homer*, because blind men follow a guide, which signification among others, is in the Verb ὁμηρεῖν; for this *Homer* in his later time was blind. † *Clemens Alexandrinus* recites many different opinions touching the question of the time when *Homer* lived. So also * *Aulus Gellius*, and *Tatianus Assyrius* in his Oration *ad gentes*. *Paterculus* reckons that *Homer* flourished 950 years before the *Consulship* of *Marcus Vinutius*: which *Mercator* casteth up in the Worlds year 3046, and after *Troy* taken, about 260 years: and about 250 years before the building of *Rome*; making him to have flourished about the time of *Jehosophat* King of *Juda*. But *Clemens Alexandrinus* and *Tatianus* above named, mention Authors that make him much ancienter. The difference of which Authors in this point is not unworthy the Readers consideration, that by this one instance he may guesse of the difficulty, and so pardon the errours in the computations of ancient time: seeing in such diversity of opinions a man may hardly find out what to follow. For *Crates* the *Grammarian* (as *Clemens Alexandrinus* reports) gave being to *Homer* about 80 years after *Troy* taken, near the time that the *Heraclidæ* returned into *Peloponnesus*: and *Eratosthenes* after *Troy* 100 years. *Theopompus* 500 years after the Army of *Greece* sailed in *Phrygia* for the War of *Troy*. *Euphorion* makes him contemporary with *Gyges*, who began to reign in the 18 *Olympiad* (which was 45 years after *Rome* was built) and *Sosibius* saith, that he was 90 years before the first *Olympiad*: which he seeks to prove by the times of *Charillus* and his son *Nicander*. *Philechorus* placeth him 180 after *Troy*: *Aristarchus* 140 in the time of the seating of the *Colonies* in *Ionia*. *Apollodorus* affirms that he lived while *Agesilaus* governed *Lacedæmon*; and that *Lycurgus* in his young years, about 100 years after the *Ionian* plantations, came to visit him, near 240 years after *Troy* taken. *Herodotus* finds *Homer* flourishing 622 years before *Xerxes* enterprise against the *Grecians*: which *Beroaldus* accounteth at 168 years after the *Trojan* War. *Eusebius* seems to make him to have been about the time of *Joas* King of *Juda*, 124 years before

Funcii Chro. fol. 11. col. D.

† This Author set out with *Beroſus* and others, first at *Basil.* and after with *Fryer Annius* his Comment at *Antwerp*, is *incerta fidei.*

Naucler. f. 147. placeth *Homer* in the 32. generation in the time of *Samuel.*

† *Stromatum, l. 5.*

* *Noc. Attic. l. 3. c. 11. item l. 17. c. 21.*

* As both *Cle. Alex.* and *Tatian Assyr.* report his opinion *Rerum. Phil.* 43. *Rosandisc. temporum. Phil. in com. in Archilog.*

Her. in vita Ho.

fore *Rome* was built: though elſewhere in his *Chronology* he notes that ſome place him in time of *Samuel*, and others in the end of *David*, and others in other Ages. In his *Evangelical* Preparation, where out of *Tatianus Aſſyrius* he citeth ſundry opinions touching the time when *Homer* lived, he reckoneth many other *Greek* Writers more ancient than *Homer*; as *Linus*, *Philammon*, *Epimenides*, *Phemius*, *Ariſteus*, *Orpheus*, *Muſæus*, *Thamyras*, *Amphion*, and others.

Noct. Attic. l. 3. c. 11.

Now whether *Homer* or *Heſiodus* were the elder, it is alſo much diſputed. *Aulus Gellius* reports that *Philochorus* and *Xenophanes* affirm, that *Homer* preceded *Heſiod*: and on the contrary, that *Luc. Accius* the Poet, and *Ephorus* the Hiſtorian, make *Heſiod* of an elder time than *Homer*. *Varro* leaves it uncertain which of theſe learned Fables was firſt born: but he finds that they lived together ſome certain years, wherein he confirms himſelf by an *Epigram*, written upon a Trevit, and left by *Heſiod* in *Helicon*.

Var. de imag. l. 1. Nep. in Chron. Caſſ. l. 1. annal.

Cornelius Nepos reports that they both lived 160 years before *Rome* was built: while the *Silvii* reigned in *Alba*, about * 140 years after the fall of *Troy*. † *Euthymenes* finds them both 200 years after *Troy* taken, in the time of *Acaſtus* the ſon of *Pelias*, King of *Theſſaly*. For my ſelf, I am not much troubled when this Poet lived; neither would I offend the Reader with theſe opinions, but only to ſhew the uncertainty, and diſagreement of Hiſtorians, aſwel in this particular, as in all other queſtions and diſpute of time. For, the curioſity of this mans is no leſs ridiculous, than the inquiſition why he began his *Iliads* with the word *Menin*, as perhaps containing ſome great myſtery. In deriſion whereof *Lucian* feigning himſelf to have been in Hell, and to have ſpoken with *Homer*, there asked him the cauſe why he began his book with that word: who anſwered, That he began in that ſort, becauſe it came in his head ſo to do.

* This number *Mercator* corrects and reads 240 for it.
† *Euthy. in Clr. apud. Clem. Alex. Strom. 5.*

It ſeemeth that *Seſac*, or, after *Macrobius*, *Senemires* ruled *Egypt* at this time: for *Tauthersobris* was his Succeſſour, who preceded *Vaphres*, Father in law to *Solomon*.

About the end of *Saul's* government, or in the beginning of *Davids* time, according to *Caſſiodorus*, the *Amazons* with the *Gymnerians* invaded *Aſia*, *Latinus Sylvius* then ruling in *Italy*. And beſides the overthrow of that Famous State of *Troy* (which fell 103 years before *David's* time) there were many other changes in the middle part of the World, not only by reaſon of thoſe Northern Nations: but there ſprung up ſomewhat nearly together, ſix Kingdoms into greatneſs, not before erected. In *Italy* that of the *Latines*: in the South part of *Greece*, thoſe of *Lacedæmon*, *Corinth*, and the *Achei*. In *Arabia*, *Syria*, *Soba*, and *Damaſcus*, the *Adads* made themſelves Princes, of which there were ten Kings, which began and ended with the Kings of *Iſrael* in effect: and ſomewhat before theſe, the State of the *Iſraelites* having now altered the Form of Government, began to flouriſh under Kings, of which *David*, in a few years, became maſter of all thoſe neighbouring Nations, who by enterchange of times had ſubjected the *Judeans*, corrupted their Religion, and held them under in a moſt abject and grievous ſlavery; to wit, the *Edomæans*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Midianites*, *Itureans*, and the reſt of *Arabians*, with the *Philiſtims*, *Jebuſites*, *Geſhurites*, *Maacathites*; all which acknowledged *David* for their Soveraign Lord, and payed him tribute.

Euſeb. & Caſſ. in Chron.

CHAP. XVII.

Of DAVID.

SECT. I.

Of Davids *eſtate in the time of* Saul.

THe hazzards which *David* ran into while he was yet only deſigned King, and lived as a private man, expecting the Empire, were very many. The firſt perſonal act of Fame, was his killing of *Goliah* in the view of both Armies, whereby he became known to *Saul*, and ſo highly affected of *Jonathan* the ſon of *Saul*, that he loved him as his own ſoul: Inſomuch as when *Saul* ſought to perſwade his ſon that *David* would aſſuredly be the ruine of his houſe, and eſtate, and offered him violence when he pleaded his cauſe; *Jonathan* could never be perſwaded, never forc'd, nor ever wearied from the care of *David's* life, and well doing. It was not long after this ſignal act of *David*, but that *Saul* became exceeding jealous of him, though he were become as his houſhould ſervant, and his Eſquire, or Armour-bearer. *Saul* being vexed with an evil ſpirit, was adviſed to procure ſome cunning Muſician to play before him upon the Harp; whereby it was thought that he might find eaſe; which came to paſs accordingly. He entertained *David* for this purpoſe, and began to favour him, giving him a place of command among the men of War. But the jealous Tyrant ſoon waxed weary of good affection, and ſought to kill *David*, being thereunto moved only through envy of his Vertue. This paſſion firſt brake forth in the midſt of his raving fit, at which time he threw a ſpear at *David* that was then playing on his Harp, to do him eaſe.

Cenſorinus remembreth one *Aſclepius* a Phyſician, who practiſed the curing of the Frenzy, by the like Muſick: and tempered thereby thoſe diſeaſes which grew from paſſion. That *Pythagoras* did alſo the like by ſuch a kind of harmony, *Seneca*, in his third book of Anger, witneſſeth. But the madneſs of *Saul* came from the cauſe of cauſes: and was thereby incurable, howſoever it ſometimes left him, and yielded unto that Muſick, which God had ordained to be a mean of more good to the Muſician than to the King.

Cenſ. c. 12. & 14.

Saul having failed in ſuch open attempts, gave unto *David* the command over 1000 Souldiers to confront the *Philiſtims* withall. For he durſt not truſt him as before, about his perſon, fearing his revenge. Now the better to cover his hatred towards him, he promiſed him his Daughter *Merab* to Wife: but having married her to *Adriel*, he gave to *David* his younger Daughter *Michol*, but with a condition,

to

tion, to preſent him with an hundred fore-skins of the *Philiſtims:* hoping rather (in reſpect of the valour of that Nation) that the *Philiſtims* would take *David*'s head, than he their foreskins. This hope failing, when as now *David*'s Victories begat new fears and jealouſies in *Saul*, he practiſed with *Jonathan*, and afterwards with his own hands attempted his life, but his purpoſes were ſtill fruſtrated. After all this he ſought to murther him in his own houſe, but *Michol* his Wife delivered him. So *David* ſought *Samuel* at *Ramah*, and being purſued by *Saul*, fled thence unto
1 *Sam.* 19. *Nob* in *Benjamin*, to *Abimelech*, then to *Achis* the *Philiſtim*, Prince of *Geth:* where to obſcure himſelf, he was forc'd to counterfeit both ſimplicity and diſtraction. But being ill aſſured among the *Philiſtims*,
1 *Sam.* 21. he covered himſelf in the *Cave of Adullam:* and after conveying ſuch of his Kinsfolks as were not fit to follow him, into *Moab*, he hid himſelf in the *deſarts of Ziph*, *Maon*, and the Hills of *Engaddi*, where
2 *Sam.* 24. he cut off the lap of *Sauls* Garment, and ſpared his life: as he did a ſecond time in the *deſart of Ziph*, after his paſſage with *Nabal* and *Abigail*. After
1 *Sam.* 29. which he repaired to *Achis of Geth* the ſecond time, and was kindly entertained, in regard of the hatred
Jaſen. in *Pſal.* with which his Maſter *Saul* was known to proſecute him.

* It ſeemeth that *Simeon* never obtained *Siglag* till this time, for it is ſaid in the 1. of *Sam. c.* 27. *v.* 6. therefore *Siglag* pertaineth unto the King of *Juda* unto this day.

Of *Achis*, *David* obtained * *Siglag* in *Simeon*, pretending to invade *Judæa:* but he bent his forces another way, and ſtrook the *Amalekites*, with other enemies of *Iſrael*, letting none live to complain upon him. *Achis* ſuppoſing that *David* had drawn blood of his own Nation, thought himſelf aſſured of him: and therefore preparing to invade *Iſrael*, ſummoneth *David* to aſſiſt him, who diſſembling his intent, ſeemeth very willing thereto. But the reſt of the *Philiſtim* Princes knowng his valour, and doubting his diſpoſition, liked not his company, and therefore he withdrew himſelf to *Siglag*. At his return he found the Town burnt, his two Wives, with the Wives and Children of his people, taken by the *Amalekites:* Hereupon his followers mutined, but God gave him comfort, and aſſurance to recover all again: which he did.

This Army of the *Philiſtims* commanded by *Achis*, encountred *Saul* at *Gilboa*, in which he and his three Sons were ſlain. The news, with *Saul*'s Crown and Bracelets, were brought to *David* at *Siglag*, in his
2 *Sam.* 1. return from being victorious over *Amalek*, by a Man of the ſame Nation, who avowed (though falſly) that himſelf at *Saul*'s requeſt had ſlain him. *David*, becauſe he had accuſed himſelf, made no ſcruple to cauſe him to be ſlain at the inſtant: and the ſooner, becauſe the probabilities gave ſtrong evidence with al. Otherwiſe it followeth not that every Man ought to be believed of himſelf to his own prejudice. For it is
In F. de quæſt. l. 1. held in the law; *Confeſſio reorum non habenda eſt pro explorato crimine, niſi approbatio alia inſtruit religionem cognoſcentis. The priſoners confeſſion muſt not be taken for an evidence of the crime, unleſs ſome other proof inform the Conſcience of the Judg.* For a Man may confeſs thoſe things of himſelf, that the Judg by examination may know to be impoſſible. But becauſe it is otherwiſe determined in the title *de cuſtodia reorum l. ſi confeſſus, & in cap. de pœnis l: qui ſententiam*, therefore doth the Gloſs reconcile theſe two places in this ſort: *Si quis in judicio ſponte de ſeipſo confiteatur, & poſtea maneat in confeſſione, id eſt ſatis. If any Man in judgment do confeſs of himſelf, of his own accord, and after doth perſevere in his confeſſion, it is enough.* That *David* greatly bewailed *Saul*, it is not improbable; for death cutteth aſunder all competition: and the lamentable end that befel him being a King, with whom in effect the ſtrength of *Iſrael* alſo fell, could not but ſtir up ſorrow, and move compaſſion in the heart of *David*.

The victory which the *Philiſtims* had gotten, was ſo great, that ſome Towns of the *Iſraelites*, even beyond the River of *Jordan*, were abandoned by the Inhabitants, and left unto the enemy who took poſſeſſion of them without any reſiſtance made. Wherefore it may ſeem ſtrange, that a Nation ſo warlike and ambitious as were the *Philiſtims*, did not follow their fortune with all diligence, and ſeek to make the Conqueſt entire. Moſt like it ſeems, that the civil War immediately breaking out between *David* and the houſe of *Saul*, wherein *Juda* was divided from the reſt of *Iſrael*, gave them hope of an eaſie victory over both; and thereby cauſed them to attempt nothing at the preſent leſt by ſo doing they ſhould enforce their diſagreeing enemies to a neceſſary reconciliation; but rather to permit that the one part ſhould conſume the other, by which means both the victors, and the vanquiſhed, would become a prey to the violence of ſuch as had beaten them, when their forces were united.

SECT. II.

Of the beginning of Davids *reign, and the War made by* Abner *for* Isboſeth.

After the death of *Saul*, *Abner*, who commanded for *Saul* in the War, ſought to advance *Iſboſeth* (or *Jebuſtus*, according to *Joſephus*) though he had no right to the Kingdom of *Iſrael:* for *Miphiboſeth* the firſt Son of *Jonathan* lived. Againſt this *Abner* and *Iſboſeth*, *David* made a defenſive War, till *Abner* paſt *Jordan*, and entred the border of *Juda*; at which time he ſent *Joab* with ſuch forces as he had, to reſiſt *Abner: Iſboſeth* remaining in *Gilead*, and *David* in *Hebron*. The Armies encountred each other near *Gibeon*, where it ſeemeth that *Abner* made the offer to try the quarrel by the hands of a few; like to that combate between the *Lacedæmonians* and the *Argives*, remembred by *Herodotus*, 300 being choſen of each Nation, of which number three perſons were only left unſlain. The like tryal by a far leſs number was performed by the *Horatii* and *Curiatii*, for the *Romans* and *Latines*. The ſame challenge *Goliah* the *Philiſtim*, made, whom *David* ſlew: a cuſtom very antient. *Edward* the third offered the like tryal in his own perſon to the French King; and *Francis* the French King to *Charles* the Emperour. There were twelve choſen of each part, in this War of *David* with the houſe of *Saul*, to wit, ſo many of *Benjamin*, and as many of *Juda:* whoſe force and valour was ſo equal, as there ſurvived not any one to challenge the victory. But the quarrel ſtaid not here for the Army of *Juda* preſt *Abner* in groſs, and brake him. Three hundred and ſixty Men of *Abners* companions were ſlain, and but twenty of *Juda*; whereof *Aſahel* the Brother of *Joab* was one: who when he would needs purſue *Abner*, and by *Abners* perſwaſions could not be moved to quit him, he was forced to turn upon him, wounded him to death with the ſtroak of his ſpear. For though
2 *Sam.* 2. *Aſahel* were an excellent Foot-man, and as it is written in the Text, as light as a wild *Roe*, and as *Joſephus* reporteth, contended not only with Men, but with horſes; and hoped to have gotten great fame if he could have maſtred *Abner* (who as *Aſahel* perſwaded himſelf, had by being overthrown, and flying away, loſt his courage) yet here it fell out true, *That*
Eccleſ. 9. *the race is not to the ſwift.*

That

Verse 10. That this civil War lasted two years, we find it written in the second of *Samuel*, the second Chapter; though in the beginning of the third it is again made probable, that this contention dured longer; and therefore the matter resteth still in dispute, and some of the *Rabbins* conceive that *Isboseth* had then reigned two years, when this was written, the War as yet continuing a longer time. For *Abner* held for the party of *Isboseth* after this, and till such time as there grew jealousie between him and *Isboseth* for *Sauls* Concubine: neither did the death of *Isboseth* instantly follow; but how long after the murther of *Abner* it happened, the same doth certainly appear.

SECT. III.

Of the death of Abner *slain by* Joab, *and of* Isboseth *by* Rechab *and* Baanah.

2 Sam. 3. 27. *Abner*, reconciled to *David*, was anon by *Joab* murdered; for *Joab* could not endure a companion in *Davids* Favour, and in the commandment of his forces; by which he was grown so powerful, as *David* forbore to call him to account: for thus much he confesseth of himself; *I am this day weak, and these Men, the Sons of* Zerviah, *be too hard for me.* In this sort *David* complained after *Abners* death; and to make it clear that he hated this fact of *Joab*, he followed him with this publick imprecation; *Let the blood fall on the head of* Joab, *and on all his fathers house: and let them be subject to Ulcers, to the leprosie, to lameness, to the sword, and to poverty, &c.* For could any thing have withstood the ordinance of God, this murther committed by *Joab* might greatly have indangered *Davids* estate, *Abner* being the mouth and trust of all the rest of the Tribes, not yet reconciled. This mischance therefore *David* openly bewailed, so that all *Israel* percieved him to be innocent of that fact. The place which *Abner* held, being General of the Men of War, was of such importance, that the Kings themselves were fain to give them great respect, as hath been already shewed more at large. This office *Joab* held in the army of *Juda*, and thought himself worthy to hold the place entire, if once his Lord might obtain the whole Kingdom. For he was near to *David* in kindred, and had been partaker of all his adversity; wherefore he did not think it meet, that an old enemy should in reward of new benefits, be made his partner. Indeed he was by nature so jealous of his dignity and place, that he afterward slew *Amasa* his own kinsman, and the Kings, upon the same quarrel, taking it in high disdain to see him joyned with himself as Captain of the host of *Juda*; much less could he brook a superiour: and such a one as had slain his Brother, and been beaten himself in Battel. But however *Joab* did hate or despise *Abner*, *David* esteemed highly of him as of a Prince, and a great Man in *Israel*, excusing the oversight by which he might seem to have perished, by affirming that he dyed not like a Fool, nor a Man vanquished: *But as a Man falleth before wicked Men, so* (saith he) *didst thou fall.* And certainly it is no errour of wit, nor want of valour and vertue in him, whom a stronger hand destroyed unawares, or whom subtilty in free trust bringeth to confusion. For all under the *Sun* are subject to worldly miseries and misadventures. Howsoever *Isboseth* meant to have dealt with *Abner*, yet when he heard of his death, he despaired greatly of his estate, and with him all *Israel* were possest with great fear: in so much as two of *Isboseths* own Captains, *Rechab* and *Baanah*, murthered *Isboseth*, and presenting his head to *David*, received the same reward that the *Amalekite* lately did, for pretending to have slain *Saul*. *Isboseth*, being dead, all the Elders of *Israel* repaired to *David* at *Hebron*, where he was the third and last time anointed by general consent. 2 Sam. 4.

2 Sam. 3. 39.

Verse 29.

2 Sam. 3. verse 34.

SECT. IV.

Of the flourishing time of Davids *Kingdom, the taking of* Jerusalem, *with two overthrows given to the Philistims, and the conduction of the Ark to the City of* David.

WHen *David* was now established in the Kingdom, his first enterprise was upon the *Jebusites*, who in derision of his force, and confident in the strength of the place (as it is thought) manned their Walls with the blind and lame of their City; which *David* soon after entred, all their other forces notwithstanding. For having mastered the fort of *Zion* (which was afterward the City of *David*) he became Lord of *Jerusalem*, without any great danger, expelling thence the *Jebusites*, who had held it from the foundation, to the times of *Moses* and *Joshua* and after them almost 400 years. There are who expound this place, otherwise: *Except thou take away the blind and the lame, thou shalt not come in hither.* For some think that it was meant by the *Idols* of the *Jebusites*: others, that it had reference to the Covenant made long before with *Isaac*, and *Jacob*: the one blind by nature and age, the other made lame by wrestling with the Angel; and that therefore till those (that is, till that Covenant) be broken, *David* ought not to molest them. But for my self, I take it with *Josephus*, that they armed their Walls with certain impotent people at first, in scorn of *Davids* attempt. For they that had held their City about 400 years against all the Children of *Israel*, *Joshua*, the *Judges*, and *Saul*, did not doubt but to defend it also against *David*.

2 Sam. 5.

When he had now possest himself of the very heart and Center of the Kingdom, and received congratulatory Embassadours and presents from *Hiram* King of *Tyre*: he entertained divers other Concubines, and married more Wives, by whom he had ten Sons in *Jerusalem*, and by his former Wives, he had six in *Hebron*, where he reigned 7 years.

The *Philistims* hearing that *David* was now anointed King, as well of *Juda* as of *Israel*, they thought to try him in the beginning, before he was fully warm in his seat. And being encountred by *David* at two several times in the *Valley of Rephaim*, or of the *Giants*, they were at both times overthrown. After which he called the place *Baalperazim*. 2 Sam. 5.

Then *David* assembled 30000 choice *Israelites* to conduct the *Ark of God* from the house of *Abinadab* in *Gibea* to the City of *David*; which business was interrupted by the death of *Uzzah* the Son of *Abinadab*, whom the Lord slew for presuming to touch the *Ark*, though it were with intent to stay it from taking harm, when it was shaken. But after three years it was with great solemnity brought into the City with sacrifice, musick, dances, and signs of joyfulness, in which *David* himself gladly bare a part. Hereupon *Michol* derided him for dancing before the *Ark*, and afterward told him in scorn, *That he was uncovered as a fool in the eyes of the maidens his Servants*, namely, that he forgat his regal dignity both, in apparel and behaviour, and mixed himself among the base multitude, dancing as fools do in the ways and streets: not that she disliked *Davids* behaviour (as I take it) though she made it the colour of her derision; but rather the abundant grief, which this spectacle stirred up, beholding the glory of her husband

husband to whom she was delivered lastly by force, and remembring the miserable end of her Father and Brethren, out of whose ruines she conceived that the Son of *Ishai* had built this his greatness: together with the many new Wives and Concubines imbraced, since his possession of *Jerusalem*, made her break out in those despiteful terms, for which she remained barren to her death. 1 *Chr. c.* 3.

This done, *David* consulted with the Prophet *Nathan*, for the building of the Temple or House of *God*, but was forbidden it, because he was a Man of War, and had shed blood. So greatly doth the Lord and King of all, detest homicide; having threatned, not in vain, that he would require the Blood of a Man, at the hand of a Man and Beast. The Wars which *David* had made were just, and the Blood therein shed was of the Enemies of God, and his Church: yet for this cause it was not permitted that his hands should lay the Foundation of that Holy Temple, hereby it appears how greatly those Princes deceive themselves, who think by blood-shed and terror of their Wars, to make themselves in greatness like to the *Almighty*, which is a damnable pride; not caring to imitate his mercy and goodness, or seek the blessedness promised by our *Saviour* unto the peace-makers.

Now although it was not pleasing to the Lord to accept a Temple of *David's* founding, yet was his religious intent so well accepted, that hereupon he received both a confirmation of the Kingdom to him and his heirs, and that happy promise of the everlasting Throne that should be established in his Seed.

SECT. V.

The overthrow of the Philistims and Moabites.

SOon after this, *David* overthrew the *Philistims*, which made them altogether powerless, and unable to make any invasion upon *Israel* in hast. For it is written, *Accepit frænum Amgaris è manu Philisthæorum*; which place, our *English Geneva* converts in these words, And *David took the bridle of bondage out of the hands of the Philistims*. The Latin of *Junius* giveth another and a better sence; for that bridle of *Amgar* was meant the strong City of *Gath*, or *Geth*, and so the *Geneva* hath it in the marginal note. This City of *Gath* was the same which was afterward *Dio-Cæsarea*, set on the frontier of *Palæstina*, at the entrance into *Judæa* and *Ephraim*. From thence they made their incursions, and thereinto their retreat in all their invasions, which being taken by *David* and demolished, there was left no such frontier Town of equal strength to the *Philistims* on that part. The hill whereon *Geth* or *Gath* stood, the *Hebrews* call *Ammæ*, whereof and of the word *Gar* is made *Amgar*, of which *Pliny* in his first book, and chap. 13. This exposition is made plain, and confirmed in the first of *Chro*, 18. 2 *Sam.* 8. v. 1. *Junius* in *c.* 8. of the 2. of *Sam.*

There was no Nation bordering the *Jews* that so greatly afflicted them as the *Philistims* did, who before the time of *Saul* (to the end they might not sharpen any weapon against them) did not leave one Smith in all their Cities and Villages of that kind, but inforc'd them to come down into their territory, for all iron work whatsoever they needed; so as the *Israelites* till this time of *David*, were seldom free from paying tribute to the *Philistims*. 1 *Sam.* 13.

After this he gave them four other overthrows: but the War of the *Moabites* and *Arabians* came between. In the first of which he was indangered by *Ishbi-benob*, the head of whose spear weighed 300 shekles of Brass, which make nine pound three quarters of our poizes: at which time *Abishai* succoured *David*, and slew the *Philistim*, whereupon the Counsellours and Captains of *David* (lest the light of *Israel* might by his loss be quenched) vowed that he should not thenceforth hazzard himself in any battel. The second and third encounter and overthrow of the *Philistims* was at *Gob*, a place neer *Gesar*, and the last at *Gath* or *Geth*. And being now better assured of the *Philistims* by the taking of *Geth*, he invaded *Moab*, from whom notwithstanding in his adversity he sought succour, and left his Parents with him in trust. But whether it were the same King or no, it is not known. 2 *Sam.* 21. v. 17.

The *Rabbins* feign that *Moab* slew those kinsfolks of *David*, which lived under his protection in *Sauls* time; but questionless *David* well knew how that Nation had been always enemies to *Israel*, and took all the occasions to vex them, that were offered. And he also remembred that in the 23 of *Deut.* God commanded *Israel*, not to seek the peace or prosperity of the *Moabites*; which *David* well observed, for he destroyed two parts of the people, leaving a third to Till the Ground. This victory obtained, he led his Army by the border of *Ammon* towards *Syria Zobah*, the region of *Hadadezer* the Son of *Rehob* King thereof. The place is set down in the description of the Holy Land: to which I refer the Reader.

SECT. VI.

The War which David *made upon the* Syrians.

IT is written in the Text: David *smote also* Hadadezer, *&c. as he went to recover his border at the River Euphrates.* Now whether the words (*as he went to recover his border*) be referred to *David* or *Hadadezer*, it is not agreed upon. *Junius* thinks that the article (*he*) hath relation to *David*, who finding *Toha* oppress by *Hadadezer*, overthrew the one, and succoured the other. But the antient and most received opinion, that this recovery hath reference to the *Syrian*, is more probable. For if *David* had intended any such enterprize towards *Euphrates*, he was in far better case to have proceeded after his victory than before, seeing that (*Hadadezer* being taken) he had now left no enemy on his back either to pursue him, or to take victuals and supplies from him, or to the passages of the mountains upon him at his return.

Again, seeing *David* was either to pass through a part of *Arabia* the desart, or by the plains of *Palmyrena*, his Army consisting of footmen, for the most, if not all: He had now both Horse and Chariots good store to carry his provisions through those uncultivated places, by which he was to have marched before he could have reached *Euphrates*, or any part thereof. But we find that *David* returned to *Jerusalem*, after he had twice overthrown the *Syrian* Army, not bending his course towards the River *Euphrates*, but seeking to establish his purchases already made. Whereby it may appear, that it was the *Syrian*, and not King *David*, that was going to enlarge his border, as afore is said.

The King of *Syria*, *Damascena*, and of *Damascus* whereof that region is so called, hearing that *Hadadezer* was overthrown by the *Israelites*, fearing his own estate, and the loss of his own Country which adjoyned to *Syria Zoba* of *Hadadezer*, sent for an Army of *Aramites* or *Syrians* to his succour: but these, as it appeareth, came too late for *Hadadezer*, and too soon for themselves: for there perished of those supplies 22000. This King of *Damascus*, *Josephus* (out of *Nicholaus*, an antient Historian) calleth *Adad*, who was also of the same name and family, as also those other *Adads* were: which now began to grow up in

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When *David* was now established in the King-
2 Sam. 5. dom, his first enterprise was upon the *Jebusites*, who in derision of his force, and confident in the strength of the place (as it is thought) manned their Walls with the blind and lame of their City; which *David* soon after entred, all their other forces notwithstanding. For having mastered the fort of *Zion* (which was afterward the City of *David*) he became
2 Sam. 5. Lord of *Jerusalem*, without any great danger, expelling thence the *Jebusites*, who had held it from the foundation, to the times of *Moses* and *Joshua* and after them almost 400 years. There are who expound this place, otherwise: *Except thou take away the blind and the lame, thou shalt not come in hither.* For some think that it was meant by the *Idols* of the *Jebusites*: others, that it had reference to the Covenant made long before with *Isaac*, and *Jacob*: the one blind by nature and age, the other made lame by wrestling with the Angel, and that therefore till those (that is, till that Covenant) be broken, *David* ought not to molest them. But for my self, I take it with *Josephus*, that they armed their Walls with certain impotent people at first, in scorn of *Davids* attempt. For they that had held their City about 400 years against all the Children of *Israel*, *Joshua*, the *Judges*, and *Saul*, did not doubt but to defend it also against *David*.

When he had now possest himself of the very heart and Center of the Kingdom, and received congratulatory Embassadours and presents from *Hiram* King of *Tyre*: he entertained divers other Concubines, and married more Wives, by whom he had ten Sons in *Jerusalem*, and by his former Wives, he had six in *Hebron*, where he reigned 7 years.

The *Philistims* hearing that *David* was now anointed King, as well of *Juda* as of *Israel*, they thought to try him in the beginning, before he was fully warm in his seat. And being encountred by *David* at two several times in the *Valley of Rephaim*, or of the *Giants*, they were at both times overthrown. After which 2 Sam. 5. he called the place *Baalperazim*.

Then *David* assembled 30000 choice *Israelites* to conduct the *Ark of God* from the house of *Abinadab* in *Gibea* to the City of *David*; which business was interrupted by the death of *Uzzah* the Son of *Abinadab*, whom the Lord slew for presuming to touch the *Ark*, though it were with intent to stay it from taking harm, when it was shaken. But after three years it was with great solemnity brought into the City with sacrifice, musick, dances, and signs of joyfulness, in which *David* himself gladly bare a part. Hereupon *Michol* derided him for dancing before the *Ark*, and afterward told him in scorn, *That he was uncovered as a fool in the eyes of the maidens his Servants*, namely, that he forgat his regal dignity both, in apparel and behaviour, and mixed himself among the base multitude, dancing as fools do in the ways and streets: not that she disliked *Davids* behaviour (as I take it) though she made it the colour of her derision; but rather the abundant grief, which this spectacle stirred up, beholding the glory of her husband

husband to whom she was delivered lastly by force, and remembring the miserable end of her Father and Brethren, out of whose ruines she conceived that the Son of *Ishai* had built this his greatness: together with the many new Wives and Concubines imbraced, since his possession of *Jerusalem*, made her break out in those despiteful terms, for which she remained barren to her death. 1 *Chr. c.* 3.

This done, *David* consulted with the Prophet *Nathan*, for the building of the Temple or House of *God*, but was forbidden it, because he was a Man of War, and had shed blood. So greatly doth the Lord and King of all, detest homicide; having threatned, not in vain, that he would require the Blood of a Man, at the hand of a Man and Beast. The Wars which *David* had made were just, and the Blood therein shed was of the Enemies of God, and his Church: yet for this cause it was not permitted that his hands should lay the Foundation of that Holy Temple, hereby it appears how greatly those Princes deceive themselves, who think by blood-shed and terror of their Wars, to make themselves in greatness like to the *Almighty*, which is a damnable pride; not caring to imitate his mercy and goodness, or seek the blessedness promised by our *Saviour* unto the peace-makers.

Now although it was not pleasing to the Lord to accept a Temple of *David's* founding, yet was his religious intent so well accepted, that hereupon he received both a confirmation of the Kingdom to him and his heirs, and that happy promise of the everlasting Throne that should be established in his Seed.

SECT. V.

The overthrow of the Philistims and Moabites.

SOon after this, *David* overthrew the *Philistims*, which made them altogether powerless, and unable to make any invasion upon *Israel* in hast. For it is written, *Accepit frænum Amgaris è manu Philisthæorum*; which place, our *English Geneva* converts in these words, And *David took the bridle of bondage out of the hands of the Philistims*. The Latin of *Junius* giveth another and a better sence; for that bridle of *Amgar* was meant the strong City of *Gath*, or *Geth*, and so the *Geneva* hath it in the marginal note. This City of *Gath* was the same which was afterward *Dio-Cæsarea*, set on the frontier of *Palestina*, at the entrance into *Judæa* and *Ephraim*. From thence they made their incursions, and thereinto their retreat in all their invasions, which being taken by *David* and demolished, there was left no such frontier Town of equal strength to the *Philistims* on that part. The hill whereon *Geth* or *Gath* stood, the *Hebrews* call *Ammæ*, whereof and of the word *Gar* is made *Amgar*, of which *Pliny* in his first book, and chap. 13. This exposition is made plain, and confirmed in the first of *Chro*, 18. 2 *Sam.* 8. v. 1. *Junius* in *c.* 8. of the 2. of *Sam.*

There was no Nation bordering the *Jews* that so greatly afflicted them as the *Philistims* did, who before the time of *Saul* (to the end they might not sharpen any weapon against them) did not leave one Smith in all their Cities and Villages of that kind, but inforc'd them to come down into their territory, for all iron work whatsoever they needed; so as the *Israelites* till this time of *David*, were seldom free from paying tribute to the *Philistims*. 1 *Sam.* 13.

After this he gave them four other overthrows: but the War of the *Moabites* and *Arabians* came between. In the first of which he was indangered by *Ishbi-benob*, the head of whose spear weighed 300 shekles of Brass, which make nine pound three quarters of our poizes: at which time *Abishai* succoured *David*, and slew the *Philistim*, whereupon the Counsellours and Captains of *David* (lest the light of *Israel* might by his loss be quenched) vowed that he should not thenceforth hazzard himself in any battel. The second and third encounter and overthrow of the *Philistims* was at *Gob*, a place near *Gesar*, and the last at *Gath* or *Geth*. And being now better assured of the *Philistims* by the taking of *Geth*, he invaded *Moab*, from whom notwithstanding in his adversity he sought succour, and left his Parents with him in trust. But whether it were the same King or no, it is not known. 2 *Sam.* 21. v. 17.

The *Rabbins* feign that *Moab* slew those kinsfolks of *David*, which lived under his protection in *Sauls* time; but questionless *David* well knew how that Nation had been alwaies enemies to *Israel*, and took all the occasions to vex them, that were offered. And he also remembred that in the 23 of *Deut.* God commanded *Israel*, not to seek the peace or prosperity of the *Moabites*; which *David* well observed, for he destroyed two parts of the people, leaving a third to Till the Ground. This victory obtained, he led his Army by the border of *Ammon* towards *Syria Zobah*, the region of *Hadadezer* the Son of *Rehob* King thereof. The place is set down in the description of the Holy Land: to which I refer the Reader.

SECT. VI.

The War which David *made upon the* Syrians.

IT is written in the Text: David *smote also* Hadadezer, *&c. as he went to recover his border at the River Euphrates.* Now whether the words (*as he went to recover his border*) be referred to *David* or *Hadadezer*, it is not agreed upon. *Junius* thinks that the article (*he*) hath relation to *David*, who finding *Toha* oppress by *Hadadezer*, overthrew the one, and succoured the other. But the antient and most received opinion, that this recovery hath reference to the *Syrian*, is more probable. For if *David* had intended any such enterprize towards *Euphrates*, he was in far better case to have proceeded after his victory than before, seeing that (*Hadadezer* being taken) he had now left no enemy on his back either to pursue him, or to take victuals and supplies from him, or to the passages of the mountains upon him at his return.

Again, seeing *David* was either to pass through a part of *Arabia* the desart, or by the plains of *Palmyrena*, his Army consisting of footmen, for the most, if not all: He had now both Horse and Chariots good store to carry his provisions through those uncultivated places, by which he was to have marched before he could have reached *Euphrates*, or any part thereof. But we find that *David* returned to *Jerusalem*, after he had twice overthrown the *Syrian* Army; not bending his course towards the River *Euphrates*, but seeking to establish his purchases already made. Whereby it may appear, that it was the *Syrian*, and not King *David*, that was going to enlarge his border, as afore is said.

The King of *Syria*, *Damascena*, and of *Damascus* whereof that region is so called, hearing that *Hadadezer* was overthrown by the *Israelites*, fearing his own estate, and the loss of his own Country which adjoyned to *Syria Zoba* of *Hadadezer*, sent for an Army of *Aramites* or *Syrians* to his succour: but these, as it appeareth, came too late for *Hadadezer*, and too soon for themselves: for there perished of those supplies 22000. This King of *Damascus*, *Josephus* (out of *Nicholaus*, an antient Historian) calleth *Adad*, who was also of the same name and family, as also those other *Adads* were: which now began to grow up in

in greatnes, and so continued for ten descents, till they were extinguished by the *Assyrians*, as is shewed heretofore. *David* having now reduced *Damascus* under his obedience, left a garrison therein, as he did in *Edom:* having also sackt the adjoyning Cities of *Betah*, and *Berathi*, belonging to *Hadadezer*, of which Cities *Ptolomy* calleth *Betah*, *Tauba:* and *Berathi* he
2 *Sam.* 8. nameth *Barathena*, *Tohu* or *Thoi*, whose Country of *Hamath* joyned to *Hadadezer* (as in the description of the Holy Land the Reader may perceive) sent his Son *Joram* to congratulate this success of *David:* partly because he had War with *Hadadezer*, and partly because he feared *David* now victorious. He also presented *David* with vessels of Gold, Silver, and Brass; all which, together with the golden shields of the *Aramites*, and the best of all the spoils of other Nations, *David* dedicated unto God at his return. *Junius* translated the wordes (*Clypeos aureos*) by *Umbones*, as if all the parts of the Targets were not of Gold, but the Bosses only. The *Septuagint* call them Bracelets: *Aquila*, Golden Chains. But because *Roboam* made sheidls of Brass in place of these of *Hadadezer*, at such time as *Shicah* the *Egyptian* sack'd the Temple of *Jerusalem*, it may be gathered thereby that those of *Hadadezer* were golden shields.

2 *Sam* 1. This done, *David* sent Embassadours to *Hanum*, King of the *Ammonites*, to congratulate his establishment in his Fathers Kingdom: for *David*, in the time of his affliction under *Saul*, had been relieved by *Nahash*, the Father of *Hanum*. But this *Ammonite* being ill advised, and over jealous of his estate, used *Davids* Messengers so barbarously, and contemptuously (by curtailing their Beards, and their Garments) as he thereby drew a War upon himself, which neither his own strength, nor all the aids purchased, could put of or sustain. For notwithstanding that he had waged three and thirty thousand Souldiers of the *Amalekites*, and their confederates; to wit, of the Vassals of *Hadadezer* twenty thousand, and of *Maachah* and *Ishtob* thirteen thousand (for which he disbursed a thousand Talents of Silver) yet all these great Armies, together with the strength of the *Ammonites* were by *Joab* and his Brother *Abishai* easily broken and put to ruine: and that without any great loss or slaughter at that time. And it is written, that when the *Aramites* fled, the *Ammonites* also retreated into their Cities, the one holding themselves within the Walls, the other in their desarts adjoyning, till *Joab* was returned to *Jerusalem*.

Maachah the North part of *Traconitis* remembred in *Deut.* 3. 14. *Ishtob* or *Thob* a Country near *Gad*, under the Rocks of *Arnon* 2 *Sam.* 10.

Hadadezer hearing that *Joab* had dismissed his Army, assembled his forces again, and sent all the Companies that he could levy out of *Mesopotamia*; who under the command of *Shobach* passed *Euphrates*, and incamped at *Helem*, on the South side thereof. *David* hearing of this new preparation, assembled all the ablest Men of *Israel*, and marched toward the *Syrian* Army in *Palmyrena*, not yet entred into *Arabia*; to wit, at *Helam* a place no less distant from *Damascus*, towards the North-east, than *Jerusalem* was towards the South-West. Now *David* (speaking humanely) might with the more confidence go on towards *Euphrates* (which was the farthest off journey that ever he had) because he was now Lord of *Damascus*, which lay in the midway. He also possest himself of *Thadmor* or *Palmyrena*, which *Solomon* afterward strongly fortified; and this City was but one dayes journey from *Helam*, and the River *Euphrates*. So had he two safe retreats, the one to *Thadmor*, and the next from thence to *Damascus*. In this encounter between *David* and the *Syrians*, they lost 40000 Horsemen, and 700 Chariots, together with *Sobach* General of their Army. The Chronicles call these 40000 Souldiers, footmen, and so *Junius* converts it, and so is it very probable. For the Army of *Israel* consisting of Footmen, could hardly have slaughtered 40000 Horsmen, except they quitted their Horse and fought on Foot. So are the Chariots taken in this Battel, numbred at 7000 in the first of *Chronicles* the ninth; in which number, as I conceive, all the Souldiers that served in them, with the conductors, are included: so as their dyed of the *Syrians* in this War against *David*, before he forc't them to tribute, 100000 Footmen, besides all their Horsemen and waggoners, and besides all those that *Joab* slew, when they fled at the first encounter, together with the *Ammonites* before *Rabbah*. Notwithstanding all which, the *Adads* in following ages gathered strength again, and afflicted the Kings of *Juda* often: but the Kings of *Israel* they impoverished, even to the last end of that State.

Helam or *Chelam* which *Ptolomy* calleth *Alamatha* near the foords of *Euphrates* 2 *Sam.* 10

*See c. 18. sect. 2.

David having now beaten the *Arabians* and *Mesopotamians*, from the party and confederacy of *Ammon:* He sent out *Joab* the Lievtenant of his Armies to forrage and destroy their territory, and to besiege *Rabbah*, afterward *Philadelphia*, which after a while the *Israelites* mastered and possest. The Kings Crown which weighed a talent of Gold, garnished with precious Stones, *David* set on his own head, and carried away with him the rest of the riches and spoil of the City. And though *David* stayed at *Jerusalem*, following the War of *Uriah* his Wife, till such time as the City was brought to extremity, and ready to be entred: yet *Joab* in honour of *David* forbare the last assault, and entrance thereof, till his masters arrival. To the People he used extream rigour (if we may so call it, being exercised against heathen Idolaters,) for some of them he tare with Harrows, some he sawed asunder, others he cast into burning Kills, in which he baked Tyle and Brick.

SECT. VII.

Of Davids *troubles in his reign and of his forces.*

But as victory begetteth security, and our present worldly felicity a forgetfulnes of our former miseries, and many times of God himself, the Giver of all goodnes; so did these changes, in the fortune and state of this good King, change also the zealous care which formerly he had to please God in the precise observation of his Laws and Commandments: For having now no dangerous apparent enemy (against whom he was wont to ask counsel from the Lord) he began to be advised by his own humane affections and vain desires: For he was not only satisfied to take *Uriah*'s Wife from him, and to use her by stealth; but he imbroidered his adultery with *Uriah*'s slaugh- 2 *Sam.* 11.
ter, giving order to his trusty Servant *Joab* to mar- 15.
shal him in the front or point of those *Israelites*, which gave an assault upon the suburbs of *Rabba*, when there was not as yet any possibility of prevailing. And that which could no less displease God than the rest, he was content that many others of his best Servants and Souldiers should perish together with *Uriah*, hoping thereby to cover his particular ill intent against him. After which, he began by degrees to fall from the highest of happines, and his days then to come, were filled with joys and woes interchangeable, his trodden-down sorrows began again to spring, and those perils which he had pulled up by the roots (as he hoped) gave him an after-harvest of many cares and discontentments. And if it had pleased GOD to take the witnes of *Davids* own

Mouth

mouth against him, as *David* himself did against the *Amalekite*, which pretended to have slain *Saul*, he had then appeared as worthy of reprehension as the other was of the death he suffered. For when *Nathan* the Prophet propounded unto him his own errour in the person of another, to wit, of him that took the poor mans sheep that had none else, the bereaver being Lord of many; He then vowed it to the living Lord, that such a one should die the death. And hereof, although it pleased God to pardon *David* for his life, which remission the Prophet *Nathan* pronounced; yet he delivered him Gods justice together with his mercy in the tenour following; *Now* 2 *Sam.* 12. 9, 10. *therefore the sword shall never depart from thy house*, &c. *because thou hast taken his wife to be thy wife, and hast slain* Uriah *with the sword of the children of* Ammon. Soon after this, *David* lost the child of adultery which he begot on *Bersheba*. Secondly, his own son *Ammon*, being in love with his half sister *Thamar*, by the advice of his cousin-german the son of *Shimeah*, *Davids* brother, possest her by force: which when he had performed, he thrust her from him in a careless and despiteful manner. Two years after which foul and incestuous act, *Absalom* caused him to be murthered at the feast of his sheep-shearing: not perchance in revenge of *Thamars* ravishment alone; but having it in his heart to usurp the Kingdom, in which, because he could not in any sort be assured of *Ammon*, he thought his affairs greatly advanced by his destruction. So the one brother having ravished his own sister, and then despised her; the other after a long dissembled malice first made his own brother drunken, and then slaughtered him, which done, he fled away, and lived under the safeguard of *Talmai* 2 *Sam.* 13. King of *Gessur*, near *Damascus*, who was his grandfather by the mother, but a heathen King. Thirdly, when *Absalom* by the invention of *Joab* (but chiefly because of the great affection of *David* towards his 2 *Sam.* 14. son) was brought again, first to the Kings favour, and then to his presence; he began instantly to practise against *David* his father, seeking by the pretence of common justice, and by lowly and familiar manner to all men, and by detracting from his fathers equity, to win unto himself a popular reputation. Here began the great affliction threatned by the Lord as a punishment of *Davids* sin.

2 *Sam.* 15. The company which *Absalom* gathered at the first were but 200 men: which he carried with him from *Jerusalem* to *Hebron*, pretending, though impiously, the performance of a vow to God. There when *Achitophel* repaired unto him, and many troops of people from all places, he proclaimed himself King, and was by the people (whose hearts God had turned from their lawful Prince) accepted so readily, that *David* doubting to be set upon on the sudden, durst not trust himself in his own City of *Jerusalem*, nor in any other walled town for fear of surprise: but incamped in the fields and desarts with some 600 of his guard, and few else. The Priests he left in *Jerusalem* with the Ark of God, from whom he desired to be advertised of those things that chanced; to whom he directed *Hushai* his trusty friend, and servant, praying him to make himself in all his outward act- 2 *Sam.* 15. ons and counsels of *Absalom*'s party and confederacy, thereby the better to discover unto him the purposes of *Achitophel*, a revolting Counsellour, whose practices he greatly doubted. And now when treason was in fashion, *Ziba* also sought to betray his master *Mephibosheth* the son of *Jonathan*: And *Shimei* of the house of *Saul* (the fire of whose hatred *Davids* pro- 2 *Sam.* 16. sperity had smothered, but his adversity illightned) holding himself upon the advantage of a mountain side, cast stones at *David*, and most despightfully cursed him to his face: but *David* attending no private revenges, forbad *Abishai* to pursue him for the present, yet left him among others in the roll of his revenge, to his son *Solomon*. *Absalom* being now possest of *Jerusalem*, was advised by *Achitophel* to use his fathers concubines in some such publick place, as all *Israel* might assure themselves, that he was irreconcileable to his father: whereof being perswaded, they would then resolvedy adhere to *Absalom* and his 2 *Sam.* 17. cause, without fear of being given up upon a reconciliation between them. This salvage and impious (though crafty counsel) *Achitophel* indeed urged for his own respect, as fearing that this rebellion might take end to his destruction, who most of all other inflamed *Absalom* against his father. And now was it fulfilled that *Nathan* had directly foretold *David*: *I will raise up evil against thee out of thine own house,* 2 *Sam. c.* *and will take thy wives before thine eyes, and give them unto thy neighbour, and he shall lye with thy wives in the sight of the Sun: for thou diddest it secretly, but I will do this thing before all* Israel, *and before the Sun.* He also gave advice to *Absalom*, that himself with an Army of 12000 men might be employed at the instant for the surprizing of *David*: which had willingly been imbraced by *Absalom*, had not *Hushai Davids* faithful servant given counter-advice, and swayed it: perswading *Absalom* that it was fitter and more safe for him with all the strength of *Israel* to pursue his father, than by such a troop, which *Davids* valour and those of his attendants might either indanger or resist. This delay in *Absalom*, and advantage of time gained by *David*, was indeed, after God, the loss of the one, and delivery of the other. Whereupon *Achitophel* rightly fearing (by the occasion fore-shewed) the success which followed, disposed 2 *Sam.* 17. of his own estate, and then forsook both the party 23. and the care of *Absalom*, and of his own life.

David being advertised of this enterprize against him, marched away all night, and past *Jordan*, possessing himself of *Mahanaim* in the Tribe of *Gad*: the same wherein *Isboseth* himself in the war against *David* after *Sauls* death seated himself. To which place there repaired unto him *Shobi* the son of *Nahash* the *Ammonite*, whom *David* loved, the same which *Josephus* calleth *Shiphar*. And though it be greatly disputed, what this *Shobi* was, yet the most general and probable opinion makes him a second brother to *Hanum*, whom *David* for his fathers sake established in the Kingdom, after *Hanums* overthrow: in thankfulness whereof he relieved *David* in this his extremity. There came also to *Davids* assistance *Machir* of *Lodobar*, Guardian in former times to *Mephibosheth*, and among others *Barzillai* the *Giliadite*, who willingly fed *David* and all his company.

In the mean time both the King and *Absalom* prepared to fight; *Absalom* made *Amasa* Commander of the Army of *Israel*, the same place which *Joab* held with *David*; an office next the King himself, like unto that of the Majors of the Palace anciently in *France*. *David*, perswaded by his company, stayed in *Mahanaim*, and disposed the forces he had to *Joab*, *Abishai*, and *Ittai*, giving them charge in the hearing of all that issued out of the port of *Mahanaim*, that they should spare the life of *Absalom*. But *Joab*, besides that he was very cruel by nature, remembred that *Absalom* had lately disposed of his government to *Amasa*, and therefore the victory being obtained, and news brought him that *Absalom* hung by the hair of his head on a tree, when he could not perswade 2 *Sam.* 18. the messenger to return and kill him, he himself with 14. his own servants dispatcht him. It appeared also by the sequel that *Joab* affected *Adonijah* whom he afterward acknowledged, *David* yet living; and fearing 2 *Sam.* 17.

the disposition of *Absalom*, he imbraced the present advantage offered.

Hereof, together with news of the victory, when knowledge was brought to *David*, he mourned and sorrowed, not only as a man that had lost a son, but as one that had out-lived all his worldly joys, and seen every delight of life interred. For he so hid himself from his people, as those which hoped for honour and reward after so great a victory, covered themselves also in the City, as if they had committed the greatest offences, and had rather deserved death than recompence. Whereupon *Joab* presenting himself before *David*, perswaded him to dissemble his sorrow for the present, and to shew himself to the Army. For first, he told him that he had discountenanced his faithful servants, who had that day preserved his life; inferring that nothing could be more dangerous to a King, than not only not to acknowledge so great a love and constancy in his people, who being but few in number, did yet resolvedly expose themselves to great perils for his sake: but on the contrary, grieve and lament at their good success. For, no doubt, they might all have bought their peace of *Absalom* at an easy rate. Secondly, he urged, that it was generally believed, that he loved his enemies, and hated his friends; and that he witnessed by this his mourning, that he had not any respect of his Princes, and others his faithful servants, but would more have joyed if they had all perished, and *Absalom* lived, than in the victory by their faithfulness and approved valour gotten.

Lastly, he used this prevalent argument, That if the King came not out and shewed himself publickly to his men of war, that they would all that very night abandon him, and return: concluding with this fearful threatning, *And that will be worse unto thee than all the evil that fell on thee from thy youth hitherto.* By these over-bold and arrogant speeches (though perchance uttered with a good intent) *Joab* raised *David* from his bed of sorrow, and brought him to the gates of the City among the people, whom he assured of his love and affection, especially *Amasa*, who commanded the Army of *Absalom*, to whom he promised the office of Lievtenanship; the same which *Absalom* had given him, and which *Joab* now enjoyed. For *David* doubted, that if *Amasa* were not satisfied, he might draw from him a great part of the strength of *Israel*, now under his commandment.

2 *Sam.* 19. 19. This done, the King marched towards *Jordan* homeward, where in his passage he pardoned *Shimei*, who had lately reviled him to his face: but this remission was but external, as appeared afterward. He also accepted of *Mephibosheth* his excuse, whom *Ziba* had falsly accused and betrayed.

2 *Sam.* 19. 38. He also intreated *Barzillai* the *Gileadite*, his late liberal host, to follow him to *Jerusalem*, that he might reward his service done him; who excusing himself by his age, appointed his son *Chimham* to attend the King.

At *Gilgal* on this side *Jordan*, all the Tribes assembled, and after some contention which of them ought to have most interest in *David*, the Army brake, and *David* returned to *Jerusalem*. But *Sheba* the son of *Bichri*, a *Benjamite*, of the faction of the house of *Saul*; finding some discontent among the *Israelites*, withdrew them from *David*, as from a stranger in whom they had no interest, and it seemeth that many of the people of the out Tribes, and in effect of all but *Juda*, bare still a good affection to the issues of their first King. *David* imployed his reconciled Captain *Amasa*, to give him contentment, and to witness his trust, as also because he conceived that *Amasa* had interest in those revolts of *Israel* more than *Joab* had. He received commandment from *David* to assemble the Army within three days, which he foreslowed: but being onward on his way, *Abishai*, *Joabs* brother, was sent after him, with *Davids* guard and best Souldiers, whom also *Joab* accompanied: and overtaking *Amasa* near *Gibeon*, pretending to imbrace him, gave him a wound, whereof he fell dead, being no less jealous of *Amasa* than he was of *Abner*, whom he murdered in the same manner, and out of the same impatient ambition. This done, he pursued *Sheba*; and finding him inclosed in *Abel*, assaulted the City with that fury, that the Citizens by the perswasions of a wise woman there inhabiting, cut off *Sheba* his head, and flung it to *Joab* over the walls: which done, he retreated his Army to *Jerusalem*, and commanded, as before, all the Hoast of *Israel*. 2 *Sam.* 20. 12.

The next act of *David*, was the delivery of *Sauls* sons or kinsmen to the *Gibeonites*, whom those Citizens hung up in revenge of their fathers cruelty. *David* had knowledge from the *Oracle of God*, that a famine which had continued on the land three years, came by reason of *Saul* and his house; to wit, for the slaughter of the *Gibeonites*: and therefore he willingly yielded to give them this satisfaction, both because he had warrant from God himself, as also, if we may judge humanely, to rid himself of *Sauls* line, by whom he and his might, aswell in the present as in the future, be greatly molested and indangered; only he spared *Mephibosheth* the son of *Jonathan*, both for the love he bare to his father, and for his oath and vow to God.

Now whereas it is written in the Text, *The King took the two sons of* Rispah, *whom she bare unto* Saul, *and the five sons of* Michol *the daughter of* Saul, *whom she bare to* Adriel, *and delivered them to the* Gibeonites: 2 *Sam.* 21. *Junius* calls this *Michol* the sister of her that was *Davids* wife, she whom *Saul* married to *Phaltiel*: but *Michol* here named, had *Adriel* to her husband; the same which is named *Merab* in the first of *Samuel* the eighteenth, who was first promised to *David* when he slew *Goliah* in the Valley *Raphaim*: and because it is written that *Michol* loved *David*, which perchance *Merab* did not, whether *David* had any humane respect in the delivery of her children, it is only known to God.

Now where the *Geneva* nameth *Michol* for *Merab* the wife of *Adriel*: the better translation were out of the Hebrew word here used, having an eclipsis or defect, and signifieth, as I am informed, one of the same kindred, as in the 19th verse of the same one and twentieth chapter it is said of *Goliah*, *whose spear was weighty as a Weavers beam*, when as by the same eclipsis it must be understood by the brother of *Goliah*; *Goliah* himself being formerly slain.

As by the death of *Sauls* children God secured the house of *David*, leaving no head unto rebellion: so did he strengthen both the King and Nation against forreign enemies by the valour of many brave Commanders, the like of whom, for number and quality, that people of *Israel* is not known to have had at any time before or after. Thirty Captains of thousands there were, all men of mark, and great reputation in war. Over these were six Collonels, whose valour was so extraordinary, that it might be well held as miraculous. The Collonels had some difference of place and honour, which seemeth to have been given upon meer consideration of their vertue. For *Abishai* the brother of *Joab*, who in the war against the *Ammonites* and *Aramites* was Lievtenant, and commanded half the army, could not attain to the honour of the first rank, but was fain to rest contented with being principal of the three Collonels

Collonels of the second order, notwithstanding his nearness of blood unto the King, the flourishing estate of his own house, and his well approved services. All these Collonels and Captains, with the Companies belonging to them, may seem to have been such as were continually retained, or at the least kept in readiness for any occasion, considering that the numbers which were mustered and drawn out, if need required, into the field, very far exceeded thirty thousand, yea, or thirty times as many. They were most of them such as had followed the King in *Saul's* time, and been hardned with his adversities. Others there were very many, and principal men in their several Tribes, that repaired unto him after the death of *Saul*; but these Captains and Collonels (who with *Joab*, that was General of all the Kings Forces, make up the number of 37,) were the special men of War, and reckoned as *David's* Worthies. The long reign of *David*, as it is known to have consumed many of these excellent men of War, so may it probably be guessed to have wasted the most of those whose deaths we find no where mentioned. For the sons of *Zervia*, who had been too hard for *David*, were worn away, and only *Joab* left in the beginning of *Solomon*, who wanted his brother *Abishai* to stand by his side in his last extremity.

2 Sam. 23. 39.

By the actions forepassed in the time of *David*, it is gathered, that he had reigned now 33 years or thereabouts, when the posterity of *Saul* was rooted out, so that he enjoyed about seven years of entire quiet and security, wherein it pleased God to remove all impediments that might have troubled the succession of *Solomon* in his Fathers Throne. In this time also *David* having established all things in *Juda* and *Israel*, and the borders thereof, he again displeased God by numbring the people, as in ostentation of his power: in which he employed *Joab*, with other Captains of his Army, who after nine moneths and twenty days travel, returned with the account and register of all the people, able and fit to bear Arms, and they amounted to the number of thirteen hundred thousand, besides *Levi* and *Benjamin*, whereof in *Juda* and the Cities thereof, five hundred thousand, and in *Israel* eight hundred thousand.

2 Sam. 24. 1 Chro. 21.

For this, when by the Prophet *Gad* he was offered from God the choice of three punishments, whereof he might submit himself to which he pleased; to wit, seven Years Famine; three Moneths War, wherein he should be unprosperous in all attempts, and be chased by his enemies; or a general pestilence to last three days: *David* made choice to bow himself under the hand of God only, and left himself subject to that cruel disease, which hath no compassion or respect of persons, of which there perished 70 thousand. And hereby he hath taught all that live, that it is better to fall into the hands of God than of men; whereof he giveth this divine reason, *For his mercies are great.*

2 Sam. 14.

SECT. VIII.

Of the last acts of David; Adonijahs *faction; the revenge upon* Joab *and* Shimei.

LAstly, when he grew weak and feeble, and past the acts and knowledge of Women, he was yet advised to lie in the arms of a young and well-complexioned Maiden, to keep him warm. In this his weak estate of body, when he was in a manner bedrid, *Adonijah* his eldest son (*Ammon* and *Absalom* being now dead) having drawn unto his party that invincible, renowned and feared *Joab*, with *Abiathar* the Priest, began manifestly to prepare for his establishment in the Kingdom after his Father. For being the eldest now living of *David's* sons, and a man of goodly personage, *Solomon* yet young, and born of a Mother formerly attainted with adultery, for which her name was omitted by Saint *Matthew* (as *Beda*, *Hugo*, *Thomas*, and others suppose) he presumed to carry the matter without resistance. Hereof when *David* had knowledge by *Bersabe* the Mother of *Solomon*, who did put him in mind of his faithful promise, that *Solomon*, her son should reign after him (*Nathan* the Prophet affirming the same thing unto the King, and seconding her report of *Adonijah* his presumption) the King calling unto him *Zadok* the Priest, *Nathan* the Prophet, and *Benajah* the Captain of his Guard, gave charge and commission to anoint *Solomon*, and to set him one the Mule whereon himself used to ride in his greatest state: which done, *Solomon* attended, and strongly guarded by the ordinary and choice men of War, the *Cherethites*, and *Peletbites*, shewed himself to the people. These tidings being reported to *Adonijah*, he presently abandoned his assistants, and for the safety of his life, he held by the horns of the Altar, whom for the present *Solomon* pardoned. After this, *David* had remaining two special cares, whereof he was desirous to discharge his thoughts; the one concerning the peace of the Land, which might be disturbed by some Rebellion against *Solomon*; the other concerning the building of the Temple, which he sought by all means to advance, and make the business publick. To bring these intentions to good effect, he summoned a Parliament, consisting of all the Princes of *Israel*, the Princes of the several Tribes, all the Captains and Officers, with all the mighty, and men of power; who did repair unto *Jerusalem*.

1 Reg. 31

1 Chr. 28. 2.

In this Assembly the King stood up, and signified his purpose of building the Temple, shewing how the Lord had approved the motion. Herein he took occasion to lay open his own title to the Crown, shewing that the Kingdom was by Gods ordinance due to the Tribe of *Juda* (as *Jacob* in his blessing prophetically bequeathed it) and that God himself was pleased to make choice of him among all his Fathers sons. In like manner he said that God himself had appointed *Solomon* by name to be his Successour; whereupon he earnestly charged both the people and his son to conform themselves unto all that God had commanded, and particularly to go forward in this Work of the Lords house, which *Solomon* was chosen to build. Then produced he the pattern of the Work, according to the form which God himself had appointed; and so laying open his own preparations, he exhorted all others to a voluntary contribution.

1 Chro. 29. 9.

The Kings proposition was so well approved by the Princes and people, that whereas he himself had given three thousand talents of gold, and seven thousand of silver, they added unto it seven thousand of gold, and ten thousand of silver, besides brass, iron, and Jewels, heartily rejoycing in the advancement of so religious a Work. This business being so well dispatched, a solemn Feast with great sacrifice was made, at which time *Solomon* was again anointed King, and received fealty of all the Princes and people of the Land, and of all the Princes his brethren, the sons of King *David*. *Solomon* being thus established King, his Father *David* finding himself even in the hands of death, first exhorted his son to exercise the same courage and strength of mind, which himself had done in all his attempts; and to the end that a happy end might follow the beginning of all his enterprizes, he uttered these mighty words; *Take*

1 *King.* 2. 3. *heed to the charge of the Lord thy God, to walk in his ways, and keep his ſtatutes, and his commandments, and his judgements, and his teſtimonies, as it is written in the Law of* Moſes, *&c.* to the performance of which GOD faſtned the ſucceſſion, and proſperity of his
1 *King.* 1. 10. iſſues. For this done (ſaith GOD himſelf) *Thou ſhalt not want one of thy Poſterity to ſit upon the Throne of* Iſrael.

Secondly, he adviſed him concerning *Joab*; who out of doubt had ſerved *David* from the firſt aſſault of *Jeruſalem* to the laſt of his Wars, with incomparable valour and fidelity, ſaving that he faſtned himſelf to *Adonijah* (his maſter yet living) and thereby vexed him in his feeble age. But as God hath never left cruelty unrevenged, ſo was it his will that *Joab* ſhould drink of the ſame cup, whereof he had enforced other men to taſte, and ſuffer the ſame violence which himſelf had unjuſtly ſtrucken others withall, *Qui gladio percutit, gladio peribit:* for he had bereaved *Abner* and *Amaſa* of their lives, having againſt the one the pretence only of his brothers ſlaughter, whom *Abner* had ſlain in the time of War, and could not avoid him: againſt the other but a meer jealouſie of his growing great in the favour of *David*. And though *Joab* aſſured himſelf that *Abner* and *Amaſa* being dead, there was none left either to equal him, or ſupplant him, yet God (deriding the policies of wicked men) raiſed up *Benhajah* the ſon of *Jehojadah*, to pull him from the Sanctuary, and to cut him in peeces. For
1 *King.* 2. *David* giveth this cauſe to *Solomon* againſt *Joab*, that he ſlew the Captains of the Hoſt of *Iſrael*, and ſhed the bloud of war in peace; and to this apparent and juſt cauſe, it is not improbable but that *David* remembred the ill affection of *Joab* towards *Solomon*, which *Joab* made manifeſt by the untimely ſetting up of *Adonijah*, *David* yet living. Some other offence *Joab* had committed againſt *David*, of which in theſe words he put his ſon *Solomon* in mind; *Thou knoweſt*
1 *King.* 2. *alſo what* Joab *the ſon of* Serviah *did to me, &c.* Now whether this were meant by the killing of *Abſalom*, contrary to the Kings deſire, or by the proud words uſed to him when he mourned in *Mahanaim* for *Abſalom*; or whether it were the publiſhing of *Davids* Letter unto him for the killing of *Uriah*, thereby to diſgrace *Solomon* as deſcended of ſuch a mother, the Scriptures are ſilent. True it is, that thoſe great men of War do oftentimes behave themſelves exceeding inſolently towards their Princes, both in reſpect of their ſervice done, as alſo becauſe they flatter themſelves with an opinion, that either their maſters cannot miſs them, or that they dare not offend them. But this kind of pride hath overthrown many a worthy man, otherwiſe deſerving great honour and reſpect.

He alſo gave order to *Solomon* to rid himſelf of *Shimei*, who not long before had caſt ſtones at *David*, and curſed him to his face. And albeit by reaſon of
1 *King.* 2. his oath and promiſe *David* ſpared *Shimei* all the time himſelf lived, yet being duſt and in the grave, he ſlew him by the hand of *Solomon* his ſon. Hence it ſeemeth that King *Henry* the ſeventh of *England* had his pattern, when he gave order to *Henry* the Eighth to execute *Pool* as ſoon as himſelf was buried, having made promiſe to the King of *Spain*, when he delivered *Pool* unto him, that while he lived he would never put him to death, nor ſuffer violent hands to be laid upon him.

And yet did not the execution of *Joab* yeeld unto *Solomon* any ſuch great profit or aſſurance as he hoped for. For he found a young *Adid* of *Idumea*, and *Reſin* of *Damaſcus* to vex him: who, as the Scriptures witneſs, were emboldened to enterprize upon
1 *King.* 11. *Solomon*, hearing that *David* ſlept with his Fathers, and that *Joab* the Captain of the Hoſt was dead. Now when *David* had reigned in all forty Years, to wit, in *Hebron* ſeven Years, and in *Jeruſalem* three and thirty, he died.

For his perſon, he was of ſmall ſtature, but exceeding ſtrong. For his internal gifts and graces, he ſo far exceeded all other men, as putting his humane frailty apart, he was ſaid by God himſelf to be a man according to his own heart. The Pſalms which he wrote, witneſs his piety, and his excellent learning: of whom *Jerom* to *Paulinus:* David Simonides *noſter*, Pindarus, *&* Alcæus, Flaccus, *quoque* Catullus, *&* Serenus, *Chriſtum lyra perſonat, & in decchachordo Pſalterio ab inferis ſuſcitat reſurgentem*; David (ſaith he) *our* Simonides, Pindarus, Alcæus, Horace, Catullus *and* Serenus, *he playeth Chriſt on his Harp, and on a ten-ſtringed Pſalter he raiſeth him up riſing from the dead.* And being both a King and a Prophet, he foretelleth Chriſt more lightſomly and lively than all the reſt.

The book of the Pſalms, ſaith *Glycas*, was divided, ordered and diſtinguiſhed by *Ezekias:* but whether all the Pſalms were written by *David*, it is diverſly diſputed. For *Athanaſius*, *Cyprian*, *Lyranus*, and others conceive divers Authors anſwering the titles of the ſeveral Pſalms, as *Moſes*, *Solomon*, and the reſt hereafter named; and that only 73 Pſalms were compoſed by *David* himſelf, namely, thoſe which are intituled *ipſius David*. For the 50 and the 72 with the ten that follow, are beſtowed on *Aſaph* the ſon of *Barachia*, eleven other on the ſons of *Korath*; and eleven are aſcribed to *Moſes*, to wit, the 89 and the ten following, and ſo they are intituled in the old Hebrew Copies, though the Vulgar and Septuagint (three except) ſtile them otherwiſe. The ſuppoſed nine Authors of theſe Pſalms which *David* wrote not. *Sixt. Senenſis* nameth as followeth; *Solomon*, *Moſes*, (when *Aben Ezra*, contrary to *Jerom*, maketh one of *David*'s ſingers) *Aſaph*, *Ethan-Eziachi*, *Eman-Eziaira*, *Idithum*, and the three ſons of *Chore*. But S. *Chryſoſtome* makes *David* the ſole Author of all the Pſalms, and ſo doth S. *Auguſtine*, reaſoning in this manner: Although (ſaith he) ſome there are that aſcribe thoſe Pſalms only to *David*, which are overwritten *ipſius David*, and the reſt intituled *ipſi David*, to others, this opinion (ſaith he) *Voce Evangelica Salvatoris ipſius refutator, ubi ait quòd ipſe* David *in ſpiritu Chriſtum dixerit eſſe ſuum Dominum, quoniam Pſalmus* 109 *ſic incipit*, Dixit *Dominus* Domino *meo, Sede à dextris meis*, &c. The voice of the Goſpel refutes this opinion, where it ſaith, that *David* himſelf in the ſpirit called Chriſt his Lord; becauſe the 109 Pſalm begins thus: *The Lord ſaid unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand*, &c. Laſtly, his Teſtimonies are uſed both by Chriſt and the Apoſtles, and he was as a pattern to all the Kings and Princes that ſucceeded him.

Athan. in Synop. Haer. Epiſt 134 *Lyran. in exp.* 1. *Pſal.*

Vide Sixt. Senen. Bib. ſanct. l. 1. *f.* 10. & 11. *Aug. de Civit. Dei. l.* 13. *c.* 14.

His Story, and all his particular actions, were written by the Prophets, *Samuel*, *Nathan*, and *Gad*, as it is in the firſt of *Chron.* 29. *verſ.* 19. For the ſeveral parts of the books of *Samuel* which intreat chiefly of *David*, were, as it ſeems, written by theſe three holy men.

Conſtantine Manaſſes hath an opinion, that the *Trojans* during the time of the ſiege ſought for ſuccour from *David*, and that he ſtayed Neuter in that War. But it ſeemeth that *Manaſſes* did miſcaſt the time 'twixt *David* and the *Trojan* War. For it is generally received that Troy fell between the times of *Abdon* and *Sampſon* Judges of *Iſrael*, about the Worlds years 2848, and *David* died in the year 2991.

Cap. 7. §. 6, 7. In his Annals tranſlated out of Greek into Latine by *Johannes Leunclaim.*

SECT.

SECT. IX.

Of the Treasures of David *and* Solomon.

verſ. 14. HIs Treaſures were exceeding great. For it is written in the 22 of the firſt of *Chronicles*, that he left *Solomon* for the building of the Temple a hundred thouſand talents of Gold, and a thouſand thouſand talents of Silver, and of Braſs and Iron paſſing all weight, which is more than any King in the World poſſeſt beſides himſelf, and his Son, to whom he left it. For it amounteth to three thouſand three hundred thirty and three cart-load, and a third of a cart-load of Silver, allowing two thouſand weight of Silver, or ſix thouſand pound ſterling to every cart-load, beſides threeſcore and ſeventeen millions of French Crowns, or of our money twenty three millions and a thouſand pound: a matter, but for the teſtimony of the Scriptures, exceeding all belief. For that any riches were left him, it doth not appear, ſeeing that the Judges had not any treaſure, nor any ſoveraign power to make levies: but when they went to the wars they were followed by ſuch voluntaries as the ſeveral tribes by turns gave them: ſeeing alſo that *Saul* who was of a mean parentage, and perpetually vexed and invaded by the *Philiſtims*, could not in all likelihood gather great riches (if any at all) his Territories being exceeding narrow, and thereof the better part poſſeſt by his enemies.

Therefore it were not amiſs to conſider how *David* within the ſpace of not very many years, might amaſs up ſuch mighty treaſures. For though parſimony be it ſelf a great revenue, yet needs there muſt have been ſome other great means. It ſeems that he made the uttermoſt profit of all that he had, that was profitable. *Euſebius* in his 9 book and laſt chapter *de Præparatione Evangelica*, cited the words of *Eupolemus*, who reporteth that *David*, among other preparations for the Temple, built a Navy in *Melanis* (or, as *Villalpandus* corrects it, *Achanis*) a City of *Arabia*, and from thence ſent Men to dig for Gold in the Iſland *Urphe*, which *Ortelius* thinks was *Ophir*, though *Eupolemus* in this place of *Euſebius* (erring perhaps in this circumſtance) ſaith that this Iſland was in the red Sea: from whence, ſaith this *Eupolemus*, they brought Gold into *Jury*, *Pineda l.* 4. *de Rebus Solomonis*, *c.* 1. thinks that *David* did this way alſo enrich himſelf, and citeth this teſtimony of *Eupolemus*: and yet certainly *David* had many other ways to gather riches. Much land doubtleſs he gained by conqueſt from the *Canaanites* and *Philiſtims*, beſides thoſe fruitful vallies near *Jordan* in *Thraconitis* and *Baſan*, and the beſt of *Syria*, and other countries bordering the *Iſraelites*. Theſe demains belike he kept in his own hands, and with his infinite number of captives, which he took in his Wars, which were not able to redeem themſelves, husbanded thoſe grounds for his greateſt advantage. For it is written 2 *Chro.* 17. that *Jahonathan* was over his treaſures in the Field, in the Villages, in the Cities, in the Towns: that *Ezri* was over the labourers that tilled his ground, *Simei* over the Vinyards, and *Sabdi* over the ſtore of the Wine: *Baal Hanan* over the Olive trees, and *Joaſh* over the ſtore of the Oyl: alſo that he had herdſ-men that had charge over his Cattel, both in the high lands and in the plains, over his Sheep, Camels and Aſſes. And this cuſtom of enriching themſelves by husbandry and Cattel, the ancient Kings every where held, both before and after *Davids* time. For we read of *Pharaoh*, that he ſpake to *Joſeph* to appoint ſome of his Brethren, or of their Servants, to be rulers over his Cattel. We read of *Uzzia*, that he loved husbandry, had much Cattel, and ploughmen, and dreſſers of Vines; likewiſe we read it in all Greek Poets, that the wealth of the ancient Kings did ſpecially conſiſt in their Herds and Flocks; whereof it were needleſs to cite *Augeas* and *Admetus*, or any other for examples, the rule holding true in all. Now concerning *David* it is not unlikely, but that thoſe captives which were not imployed in husbandry, were many of them uſed by him in all ſorts of gainful profeſſions, as the ſame Romans in like manner uſed their ſlaves.

Gen. 47. 2 *Chro.* 26.

To theſe profits (beſides the tributes and impoſitions, which doubtleſs were great, and beſides the innumerable preſents which yearly were brought him, or extraordinarily ſent him, by *Toha* and others) we may add the great ſpoiles which he found in the Cities and Countries which he conquered: alſo the head money which was gathered *per legem capitationis*; *by the law of capitation, or head money*, every Man rich or poor paying half a ſicle of the Sanctuary, which is about as much as fourteen pence, and ſo in all it amounted to a wondrous ſum in that Kingdom: wherein one thouſand thouſand five hundred and ſeventy thouſand fighting Men were numbred by *Joab*. 1 *Chro.* 21. Now although this law of capitation be thought by ſome very learned, not to have been perpetual (which opinion of theirs nevertheleſs they confeſs is againſt the *Hebrew* expoſitions) yet *David* upon this occaſion is not unlikely to have put it in practiſe. And by theſe means might he be able to leave thoſe huge treaſures to *Solomon*. Yet it may ſeem that of this great maſs of Gold and Silver left by *David*, the leaſt part was his own in private; and ſo will it appear the leſs wonderfull that he left ſo much. Of his own liberality we find, that he gave to the building of the Temple three thouſand talents of Gold, and ſeven thouſand talents of Silver: a great ſum, but holding a very ſmall proportion to the other. Wherefore we are to conſider, that the treaſures of the Sanctuary it ſelf were exceeding great, as needs they muſt have been, having received continual encreaſe, without any loſs or diminution ever ſince the time of *Moſes* and *Joſhuah*. The revenues of the Sanctuary (beſides all manner of tithes and oblations, which defrayed the daily expences, and maintained the Prieſts and Levites) were partly raiſed out of the head money before mentioned; partly out of the ſpoils gotten in War. For all the booty was divided into two parts, whereof the Souldiers had one, and the people which remained at home, had the other half; whereby all the Country received benefit of the Victory, yet ſo, that the Souldiers had a far greater proportion than the reſt, as being fewer, and therefore receiving more for every ſingle ſhare. *Numb.* 31. 27.

Out of this purchaſe was deducted the Lords tribute, which was one in fifty, of that which the people received, and one in five hundred of that which was given to the Souldiers; namely, one hundred and one thouſand part of the whole booty. So in the ſpoil of *Midian*, thirty two thouſand Women being taken, the Army had ſixteen thouſand of them for ſlaves, and the Congregation had other ſixteen thouſand; but out of the ſixteen thouſand given to the Army, were exempted two and thirty for the Lords tribute; Out of the peoples number were taken three hundred and twenty. By this means, the leſſer that the Army was which had expoſed it ſelf to danger, the greater profit had every Souldier; but when it conſiſted of many hands, they who remaining at home were fain to undergo more than ordinary travel in domeſtical affairs, did receive by ſo much the greater portion. But the Lords tribute was *Numb.* 31. 40.

always

always certain, yea many times it was increased, either by some special commandment, as when all the Gold, and Silver, and other metals found in *Jericho*, were consecrated unto God; or by thankfulness of the Rulers and people, as when after the Victory obtained against the *Midianites* without the loss of one Man, all Jewels, Bracelets, Earrings, and the like, were offered up, as voluntary presents.

Jos. 6. 19.

Num. 31. 50.

Now howsoever the *Israelites* were many times oppressed, and trodden down by other Nations, yet were not these treasures robbed or spoiled; for the enemies never gat possession of the Tabernacle that was in *Shilo*. Wherefore it cannot otherwise be, than that the wealth of the Sanctuary must have been exceeding great; as containing above one hundredth part of all the money and other goods found by the *Israelites* in the whole Land of *Canaan*; and of all that was purchased by so many Victories, as they obtained against the bordering Nations. For that this treasury was not defrauded of the due proportion, it is evident, seeing that before the time of *David* and his Lievtenant *Joab*, it is recorded that *Saul* and *Abner*, and before them *Samuel*, had used to dedicate of the spoils obtained in War, to maintain the house of the Lord: the like whereof may be well presumed of the former Judges and Captains of other Ages. Certain it is, that the Conquest of *David* brought into the Land far greater abundance of riches, than any former Victories had purchased, those of *Joshua* perhaps excepted: but these vast sums of an hundred thousand Talents of Silver, may seem rather to have been made up, by the addition of his winnings and liberality, to the treasures laid up in many former Ages, than to have been the meer fruits of his own industry.

1 Chron. c. 26 *v.* 27. & 28.

A Talent of Gold is 700. *French* Crowns.

Now concerning the riches of *Solomon*, it is more manifest how he gathered them; for he received of yearly revenues with his tributes, 666 Talents of Gold, besides the Customs of Spices. He had also six rich Returns from the East *India*, which greatly increased his store. For his Ships performed that Voyage every three years, and he began that trade in the two and twentieth year of his reign, and ruled forty years. Besides this, all *Judæa* and *Israel* were now mastered to his hands; all the *Arabians* his borderers, the *Syrians* of *Zobah*, of *Damascena*, of *Palmyrena*, of *Ituræa*; all of *Idumæa*, *Moab*, and *Ammon*, paid him tribute; as likewise did the *Hittites*, who with the *Perizites*, *Hivites*, *Jebusites*, and other races of the *Canaanites*, were not as yet extinguished though subjected.

1 King. 10. 14.

1 King. 9. *v.* 20. & 10. *v.* 29.

1 Chron. 29 28.

Into this flourishing estate was the Kingdom of *Israel* reduced by *David*, who after 40 years reign, and 70 years of life, dyed in a good age, full of dayes, riches, and honour, and was buried in the City of *David*. It is written by *Josephus* that there was hid in *David*'s Tomb a marvellous quantity of treasures, insomuch as *Hyreanus* (who first of the *Chasmanæi*, or race of *Macchabees*, called himself King) one thousand and three hundred years after, drew thence three thousand Talents, to rid himself of *Antiochus* then besieging *Jerusalem*; and afterward *Herod* opening another Cell, had also an exceeding mass of Gold and Silver therein. And it was an antient custome to bury treasure with the dead. So the *Peruvians* and *Americans* did the like, which being discovered by the *Spaniards*, they inriched themselves by nothing so much in their first Conquest. That *Solomon* did bury so much treasure in his Fathers grave, it would hardly be believed, in regard of the great exactions with which he was fain to burthen the people, notwithstanding all the riches which he got otherwise or which were left unto him: were it not withal considered that his want of money grew from such magnificent imployments. Particularly of the Sepulchre of *David* the Scriptures have no mention, but only the Sepulchres of the Kings of *Juda*, as of an honourable place of burial. Yet the Monuments of these Kings, as (by relation of the Duke of *Ulica*) they remained within these thirty years, and are like to remain still, are able to make report credible of the cost bestowed upon them.

Joseph. Ant. lib. 7.

Peregrinat. Hierosol. D. N. C. Radz. Epist. 2.

SECT. X.

Of the Philistims, whom David *absolutely mastered: and of sundry other Contemporaries with* David.

OF the *Philistims*, whose pride *David* was the first that absolutely mastered, in this conclusion of *David*'s time somewhat here may be spoken.

They descended of *Casloim*, who, according to *Isidor* and *Josephus*, was one of the Sons of *Misraim*, and was surnamed *Philistim*, as *Esau* was surnamed *Edom*, and *Jacob Israel*. There were of them five Cities or petty Principalities, namely, *Azotus* or *Asdod*, *Gaza* or *Aezaph*, *Ascalon*, *Geth* or *Gath*, and *Accaron*, It seemeth that *Casloim* was the first founder of this Nation, because of his kindred on either hand, the *Canaanites* and the *Egyptians*.

Isid l. 9. 19. *Jos. l.* 3. *Ant.* 17.

1 Sam. 6.

The first King of these *Philistims*, which the Scriptures have named, was that *Abimelech* which loved *Sara*, *Abraham*'s Wife.

Gen. 20.

The second *Abimelech* lived at once with *Isaac*, to whom *Isaac* repaired in the time of Famine, *Abimelech* then residing at *Gerar*, in the border of *Idumæa*; which *Abimelech*, fancied *Isaac* his Wife, as his Father had done *Sara*.

Gen. 26.

After *Abimelech* the second, the *Philistims* Kings are not remembred in the Scriptures, till *David*'s time: perhaps the government was turned into *Aristocratical*. For they are afterwads named Princes of the *Philistims*, howsoever *Achis* be named King of *Gath*, the same to whom *David* fled, and who again gave him *Siklag* to inhabit in *Saul*'s time.

Jud. 16. *1 Sam.* 18. 29. *1 Sam.* 21. 11.

After him we read of another *Achis* who lived with *Solomon*, to whom *Shimei* travelled to fetch back his fugitive Servant, what time the seeking of his Servant was the loss of his life. *Jeremy* the Prophet speaketh of the Kings of *Palæstin* or *Philistim*. *Amos* nameth the King of *Ascalon*: *Zacharias*, a King of *Gaza*. The rest of the Wars of the *Philistims* are remembred in the Catalogue of the *Judges*, of *Saul* and *David*, and therefore I shall not need to collect the particulars in this place.

1 King. 2.

There lived at once with *David*, the third of the *Silvii* King of *Alba*, called *Latinus Silvius*, who is said to have ruled that part of *Italy* fifty years. And about his fourteenth year *Codrus* the last King of the *Athenians* died, to whom succeeded the first Prince of those who being called after *Medon*, *Medontidæ*, without regal name governed *Athens* during their life.

The reasons which moved the *Athenians* to change their government, were not drawn from any inconvenience found in the rule of Soveraignty, but in honour of *Codrus* only. For when the *Græcians* of *Doris*, a region between *Phocis*, and the mountain of *Oeta*, sought counsel from the Oracle, for their success in the Wars against the *Athenians*, it was answered, that then undoubtedly they should prevail and become Lords of that State, when they could obtain any Victory against the Nation, and yet preserve the *Athenian* King living.

living. *Codrus* by some intelligence being informed of this answer, withdrew himself from his own Forces and putting on the habit of a common Souldier, entred the Camp of the *Dorians*, and killing the first he encountred, was himself forthwith cut in pieces.

Eupales the 31 King of *Assyria*, which others account but the 30 began to rule that Empire, about the 13 year of *David*, and held it 38 years:

Near the same time began *Ixion* the second King of the *Heraclidæ*, the Son of *Euristhenes* in *Corinth*; and *Agis* the second of the *Heraclidæ* in *Lacedemon*: in honour of which *Agis*, his successours were called *Agidæ*, for many years after. He restored the *Laconians* to their former liberty: he overcame the Citizens of *Helos* in *Laconia*, who had refused to pay him tribute: he condemned them and theirs to perpetual slavery; whereof it came, that all the *Messenians*, whom at length they brought into the like bondage, were after called *Helots*.

In like sort from the *Sclavi* came the Word *Slave*. For when that Natian issuing out of *Sarmatia*, now called *Russia*, had seized upon the Country of *Illyria*, and made it their own by conquest, their victory pleased them so highly, that thereupon they called themselves by a new name, *Slavos* which is in their language *Glorious*. But in aftertimes (that warmer Climate having thawed their Northern hardiness, and not ripened their Wits) when they were trodden down, and made servants with their neighbours, the *Italians* which kept many of them in bondage, began to call all their bondmen *Slaves*, using the word as a name of reproach: in which sence it is now current through many Countries.

Other Chronologers make this *Agis*, the third King of *Sparta*, and somewhat later about the 23 year of *David*, and say that *Acheſtratus* was the fourth King of this race, the same whom *Eusebius* calls *Labotes*, and sets him in the 13 year of *Solomon*. *Euseb. in Chro.*

In the tenth year of *Acheſtratus*, *Androclus* the third Son of *Codrus*, assisted by the *Ioners*, built *Ephesus* in *Caria*, who after the adjoyning of the Isle of *Samos* to his Territory, was slain by the *Carians*, whose Country he usurped. He was buried (saith *Pausanias*) in one of the gates of *Ephesus* called *Magnetes*, his armed Statua being set over him. *Strabo* reports that after *Androclus* had subdued the *Ionians* (the next Province to *Ephesus* on the seacoast of *Asia* the less) he enlarged his Dominions upon the *Æoles*, which joyneth to *Ionia*: and that his posterity governed the Cities of *Ephesus* and *Erythræ* by the name of *Basilidæ* in *Strabo* his own time. Of the expedition of the *Ioners* how they came hither out of *Peloponnesus*, I have * spoken already upon occasion of the return of the *Heraclidæ* into *Peloponnesus*, wherein, with the *Dores*, they expelled the *Achæi*, and inhabited their places in that Land: though this of the *Ioners* succeeded that of the *Heraclidæ* 100 years. [The East gate of *Ephesus* toward *Magnesia* upon the River *Maander*. *Arist. l. 5. pol. c. 6.* * See *Ch.* in this 17. *Ch. 9. 1. post medium.*

The City of *Ephesus* became exceeding famous: first, for the Temple of *Diana* therein built, which had in length 425 foot, and 220 in breadth, sustained with 127 pillars of marble, of 70 foot high: whereof 27 were most curiously graven, and all the rest of choice marble polisht, the work being first set out by *Ctesiphon* of *Gnossos*. Secondly, it became renowned by being one of the first that received the Christian faith, of which *Timothy* was Bishop; to whom and to the *Ephesians*, St. *Paul* wrote his Epistle so entituled. The other City possest by *Androclus* in *Æolis*, was also universally spoken of by reason of *Sybilla*, surnamed *Erythræa*, who lived 740 years before Christ was born. St. *Augustine* avoweth that a Roman Proconsul shewed him in an antient *Greek* copy certain verses of this Propheteſs, which began (as St. *Augustine* changed them into Latine) in these words: *Jesus Christus Dei Filius, Salvator; Jesus Christ Son of God, the Saviour.* *Plin. 2. c. 58. & l. 7. c. 37.*

About the time that *Joab* besieged *Rabba* in *Moab*, *Vaphres* began to govern in *Ægypt*, the same that was Father in law to *Solomon* whose Epistles to *Solomon*, and his to *Vaphres*, are remembred by *Eusebius* out of *Polemon*. In the 21 of *David*, was the City of *Magnesia* in *Asia* the less founded, the same which is seated upon the River *Mæander*, where *Scipio* gave the great overthrow to *Antiochus*. In this Territory are the best horses of the lesser *Asia* bred, whereof *Lucan*:

Et Magnetis equis, Minyæ gens cognita remis.

About the same time *Cuma* in *Campania*, was built by the Inhabitants of *Chalcis* in *Eubœa*, according to *Servius*, with whom *Strabo* joyneth the *Cumæans* of *Æolis*, saying, that to the one of these people the government was given, with condition that the other should give name to the City. Of this *Cuma* was *Ephores* the famous Scholar of *Isocrates*. *Serv. in Æneid. 3. Strabo l. 5.*

Eusebius and *Cassiodor* find the building of *Carthage* at this time, to wit, in the 31 year of *David*, but much mistaken. For the Father of *Dido* was *Metinos* the Son of *Badezor*, brother to *Jezabel*, who married *Achab* King of *Israel*; and between the death of *David*, and the first of *Achab*, there were wasted, about 45 years.

In this time also *Acastus* lived, the second of the *Athenian* Princes after *Codrus*, of which there were thirteen in descent before the State changed into a Magistracy of ten years. Some writers make it probable, that the *Æolians*, led by *Graus*, the grand nephew of *Orestes*, possest the City and Island of *Thebes* about this time. In the 32 year of *David*, *Hiram* began to reign in *Tyre*, according to *Josephus*, who saith in his twelfth year *Solomon* began the work of the Temple. But it is a familiar errour in *Josephus* to misreckon times, which in this point he doth so strangely, as if he knew not how at all to cast any accompt. For it is manifest, that *Hiram* sent Messengers and Cedars unto *David*, soon after his taking of *Jerusalem*, which was in the beginning of *David's* reign over *Israel*, when as yet he had reigned only seven years in *Hebron* over the house of *Juda*. Wherefore it must needs be that *Hiram* had reigned above 30 years before *Solomon*; unless more credit should be given to those *Tyrian* records which are cited by *Josephus*, than to the plain words of the Scripture contradicting them. For, that it was the same *Hiram* which lived both with *David* and with *Solomon*, the Scriptures make it plainly manifest. *Euseb. in Chro. Herod. in vit. Hom. & Strab. l. 14.* *Ant. 8. & cont. Ap. l. 1.* *2 Sam. 5.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of SOLOMON.

SECT. I.

Of the eſtabliſhing of Solomon: *of birth-right, and the cauſe of* Adonijah's *death, and of* Solomon's *wiſdom.*

SOLOMON, who was brought up under the Prophet *Nathan*, began to reign over *Juda* and *Iſrael*, in the year of the World 2991. He was called *Solomon* by the appointment of God: he was alſo called *Jediddia*, or *Theophilus* by *Nathan*, becauſe the Lord loved him.

Hiram King of *Tyre*, after *Solomons* anointing, diſpatched Embaſſadors towards him, congratulating his eſtabliſhment: a cuſtom between Princes very ancient. Whence we read that *David* did in like ſort ſalute *Hanum* King of the *Ammonites*, after his obtaining the Kingdom. 2 *Sam.* 10.

The beginning of *Solomon* was in bloud, though his reign were peaceable. For ſoon after *Davids* death, he cauſed his Brother *Adonijah* to be ſlain by *Benaiah* the Son of *Jehojada*, taking occaſion from *Adonijah* his deſiring by *Berſheba*, that the young maid *Abiſhag* (which lay in *Davids* boſome in his later daies, to keep him warm) might be given to him. Whatſoever he pretended, it was enough that *Adonijah* was his elder Brother, and ſought the Kingdom contrary to the will of *David*, whom God inclined towards *Solomon*. And yet it is ſaid that a word is enough to the wiſe, and he that ſees but the claw may know whether it be a Lyon or no: ſo it may ſeem that to the quick-ſighted wiſdom of *Solomon*, this motion of *Adonijahs*, was a demonſtration of a new treaſon. For they which had been Concubines to a King, might not after be touched but by a King: whence *Achitophel* wiſhed *Abſalom* to take his Fathers Concubines as a part of the Royaltie. And *David* after that wrong, determining to touch them no more, did not give them to any other, but ſhut them up, and they remained widowed until their death. And this it ſeems was the depth of *Iſhoſeths* quarrel againſt *Abner*, for having his Fathers Concubine. And ſome ſignification of this cuſtom may ſeem too in the words of God by *Nathan* to *David*; *I have given thee thy Maſters houſe, and thy Maſters Wives.* And in the words of *Saul* upbraiding *Jonathan*, that he had choſen *David* to the ſhame of the nakedneſs of his Mother. Hereupon perhaps was ſome reference to this purpoſe of *Adonijah*, to marry with her that was alwaies preſent with *David* in his later daies, and who belike knew all that was paſt, for the conveying of the Kingdom to *Solomon*. There may be divers further occaſions; as either that he would learn ſuch things by her as might be for the advantage of his ambition, or that he would perſwade her to forge ſome ſtrange tale about *Davids* laſt Teſtament, or any thing elſe that might prejudice the title of *Solomon*. 2 *Sam.* 16. 21. 2 *Sam.* 2. 3. 1 *Sam.* 20. 30.

As for the right of an elder Brother which *Adonijah* pretended, though generally it agreed both with the law of Nations, and with the cuſtoms of the Jews: yet the Kings of the Jews were ſo abſolute, as they did therein, and in all elſe, what they pleaſed. 1 *Kings* 2. 15.

Some examples alſo they had (though not of Kings) which taught them to uſe his paternal authority in transferring the birth-right to a younger Son: namely, of *Jacobs* diſinheriting *Reuben*, and giving the birth-right (which was twice as much as any portion of the other brethren) to *Joſeph*: of whom he made two Tribes. And that it was generally acknowledged that this power was in *David*, it appeareth by the words of *Berſabe* and *Nathan* to *David*, and of *Jonathan* to *Adonijah*. For, as for popular election, that it was neceſſary to confirm, or that the refuſal of the people had authority to fruſtrate the elder Brothers right to the Kingdom, it no where appears in the ſtories of the *Jews*. It is ſaid indeed that the people made *Saul* King at *Gilgal*: that is, they acknowledged and eſtabliſhed him. For that he was King long before, no Man can doubt. In like manner elſewhere the phraſe of chooſing or making their King, is to be expounded: as where in the prohibition, that they ſhould not make themſelves a King, it is ſaid, *Thou ſhalt make him King whom the Lord ſhall chooſe.* *Deut.* 21. 15. *Filium exoſa agnoſcito, dando ei portionem duorum: nam ipſum eſt jus primogenitorum.* 1 *Reg* 1. 17. & 20. 29. & 34. 1 *Kings* 1. 1 v. 20. & 27. 1 *Sam.* 11. 14. *Deut.* 17. 30.

But to proceed with the acts of *Solomon*: at the ſame time that he put *Adonijah* to death, he rid himſelf alſo of *Joab*, and three years after of *Shimei*, as *David* had adviſed him: he diſplaced alſo the Prieſt *Abiathar*, who took part with *Adonijah* againſt him: but in reſpect of his office, and that he followed *David* in all his afflictions, and becauſe he had born the *Ark of God* before his Father, he ſpared his life. And thus being eſtabliſhed in his Kingdom, he took the daughter of *Vaphres* King of *Egypt* to Wife: for ſo *Euſebius* out of *Eupolemus* calls him. He offered a thouſand ſacrifices at *Gibeon*, where God appearing unto him in a dream, bad him ask what he would at his hands: *Solomon chooſeth Wiſdom, which pleaſed God. And God ſaid unto him, Becauſe thou haſt asked this thing, and haſt not asked for thy ſelf long life, neither haſt thou asked riches for thy ſelf, nor haſt asked the life of thine enemies, behold I have done according to thy words*: by which we may inform our ſelves, what deſires are moſt pleaſing to God, and what not. For the coveting after long life in reſpect of our ſelves, cannot but proceed of ſelf-love which is the root of all impiety: the deſire of private riches is an affection of covetouſneſs, which God abhorreth: To affect revenge, is as much as to take the Sword out of Gods hand, and to diſtruſt his juſtice. And in that it pleaſed God to make *Solomon* know that it liked him, that he had not asked the life of his enemies, it could not but put him in mind of his brothers ſlaughter, for which he had not any warrant either from *David*, or from the Law of God; but becauſe *Solomon* deſired Wiſdom only, which taught him both to obey God, and to rule Men, it pleaſed God to give him withal that which he deſired not. *And I have given thee* (ſaith 1 *Kings* 3.

God)

God) *that which thou hast not asked, both riches and honour.* This gift of Wisdom our Commentators stretch to almost all kinds of learning: but that it comprehended the knowledge of the nature of plants and living creatures, the Scripture testifieth; though
1 *Kings* 4. 33. no doubt the chief excellency of *Solomons* wisdom, was in the knowledge of governing his Kingdom: whence, as it were for an example of his wisdom,
1 *King.* 3. 9 the Scripture telleth how soon he judged the controversie between the two harlots.

SECT. II.

Of Solomons *building and glory.*

HE then entred into league with *Hiram* King of *Tyre*, from whom he had much of his materials for the Kings Palace and the Temple of God: for the building whereof he had received a double charge, one from his father *David*, and another from God. For
1 *Chro.* 22. 6. like as it is written of *David*, that *He called* Solomon *his son, and charged him to build a house for the Lord of*
Tost. 9. 26. in 1 *Chro.* *Israel*: so doth *Tostatus* give the force of a divine precept to these words, *Behold, a son is born unto thee, &c. He shall build an house for my Name.*

1 *Kings* 6. He began the work of the Temple in the beginning of the fourth year of his reign, at which time also he prepared his fleet at *Esion-gaber* to trade for gold in the *East-Indies*, that nothing might be wanting to supply the charge of so great a work. For, that the Temple was in building, while his fleets were passing to and fro, it is manifest. For the pillars of the Temple were made of the Almaggim trees brought from *Ophir*. Of this most glorious building, of all the particulars (whereof the form and example was given by God himself) many learned men have writ-
1 *Chro.* 28. 29. ten; as *Salmeron*, *Montanus*, *Ribera*, *Barradas*, *Azorius*, *Villalpandus*, *Pineda*, and others to whom I refer the Reader.

For the cutting and squaring of the Cedars which served that building, *Solomon* employed 30 thousand Carpenters, 10 thousand every month by course: he also used 80 thousand Masons in the Mountain, and 70 thousand labourers that bare burdens, which it
1 *Kings* 5. is conceived, he selected out of the Proselites, besides three thousand three hundred masters of his work; so as he paid and employed in all, one hundred eighty three thousand and three hundred men; in which number the *Sidonians*, which were far more skilful in hewing timber than the *Israelites*, may (as I think) be included. For *Hiram* caused his servants to bring down the Cedars and Firrs from *Lebanon* to the sea, and thence sent them in rafts to *Joppe*, or the
1 *King.* 5 9 next port to *Jerusalem*. For in the second of *Chronicles* the second Chapter, it is plain, that all but the thirty thousand Carpenters, and the over-seers, were strangers, and as it seemeth the vassals of *Hiram*, and of *Vaphres* King of *Egypt*. In recompence of this
1 *Kings* 5. 11. Timber and Stone, *Solomon* gave *Hiram* twenty thousand measures of Wheat, and twenty measures of pure Oyl yearly. *Eusebius* out of *Eupalemus* in the ninth book of his preparation, the last Chapter, hath left us a Copy of *Solomons* Letter to *Suron* (which was the same as *Haram* and *Hiram*) King of *Tyre*, in these words:

REx Solomon Suroni, *Tyri, Sydonis, atque Phœniciæ Regi, Amico, paterno salutem. Scias me à Deo magno* David *patris mei regnum accepisse, cumque mihi pater præcepit templum Deo, qui terram creavit, condere, ut etiam ad te scriberem præcepit: Scribo igitur, & peto à te ut artifices atque fabros ad ædificandum Templum Dei mittere velis.*

KIng Solomon *to King* Suron, *of Tyre, Sydon, and Phœnicia King, and my fathers friend, sendeth greeting. You may understand that I have received of the great God of my father* David, *the Kingdom: and when my father commanded me to build a Temple to God which created heaven and earth, he commanded also that I should write to you: I write therefore to you, and beseech you, that you would be pleased to send me Artificers and Carpenters to build the Temple of God.*

To which the King *Suron made this answer.*

SUron, *Tyri, Sydonis, & Phœniciæ Rex*, Solomoni *Regi salutem. Lectis literis, gratias egi Deo, qui tibi regnum patris tradidit: & quoniam scribis fabros, ministrosque ad condendum Templum esse tibi mittendos, misi ad te millia hominum octaginta, & Architectum Tyrium hominem ex matre Judæâ, virum in rebus architecturæ mirabilem. Curabis igitur ut necessariis non egeant, & Templo Dei condito, ad nos redeant.*

SUron *of Tyre, Sydon and Phœnicia King, to King* Solomon *greeting: When I read your Letters, I gave God thanks who hath installed you in your fathers kingdom. And because you write that Carpenters and Workmen may be sent to build Gods Temple, I have sent you fourscore thousand men, and a Master-builder, a Tyrian, born of a Jewish woman, a man admirable in building. You will be careful that all necessaries be provided for them; and when the Temple of God is built, that they come home to us.* *Jos. ant. l. 8. c. 2.*

The Copies of these Letters were extant in *Josephus*'s time, as himself affirmeth, and to be seen (saith he) *Tàm in nostris quàm in Tyriorum annalibus, as well in our own, as in the Tyrian annals.* But he delivereth them somewhat in different terms, as the Reader may find in his Antiquities. But were this intercourse between *Solomon* and *Hiram* either by message or by writing, it is somewhat otherwise delivered in the Scriptures, than either *Eupolemus* or *Josephus* set it down, but so, that in substance there is little difference between the one and the other. *1 King. 5. from the 1 v. to the 9.*

The like Letter in effect *Solomon* is said to have written to *Vaphres* King of *Egypt*, and was answered as from *Hiram*.

But whereas some Commenters upon *Solomon*, find that *Hiram* King of *Tyre*, and *Vaphres* King of *Egypt*, gave *Solomon* the title of *Rex magnus*, and cite *Eupolemon* in *Eusebius*, I do not find any such addition of *magnus* in *Eusebius*, in the last chapter of that ninth book; neither is it in *Josephus* in the eighth book and second chapter of the *Jews* Antiquities: it being a vain title used by some of the *Assyrian* and *Persian* Kings, and used likewise by the *Parthians*, and many other after them, insomuch as in later times it grew common, and was usurped by mean persons in respect of the great *Hermes* the first, which was honoured by that name for his noble qualities, as much or more than for his mightiness.

After the finishing and dedication of the Temple and house of the Lord, *Solomon* fortified *Jerusalem* with a treble wall, and repaired *Hazor* which had been the ancient Metropolis of the *Canaanites*, before *Joshua*'s time: so did he *Gaza* of the *Philistims*: he built *Berothon*, *Gerar*, and the *Millo* or munition of *Jerusalem*. For *Pharaoh* (as it seemeth in favour of *Solomon*) came up into the edge of *Ephraim*, and took *Gerar*, which place the *Canaanites* yet held, and put them to the sword, and burnt their City. The place and *Jos. ant. l. 8. c. 2.*

Territory he gave *Solomons* Wife for a dowry. And it is probable, that becauſe *Solomon* was then buſied in his magnificent buildings, and could not attend the war, that he entreated his father in law to rid him of theſe neighbours, which *Pharaoh* performed. But he thereby taught the *Egyptians* to viſit thoſe parts again before they were ſent for; and in his ſon *Rehoboams* time *Sheſhack* this man's ſucceſſor did ſack *Jeruſalem* it ſelf.

Joſ l. 8. ant. c. 2.

Solomon alſo built *Megiddo* in *Manaſſe*, on this ſide *Jordan*, and *Balah* in *Dan*: alſo *Thadmor*, which may be either *Ptolomies Thamoron* in the deſart of *Juda*, or (as *Joſephus* thinks) *Palmira* in the deſart of *Syria*; which *Palmira*, becauſe it ſtood on the utmoſt border of *Solomons* dominion in the Northeaſt of *Libanus*, and was of *Davids* conqueſt when he wan *Damaſcus*, it may ſeem that *Solomon* therefore beſtowed thereon the moſt coſt, and fortified it with the beſt Art that that age had. *Joſephus* calls this place *Thadamora*, by which name (ſaith he) given by *Solomon*, the *Syrians* as yet call it. *Jerom* in his book of Hebrew places, calls it *Thermeth*. In after-times, when it was rebuilt by *Adrian* the Emperour, it was honoured with his name, and called *Adrianopolis*. In reſpect of this great charge of building, *Solomon* raiſed tribute through all his Dominions, beſides an hundred and twenty talents of gold received from *Hirams* ſervants; *Solomon* offered *Hiram* twenty towns in or near the upper *Galilee*, but becauſe they ſtood in an unfruitful and mariſh ground, *Hiram* refuſed them, and therefore was the territory called *Chabul*.

Joſ. l. 8. ant. c. 2.

Theſe towns, as it is ſuppoſed, lay in *Galilee* of the Gentiles, *Non quod Gentes ibi habitarent: ſed quia ſub ditione Regis* Gentilis *erat*, *Not that it was poſſeſt by the* Gentiles (ſaith *Nauclerus*) *but becauſe it was under the rule of a King that was a* Gentile. Howſoever it were, it is true that *Solomon* in the 21 Year fortified thoſe places which *Hiram* refuſed. Further, he made a journey into *Syria Zobah*, and eſtabliſhed his tributes; the firſt and laſt war (if in that expedition he were driven to fight) that he made in perſon in all his life. He then viſited the border of all his Dominions, paſſing from *Thadmor* to the North of *Palmyrena*, and ſo to the Deſarts of *Idumea*, from whence he viſited *Eziongaber* and *Eloth* the uttermoſt place of the South of all his Territories, bordering to the Red Sea: which Cities I have deſcribed in the Story of *Moſes*.

SECT. III.

Of Solomons *ſending to* Ophir, *and of ſome ſeeming contradictions about* Solomons *riches, and of* Pineda's *conceit of two ſtrange paſſages about* Africk.

HEre *Solomon* prepared his Fleet of ſhips for *India*, with whom *Hiram* joyned in that voyage, and furniſhed him with Mariners and Pilots, the *Tyrians* being of all other the moſt expert ſeamen. From this part of *Arabia* which at this time belonged to *Edom*, and was conquered by *David*, did the Fleet paſs to the *Eaſt-India*, which was not far off, namely, to *Ophir*, one of the Iſlands of the *Moluccas*, a place exceeding rich in gold: witneſs the *Spaniards*, who notwithſtanding all the abundance which they gather in *Peru*, do yet plant in thoſe Iſlands of the Eaſt at *Manilia*, and recover a great quantity from thence, and with leſs labour than they do in any one part of *Peru*, or new *Spain*.

The return which was made by theſe Ships amounted to four hundred and twenty talents, but in the ſecond of *Chronicles* the eighth, it is written 450 talents: whereof 30 talents went in expence for the charge of the Fleet, and wages of men; and 420 talents, which make five and tweny hundred and twenty thouſand Crowns, came clear. And thus muſt thoſe two places be reconciled. As for the place *1 Reg.* 10. 14. which ſpeaketh of ſix hundred ſixty and ſix talents of gold; that ſum, as I take it, is of other receipts of *Solomons* which were yearly, and which came to him, beſides thoſe profits from *Ophir*.

C. 8. ſect. 9. 10. 13. Lib. 4. de rebus Salomonis c. 6. & 15.

My opinion of the land of *Ophir*, that it is not *Peru* in *America* (as divers have thought) but a Countrey in the *Eaſt-Indies*; with ſome reaſon why at thoſe times they could not make more ſpeedy return to *Jeruſalem* from the *Eaſt-Indies*, than in three years; and that *Tharſis* in Scripture is divers times taken for the Ocean, hath been already declared in the firſt book.

Only it remaineth that I ſhould ſpeak ſomewhat of *Pineda* his ſtrange conceits, who being a Spaniard of *Bætica*, would fain have *Gades* or *Calis-malis*, in old times called *Tarteſſus*, which is the Southweſt corner of that Province, to be the *Tharſis* from whence *Solomon* fetcht his gold; for no other reaſon, as it ſeems, but for love of his own Countrey, and becauſe of ſome affinity of ſound between *Tharſis* and *Tarteſſus*. For whereas it may ſeem ſtrange that it ſhould be three Years ere they that took ſhip in the Red Sea, ſhould return from the *Eaſt-Indies* to *Jeruſalem*, this hath been in part anſwered already. And further the intelligent may conceive of ſundry lets, in the digging and refining of the metal, and in their other traffick, and in their land-carriages between *Jeruſalem* and the Red Sea, and perhaps alſo elſewhere: ſo that we have no need to make *Solomons* men to go many thouſand miles out of their way to *Gades*, round about all *Africk*, that ſo they might be long a coming home.

For the direct way to *Gades* (which if *Solomon* and the *Iſraelites* knew not, the *Tyrians* which went with them could not have been ignorant of) was along the Mediterran Sea, and ſo (beſides many wonderful inconveniences, and terrible navigation in rounding *Africa*) they ſhould have eſcaped the troubleſome land-carriage between *Jeruſalem* and the Red Sea, through dry, deſart, and the thieviſh Countreys: and within 30 miles of *Jeruſalem* at *Joppe*, or ſome other haven in *Solomons* own Country, have laden and unladen their ſhips.

But this direct courſe they could not hold (ſaith *Pineda*) becauſe the huge Iſland of *Atlantis*, in largeneſs greater than all *Africk* and *Aſia*, being ſwallowed up in the *Atlantick* Ocean, hindred *Solomons* ſhips from paſſing though the ſtraits of *Gibraltar*: for this, he alledgeth *Plato* in *Timæo*. But that this calamity happened about *Solomons* time, or that thereby the ſtraits of *Gades* were filled with mud, and made unpaſſable, that there could be no coming to *Gades* by the Mediterran Sea; or that this indraught where the Sea runneth moſt violently, and moſt eaſily ſcoureth his channel, ſhould be filled with mud, and not alſo the great Ocean in like manner, where this huge Iſland is ſuppoſed to have ſtood; or that *Solomons* ſhips being in the Red Sea, ſhould neglect the golden Mines in the *Eaſt-Indies* (which were infinitely better and nearer to the Red Sea, than any in *Spain*) to ſeek gold at *Cadyz* by the way of compaſſing *Africa*; it is moſt ridiculous to imagine. For the Spaniard himſelf that hath alſo the rich *Peru* in the Weſt, fortifieth in the *Eaſt-Indies*, and inhabits ſome part thereof, as in *Manilia*, finding in thoſe parts no

leſs

less quantity of gold (the small territory which he there possesseth considered) than in *Peru*.

De rebus Sol. l. 4. 10. 11. The same *Pineda* hath another strange passage round about all *Africa*, which elsewhere he dreams of: supposing whereas *Jonas* sailing to *Tharsis* the City of *Cilicia*, was cast out in the Mediterran Sea, and taken up there by a Whale, that this Whale in three days swimming above twelve thousand English miles along the Mediterran Seas, and so through the straights of *Gades*, and along all the huge seas round about *Africa*, cast up *Jonas* upon the shore of the Red Sea, that so he might have perhaps some six miles the shorter (though much the worse) way to *Nineve*. This conceit he grounds only upon the ambiguity of the word *Suph*, which oftentimes is an Epitheton of the Red Sea (as if we should call it *mare algosum, the sea full of weeds*) for the Read Sea. But in *Jonas c. 2. 5.* it is generally taken in the proper signification for weeds, and not as *Pineda* would have it, who in this place against his own rule (which elsewhere he giveth thus) supposeth strange miracles without any need. For this long voyage of the Whale, finished in three days, is a greater miracle, than the very preservation of *Jonas* in the belly of the Whale: and therefore seeing there is no necessity of this miracle, we send it back unto him, keeping his own rule, which in this place he forgets; *Miracula non sunt multiplicanda.* And again, *Non sunt miracula gratiis danda, nec pro arbitrio nova fingenda. Miracles are not to be multiplied without necessity, nor delivered without cause, nor feigned at pleasure.* Therefore we leave this man in his dreams, which (were he not otherwise very learned and judicious) might be thought unworthy the mentioning. But to proceed with our story of *Solomon*.

As appears he took a ship at *Japho* or *Joppe. c. 1. v. 2.*

Judg. 8.

The Queen of *Saba*'s coming from far to *Solomon* (as seems, from *Arabia Fœlix*, and not, as some think, from *Ethiopia*) and her rich presents, and *Solomons* reciprocal magnificence, and his resolving of her difficult questions; those are set down at large in the Text. But herein *Josephus* is greatly mistaken, who calls this Queen of *Saba*, *Nicaules*, the successor (saith he out of *Herodotus*) of those thirty and eight *Egyptian* Kings which succeeded *Meneus* the Founder of *Memphis*; adding, that after this *Egyptian*, and the father in law of *Solomon*, the name of *Pharaoh* was left off in *Egypt*. For as it is elsewhere proved that the Queen was of *Arabia*, not of *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*; so were there other *Pharaohs* after the father in law of *Solomon*. Yea, above three hundred Years after *Solomon*, *Pharaoh Necho* slew *Josias* King of *Juda*.

Jos. ant. 8. 1, 2.

2 King. c. 23. 2 Chron. c. 25. Jer. c. 46. v. 2.

It is also written of *Solomon*, that he kept in garrisons fourteen thousand Chariots, and twelve thousand horsemen; that he spent in Court every day thirty measures of fine flower, threescore measures of wheat, one hundred sheep, besides stags and fallow Deer, bugles and fowl; four thousand stalls of horses he had for his Chariots and other uses, and for the twelve thousand horsemen of his guard. For, the ten thousand stalls in the first of *Kings* the fourth, are to be taken but for so many horses, whence in the second of *Chronicles* the ninth, it is written but four thousand stalls or teems, and in every teem ten horses, as *Junius* and the *Geneva* understand it. He was said to be wiser than any man, yea than were *Ethan* the *Ezrahite*, than *Heman*, *Chalcal*, or than *Darda*; to which *Junius* addeth a fifth, to wit, *Ezrack*. For the *Geneva* maketh *Ethan* an *Ezrahite* by Nation. *Josephus* writes them, *Athan*, *Æman*, *Chalceus* and *Denon* the sons of *Hemon*. He spake three thousand Proverbs, and his Songs were one thousand and five, whereof either the most part perished in the Captivity of *Babylon*, or else because many acts of *Solomons* were written and kept among the publick Records of Civil causes, and not Ecclesiastical, therefore they were not thought necessary to be inserted into Gods Book.

1 King. 4. 31.

SECT. IV.

Of the fall of Solomon, *and how long he lived.*

NOw as he had plenty of all other things, so had he no scarcity of women. For besides his seven hundred Wives, he kept three hundred Concubines, and (forgetting that God had commanded that none of his people should accompany the daughters of Idolaters) he took Wives out of *Egypt*, *Edom*, *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Zidon* and *Heth*: and when he fell a doting, his Wives turned his heart after other gods, as *Asteroth* of the *Zidonians*, *Milcom* or *Molech* of the *Ammonites*, and *Chemosh* of *Moab*.

These things God punished by *Adad* of *Idumea*, *Rezin* of *Damascus*, and by *Jeroboam* his own servant, and one of the masters of his works, who by the ordinance of God tore from his son *Roboam*, ten of the twelve parts of all the territory he had. *Deus dum in peccatores animadvertit, aliorum peccatis utitur, quæ ipse non fecit*: God punishing sinners, useth the sins of others, which he himself wrought not. *V. Mart. in Reg.*

In the reign of *Solomon* (as in times of long peace) were few memorable actions by him performed, excepting his buildings with other works of magnificence, and that great *Indian* voyage already mentioned. Forty Years he reigned; how many he lived, it is not written, and must therefore be found only by conjecture. The most likely way to guess at the truth in this case is, by considering the actions of *David* before and after *Solomons* birth, whereby we may best make estimation of the years which they consumed, and consequently learn the true, or most likely year of his nativity. Seven years *David* reigned in *Hebron*: in his eighth year he took *Jerusalem*, and warred with the *Philistims*, who also troubled him in the year following. The bringing home of the Ark seems to have been in the tenth Year of *David*, and his intention to build the Temple in the Year ensuing, at which time he had sufficient leisure, living in rest. After this he had wars with the *Philistims*, *Moabites*, *Aramites*, and *Edomites*, which must needs have held him five Years, considering the *Aramites* of *Damasco* raised war against him, after such time as he had beaten *Hadadezer*; and that in every of these wars, he had the entire victory. Neither is it likely, that these services occupied any longet time, because in those days and places there were no wintering camps in use, but at convenient seasons of the Year, Kings went forth to war, dispatching all with violence, rather than with temporizing; as maintaining their Armies, partly upon the spoil of the enemies country, partly upon the private provision which every souldier made for himself. The 17 Year of *David*, in which he took *Mephibosheth* the son of *Jonathan* into his Court, appeareth to have passed away in quiet; and the Year following to have begun the war with *Ammon*; but somewhat late in the end of Summer perhaps, it came to tryal of a battel (for *Joab* after the victory, returned immediately to *Jerusalem*) the causes and preparations for that war, taking up all the Summer. *Davids* personal expedition against the *Aramites*, wherein he brought all the tributaries of *Hadadezer* under his own allegeance, appears manifestly to have been the next Years work, wherein

2 King. 9. v. 1.

2 Sam. 11. v. 1.

1 Sam. c. 17. v. 17. & 18.

he did cut off all means of ſuccour from the *Ammonites*; all *Syria*, *Moab*, and *Idumæa* being now at his own devotion. By this reckoning it muſt have been the 20 Year of *Davids* reign, and about the fiftieth of his life, in which he ſent forth *Joab* to beſiege *Rabba*, and finiſhed the war of *Ammon*: wherein alſo fell out the matter of *Uriahs* wife. So one half of *Davids* reign was very proſperous: in the other half he felt great ſorrow, by the expectation, execution, and ſad remembrance of that heavy judgment laid upon him by God for his foul and bloudy offence.

Now very manifeſt it is, that in the year after the death of that child which was begotten in adultery, *Solomon* was born, who muſt needs therefore have been nineteen Years old or thereabout when he began to reign at the deceaſe of his father, as being begotten in the 21 Year of his fathers reign, who reigned in all forty.

This account hath alſo good coherence with the following times of *David*, as may be collected out of enſuing Actions: for two Years paſſed ere *Abſalom* ſlew his brother *Ammon*; three years ere his father pardoned him, and two Years more ere he came into the Kings preſence. After this he prepared horſes and men, and laid the foundation of his rebellion, which ſeems to have been one Years work. So the rebellion it ſelf, with all that happened thereupon, as the Commotion made by *Sheba*, the death of *Amaſa*, and the reſt, may well ſeem to have been in the 30 year of *Davids* reign.

Whether the three years of famine ſhould be reckoned apart from the laſt years of war with the *Philiſtims*, or confounded with them, it were more hard than needful to conjecture. Plain enough it is, that in the ten remaining Years of *David* there was time ſufficient, and to ſpare, both for the three Years of famine, for four Years of war, and for numbring the people, with the peſtilence enſuing; as alſo for his own laſt infirmity, and diſpoſing of the Kingdom. Yet indeed it ſeems that the war with the *Philiſtims* was but one years work, and ended in three or four fights, of which the two or three former were at *Gob* or *Nob* near unto *Gezer*, and the laſt at *Gath*. This war the *Philiſtims* undertook, as it ſeemeth, upon confidence gathered out of the tumults in *Iſrael*, and perhaps emboldened by *Davids* old age: for he fainted now in the battel, and was afterwards hindered by his men from expoſing himſelf unto danger any more. So *David* had ſix or ſeven years of reſt, in which time it is likely that many of his great men of War dyed (being of his own age) whereby the ſtirring ſpirit of *Adonijah* found little ſuccour in the broken pary of *Joab* the ſon of *Zervia*.

At this time it might both truly be ſaid by *David* to *Solomon*, *Thou art a wiſe man*; and by *Solomon* to God, *I am but a young child*; for nineteen Years of age might well agree with either of theſe two ſpecches.

1 *Kings.* 2. 3. & 3. 7.

Nevertheleſs there are ſome that gather out of *Solomons* profeſſing himſelf a child, that he was but eleven Years old when he began to reign. Of theſe *Rabbi Solomon* ſeems the firſt Author, whom other of great learning and judgment have herein followed: grounding themſelves perhaps upon that which is ſaid of *Abſaloms* rebellion, that it was after forty years, which they underſtood as Years of *Davids* reign. But whereas *Rehoboam* the ſon of *Solomon* was 41 years old when he began to reign, it would follow hereby that his father had begotten him, being himſelf but a child of nine or ten years old; the difference between their ages being no greater, if *Solomon* (who reigned 40 years) were but eleven Years old when his reign began. To avoid this inconvenience, *Joſephus* allows 80 Years of reign to *Solomon*; a report ſo diſagreeing with the Scriptures, that it needs no confutation. Some indeed have in favour of this opinion, conſtrued the words of *Joſephus*, as if they included all the Years of *Solomon*'s life. But by ſuch reckoning he ſhould have been 40 Years old at his Fathers death; and conſequently ſhould have been born long before his Father had won *Jeruſalem*; which is a manifeſt untruth. Wherefore the 40 Years remembred in *Abſaloms* rebellion, may either ſeem to have reference to the ſpace between *Davids* firſt anointment, and the trouble which God brought upon him for his wickedneſs, or perhaps be read (according to *Joſephus*, *Theodoret*, and the Latine tranſlation) four Years; which paſſed between the return of *Abſalom* to *Jeruſalem*, and his breaking out.

2 *Sam.* 15. 7.

SECT. V.

Of Solomons *Writings.*

THere remain of *Solomons* Works, the *Proverbs*, the *Preacher*, and the Song of *Solomon*. In the firſt he teacheth good life, and correcteth manners; in the ſecond, the vanity of humane nature; in the third, he ſingeth as it were the Epithalamion of Chriſt and his Church. For the Book intituled, The Wiſdom of *Solomon* (which ſome give unto *Solomon*, and ſome make the elder *Philo* the Author thereof) *Jerom* and many others of the beſt learned make us think it was not *Solomon* that wrote it. *Stylus libri ſapientiæ* (ſaith *Jerom*) *qui* Solomonis *inſcribitur, Græcam redolet eloquentiam*; *The Stile of the Book of Wiſdom, which is aſcribed to* Solomon, *ſavoureth of the Græcian eloquence*; and of the ſame opinion was S. *Auguſtine*, and yet he confeſſeth in the nineteenth Book, and twentieth Chapter of the City of God, that the Author of that Book hath a direct foretelling of the paſſion of Chriſt in theſe words: *Circumveniamus juſtum, quoniam inſuavis eſt nobis*, &c. *Let us circumvent the righteous, for he is unpleaſing to us, he is contrary to our doings, he checketh us for offending againſt the Law, he makes his boaſt to have the knowledge of God, and he calleth himſelf the ſon of the Lord*, &c. and ſo doth the courſe of all the following words point directly at Chriſt. The Books of *Eccleſiaſtes*, *Proverbs* and *Cantica Canticorum*, *Rabbi Moſes*, *Kimchi* aſcribeth to *Iſaiah* the Prophet. *Suidas* and *Cedrenus* report, that *Solomon* wrote of the remedies of all diſeaſes, and graved the ſame on the ſides of the Porch of the Temple, which (they ſay) *Ezechias* pulled down, becauſe the people, neglecting help from God by prayer, repaired thither for their recoveries.

Jerom ad Cromatium.

Sap. 2.

S. *Aug. fol.* 62.

Reinecc. in Jul. Hiſt.

Of *Solomons* Books of Invocations, and Inchantments to cure diſeaſes, and expel evil ſpirits, *Joſephus* hath written at large, though (as I conceive) rather out of his own invention, or from ſome uncertain report, than truly.

He alſo ſpeaketh of one *Eliazarus*, who by the root in *Solomon*'s ring diſpoſſeſt divers perſons of evil ſpirits in the preſence of *Veſpaſian*, and many others, which I will not ſtand to examine.

Certainly, ſo ſtrange an example of humane frailty hath never been read of as this King: who having received Wiſdom from God himſelf, in honour of whom, and for his only ſervice, he built the firſt and moſt glorious Temple of the world: he that was made King of *Iſrael* and *Judea*, not by the law of Nature, but by the love of God, and became the wiſeſt, richeſt, and happieſt of all Kings, did in the end, by

by the perſwaſion of a few weak and wretched Idolatrous Women, forget and forſake the Lord of all the world, and the giver of all goodneſs, of which he was more liberal to this King, than to any that ever the world had. Of whom *Syracides* writeth in this manner: *Solomon reigned in a peaceable time, and was glorious; for God made all quiet round about, that he might build a houſe to his Name, and prepare the Sanctuary for ever; How wiſe waſt thou in thy youth, and waſt filled with underſtanding, as with a flood? Thy mind covered the whole Earth, and hath filled it with grave and dark ſentences. Thy Name went abroad in the Iſles, and for thy peace thou waſt beloved, &c.* But thus he concludeth: *Thou didſt bow thy loyns to Women, and waſt overcome by thy body; thou didſt ſtain thy body; thou didſt ſtain thine honour, and haſt defiled thy poſterity, and haſt brought wrath upon thy children, and felt ſorrow for thy folly*, cap. 27.

SECT. VI.

Of the Contemporaries of Solomon.

NEar the beginning of *Solomons* reign, *Ageſilaus* the third of the *Heraclidæ* in *Corinth*; *Labotes* in *Lacedæmon*; and ſoon after *Silvius Alba*, the fourth of the *Silvii*, ſwayed thoſe Kingdoms: *Laoſthenes* then governing *Aſſyria*, *Agaſtus* and *Archippus* the ſecond and third Princes after *Codrus*, ruling the *Athenians*.

In the ſix and twentieth of *Solomons* reign, *Hiram* of *Tyre* died, to whom *Baliaſtrus* ſucceeded, and reigned ſeventeen years, after *Mercators* account; who reckons the time of his Rule by the age of his Sons. *Joſephus* gives him fewer years. *Theophilus Antiochenus* againſt *Antolicus*, finds *Bozorius* the next after *Hiram*, if there be not ſome Kings omitted between the death of *Hiram* and the reign of *Bozorius*.

Vaphres being dead, about the twentieth of *Solomon*, *Seſac* or *Shiſhak* (as our Engliſh *Geneva* terms him) began to govern in *Egypt*, being the ſame with him whom *Diodorus* calleth *Soſachis*; *Joſephus*, *Suſac*; *Cedrenus*, *Suſeſinus*; *Euſebius* in the columne of the *Egyptian* Kings, *Smendes*; and in that of the *Hebrews*, *Suſac*. *Joſephus* in the eighth of his Antiquities, reproveth it as an errour in *Herodotus*, that he aſcribeth the Acts of *Suſac* to *Seſoſtris*, which perchance *Herodotus* might have done by compariſon, accounting *Seſac* another *Seſoſtris*, for the great things he did.

Of the great acts and vertues of King *Seſoſtris*, I have ſpoken already in the ſtory of the *Egyptian* Princes: only in this he was reproved, that he cauſed four of his captive Kings to draw his Caroch, when he was diſpoſed to be ſeen and to ride in triumph: one of which four, ſaith *Entropius*, at ſuch time as *Seſoſtris* was carried out to take the air, caſt his head continually back upon the two formoſt wheels next him; which *Seſoſtris* perceiving, asked him what he found worthy the admiration in that motion: To whom the captive King anſwered, That in thoſe he beheld the inſtability of all worldly things; for that both the loweſt part of the wheel was ſuddenly carried about, and became the higheſt, and the upmoſt part was as ſuddenly turned downward, and under all: which when *Seſoſtris* had judiciouſly weighed, he diſmiſſed thoſe Princes, and all other from the like ſervitude in the future. Of this *Seſoſtris*, and that he could not be taken for *Seſac*, I have ſpoken at large in that part of the *Egyptian* Kings preceding. *Hiſt. Miſcel. l. 17.*

CHAP. XIX.

Of Solomons *Succeſſors until the end of* Jehoſaphat.

SECT. I.

Of Rehoboam *his beginnings; the defection of the ten Tribes, and* Jeroboams *Idolatry.*

REhoboam the Son of *Solomon* by *Nahama* an *Ammoniteſs*, now forty years old, ſucceeded his Father *Solomon*, and was anointed at *Sichem*, where the ten Tribes of *Iſrael* were aſſembled: who attended a while the return of *Jeroboam* as yet in *Egypt*, ſince he fled thither, fearing *Solomon*. After his arrival the People preſented a Petition to *Rehoboam*, to be eaſed of thoſe great Tributes laid on them by his Father. *Sic enim firmius ei fore Imperium, ſi amari mallet quam metui; So ſhould his Empire* (ſaith *Joſephus*) *be more aſſured, if he deſired rather to be beloved than feared:* Wherefore he took three days to deliberate before his anſwer; of whom therefore it could not be ſaid as of *David*, that he was wiſer than all his Teachers. For as of himſelf he knew not how to reſolve, ſo had he not the judgment to diſcern of Counſels; which is the very teſt of Wiſdom in Princes, and in all Men elſe. But notwithſtanding that he had conſulted with thoſe grave and adviſed Men, that ſerved his Father, who perſwaded him by all means to ſatisfie the multitude: He was tranſported by his familiars and favourites, not only to continue on the backs of his Subjects thoſe burdens which greatly cruſht them; but (vaunting falſly of greatneſs exceeding his Fathers) he threatned in ſharp, or rather in terrible terms, to lay yet heavier, and more unſupportable loads on them. But as it appeared in the ſucceſs, thoſe younger adviſers greatly miſtook the nature of ſeverity, which without the temper of clemency is no other than cruelty it ſelf: They alſo were ignorant that it ought to be uſed for the help, and not for the harm of Subjects. For what is the ſtrength of a King left by his People? And what cords or fetters have ever laſted long, but thoſe which have been twiſted and forged by love only? His witleſs Paraſites could well judg of the Kings diſpoſition: and being well learned therein though ignorant in all things elſe, it ſufficed and enabled them ſufficiently for the places they held. But this anſwer of *Rehoboam* did not a little advance *Jeroboams* deſigns. For being fore-

Ant. l. 8. c. 3.

foretold by the Prophet *Achiah* of his future advancement, these the Kings threats (changing the Peoples love into fury) confirmed and gave courage to his hopes, for he was no sooner arrived, than elected King of *Israel*: the People cried out, What portion have we in *David*? we have no inheritance in the Son of *Ishai*. Now though themselves, even all the Tribes of *Israel*, had consented to *Davids* anointing at *Hebron* the second time, acknowledging that they were his Bones and his Flesh: Yet now after the manner of Rebels, they forgat both the bonds of Nature, and their duty to God; and, as all alienate resolved hearts do, they served themselves for the present, with impudent excuses. And now over-late, and after-time, *Rehoboam* sent *Adoram*, one of the Taxers of the People, a Man most hateful to all his Subjects, to pacifie them: whom they instantly beat to death with stones. Whereupon the King affrighted, got him from *Siehem* with all speed; and recovered *Jerusalem*, where preparing to invade *Israel*, with an hundred and fourscore thousand chosen Men; *Shimei* in the Person of God commanding to the contrary, all was stayed for the present. In the mean time *Jeroboam* the new King fortified *Siehem* on this side, and *Peniel* on the other side of *Jordan*; and fearing that the Union and exercise of one Religion would also joyn the Peoples hearts again to the House of *David*, and having in all likelihood also promised the *Egyptians* to follow their Idolatry, he set up two Calves of Gold for the Children of *Israel* to worship, impiously perswading them that those were the Gods, or at least by these he represented those Gods which delivered them out of *Egypt*, and refusing the service of the Levites, he made Priests fit for such gods. It must needs be, that by banishing the Levites which served *David* and *Solomon* through all *Israel*, *Jeroboam* greatly enriched himself: as taking into his hands all those Cities which were given them by *Moses* and *Joshua*, for as it is written, *The Levites left their suburbs, and their possession, and came to Juda*, &c. This irreligious policy of *Jeroboam* (which was the foundation of Idolatry that never could be rooted out, until *Israel* for it was rooted out of the Land) was by Prophesie and Miracles impugned sufficiently when it first began; but the affections maintaining it, were so strong, that neither Prophesie nor Miracle could make them yield. *Jeroboam* could not be moved now by the Authority of *Achia*, who from the Lord had first promised unto him the Kingdom; nor by the withering of his own hand as he stretched it over the Altar, which also clave asunder according to the sign, which the Man of God had given him by the commandment of God; who again recovered and cured him of that defect; yet he continued as obstinate an Idolater as before, for he held it the safest course in policy to proceed as he had begun. This impious invention of *Jeroboam*, who forsook God, and the Religion of his fore-Fathers, by God and his Ministers taught them, was by a modern Historian compared with the policies of late Ages; observing well the practice of his Nation, being an *Italian* born. *Sic qui hodiè* (saith he) *Politici vocantur, & propria commoda præsentesque utilitates sibi tanquam ultimum finem constituunt, causam quam vocant status in capite omnium ponunt: pro ipsa tuenda, promovenda, conservanda, amplianda nihil non faciendum putant. Si injuria proximo irroganda, si justitiæ honestatisque leges subvertendæ, si religio ipsa pessundanda, si denique omnia jura Divina & Humana violanda, nihil intentatum, nil per fas nefasque relinquendum censent; eunctia ruant, omnia pereant; nihil ad ipsos, modo id, quod è re sua esse sibi persuadent, obtineant, ac si nullus sit qui talia curet, castigareve possit Deus: So they who are now called Politicians, propounding to themselves, as their utmost end and scope, their own commodity and present profit, are wont to alledg the case of state forsooth, as the principal point to be regarded: For the good of the State, for advancing, preserving, or encreasing of the State, they think that they may do any thing. If they mean to oppress their Neighbour, to overturn all Laws of Justice and honesty, if Religion it self must go to wrack, yea, if all rights of God and Man must be violated, they will try all courses, be it right, be it wrong, they will do any thing; let all go to ruine what care they, so long as they may have what they would; as who should say, there were no God that would offer to meddle in such matters, or had power to correct them.*

Indeed this allegation of *Raggione del stato*, did serve as well to uphold, as at the first it had done to bring in, this vile Idolatry of the ten Tribes. Upon this ground *Amazia* the Priest of *Bethel* counselled the Prophet *Amos* not to Prophesie at *Bethel*; *For* (saith he) *it is the Kings Court*. Upon this Ground even *Jehu* that had massacred the Priests of *Baal*, in zeal for the Lord, yet would not in any wise depart from that politique sin of *Jeroboam* the Son of *Nebat*, which made *Israel* to sin. It was reason of State that perswaded the last *French King Henry* the fourth to change his Religion, yet the Protestants whom he forsook, obeyed him, but some of the Papists whom he followed, murdered him. So strongly doth the painted Vizor of wise proceeding, delude even those that know the foul face of impiety lurking under it: And behold the wretched ends that have ever followed it, whereof *Jehu*, and all the Kings of *Israel* had, and were themselves very great examples.

Amos 7. 13. 2 Kings 10. 16. 2 Kings 10. 20.

SECT. II.

Of Rehoboam *his impiety; for which he was punished by* Sesac: *Of his end, and Contemporaries.*

WHile *Jeroboam* was occupied in setting up his new Religion, *Rehoboam* on the other side, having now little hope to recover the Provinces lost, strengthened the principal places remaining, with all endeavour; for he fortified and victualled fifteen Cities of *Juda* and *Benjamin*: Not that he feared *Jeroboam* alone, but the *Egyptians*, to whom *Jeroboam* had not only fastned himself, but withal invited them to invade *Judæa*: laying perchance before them the uncountable Riches of *David* and *Solomon*, which might now be easily had, seeing ten of the twelve Tribes were revolted, and become enemies to the *Judæans*. So as by those two ways (of late years often trodden) to wit, change of Religion, and invitation of forraign Force, *Jeroboam* hoped to settle himself in the Seat of *Israel*, whom yet the Powerful God for his Idolatry in few years after rooted out, with all his. *Rehoboam* having also, as he thought, by Fortifying divers places, assured his Estate, forsook the Law of the Living God, and made high Places, and Images, and Groves, on every high Hill, and under every green Tree.

2 Chron. 12.

1 Kings 14. 13.

And therefore in the fifth year of his Reign, *Sesac* or *Shishac* before spoken of, being now King of *Egypt*, and with whom, as well *Adad* of *Idumæa*, as *Jeroboam*, were familiar, and his Instruments; entred *Judæa* with twelve thousand Chariots, and threescore thousand Horses, besides Foot-Men, which

2 Chron. 12. 3. Jos. Ant. 8. c. 4.

which *Josephus* numbers at four hundred thousand. This Army was compounded of four Nations: *Egyptians*, *Lubæans*, *Succæans*, and *Cusites*. The *Lubæans* were *Lybæans*, the next bordering Region to *Egypt*, on the West-side. The *Lubæans* were of *Petræa*, and of the Desart *Arabia*, which afterwards followed *Zera* against *Asa* King of *Juda*. The *Succæans* according to *Junius* his opinion, were of *Succoth*, which signifieth Tents: He doth suppose that they were the *Troglodites*, mentioned often in *Pliny*, *Ptolomy*, and other Authors. The *Troglodites* inhabited not far from the Banks of the red Sea, in 22 Degrees from the line Northward, about six hundred English miles from the best and Maritimate part of *Egypt*: and therefore I do not think that the *Succims* or *Succæi* were those *Troglodites*, but rather those *Arabians* which *Ptolemy* calls *Arabes Ægyptii Ichthiophagi*, which possess that part of *Egypt* behind the Mountains called *Alabastrini*; and the Red Sea, far nearer *Egypt*, and readier to be levied, than those removed Savages of the *Troglodite*.

2 *Chron.* 12. 2 *Kings* 14. *Annot. in* 12 *Chron.* *Plin. lib.* 6. *c.* 29. *Etol. Asiæ tab.* 3. *Cap.* 47. *ver.* 13.

With this great and powerful Army, *Sesac* invaded *Judæa*, and (besides many other strong Cities) wan *Jerusalem* it self, of which and of the Temple, and Kings house, he took the spoil, carrying away (besides other treasures) the golden Shields which *Solomon* had made, in imitation of those which *David* recovered from *Adadezer*, in the *Syrian* war; these *Rehoboam* supplied with Targets of brass, which were fit enough to guard a King of his quality, whom *Syracides* calleth, *The foolishness of the People*.

From this time forward the King of *Egypt* claimed the soveraignty of *Judæa*, and held the Jews as their Tributaries: *Sesac*, as it seems, rendring up to *Rehoboam* his places on that condition. So much may be gathered out of the Word of God, where premising the deliverance of *Juda* after their humiliation, he doth notwithstanding leave them under the yoke of *Egypt*, in these words, *Nevertheless they* (to wit, the *Judæans*) *shall be his servants*, that is, *the servants of* Sesac.

After this overthrow and dishonour, *Rehoboam* reigned twelve years, and his losses received by *Sesac* notwithstanding, he continued the War against *Jeroboam* all his life-time. After his death *Jeroboam* governed *Israel* four years.

Rehoboam lived 58 years, and reigned 17, his story was written at large by *Shemejah* and *Hiddon* the Prophets, but the same perished with that of *Nathan*, and the rest.

With *Rehoboam*, *Archippus*, and *Tersippus*, the third and fourth *Archontes*, or Governours for life after *Codrus*, governed in *Athens*. *Abdastrartus*, or *Abstrartus*, in *Tyre-Doristhus*, the fifth of the *Heraclidæ* in *Sparta*, according to *Eusebius* (others make him the sixth) and *Priminas* the fourth in *Corinth*. Over the *Latines*, reigned *Silvius Alba*, *Silvius Atys*, the fourth and the fifth of the *Silvii*.

Euseb. Chron.

About the 12 of *Rehoboam*, *Abdastrartus* King of *Tire* was murthered by his Nurses sons, or Fosterbrethren, the elder of which usurped the Kingdom twelve years.

Toward his latter times, *Periciades*, or *Pyrithiades*, began to Govern *Assyria*, the 34th King thereof: And not long after *Astartus*, the son of *Balcastartus*, recovered the Kingdom of *Tyre* from the Usurpers.

SECT. III.

Of the great Battel between Jeroboam *and* Abia, *with a Corollarie of the Examples of Gods Judgments.*

Abijah the son of *Rehoboam*, inherited his Fathers Kingdom, and his vices. He raised an Army of four hundred thousand, with which he invaded *Jeroboam*, who encountered him with a double number of eight hundred thousand: Both Armies joyned near to the Mount *Ephraim*, where *Jeroboam* was utterly overthrown, and the strength of *Israel* broken: For there fell of that side five hundred thousand; the greatest overthrow that ever was given or received of those Nations. *Abijah* being now Master of the Field, recovered *Bethel*, *Jeshanah*, and *Ephron*. Soon after which discomfiture, *Jeroboam* died: who reigned in all 22 years; *Abijah*, the better to strengthen himself, entred into League with *Hesion*, the third of the *Adads* of *Syria*, as may be gathered out of the 2 of *Chron.* He reigned but three years, and then died: The particulars of his Acts were written by *Iddo* the Prophet, as some parts of his Fathers were. 2 *Chron.* 16. 23.

Here we see how it pleased God to punish the sins of *Solomon* in his son *Rehoboam*: First, by an Idolater and Traytor: And then by the Successor of that *Egyptian*, whose daughter *Solomon* had married, thereby the better to assure his Estate, which while he served God, was by God assured against all and the greatest neighbouring Kings, and when he forsook him, it was torn asunder by his meanest Vassals. Not that the Father wanted strength to defend him from the *Egyptian Sesac*; For the son *Abijah* was able to leavy four hundred thousand Men, and with the same number he overthrew eight hundred thousand *Israelites*, and slew of them five hundred thousand; God giving spirit, courage, and invention, when and where it pleaseth him. And as in those times the causes were expresst, why it pleased God to punish both Kings and their People; the same being both before, and at that instant delivered by Prophets: So the same Just God, who Liveth and Governeth all things for ever, doth in these our times give Victory, Courage, and Discourage, Raise, and throw down Kings, Estates, Cities, and Nations, for the same offences which were committed of old, and are committed in the present: For which reason, in these and other the afflictions of *Israel*, always the causes are set down, that they might be as presidents to succeeding ages. They were punished with famine in *David*'s time for three years, *For* Saul *and his bloody house, &c.* And *David* towards the latter end suffered all sorts of afflictions, and sorrows in effect, for *Uriah*. *Solomon* had ten Tribes of twelve torn from his son for his Idolatry. *Rehoboam* was spoiled of his Riches and Honour by *Sesac* of *Egypt*, because the People of *Juda* made Images, High Places, and Groves, *&c.* and because they suffered *Sodomites* in the Land. *Jeroboam* was punished in himself and his Posterity, for the Golden Calves he erected. *Jorom* had all his Sons slain by the *Philistims*, and his very Bowels torn out of his Body by an Excoriating Flux, for murthering his Brethren. *Ahab* and *Jezabel* were slain, the Blood of one, the Body of the other eaten with Dogs, for the false accusing and killing of *Naboth*. So also hath God punished the same, and the like sins in all After-times, and in these our days by the same Famine, Plagues, War, Loss, Vexation, Death, Sickness and Calamities: howsoever the Wise Men of the World raise these 2 *Sam.* 21. 1.

effects

effects no higher than second Causes, and such other accidents, which, as being next their eyes and ears, seem to them to work every alteration that happeneth.

SECT. IV.

Of Asa *and his Contemporaries.*

2 Chro. 14. TO *Abijah* succeeded *Asa*, who enjoyed peace for his first ten years, in which time he established the Church of God, breaking down the altars dedicated to strange Gods, with their Images, cutting down their Groves, and taking away their high places. He also spared not his own Mother, who was an Idolatress, but deposing her from her regency, broke her Idol, stampt it, and burnt it. He also Fortified many Cities, and other places, providing (as provident Kings do) for the troubles of War in leasure of Peace. For not long after he was invaded by *Zerah*, who then commanded all the *Arabians* bordering *Judæa*, and with such a multitude entred the Territory of *Asa*, as (for any thing I have read) were never assembled of that Nation, either before or since: For it is written, that there came against the *Judæans*, *Zerah* of *Æthiopia*, with an Host of ten hundred thousand, and three hundred Chariots, which *Asa* encountred with an Army of five hundred and fourscore thousand levied out of those two Tribes of *Juda* and *Benjamin*, which obeyed him, and with which he overthrew this fearful multitude, and had the spoil both of their Cities and Camps.

1 Chron. 15 16.

2 Chron. 14. 9.

* In the former book, c. 4. sect. 14. adem. c. 8. sect. 10. 16.

That this *Zerah* was not an *Æthiopian*, I have * proved already, and were it but the length between *Æthiopia* and *Judæa*, and the strong flourishing Regions of *Egypt* interjacent (who would not suffer a Million of strangers to pass through them) it were sufficient to make it appear how foolish the opinion is, that these Invaders were *Æthiopians*, but in that the Scriptures acknowledg that *Gerar* was belonging to *Zerah*, and the Cities thereabouts were spoiled by the *Judæans*, in following their Victory, as places belonging to *Zerah*, and that all Men know that *Gerar* standeth upon the torrent of *Besor*, which *David* past over when he surprized the *Amalekites*, or *Arabians*; this proveth sufficiently, that *Zerah* was leader of the *Arabians*, and that *Gerar* was a frontier Town standing on the uttermost South-border of all *Judæa*, from all parts of *Æthiopia* six hundred miles. Also the spoils which *Asa* took, as the Cattel, Camels, and Sheep, whereof he sacrificed five thousand, shew them to be *Arabians* adjoyning, and not far off, and not unknown *Æthiopians*. And if it be objected, that these desart Countries can hardly yield a Million of Men fit for the Wars. I answer, that it is as like that *Arabia Petræa*, and the Desart, which compass two parts of the holy Land, should yield ten hundred thousand, as that two Tribes of the twelve, should arm five hundred and fourscore thousand. Besides, it answered to the promise of God to *Abraham*, that these Nations should exceed in number; for God spake it of *Ismael*, that he would make him fruitful, and multiply him exceedingly, that he should beget twelve Princes, &c.

2 Chro. 14.

Baasha a King of *Israel* began to reign in the third of *Asa*, and fearing the greatness of *Asa* after his great Victory, entertained *Benhadad* King of *Syria*, of the race of *Adadezer*, to joyn with him against *Asa*; and to the end to block him up, he fortified *Rama*, which lieth in the way from *Jerusalem* toward *Samaria*.

2 Chr. 16. v. 1.

This War began according to the letter of the Scriptures in the 36 year of *Asa* his reign: But because in the first of Kings the 16 it is said that *Baasha* died in the 26 year of *Asa*; therefore could not *Baasha* begin this War in the 35 of *Asa* his reign, but in the 35 year of the division of *Juda* and *Israel*, for so many years it was from the first of *Rehoboam*, who reigned 17 years, to the 16 of *Asa*. It may seem strange, that *Asa* being able to bring into the field an Army of five hundred and fourscore thousand good Souldiers, did not easily drive away *Baasha*, and defeat him of his purposes, the victories of *Abia* against *Jeroboam*, and of *Asa* himself against *Zerah*, being yet fresh in mind, which might well have emboldened the Men of *Juda*, and asmuch disheartned the Enemies. Questionless there were some important Circumstances, omitted in the Text, which caused *Asa* to fight at this time with Money. It may be that the imployment of so many hundred thousands of hands, in the late service against *Zerah*, had caused many Mens private businesses to lie undispatched, whereby the People being now intentive to the culture of their Lands and other Trades, might be unwilling to stir against the *Israelites*, choosing rather to wink at apparent inconvenience, which the building of *Rama* would bring upon them in after-times. Such backwardness of the People might have deterred *Asa* from adventuring himself with the least part of his forces, and committing the success into the hands of God. Howsoever it were, he took the treasures remaining in the Temple, with which he waged *Benhadad* the *Syrian* against *Baasha*, whose employments *Benhadad* readily accepted, and brake off confederacy with *Baasha*. For the *Israelites* were his Borderers and next Neighbours, whom neither himself (after his invasion) nor his successors after him ever gave over, till they had made themselves masters of that Kingdom. So *Benhadad* being now entred into *Nepthalim*, without resistance, he spoiled divers principal Cities thereof, and inforced *Baasha* to quit *Rama*, and to leave the same to *Asa*, with all the materials which he had brought thither, to fortifie the same: which done, *Benhadad*, who loved neither party, being loden with the spoils of *Israel*, and the treasures of *Juda*, returned to *Damascus*. After this, when *Hanani* the Prophet reprehended *Asa*, in that he now relied on the strength of *Syria*, and did not rest himself on the favour and assistance of God; he not only caused *Hanani* to be Imprisoned, but he began to burden and oppress his People, and was therefore strucken with the grievous pains of the Gout in his feet, wherewith after he had been two years continually tormented, he gave up the Ghost when he had reigned 41 years.

2 Chron. 16. 4.

1 King. 15.

2 Chro. 16.

There lived with *Asa*, *Agesilaus* the sixth of the *Heraclidæ*, and *Bacis* the fifth King of the same race in *Corinth*, of whom his successors were afterward called *Bacidæ*. *Astartus*, and *Astarimus* were Kings in *Tyre*. *Astarimus* took revenge on his Brother *Phelletes*, for the murther of *Ithobalus* Priest of the Goddess *Astarta*, whom *Solomon* in dotage worshipped. *Atys* and *Capys* ruled the Latines: *Pirithiades* and *Ophrateus* the *Assyrians*: *Tersippus* and *Phorbas* the *Athenians*: *Chemmis* reigned in *Egypt*; who dying in the 36 year of *Asa*, left *Cheops* his successor, that reigned sixty six years, even to the 16 of *Joas*.

Euseb. in Chron.

SECT.

SECT. V.

Of the great alteration falling out in the ten Tribes during the reign of Asa.

IN the reign of *Asa* the Kingdom of *Israel* felt great and violent commotions, which might have reduced the ten Tribes unto their former allegiance to the house of *David*, if the wisdom of God had not otherwise determined. The wickedness of *Jeroboam* had, in his later days, the sentence of heavy vengeance laid upon it, by the mouth of *Abia*, the same Prophet which had foretold the division of *Israel*, for the sin of *Solomon*, and his reign over the ten Tribes. One son *Jeroboam* had among others, in whom only God found so much piety, as (though it sufficed not to with-hold his wrath from that Family) it procured unto him a peaceable end; an honourable testimony of the peoples love, by their general mourning and lamentation at his death, and (wherein he was most happy) the favourable approbation of God himself.

After the loss of this good son, the ungodly father was soon taken away: a miserable creature, so conscious of his vile unthankfulness to God, that he durst not suffer his own name to be used in consulting with an holy Prophet, assured of the ruine hanging over him and his, yea of Gods extream hatred; yet forbearing to destroy those accursed Idols that wrought his confusion. So loth he was to forsake his worldly wisdom, when the world was ready to forsake him, and all belonging to him, his hateful memory excepted.

Nadab the son of *Jeroboam*, reigned in the second and third years of *Asa*, which are reckoned as two years, though indeed his fathers last year of two and twenty did run along (how far is uncertain) with the second of *Asa*, whose third year was the first of *Baasha*, so that perhaps this *Nadab* enjoyed not his Kingdom one whole year. He did not alter his fathers courses, neither did God alter his sentence. It seems that he little feared the judgments denounced against his fathers house: for as a Prince that was secure of his own estate, he armed all *Israel* against the *Philistims*, and besieged one of their Towns. There (whether it were so, that the people were offended with his ill success, and recalled to mind their grievous loss of five hundred thousand under *Jeroboam*, counting it an unlucky family to the Nation; or whether by some particular indiscretion, he exasperated them) slain he was by *Baasha*, whom the Army did willingly accept for King in his stead. *Baasha* was no sooner proclaimed King, than he began to take order with the house of *Jeroboam*, that none of them might molest him, putting all of them, without mercy, to the sword. That he did this for private respect, and not in regard of Gods will to have it so, it is evident by his continuing in the same form of Idolatry which *Jeroboam* had begun. Wherefore he received the same sentence from God that had been laid upon *Jeroboam*; which was executed upon him also in the same sort. He began to infest *Asa*, by fortifying *Ramah*; but was diverted from thence by the *Syrian Benhadad*, who did waste his Country, destroying all the Land of *Nephtalim*. Four and twenty years he reigned, and then dying, left the Crown to *Ela* his son; who enjoyed it, as *Nadab* the son of *Jeroboam* had done, two years current, perhaps not one compleat.

1 *King.* 15. 25.

Ela was as much an Idolater as his father: and withall a riotous person. He sent an Army against *Gibbethon*, the same town of the *Philistims*, before which *Nadab* the son of *Jeroboam* perished; but he sate at home the whilest, feasting and drinking with his Minions, whereby he gave such advantage against himself, as was not neglected. *Zimri*, an ambitious man, remaining with the King at *Tirza*, finding his Master so dissolute, and his behaviour so contemptible, conceived hope of the like fortune as *Baasha* had found, by doing as *Baasha* had done. Wherefore he did set upon *Ela* in his drunkenness, and slew him. Presently upon which fact, he stiled himself King of *Israel*: and began his reign with massacring all the house of *Baasha*; extending his cruelty not only to his children, and kinsfolk, but unto all his friends in *Terza*. These news were quickly blown to the Camp at *Gibbethon*, where they were not welcomed according to *Zimri* his expectation. For the Souldiers in stead of proclaiming him King, proclaimed him Traitor: and being led by *Omri*, whom they saluted King, they (quitting the siege of *Gibbethon*) presented themselves before *Tirza*; which in short space they may seem to have forced. *Zimri* wanting strength to defend the City, not courage to keep himself from falling alive into his enemies hands, did set fire on the Palace, consuming it and himself together to ashes. Seven days he is said to have reigned: accounting (as is most likely) to the time that *Omri* was proclaimed in the Camp. For *Zimri* was also an Idolater, *Walking in the way of* Jeroboam; and therefore is likely to have had more time wherein to declare himself, than the reign of seven days, and those consumed partly in murthering the friends of *Baasha*, partly in seeking to have defended his own life. After the death of *Ela*, there arose another King to oppose the faction of *Omri*; whereby it may seem, that *Zimri* had made his party strong, as being able to set up a new head, who doubtless would never have appeared, if there had not been ready to his hand, some strength, not unlikely to resist and vanquish the Army which maintained *Omri*. How long this *Tibni*, the new competitor of *Omri*, held out, I do not find; only it appears that his side was decayed, and so he died, leaving no other Successor than his concurrent.

1 *King.* 16. 19.

SECT. VI.

A conjecture of the causes hindering the re-union of Israel *with* Juda, *which might have been effected by these troubles.*

ANy man that shall consider the state of *Israel* in those times may justly wonder how it came to pass, that either the whole Nation wearied with the calamities already suffered under these unfortunate Princes, and with the present civil wars, did not return to their ancient Kings, and re-unite themselves with the mighty Tribes of *Juda* and *Benjamin*, or that *Zimri* and *Tibni*, with their oppressed factions, did not call in *Asa*, but rather chose the one to endure a desperate necessity of yielding, or burning himself, the other to languish away as a man forsaken; than to have recourse unto a remedy, so sure, so ready, and so honourable. To say that GOD was pleased to have it so, were a true, but an idle answer (for his secret will is the cause of all things) unless it could be proved, that he had forbidden *Asa* to deal in that business; as he forbad *Reboboam* to force the rebellious people to obedience. That the restraint laid by God upon *Reboboam*, did only bind his hands from attempting the suppression of that present insurrection, it appears by the War continued between *Israel* and *Juda*, so many years following: wherein *Abia* so far prevailed, that he wan a great battel, and recovered some Towns belonging to the other Tribes, which he annexed to his own Dominion. Wherefore we may boldly look into the second causes moving the People

and Leaders of the ten Tribes, to ſuffer any thing under new up-ſtarts, rather than to caſt their eyes upon that Royal houſe of *David*, from which the ſucceſſion of five Kings in lineal deſcent, had taken away all imputation, that might formerly have been laid upon the mean beginnings thereof. To think that *Omri* had prevented his Competitors in making peace with *Aſa*, were a conjecture more bold than probable. For *Omri* was not only an Idolater, *but did worſe than all that were before him*; which as it might ſerve alone to prove, that *Aſa*, being a godly King, would not adhere to him, ſo the courſe which he profeſſed to take at the very firſt, of revenging the maſſacre committed upon the family and friends of *Baaſha* (*Aſa* his mortal enemy) gives manifeſt reaſon, why *Zimri*, who had wrought that great execution, ſhould more juſtly than he have expected the friendſhip of *Juda* in that quarrel. Wherefore in ſearching out the reaſon of this backwardneſs in the ten Tribes (which was ſuch, that they may ſeem to have never thought upon the matter) to ſubmit themſelves to their true Princes; it were not amiſs to examine the cauſes moving the people to revenge the death of *Ela*, an idle drunkard, rather than of *Nadab* the ſon *Jeroboam*, who followed the Wars in perſon as a man of ſpirit and courage. Surely it is apparent, that the very firſt defection of the 10 Tribes, was (if we look upon humane reaſon) occaſioned by deſire of breaking that heavy yoke of bondage wherewith *Solomon* had galled their necks. Their deſire was to have a King that ſhould not oppreſs them; not to have no King at all. And therefore when the arrogant folly of *Rehoboam* had cauſed them to renounce him, they did immediatly chooſe *Jeroboam* in his ſtead, as a man likely to afford that liberty unto them for which he had contended in their behalf. Neither were they (as it ſeems) herein altogether deceived. For his affectation of popularity appears in his building of decayed Towers, and in the inſtitution of his new deviſed Idolatry; where he told the people, that it was too much for them to travel ſo far as to *Jeruſalem*. But whether it were ſo, that his moderation, being voluntary, began to ceaſe towards the latter end of his reign, and of his ſons reign, when long time of poſſeſſion had confirmed his title, which at the firſt was only good by courteſie of the people: or whether the people (as often happens in ſuch caſes) were more offended by ſome prerogatives of a King, that he ſtill retained in his own hands, than pleaſed with his remiſſion of other burdens, it is clearly apparent, that the whole Army of all *Iſrael* joyned with *Baaſha*, taking in good part the death of *Nadab*, and eradication of *Jeroboam*'s houſe.

1 *King.* 16. 25.

Now the reign of *Baaſha* himſelf, was (for ought that remaineth in writing of it) every way unfortunate; his labour and coſt at *Rama* was caſt away; the other ſide of his Kingdom harried by the *Syrians*; neither did he win that one Town of *Gibbethon* from the *Philiſtims*, but left that buſineſs to his ſon, who likewiſe appears an unprofitable ſluggard. Wherefore it muſt needs be, that the favour of the people toward the houſe of *Baaſha* grew from his good form of Civil Government, which happily he reduced to a more temperate method than *Jeroboam* ever meant to do. And ſurely he that ſhall take pains to look into thoſe examples which are extant of the different courſes, held by the Kings of *Iſrael* and *Juda*, in adminiſtration of juſtice, will find it moſt probable, that upon this ground it was that the ten Tribes continued ſo averſe from the line of *David*; as to think all adverſity more tolerable, than the weighty Scepter of that houſe. For the death of *Joab* and *Shimei* was indeed by them deſerved; yet in that they ſuffered it without form of judgment, they ſuffered like unto men innocent. The death of *Adonijah* was both without judgment, and without any crime objected, other than the Kings jealouſie: out of which by the ſame rule of arbitrary juſtice (under which it may be ſuppoſed that many were caſt away) he would have ſlain *Jeroboam* (if he could have caught him) before he had yet committed any offence; as appears by his confident return out of *Egypt*, like one that was known to have endured wrong, having not offered any.

The like and much more barbarous execution, to wit, without law, *Jeboram* did upon his brethren, and upon ſundry of his greateſt men; as alſo *Joaſh* did ſo put to death *Zachariah* the ſon of *Jehojada*, who had made him King, *even in the court of the houſe of the Lord: and* Manaſſes *did ſhed innocent blood exceeding much, till he repleniſhed* Jeruſalem *from corner to corner:* and this was imputed to him as another fault; *beſides his ſin, wherewith he made* Juda *to ſin.* Contrariwiſe, among the Kings of *Iſrael* we find no monument of ſuch arbitrary proceeding, unleſs perhaps the words of *Jehoram* the ſon of *Ahab* (which were but words) may be taken for an inſtance, when he ſaid, *God do ſo to me, and more alſo, if the head of* Eliſha *the ſon of* Shaphat *ſhall ſtand on him this day:* whereby it is not plain whether he meant to kill him without more ado, or to have him condemned as a falſe Prophet, that had made them hold out againſt the *Aramites*, till they were fain to eat their own children; which he thought a ſufficient argument to prove, that it was not Gods purpoſe to deliver them. The death of *Naboth* ſheweth rather the liberty which the *Iſraelites* enjoyed, than any peremptory execution of the Kings will. For *Naboth* did not fear to ſtand upon his own right, though *Ahab* were even ſick for anger: neither was he for that cauſe put to death, as upon commandment, but made away by conſpiracy, the matter being handled after a judicial form, which might give ſatisfaction to the people, ignorant of the device, though to God it could not.

2 *Chro.* 24. 21. 2 *King.* 21. 16. 2 *King.* 6. 31.

The murther of the Prophets is continually aſcribed to *Jezabel*, an impudent Woman, and not unto the King her husband. Neither is it certain, that there was no Law made whereby their lives were taken from them; but certain it is, that the people being Idolaters, were both pleaſed with their death, and laboured in the execution. So that the doings of the Kings of *Juda* (ſuch as are regiſtred) prove them to uſe a more abſolute manner of command, than the Kings of the ten Tribes. Neither do their ſufferings witneſs the contrary. For of thoſe which reigned over *Juda*, from the diviſion of the Kingdom, to the captivity of the ten Tribes, three were ſlain by the people, and two were denied a burial amongſt their Anceſtors. Yea, the death of *Ahazia* and his brethen, ſlain by *Jehu*, with the deſtruction of all that Royal ſeed of *Athalia*, did not (for ought that we can read) ſtir up in the people any ſuch thirſt of revenge, as might by the ſuddenneſs and uniformity teſtifie the affection to be general, and proceeding from a loving remembrance of their Princes: unleſs we ſhould think that the death of *Athalia*, after ſeven years reign, were occaſioned rather by the memory of her ill purchaſing, than by the preſent ſenſe of her tyrannical abuſing the government, whereon ſhe had ſeiſed. On the other ſide, ſuch of the Kings of *Iſrael* as periſhed by treaſon (which were ſeven of the twenty) were all ſlain by the conſpiracy of the great men, who aſpired by treaſon to the Crown: the people being ſo far from embruing their hands in the blood of their Soveraigns, that (after *Nadab*) they did never forbear to revenge the death of their Kings, when it lay in

2 *King.* 9. 10.

their

their power; nor approve the good success of treason, unless fear compelled them. So that the death of two Kings, being throughly revenged upon other two, namely the death of *Ela* and *Zacharia*, upon *Zimri* and *Shallum*, who traiterously got and usurped, for a little while, their places; only three of the seven remain, whose ends how the people took, it may be doubtful. Though indeed it is precisely said of the slaughter committed on *Ahab*'s children by *Jehu*, that the people durst not fight with him that did it, 2 *King.* 10 4. because *they were exceedingly afraid:* and the same fear might be in them at the death of *Peka*, whose History (as others of that time) is cursorily passed over. The like may be pronounced, and more absolutely, of the Kings of *England*, that never any of them perished by fury of the people, but by treason of such as did succeed them; neither was there any motive urging so forcibly the death of King *Edward* and King *Richard* when they were in prison, as fear lest the people should stir in their quarrel. And certainly (howsoever all that the Law calls treason, be interpreted, as tending finally to the Kings destruction) in those treasonable insurrections of the vulgar, which have here most prevailed, the fury of the multitude hath quenched it self with the bloud of some great Officers; no such rebellions, howsoever wicked and barbarous otherwise, thirsting after the ruine of their natural Soveraign, but rather forbearing the advantages gotten upon his Royal person: which if any man impute unto gross ignorance, another may more charitably, and I think, more truly, ascribe to a reverent affection. Wherefore that Fable of *Briareus*, who, being loosened hy *Pallas*, did with his 100 hands give assistance to *Jupiter*, when all the rest of the gods conspired against him, is very fitly expounded by Sir *Francis Bacon*, as signifying that Monarchies need not to fear any curbing of their absolutenes by mighty subjects, as long as by wisdom they keep the hearts of the people, who will be sure to come in on their side. Though indeed the Story might very well have born the same interpretation, as it is rehearsed by *Homer*, who tells us that *Pallas* was one of the conspiracy, and that *Thetis* alone did mar all their practice, by loosening *Briareus*. For a good Form of Government sufficeth by it self to retain the people, not only without assistance of a laborious Wit, but even against all devices of the greatest and shrewdest Politicians: every Sheriff and Constable, being sooner able to arm the multitude, in the Kings behalf, than any over-weening Rebel, how mighty soever, can against him.

This declaration of the peoples love, being seldom found in *Juda*, makes it very likely, that the rule it self of government there was such, as neither gave occasion of contentment unto the subjects, nor of confidence in their good affection to the Kings. Upon which reasons it may seem that the multitude was kept usually disarmed. For otherwise it would have been almost impossible, that *Athalia* the sister of *Ahab*, a stranger to the Royal bloud of *Juda*, should by the only authority of a Queen-mother have destroyed all the seed of *David*, and usurped the Kingdom very near 7 Years, without finding any resistance. Yea when *Jehojada* the high Priest had agreed with the Captains and principal men of the Land to set up *Joash* their lawful King, whereunto the whole Nation were generally well affected, he was fain to give to these Captains and their men, *the spears and the shields that were King* Davids, *and were in the house of the Lord.* But we need not enter into such particulars. Questionless, the Tribes which thought obedience to their Princes to be a part of their duty toward God, would endure much more with patience, than they which had Kings of their own choice or admission, holding the Crown by a more uncertain tenure.

And this, in my opinion, was the reason, why the ten Tribes did never seek to return to their ancient Lords: but after the destruction of their six first Kings, which died in the reign of *Asa*, admitted a seventh of a new Family, rather than they would consubject themselves with those of *Juda* and *Benjamin*, under a more honourable, but more heavy yoke.

So *Asa* having seen the death of 7 Kings of *Israel*, died himself after one and forty years reign, leaving *Jehosophat* his son to deal with *Ahab* the son of *Omri*, who was the eighth King over the ten Tribes.

SECT. VII.

Of Jehosophat *and his Contemporaries.*

Jehosophat, who succeeded *Asa*, was a Prince religious and happy, he destroyed all the Groves, Altars, and high places dedicated to Idolatry, and sent Teachers to all places and people wanting instruction; he recovered the tribute due unto him by the *Arabians* and *Philistims:* from the one he had silver, from the other sheep and goats to the number of fifteen thousand and four hundred. The numbers of men of War were more than admirable; for it is Written that *Adnah* had the command of three hundred thousand, *Jehohanam* of two hundred and fourscore thousand, and *Amasia* of two hundred thousand; 2 *Chro.* 17. also that he had, besides these in *Benjamin*, of those that bare shields, which we call Targetiers, and of Archers under *Eliada*, two hundred thousand, and under the commandment of *Jehozabad* a hundred and fourscore thousand: which numbred together make eleven hundred and sixty thousand, all which are said to have waited upon the King, besides his Garrisons.

That *Juda* and *Benjamin*, a Territory not much exceeding the County of *Kent*, should muster eleven hundred and sixty thousand fighting men, it is very strange, and the number far greater than it was found upon any other view. *Joab* in *David*'s time found five hundred thousand: *Rehoboam* found but an hun- 2 *Sam.* 24. dred and fourscore thousand: *Abia* four hundred 4. and eight thousand: *Asa* five hundred and fourscore thousand: *Amazia* inrolled all that could bear arms, and they amounted to three hundred thousand. Surely, whereas it is written that when news was brought to *Jehosophat* that *Moab* and *Ammon* were entred his Territory to the West of *Jordan*, and that their numbers were many, he feared (to wit) the multitude, it is not likely that he would have feared even the Army of *Xerxes*, if he could have brought into the field the 11 hundred and 60 thousand fighting men, leaving all his strong Cities manned. I am therefore of opinion (referring my self to better judgment) that these numbers specified in the second of *Chronicles* the 17 distributed to several Leaders, were not all at one time, but that the 300 thousand under *Adnah*, and the 200 and fourscore thousand under *Jehohanam*, were afterward commanded and mustered by *Amasiah*, *Eliad*, and *Jehosabad:* for the gross and total is not in that place set down, as it was under the other Kings formerly named. Again, as the aids which *Jehosaphat* brought to *Ahab* did not shew that he was a Prince of extraordinary power, so the *Moabites* and *Ammonites* which he feared, could never make the one half of those numbers, which he that commanded least among *Jehosaphat*'s Leaders had under him.

This mighty Prince, notwithstanding his greatness, yet he joyned in friendship with *Ahab* King of *Israel*, who had married that wicked Woman *Jezabel*. Him *Jehosophat* visited at *Samaria*, and caused his son *Joram* to marry *Athalia*, this *Achab*'s Daughter.

Achab perswaded *Jehosophat* to assist him in the War against the *Syrians*, who held the City of *Ramoth Gilead* from him, and called together four hundred of his Prophets, or *Baalites*, to fore-tell the success: who promised him Victory. But *Jehosophat* believed nothing at all in those diviners, but resolved first of all to confer with some one Prophet of the Lord God of *Israel*. Hereupon *Achab* made answer that he had one called *Michaiah*, but he hated that Prophet, because he always fore-told of evil, and never of any good towards him. Yet *Michaiah* was sent for to the King; but by the way the messenger prayed him to consent with the rest of the Prophets, and to promise Victory unto them, as they did. But *Michaiah* spake the truth, and repeated his Vision to both the Kings, which was, that *God asked who shall perswade* Ahab, *that he may go up and fall at* Ramoth Gilead? to whom a spirit that stood before the Lord answered, that he would enter into his Prophets, and be in them a false spirit to delude. For as it is said by Christ: *Non enim vos estis qui loquimini, sed spiritus patris vestri loquitur in vobis.* It is not you that speak, but the Spirit of your Father speaks in you: so in a contrary kind did the devil in the Prophets of *Baal*, or Satan, incourage *Achab* to his destruction. And as *P. Martyr* upon this place well observeth, these evil spirits are ministers of Gods vengeance, and are used as the hangmen and tormentors, which Princes sometime imploy, For as it pleaseth God by his good Angels, to save and deliver from destruction, of which the Scriptures have many examples: so on the contrary, it is by the evil that he punisheth and destroyeth; both which are said to perform the Will of their Creator, *licet non eodem animo*. *Ecclesiasticus* remembreth a second sort of malignant natures, but they are every-where visible. There are spirits, saith he, created for vengeance, which in their rigour lay on sure strokes. In the time of destruction they shew forth their power, and accomplish the wrath of him that made them.

Now *Michaias* having by this his revelation greatly displeased the King, and the Prophets, whose spirit he discovered, was strucken by *Zidkiah* one of *Baal*'s Prophets, and by *Achab* himself committed to prison: where he appointed him to be reserved and fed with bread of affliction till he returned in peace. But *Michaiah*, not fearing to reply, answered, *If thou return in peace, the Lord hath not spoken by me.* Nevertheless *Achab* went on in that War, and was wounded to death. *Jehosophat* returned to *Jerusalem*, where he was reprehended by *Jehu* the Prophet for assisting an idolatrous Prince, and one that hated God.

2 Chro. 18. After this the *Aramites* or *Damascenes*, joyned with the *Moabites*, *Ammonites* and *Idumæans* to invade *Judæa*: who pass *Jordan* and encamp at *Engaddi*; and when *Jehosophat* gathered his Army, the Prophet *Jahaziel* fore-told him of the Victory, which should be obtained without any bloud-shed of his part: and so when *Jehosophat* approached, this Assembly of Nations, the *Ammonites* and *Moabites*, disagreeing with the *Idumæans*, and quarrelling for some causes among themselves, those of *Ammon* and *Moab*
2 Chro. 20. set upon the *Idumæans*, and brake them utterly: which done, they also invaded each other; in which broil *Jehosophat* arriving, took the spoil of them all without any loss of his part, as it was fore-told and promised by God. Notwithstanding this Victory, *Jehosophat*, forgetting that he was formerly reprehended for assisting an idolatrous King, did notwithstanding joyn with *Ochazias*, the son of *Achab*, in preparing a Fleet to send to *Ophir*, hoping of the like return which *Solomon* had: but as *Eliezer* the Prophet fore-told him, his shipsperished, and were broken in the port of *Ezion Gaber*, and so that enterprize was overthrown. 2 Chro. 20.

Yet he taketh part with *Jehoram*, the brother of *Ochazias*, against the *Moabites*, with which Kings of *Juda* and *Israel*, the *Edomites* joyn their Forces, not forgetting, it seems, that the *Moabites*, assisted by the *Ammonites*, had not long before destroyed their Army.

The *Moabites*, subjects to *David* and *Solomon*, forsaking the Kings of *Juda*, gave themselves for vassals to *Jeroboam*, and so they continued to his successors till the death of *Achab*: but *Jehosophat*, notwithstanding the Idolatry of his Colleague, yet as it seemeth he was drawn into this War, both to be avenged of the *Moabites* for their defection from *Juda* to *Israel*, as also because they had lately joyned themselvs with the *Syrians* against *Jehosophat*, and thirdly, to punish their double rebellion who first forsook *Juda*, and now *Israel*.

Both Kings resolved to pass by the way of *Idumæa*, thereby the better to assure that Nation; for we find that both *Moab*, *Ammon* and *Edom* were all in the field together at *Engadi* against *Jehosophat*: But whether they had then declared themselves against *Jehosophat*, it is not certain; for in the 2 of *Chron.* 11. *vers.* 8. it is written, that in the time of *Jehoram* the son of *Jehosaphat*, *Edom* rebelled: and therefore it seemeth to me that the *Edomites*, when they were slain by *Moab* and *Ammon*, not finding themselves satisfied in such conditions as they required, offered to return from them, and to joyn themselves with the Army of *Juda*. For, that they were numbred among the enemies of *Jehosaphat*, it is plain in the 2 of *Chron.* the 20. and as plain *c.* 21. *v.* 8. that they were not declared, nor had made them a King, till *Jehosophat*'s death. Now in the passage of these Kings towards *Moab*, whether it were by the extraordinary heat of the year, or whether the *Idumæans* having a purpose to rebel, misled the Army of *Juda* and *Israel*, with intent to infeeble them for want of Water; true it is, that they suffered the same, if not a greater thirst than the Armies of *Crassus* and *M. Antonius* did in their *Parthian* expeditions; and had in all likelihood utterly perished, had not *Elisha* taught them to cut trenches whereinto the water sprang, by which not only *Jehosaphat* and his Army, but *Jehoram* King of *Israel* an Idolater was relieved: the great mercy and goodness of God having ever been prone to save the evil for the good, whereas he never destroyed the good for the evil.

The miserable issue of this War, and how *Moab* burnt his son, or the son of the King of *Edom*, for sacrifice, on the rampire of his own City, I have already written in the life of *Jehoram* among the Kings of *Israel*. *Jehosophat* reigned 25 Years and died; he was buried in the valley of *Jehosophat*, and a part of the *Pyramis* set over his grave is yet to be seen, saith *Brochard*. His acts are written at large by *Jehu* the son of *Hanani*. 2 King. 3. 2 Chr. 20. *Broch. Tor. sanct.*

There lived with *Jehosophat*, *Ophratenes* in *Assyria*, *Capetus*, and *Tiberinus* Kings of the *Albans* in *Italy*; of the latter, the river *Tiber* (formerly *Albula*) took name.

In *Jehosophat*'s time also ruled *Mecades* or *Mezades* in *Athens*: *Agelas* or *Agesilaus* in *Corinth*; and *Archilaus* of the same race of the *Heraclidæ* the seventh in *Lacedæmon*. *Badesorus* ruled the *Tyrians*; *Achab*, *Ochazias* and *Jehoram* the *Israelites*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XX.

Of Jehoram *the ſon of* Jehoſaphat, *and* Ahazia.

SECT. I.

That Jehoram *was made King ſundry times.*

JEhoram the ſon of *Jehoſaphat* King of *Judah*, began his reign at thirty two years of age, and lived until he was forty years old, being eight years a King: But of theſe eight years, which *Jehoram* is ſaid to have reigned, four are to be reckoned in the life of his Father, who going to the *Syrian* War with *Ahab*, left this *Jehoram* King in his ſtead, as *Ahab* did his ſon *Ahazia*. This appears by the ſeveral beginnings, which are given in Scripture to the two *Jeroboams* Kings of *Iſrael* and *Juda*, and to *Ahazia* the eldeſt ſon of *Ahab*. For *Ahazia* is ſaid to have begun his reign, in the ſeventeenth year of *Jehoſaphat*. *Jehoram* the Brother of *Ahazia* ſucceeded him in the 2 year of *Jehoram the ſon of Jehoſaphat King of Juda*; that is, in the next year after that *Jehoram* of *Juda* was deſigned King by his Father; it being (as we find elſewhere) *the eighteenth year of Jehoſaphat himſelf*, who went with the *Iſraelites* againſt *Moab*. Hereby it appears that the full power and execution of the royal Office was retained ſtill by *Jehoſaphat*, who Governed abſolutely by himſelf, not communicating the rule with his ſon. But in *the fifth year of Jeroboam King of Iſrael*, which was the two and twentieth of *Jehoſaphat*, the old *King* took unto him, as Partner in the Government, this his eldeſt ſon, who was at that time 32 years old, his father being 57. Now for as much as *Jehoſaphat reigned 25 years*, it is evident that his ſon did not reign alone till the eighth of *Joram* King of *Iſrael*. The like regard is to be had in accounting the times of other Kings of *Juda* and *Iſrael*, who did not always reign preciſely ſo long as the bare letter of the Text may ſeem at firſt to affirm: but their years were ſometimes compleat, ſometimes only current, ſometimes confounded with the years of their ſucceſſors or foregoers, and muſt therefore be found by comparing their times with the years of thoſe others, with whom they did begin and end.

1 *King.* 22. v. 51.

2 *King.* 1. 17.

2 *King.* 3. v. 1. & 9.

2 *King.* 8. 16.

2 *Kings* 22. 42.

It were perhaps a thing leſs needful than curious, to enquire into the reaſons moving *Jehoſaphat* either to aſſume unto him his ſon as Partner in the Kingdom, whilſt he was able himſelf to command both in Peace and in War, the like having never be done by any of his Progenitors, or having once (in the 17 of his reign) vouchſafed unto him that honour, to reſume it to himſelf, or at leaſt wiſe to defer the confirmation of it, until four or five years were paſſed. Yet foraſmuch as to enter into the examination of theſe paſſages, may be a mean to find ſome light, whereby we may more clearly diſcover the cauſes of much extraordinary buſineſs enſuing, I hold it not amiſs to make ſuch conjecture, as the circumſtances of the ſtory briefly handled in the Scriptures may ſeem to approve.

We are therefore to conſider, that this King *Jehoſaphat* was the firſt of *Rehoboams* iſſue, that ever entred into any ſtraight league with the Kings of the ten Tribes. All that reigned in *Juda* before him, had with much labour and long War, tired themſelves in vain, making ſmall profit of the greateſt advantages that could be wiſhed. Wherefore *Jehoſaphat* thought it the wiſeſt way, to make a League offenſive and defenſive between *Iſrael* and *Juda*, whereby each might enjoy their own in quiet.

This confederacy made by a religious King, with one that did *hate the Lord*, could not long proſper, as not iſſuing from the true *root and fountain of all Wiſdom:* Yet as a piece of ſound policy, doubtleſs it wanted not fair pretences of much common good thereby likely to ariſe, with mutual fortification of both thoſe Kingdoms, againſt the uncircumciſed Nations their ancient Enemies. This apparent benefit, being ſo ineſtimable a jewel, that it might not eaſily be loſt, but continue as hereditary from Father to Son, it was thought a very good courſe to have it confirmed by ſome ſure Bond of Affinity, and thereupon was *Athalia* the Daughter of *Omri*, and Siſter of *Ahab* King of *Iſrael*, given in marriage to *Jehoram*, who was Son and Heir apparent to the King of *Juda*. This Lady was of a maſculine ſpirit, and had learned ſo much of Queen *Jezabel* her brothers Wife, that ſhe durſt undertake, and could throughly perform a great deal more in *Jeruſalem*, than the other knew how to compaſs in *Samaria*. She was indeed a Firebrand ordained by God to conſume a great part of the nobleſt Houſes in *Juda*, and perhaps of thoſe Men or their Children, whoſe worldly wiſdom, regardleſs of Gods pleaſure, had brought her in.

2 *Chro.* 19. v. 2. & 3.

The firſt fruits of this great League, was the *Syrian* War at *Ramoth Gilead*, wherein *Juda* and *Iſrael* did adventure equally, but the profit of the Victory ſhould have redounded wholly to *Ahab:* As Godly Princes very ſeldom thrive by matching with Idolaters, but rather ſerve the turns of thoſe falſe Friends, who being ill affected to God himſelf cannot be well affected to his Servants. Before their ſetting forth, *Ahab* deſigned, as King, his Son *Ahaziah*; not ſo much perhaps in regard of the uncertain events of War (for none of his Predeceſſors had ever done the like, upon the like occaſions) nor as fearing the threatnings of the Prophet *Michaia* (for he deſpiſed them) as inviting *Jehoſaphat* by his own Example, to take the ſame courſe, wherein he prevailed.

SECT.

SECT. II.

Probable conjectures of the motives inducing the old King Jehoſaphat *to change his purpoſe often, in making his ſon* Jehoram *King.*

MAny arguments do very ſtrongly prove *Jehoram* to have been wholly over-ruled by his Wife, eſpecially for his forſaking the Religion of his Godly Anceſtors, and following the abominable ſuperſtitions of the houſe of *Achab*.

That ſhe was a Woman of intollerable pride, and abhorring to live a private life, the whole courſe of her actions witneſſeth at large. Much vain matter ſhe was able to produce, whereby to make her Husband think that his Brethren and Kindred were but mean and unworthy Perſons in compariſon of him, and of his Children, which were begotten upon the Daughter and Siſter of two great Kings, not upon baſe Women, and meer ſubjects. The Court of *Ahab*, and his famous Victorys obtained againſt the *Syrian Benhadad* were matter ſufficient to make an inſolent man think highly of himſelf, as being allied ſo honourably, who could otherwiſe have found in his heart well enough, to deſpiſe all his Brethren, as being the eldeſt, and Heir apparent to the Crown, whereof already he had, in a manner, the poſſeſſion.

How ſoon his vices brake out, or how long he diſſembled them and his Idolatrous Religion, it cannot certainly be known. Like enough it is, that ſome ſmoke, out of the hidden fire, did very ſoon make his Fathers eyes to water; who thereupon cauſed the young Man to know himſelf better, by making him fall back into rank among his younger Brethren. And ſurely the doings of *Jehoſaphat* about the ſame time, argue no ſmall diſtemper of the whole Country, through the miſgovernment of his ungodly ſon. For the good King was fain to make his progreſs round about the Land, reclaiming the People unto the Service of God, and appointing *Judges throughout all the ſtrong Cities of* Juda, *City by City*. This had been a needleſs labour, if the Religion taught and ſtrongly maintained by *Aſa*, and by himſelf, had not ſuffered alteration, and the courſe of Juſtice been perverted, by the power of ſuch as had born authority. But the neceſſity that then was of reformation, appears by the charge which the King did give by his Judges; and by his commiſſion given to one of the Prieſts in ſpiritual cauſes, and to the Steward of his houſe in temporal Matters, to be general Over-ſeers.

2 *Chr.* 19. *v.* 4, 5. &c.

This was not till after the death of *Ahaziah* the ſon of *Ahab*; but how long after it is uncertain. For *Jehoram* the brother of *Ahazia* began his reign (as hath been already noted) in the eighteenth of *Jehoſaphat*, which was then accounted the ſecond of *Jehoram*, *Jehoſaphat*'s ſon, though afterward this *Jehoram* of *Juda* had another firſt and ſecond year, even in his Fathers time, before he reigned alone, as the beſt Chronologers and Expoſitors of the holy Text agree. So he continued in private eſtate, until the two and twentieth of his Fathers reign, at which time, though the occaſions inducing his reſtitution to former dignity are not ſet down, yet we may not think, that motives thereto, appearing ſubſtantial, were wanting. *Jehoram* of *Iſrael* held the ſame correſpondency with *Jehoſaphat*, that his Father had done; and made uſe of it. He drew the *Judæans* into the war of *Moab*, at which time it might well be, that the young Prince of *Juda* was again ordained King by his Father, as in the *Syrian* expedition he had been. Or if we ought rather to think, that the preparations for the enterprize againſt *Moab* did not occupy ſo much time, as from the eighteenth of *Jehoſaphat*, in which year that Nation rebelled againſt *Iſrael*, unto his two and twentieth; yet, the daily negotiations between the two Kings of *Juda* and *Iſrael*, and the affinity between them contracted in the perſon of *Jehoram*, might offer ſome good occaſions thereunto. Neither is it certain how the behaviour of the younger ſons, in their elder brothers diſgrace, might cauſe their Father to put him in poſſeſſion for fear of tumult after his death; or the deep diſſimulation of *Jehoram* himſelf might win the good opinion both of his Father and Brethren; it being a thing uſual in miſchievous fell natures, to be as abject and ſervile in time of adverſity, as inſolent and bloody upon advantage. This is manifeſt, that being repoſſeſſed of his former eſtate, he demeaned himſelf in ſuch wiſe toward his Brethren, as cauſed their Father to enable them, not only with ſtore of *ſilver and gold, and of precious things*, (which kind of liberality other Kings doubtleſs had uſed unto their younger ſons) but with the cuſtody of *ſtrong Cities in Juda*, to aſſure them, if it might have been, by unwonted means, againſt unwonted perils.

1 *Chro.* 21. 3.

SECT. III.

The doings of Jehoram, *when he reigned alone; and the rebellion of* Edom *and* Libna.

BUt all this providence availed nothing; for an higher Providence had otherwiſe determined of the ſequel. When once the good old Man, their Father, was dead, the younger ſons of *Jehoſaphat* found ſtrong Cities, a weak defence, againſt the power of him unto whom the Cities were obedient. If they came in upon the ſummons of a King their Brother, then had he them without any more adoe; if they ſtood upon their guard, then were they Traytors, and ſo unable to hold out againſt him, who beſides his own power, was able to bring the forces of the *Iſraelitiſh* Kingdom againſt them; ſo that the apparent likelihood of their final overthrow, ſufficed to make all forſake them in the very beginning. Howſoever it was, they were all taken and ſlain, and with them for company many great Men of the Land, ſuch belike as either had taken their part, when the Tyrant ſought their lives, or had been appointed Rulers of the Country, when *Jehoram* was depoſed from his Government; in which office they, without forbearing to do juſtice, could hardly avoid the doing of many things derogatory to their young Maſter; which if he would now call Treaſon, ſaying that he was then King, who durſt ſay the contrary?

After this *Jehoram* took upon him, as being now Lord alone to make invaſions in Religion, wherein he was not contented, as other Idolatrous Princes, to give way and ſafe conduct unto Superſtition and Idolatry, and to provoke and encourage the People to that ſin, whereto it is wonderful that they were ſo much addicted, having ſuch knowledg of God, and of his deteſting that above all other ſins; but he uſed compulſion, and was (if not the very firſt) the firſt that is regiſtred, to have ſet up Irreligion by force.

Whilſt he was thus buſied at home, in doing what he liſted, the *Edomites* his Tributaries rebelled againſt him abroad; and having hitherto ſince *David*'s time, been Governed by a Vice-Roy, did now make unto themſelves a King. Againſt theſe *Jehoram* in perſon made an expedition, taking along with him his Princes, and all his Chariots; with which he obtained victory in the field, compelling the Rebels to flie into

into their places of advantage, whereof he forced no one, but went away contented with the honour that he had gotten in beating and killing some of those whom he should have subdued, and kept his servants. Now began the Prophecie of *Isaac* to take effect, wherein he foretold, that *Esau* in process of time should break the yoke of *Jacob*. For after this the *Edomites* could never be reclaimed by any of the Kings of *Juda*, but held their own so well, that when, after many civil and forreign Wars, the Jews by sundry Nations had been brought low; *Antipater* the *Edomite*, with *Herod* his son, and others of that race following them, became Lords of the Jews, in the decrepit age of *Israel*, and reigned as Kings, even in *Jerusalem* it self.

The freedom of the *Edomites*, though purchased somewhat dearly, encouraged *Libna*, a great City within *Juda*, which in the time of *Joshua* had a peculiar King, to rebel against *Jehoram*, and set it self in liberty. *Libna* stood in the confines of *Benjamin* and of *Dan*, far from the assistance of any bordering Enemies of *Juda*, and therefore so unlikely it was to have maintained it self in liberty, that it may seem strange how it could escape from utter destruction, or at the least from some terrible vengeance, most likely to have been taken, by their powerful, cruel, and throughly incensed Lord. The *Israelite* held such good intelligence at that time with *Juda*, that he would not have accepted the Town, had it offered it self unto him: Neither do we read that it sought how to cast it self into a new subjection, but continued a free State. The rebellion of it against *Jehoram*, was, *Because he had forsaken the Lord God of his Fathers*; which I take to have not only been the first and remote cause, but even the next and immediate reason moving the Inhabitants to do as they did: for it was a Town of the Levites; who must needs be driven into great extremities, when a religion, contrary to Gods Law, had not only some allowance to countenance it by the King, but compulsive authority to force unto it all that were unwilling. As for the use of the Temple at *Jerusalem* (which, being devout Men, they might fear to lose by this rebellion) it was never denied to those of the ten revolted Tribes by any of the Religious Kings, who rather invited the *Israelites* thither, and gave them kind entertainment: under Idolaters they must have been without it, whether they lived free, or in subjection. Yet it seems that private reasons were not wanting, which might move them rather to do than suffer that which was unwarrantable. For in the general Visitation before remembred, wherein *Jehoshaphat* reformed his Kingdom, the good old King appointing new Governors, and giving them especial charge to do Justice without respect of persons, used these words; *The Levites shall be Officers before you; Be of good courage, and do it, and the Lord shall be with the good.* By these phrases, it seems, that he encouraged them against the more powerful, than just proceedings of his Son; whom if the Levites did (according to the trust imposed in them) neglect in discharging their duties, likely it is that he meant to be even with them, and make them now to feel, as many Princes of the Land had done, his heavy indignation. How it happened that *Libna* was not hereupon destroyed, yea, that it was not (for ought that we can read) so much as besieged or molested, may justly seem very strange. And the more strange it is in regard of the mighty Armies which *Jehosaphat* was able to raise, being sufficient to have over-whelmed any one Town, and buried it under the earth, which they might well in one Month have cast into it with shovels, by ordinary approaches.

1 Chro. 21. 10.

But it seems that of those great numbers which his Father would have Levied, there were not many which *Jehoram* could well trust; and therefore perhaps he thought it an easier loss, to let one Town go, than to put Weapons into their hands, who were more likely to follow the example of *Libna*, than to punish it. So desperate is the condition of Tyrants, who thinking it a greater happiness to be feared than to be loved, are fain themselves to stand in fear of those by whom they might have been dreadful unto others.

SECT. IV.

Of the miseries falling upon Jehoram, *and of his death.*

THese afflictions not sufficing to make any impression of Gods displeasure in the mind of the wicked Prince; a Prophetie in writing was delivered to him, which threatned both his People, his Children, his Wives, and his own Body. Hereby likewise it appears that he was a cruel Persecutor of Gods Servants; in as much as the Prophets durst not reprove him to his face, as they had done many of his Predecessors, both good and evil Kings; but were fain to denounce Gods Judgments against him by Letters, keeping themselves close and far from him. This Epistle is said to have been sent unto him from *Elias* the Prophet. But *Elias* was translated, and *Elizeus* Prophesied in his stead before this time, even in the days of *Jehosaphat*. Wherefore it may be that *Elias* left this Prophesie in writing behind him, or that (as some conjecture) the error of one letter in writing, was the occasion that we read *Elias* for *Elizeus*. Indeed any thing may rather be believed, than the Tradition held by some of the Jewish Rabbins, that *Elias* from Heaven did send this Epistle; a tale somewhat like to the fable of our Ladys letters, devised by *Erasmus*, or of the Verse that was sent from Heaven to St. *Giles*.

2 *King.* 1. & 3. 11. 2 *Chron.* 22. 12.

But whosoever was the Author of this threatning Epistle, the accomplishment of the Prophetie was as terrible as the Sentence. For the *Philistims* and *Arabians brake into Judæa*, and took the Kings House, wherein they found all, or many of his Children, and Wives, all which they slew, or carried away, with great part of his Goods. These *Philistims* had not presumed since the time of *David*, to make an offensive War till now; for they were by him almost consumed, and had lost the best of their Towns, maintaining themselves in the rest of their small Territories, by defensive arms, to which they were constrained at *Gibbethon* by the *Israelites*. The *Arabians* were likely to have been then, as they are now, a naked People, all Horsemen, and ill appointed; their Country affording no other furniture, than such as might make them fitter to rob and spoil in the open fields, than to offend strong Cities, such as were thick set in *Juda*. True it is, that in Ages long after following, they conquered all the South parts of the World then known, in a very short space of time, destroying some, and building other some very stately Citys. But it must be considered, that this was when they had learned of the *Romans* the Art of War; and that the Provisions which they found, together with the Arts which they learned, in one subdued Province, did make them able and skilful in pursuing their conquest, and going on into Regions far removed from them. At this day having lost in effect all that they had gotten, such of them as live in *Arabia* it self are good Horsmen, but ill appointed; very dangerous to passengers, but unable to deal with good Souldiers,

as

as riding ſtark naked, and rather truſting in the ſwiftneſs of their Horſes than in any other means of reſiſtance, where they are well oppoſed. And ſuch, or little better, may they ſeem to have been, that ſpoiled *Judæa* in the time of *Jehoram*. For their Country was always barren and deſart, wanting manual Arts whereby to ſupply the naturals with furniture: neither are theſe bands named as chief in that action, but rather adherents of the *Philiſtims*. Out of this we may infer, that one half, yea, or one quarter of the numbers found in the leaſt muſter of *Juda* and *Benjamin* under *Jehoſhaphat* (wherein were inrolled three hundred and eighty thouſand fighting Men) had been enough to have driven away far greater Forces than theſe Enemies are likely to have brought into the field, had not the People been unable to deal with them, for lack of Weapons, which were now kept from them by their Princes jealouſie, as in *Saul*'s time by the policy of the *Philiſtims*.

It may ſeem that the houſe of the King which theſe Invaders took, was not his Palace in *Jeruſalem*, but rather ſome other houſe of his abroad in the Country, where his Wives and Children at that time lay for their recreation: becauſe we read not that they did ſack the City, or ſpoil the Temple, which would have invited them as a more commodious booty, had they got poſſeſſion thereof. Yet perhaps they took *Jeruſalem* it ſelf by ſurprize, the People being diſarmed, and the Kings guard too weak to keep them out; yet had not the courage to hold it, becauſe it was ſo large and populous: and therefore having done what ſpoil they could, withdrew themſelves with ſuch purchaſe as they were able ſafely to conveigh away.

The ſlaughter committed by *Jehu* on the two and forty brethren of *Ahaziah*, or (as they are called elſewhere) ſo many of his brothers ſons, and the cruel maſſacre wherein all the Royal Seed periſhed (only *Joas* excepted) under the tyranny of *Athalia*, following within two years after this Invaſion of the *Philiſtims* and *Arabians*, make it ſeem probable, that the Sons of *Jehoram* were not all ſlain at once, but that rather the firſt murther began in his own time, and was ſeconded by many other heavy blows, wherewith this houſe was inceſſantly ſtriken, until it was in a manner quite hewed down.

After theſe calamities, the hand of God was extended againſt the body of this wicked King, ſmiting him with a grievous diſeaſe in his bowels, which left him not until his guts fell out, and his wretched ſoul departed from his miſerable Carkaſs. The People of the Land, as they had ſmall cauſe of comfort in his life, ſo had they not the good manners to pretend ſorrow for his death; wherefore he was denied a place of Burial among his Anceſtors the Kings of *Juda*, though his own Son ſucceeded him in the Kingdom, who was guided by the ſame ſpirits that had been his Fathers evil Angels. *Athalia* had other matters to trouble her head, than the pompous interring of a dead Husband. She was thinking how to provide for the future, to maintain her own greatneſs, to retain her Favourites in their Authority, and to place about her Son ſuch *Counſellours of the houſe of Ahab*, as were fitteſt for her turn. Wherefore ſhe thought it unſeaſonable to make ſuch a-doe about a thing of nothing, and offend the Peoples eyes, with a ſtately Funeral of a Man by them deteſted: But rather choſe to let the blame of things paſſed, be laid on the Dead, than to procure an ill opinion of her ſelf and hers, which it now did concern her to avoid. Such is the quality of wicked Inſtigators, having made greedy uſe of bad imployments, to charge, not only with his own Vices, but with their faults alſo, the Man whoſe evil inclinations their ſiniſter counſels have made worſe, when once he is gone, and can profit them no longer. The death of *Jehoram* fell out indeed in a buſie time; when his friend and couſin the *Iſraelites* who had the ſame name, was entangled in a difficult War againſt the *Aramite*; and therefore could have no better leaſure to help *Athalia*, in ſetting of things according to her own mind, than he had (perhaps through the ſame hindrance) to help her Husband, when he was diſtreſſed by the *Philiſtims*; Yea, rather he needed and craved the aſſiſtance of the Men of *Judah*, for the taking in of *Ramoth Gilead*, where they had not ſped ſo well the laſt time, that they ſhould willingly run thither again, unleſs they were very fairly intreated.

2 *Chron.* 24. 4.

The acts of this wicked Man, I have thought good to handle the more particularly (purſuing the examination of all occurrences, as far as the circumſtances remembred in holy Scripture would guide me by their directions) to the end that it might more plainly appear, how the currupted affections of Men, impugning the revealed Will of God, accompliſh nevertheleſs his hidden purpoſe, and without miraculous means, confound themſelves in the ſeeming-wiſe devices of their own folly: as likewiſe to the end that all Men might learn to ſubmit their judgments to the Ordinance of God, rather than to think, that they may ſafely diſpenſe with his Commandments, and follow the prudent conceits which worldly Wiſdom dictateth unto them. For in ſuch kind of unhappy ſubtilties, it is manifeſt that *Athalia* was able to furniſh both her Husband and her Son; but the iſſue of them partly hath appeared already, and partly will appear, in that which immediately followeth.

SECT. V.

Of the reign of Ahaziah, *and his buſineſs with the King of* Iſrael.

OChazias, or *Ahazia*, the ſon of *Jehoram* and *Athalia*, began his reign over *Juda*, in the twelfth year of *Jehoram* the ſon of *Ahab* King of *Iſrael*, and reigned but one year. Touching his age, it is a point of much more difficulty than importance to know it: yet hath it bred much diſputation, whereof I ſee no more probable concluſion than that of *Torniellus*, alledging the Edition of the *Septuagint* at *Rome*, *Anno Domini* 1588 which ſaith that he was twenty years old in the beginning of his Kingdom; and the Annotations thereupon, which cite other Copies, that do give him two years more. Like enough he is to have been young: for he was governed by his Mother, and her Miniſters, who gave him counſel, by which he periſhed. In matter of Religion, he altered none of his Fathers courſes. In matter of State he likewiſe upheld the league made with the houſe of *Ahab*. He was much buſied in doing little, and that with ill ſucceſs. He accompanied his couſin the *Iſraelite* againſt *Ramoth Gilead*, which they wan, but not without blows: for the *Aramites* fought ſo well, that the King of *Iſrael* was fain to adventure his own perſon, which eſcaped not unwounded.

The Town being won, was manned ſtrongly, in expectation of ſome attempt likely to be made by *Hazael* King of *Aram*: which done, *Jehoram* King of *Iſrael* withdrew himſelf to the City of *Jezrael*, where with more quiet he might attend the curing of his Wounds; and *Ahazia* returned to *Jeruſalem*. It ſeems that he was but newly come home (for he reigned in all ſcantly one year) whereof the former expedition

tion, with the preparations for it, had taken up a great part) when he did make a new journey, as it were for good manners ſake, to viſit the King of *Iſrael*, who lay ſore of his wounds. Belike *Athalia* was brewing ſome new plots, which his preſence would have hindred, and therefore ſought every occaſion to thruſt him abroad: for otherwiſe it was but a vain piece of work ſo to leave his kingdom, having no other buſineſs than by way of complement to go ſee one whom he had ſeen yeſterday. Certain it is, that the Lord had reſolved at this time to put in execution that heavy judgment, which he had laid by the mouth of *Elias* the Prophet upon the houſe of *Ahab*. And hereupon at this time had he diſpoſed not only the concurrence of all other things, which in mans eyes might ſeem to have been accidental, but the very thoughts and affections of ſuch perſons, as intended nothing leſs than the fulfilling of his high pleaſure. Of theſe *Athalia* doubtleſs was one; whoſe miſchievous purpoſes it will ſhortly be needful, for explanation of ſome difficulties ariſing, that we diligently conſider and examine.

SECT. VI.

How Ahazia *periſhed with the houſe of* Ahab: *and how that Family was deſtroyed by* Jehu.

THe whole Army of *Iſrael*, with all the principal Captains, lying in *Ramoth Gilead*, a Diſciple of *Elizeus* the Prophet came in among the Captains that were ſitting together; who calling out among them *Jehu*, a principal man, took him apart, and anointed him King over *Iſrael*, rehearſing unto him the Prophecy of *Elias* againſt the houſe of *Ahab*, and letting him underſtand that it was the pleaſure of God to make him executioner of that ſentence. The faſhion of the Meſſenger was ſuch as bred in the Captains a deſire to know the errand, which *Jehu* thought meet to let them know, as doubting whether they had overheard all the talk or no. When he had acquainted them with the whole matter, they made no delay, but forthwith proclaimed him King. For the Prophecy of *Elias* was well known among them, neither durſt any one oppoſe himſelf againſt him, that was by God ordained to perform it.

Jehu, who had upon the ſudden this great honour thrown upon him, was not ſlow to put himſelf in poſſeſſion of it, but uſed the firſt heat of their affections, who joyned with him, in ſetting on foot the buſineſs which nearly concerned him, and was not to be fore-ſlowed, being no more his own than Gods.

The firſt care was that no news of the revolt might be carried to *Jezreel*, whereby the King might have had warning either to fight or flee: this being foreſeen, he marched ſwiftly away, to take the Court while it was yet ſecure. King *Jehoram* was now ſo well recovered of his Wounds, that he could endure to ride abroad, for which cauſe it ſeems that there was much feaſting, and joy made, eſpecially by Queen *Jezabel*, who kept her ſtate ſo well, that the brethren of *Ahazia* coming thither at this time, did make it as well their errand to ſalute the Queen, as to viſit the King.

Certain it is, that ſince the rebellion of *Moab* againſt *Iſrael*, the houſe of *Ahab* did never ſo much flouriſh as at this time. Seventy Princes of the bloud Royal there were that lived in *Samaria*; *Jehoram* the ſon of Queen *Jezabel* had won *Ramoth Gilead*, which his Father had attempted in vain, with loſs of his life; and he won it by valiant fight, wherein he received wounds, of which the danger was now paſt, but the honour likely to continue. The amity was ſo great between *Iſrael* and *Juda*, that it might ſuffice to daunt all their common enemies, leaving no hope of ſucceſs to any rebellious enterprizer: ſo that now the prophecy of *Elias* might be forgotten, or no otherwiſe remembred, than as an unlikely tale by them that beheld the majeſtical face of the Court, wherein ſo great a friend as the King of *Juda* was entertained, and forty Princes of his blood expected.

In the middeſt of this ſecurity, whileſt theſe great Eſtates were (perhaps) either conſulting about proſecution of their intents, firſt againſt the *Aramites*, and then againſt *Moab*, *Edom*, and other rebels and enemies: or elſe were triumphing in joy of that which was already atchieved, and the Queen-mother dreſſing her ſelf in the braveſt manner to come down amongſt them; tidings were brought in, that the watchman had from a Tower diſcovered a company coming. Theſe news were not very troubleſome: for the Army that lay in *Ramoth Gilead*, to be ready againſt all attempts of the *Aramites*, was likely enough to be diſcharged upon ſome notice taken that the enemy would not, or could not ſtir. Only the King ſent out an Horſe-man to know what the matter was, and to bring him word. The meſſenger coming to *Jehu*, and asking whether all were well, was retained by him, who intended to give the King as little warning as might be. The ſeeming negligence of this fellow in not returning with an anſwer, might argue the matter to be of ſmall importance: yet the King to be ſatisfied, ſent out another that ſhould bring him word how all went; and he was likewiſe detained by *Jehu*. Theſe dumb ſhews bred ſome ſuſpicion in *Jehoram*, whom the Watchman certified of all that happened. And now the company drew ſo near, that they might, though not perfectly, be diſcerned, and notice taken of *Jehu* himſelf by the furious manner of his marching. Wherefore the King that was loth to diſcover any weakneſs, cauſed his Chariot to be made ready, and iſſued forth with *Ahazia* King of *Juda* in his company, whoſe preſence added majeſty to his train; when ſtrength to reſiſt, or expedition to flee, had been more needful. This could not be done ſo haſtily, but that *Jehu* was come even to the towns end, and there they met each other in the field of *Naboth*. *Jehoram* began to ſalute *Jehu* with terms of peace, but receiving a bitter anſwer, his heart failed him, ſo that crying out upon the treaſon to his fellow King, he turned away to have fled. But *Jehu* ſoon overtook him with an arrow, wherewith he ſtruck him dead, and threw his carkaſs into that field, which, purchaſed with the bloud of the rightful owner, was to be watered with the bloud of the unjuſt poſſeſſor. Neither did *Ahazia* eſcape ſo well, but that he was arreſted by a Wound, which held him till death did ſeize upon him.

The Kings Palace was joyning to the wall, by the gate of the City, where *Jezabel* might ſoon be advertiſed of this calamity, if ſhe did not with her own eyes behold it. Now it was high time for her to call to God for mercy, whoſe judgment, pronounced againſt her long before, had overtaken her, when ſhe leaſt expected it. But ſhe, full of indignation and proud thoughts, made her ſelf ready in all haſte, and painted her face, hoping with her ſtately and imperious looks to daunt the Traitor, or at leaſt to utter ſome Apothegme that ſhould expreſs her brave ſpirit, and brand him with ſuch a reproach as might make him odious for ever. Little did ſhe think upon the hungry dogs that were ordained to devour her, whoſe paunches the *ſtibium*, with which ſhe be beſmeared her

eyes, would more offend, than the ſcolding language wherewith ſhe armed her tongue could trouble the ears of him that had her in his power. As *Jehu* drew near, ſhe opened her window, and looking out upon him, began to put him in mind of *Zimri*, that had not long enjoyed the fruits of his treaſon, and murther of the King his Maſter. This was in meer humane valuation ſtoutly ſpoken, but was indeed a part of miſerable folly; as are all things, howſoever laudable, if they have an ill relation to *God the Lord of all*. Her own Eunuchs that ſtood by and heard her, were not affected ſo much as with any compaſſion of her fortune; much leſs was her enemy daunted with her proud ſpirit. When Jehu ſaw that ſhe did uſe the little remainder of her life in ſeeking to vex him, he made her preſently to underſtand her own eſtate, by deeds and not by words. He only called to her ſervants to know which of them would be on his ſide, and ſoon found them ready to offer their ſervice before the very face of their proud Lady. Hereupon he commanded them to caſt her down head-long: which immediately they performed, without all regard of her greatneſs and eſtate, wherein ſhe had a few hours before ſhined ſo glorioufly in the eyes of men; of men that conſidered not the judgments of God that had been denounced againſt her.

So periſhed this accurſed woman by the rude hands of her own ſervants, at the commandment of her greateſt enemy, that was yeſterday her ſubject, but now her Lord: and ſhe periſhed miſerably, ſtrugling in vain with baſe grooms, who contumeliouſly did hale and thruſt her, whileſt her inſulting enemy ſate on horſe-back, adding indignity to her grief by ſcornful beholding the ſhameful manner of her fall, and trampling her body under foot. Her dead carkaſs that was left without the Walls, was devoured by dogs, and her very memory was odious. Thus the vengeance of God rewarded her Idolatry, murther, and oppreſſion, with ſlow, but ſure payment, and full intereſt.

Ahazia King of *Juda* fleeing a-pace from *Jehu*, was overtaken by the way where he lurked; and receiving his deadly Wound in the Kingdom of *Samaria*, was ſuffered to get him gone (which he did in all haſte) and ſeek his burial in his own Kingdom: and this favour he obtained for his Grandfathers ſake, not for his Fathers nor his own. He died at *Megiddo*, and was thence carried to *Jeruſalem*, where he was enterred with his Anceſtors, having reigned about one year.

CHAP. XXI.

Of Athalia; *and whoſe ſon he was that ſucceeded her.*

SECT. I.

Of Athalia's *uſurping the Kingdom, and what pretences ſhe might forge.*

2 *Chron.* 22. 9. AFter the death of *Ahazia*, it is ſaid that his houſe *was not able to retain the Kingdom:* which Note, and the proceedings of *Athalia* upon the death of her ſon, have given occaſion to divers opinions concerning the Pedigree of *Joas*, who reigned ſhortly after. For *Athalia* being thus diſpoiled of her ſon, under whoſe name ſhe had ruled at her pleaſure, did forthwith lay hold upon all the Princes of the bloud, and ſlew them, that ſo ſhe might occupy the Royal Throne her ſelf, and reign as Queen, rather than live a Subject. She had before-hand put into great place, and made Counſellors unto her ſon, ſuch as were fitteſt for her purpoſe, and ready at all times to execute her will: that ſhe kept a ſtrong guard about her, it is very likely; and as likely it is that the great execution done by *Jehoram*, upon the Princes, and many of the Nobility, had made the people tame, and fearful to ſtir, whatſoever they ſaw or heard.

Yet ambition, how violent ſoever it be, is ſeldom or never ſo ſhameleſs as to refuſe the commodity of goodly pretences offering themſelves; but rather ſcrapes together all that will any way ſerve to colour her proceedings. Wherefore it were not abſurd for us to think, that *Athalia*, when ſhe ſaw the Princes of the Royal bloud, all of them in a manner, ſlain by her husband, and afterwards his own children deſtroyed by the *Philiſtims*, began even to play her own game, reducing by artificial practice, into fair likelihoods, thoſe poſſibilities wherewith her husbands bad fortune had preſented her. Not without great ſhew of reaſon, either by her own mouth, or by ſome truſty creature of hers might ſhe give him to underſtand, how needful it were to take the beſt order whilſt as yet he might, for fear of the worſt that might happen. If the iſſue of *David*, which now remained only in his family, ſhould by any accident fail (as woful experience had already ſhewed what might after come to paſs) the people of *Juda* were not unlikely to chooſe a King of ſome new ſtock, a popular ſeditious man peradventure, one that to countenance his own unworthineſs, would not care what aſperſions he laid upon that Royal houſe, which was fallen down. And who could aſſure him, that ſome ambitious ſpirit, foreſeeing what might be gotten thereby, did not already contrive the deſtruction of him, and all his ſeed? Wherefore it were the wiſeſt way to deſign by his authority, not only his ſucceſſor, but alſo the reverſioner, and ſo to provide, that the Crown might never be ſubject to any rifling, but remain in the diſpoſition of them that loved him beſt, if the worſt that might be feared comming to paſs, his own poſterity could not retain it.

Such perſwaſions being urged, and earneſtly followed, by the importunate ſollicitation of her that governed his affections, were able to make the jealous Tyrant think, that the only way to fruſtrate all devices of ſuch as gaped after a change, was to make her heir, the laſt and youngeſt of his houſe, whom it moſt concerned, as being the Queen Mother, to uphold the firſt and eldeſt.

If *Athalia* took no ſuch courſe as this in her husbands time, yet might ſhe do it in her ſons. For *Ahazia* (beſides that he was wholly ruled by his mother) was not like to take much care for the ſecurity of his half-brethren,

thren, or their children; as accounting his Fathers other wives, in respect of his own-born-mother, little better than Concubines, and their children basely begotten. But if this mischievous woman forgat her self so far in her wicked policy, that she lost all opportunity which the weakness of her husband and son did afford, of procuring unto her self some seeming Title; yet could she afterwards feign some such matter, as boldly she might: being sure that none would ask to see her evidence, for fear of being sent to learn the certainty of her son or husband in another World. But I rather think that she took order for her affairs before-hand. For though she had no reason to suspect or fear the sudden death of her son, yet it was the wisest way to provide betimes against all that might happen, whilest her husbands issue by other women was young and unable to resist. We plainly find that the Brethren or Nephews of *Ahazia*, to the number of two and forty, were sent to the Court of *Israel*, only to salute the children of the King, and the children of the Queen. The slender occasion of which long journey, considered together with the quality of these persons (being in effect all the stock of *Jehoram* that could be grown to any strength) makes it very suspicious, that their entertainment in *Jezabels* house would only have been more formal, but little differing in substance, from that which they found at the hand of *Jehu*. He that looks into the courses held both before and after by these two Queens, will find cause enough to think no less. Of such as have aspired unto Lordships not belonging to them, and thrust out the right Heirs by pretence of Testaments, that had no other validity than the sword of such as claimed by them could give, Histories of late, yea of many Ages, afford plentiful examples: and the rule of *Solomon* is true: *Is there any thing whereof one may say, Behold, this is new? It hath been already in the old time that was before us.* That a King might shed his brothers blood, was proved by *Solomon* upon *Adonija*; that he might alien the Crown from his natural Heirs, *David* had given proof; but these had good ground of their doings. They which follow examples that please them, will neglect the reasons of those examples, if they please them not, and rest contented with the practice, as more willing by shewing what they may do, than acknowledging why *Solomon* slew his brother that had begun one rebellion, and was entring into another. Jehoram *slew all his brethren, which were better than he*: *David* purchased the Kingdom, and might the more freely dispose of it, yet he disposed of it as the Lord appointed: if *Jehoram*, who had lost much and gotten nothing, thought that he might alien the remainder at his pleasure, or if *Ahazia* sought to cut off the succession of his brethren, or of their issue; either of these was to be answered with the words which *Jehojada* the Priest used afterwards, in declaring the title of *Joash*: *Behold, the Kings son must reign; as the Lord hath said of the son of* David. Wherefore though I hold it very probable, that *Athalia* did pretend some title, whatsoever it might be, to the Crown of *Juda*; yet it is most certain that she had thereunto no right at all, but only got it by treachery, murder, and open violence, and so she held it six whole years, and a part of the seventh, in good seeming security.

Eccles. 1. 10

2 *Chro.* 21. 13.

SECT. II.

How Jehu *spent his time in* Israel, *so that he could not molest* Athalia.

IN all this time *Jehu* did never go about to disturb her; which in reason he was likely to desire, being an enemy to her whole House. But he was occupied at the first in establishing himself, rooting out the posterity of *Ahab*, and reforming somewhat in Religion: afterwards in wars against the *Aramites*, wherein he was so far overcharged, that hardly he could retain his own, much less attempt upon others. Of the line of *Ahab* there were seventy living in *Samaria*, out of which number *Jehu* by letter advised the Citizens to set up some one as King, and to prepare themselves to fight in his defence. Hereby might they gather how confident he was; which they well understood to proceed from greater power about him, than they could gather to resist him. Wherefore they took example by the two Kings whom he had slain, and being exceedingly afraid of him, they offered him their service; wherein they so readily shewed themselves obedient, that in less than one days warning, they sent him the heads of all those Princes, as they were enjoyned by a second letter from him. After this he surprized all the Priests of *Baal* by a subtilty, feigning a great sacrifice to their god, by which means he drew them all together into one Temple, where he slew them: and in the same zeal to God utterly demolished all the monuments of that impiety.

Concerning the Idolatry devised by *Jeroboam*, no King of *Israel* had ever greater reason than *Jehu* to destroy it. For he needed not to fear lest the people should be allured unto the house of *David*; it was (in appearance) quite rooted up, and the Crown of *Juda* in the possession of a cruel Tyranness: he had received his kingdom by the unexpected grace of God; and further in regard of his zeal expressed in destroying *Baal* out of *Israel*, he was promised notwithstanding his following the sin of *Jeroboam*, that the kingdom should remain in his Family to the fourth Generation. But all this would not serve; he would needs help to piece out Gods providence with his own circumspection; doing therein like a foolish greedy gamester, who by stealing a needless Card to assure himself of winning a stake, forfeits his whole test. He had questionless displeased many, by that which he did against *Baal*; and many more he should offend by taking from them the use of superstition, so long practised as was that Idolatry of *Jeroboam*. Yet all these, how many soever they were, had never once thought upon making him King, if God, whom (to retain them) he now forsook, had not given him the Crown, when more difficulties appeared in the way of getting it, that could at any time after be found in the means of holding it.

This ingratitude of *Jehu* drew terrible vengeance of God upon *Israel*, whereof *Hazael* King of *Damascus* was the executioner. The cruelty of this barbarous Prince we may find in the Prophecy of *Elizeus*, who fore-told it, saying: *Their strong Cities shalt thou set on fire; and their young men shalt thou slay with the sword, and shalt dash their Infants against the stones, and rend in pieces their women with child.* So did not only the wickedness of *Ahab* cause the ruine of his whole house, but the obstinate Idolatry of the people bring a lamentable misery upon all the Land. For the fury of *Hazaels* victory was not quenched with the destruction of a few towns, nor wearied with one invasion;

2 *King.* 8. 12.

but he *ſmote them in all the coaſt of* Iſrael, and waſted
2 *King.* 10. 32. all the Country beyond the River of *Jordan*. Notwithſtanding all theſe calamities, it ſeems that the people repented not of their Idolatry (*For in thoſe days the Lord began to loath* Iſrael;) but rather it is likely, that they bemoaned the noble houſe of *Ahab*, under which they had beaten thoſe enemies to whom they were now a prey, and had bravely fought for the conqueſt of *Syria*, where they had enlarged their border, by winning *Ramoth Gilead*, and compelled *Benhadad* to reſtore the Cities which his Father had won: whereas now they were fain to make woful ſhifts, living under a Lord that had better fortune and courage in murdering his maſter that had put him in truſt, than in defending his people from their cruel enemies. Thus it commonly falls out, that they who can find all manner of difficulties in ſerving him, to whom nothing is difficult, are, in ſtead of the eaſe and the pleaſure to themſelves propounded by contrary courſes, overwhelmed with the troubles which they ſought to avoid; and therein by God, whom they firſt forſook, forſaken, and left unto the wretched labours of their own blind wiſdom, wherein they had repoſed all their confidence.

SECT. III.

Of Athaliah's *Government.*

THeſe calamities falling upon *Iſrael*, kept *Athalia* ſafe on that ſide, giving her leiſure to look to things at home: as having little to do abroad, unleſs it were ſo that ſhe held ſome correſpondency with *Hazael*, pretending therein to imitate her Husbands Grand-father King *Aſa*, who had done the like. And ſome probability that ſhe did ſo, may be gathered out of that which is recorded of her doings. For
2 *Chro.* 24. 7. we find, that this *wicked* Athalia *and her children brake up the houſe of God, and all things that were dedicate for the houſe of the Lord, did they beſtow upon* Baalim. Such a ſacriledge, though it proceeded from a deſire to ſet out her own Idolatry, with ſuch pomp as might make it the more glorious in the peoples eyes, was not likely to want ſome fair pretext of neceſſity of the State ſo requiring? in which caſe others before her had made bold with that holy place, and her next ſucceſſour was fain to do the like, being thereunto forced by *Hazael*, who perhaps was delighted with the taſte of that which was formerly thence extracted for his ſake.

Under this impious government of *Athalia*, the devotion of the Prieſts and Levites was very notable, and ſerved (no doubt) very much to retain the people in the Religion taught by God himſelf, howſoever the Queens proceedings advanced the contrary. For the poverty of that ſacred Tribe of *Levi* muſt needs have been exceeding great at this time, all their lands and poſſeſſions in the ten Tribes being utterly loſt, the oblations and other perquiſites, by which they lived, being now very few and ſmall; and the ſtore, laid up in better times under godly Kings, being all taken away by ſhameful robbery. Yet they up-held in all this miſery the ſervice of God, and the daily ſacrifice, keeping daily their courſes, and performing obedience to the high Prieſt, no leſs than in thoſe days wherein their entertainment was far better.

SECT. IV.

Of the preſervation of Joas.

JEhojada then occupied the high Prieſthood, an honourable, wiſe, and religious man. To his carefulneſs it may be aſcribed, that the ſtate of the Church was in ſome ſlender ſort up-held in thoſe unhappy times. His Wife was *Jehoſhabeth*, who was daughter of King *Jehoram*, and ſiſter to *Ahazia*, a godly Lady and vertuous, whoſe piety makes it ſeem that *Athalia* was not her Mother, though her acceſs to the Court argues the contrary: but her diſcreet carriage might more eaſily procure her welcome to her own Fathers houſe, than the education under ſuch a Mother could have permitted her to be ſuch as ſhe was. By her care *Joaſh* the young Prince that reigned ſoon after, was conveyed out of the nurſery, when *Athalia* deſtroyed all the Kings children, and was carried ſecretly into the Temple, where as ſecretly he was brought up. How it came to paſs that this young child was not hunted out, when his body was miſſing; nor any great reckoning (for ought that we find) made of his eſcape, I will not ſtand to examine: for it was not good in policy, that the people ſhould hear ſay, that one of the children had avoided that cruel blow; it might have made them hearken after innovations, and ſo be the leſs conformable to their preſent government. So *Joaſh* was delivered out of that ſlaughter, he and his nurſe being gone no man could tell whither, and might be thought peradventure to be caſt away, as having no other guard than a poor Woman that gave him ſuck, who fooliſhly doubting that ſhe her ſelf ſhould have been ſlain, was fled away with him into ſome deſolate place, where it was like enough that ſhe and he ſhould periſh. In ſuch caſes flatterers, or men deſirous of reward, eaſily coyn ſuch tales, and rather ſwear them to be true in their own knowledge, than they will loſe the thanks due to their joyful tidings.

SECT. V.

Whoſe Son Joas *was.*

¶. I.

Whether Joas *may be thought likely to have been the Son of* Ahazia.

NOw concerning this *Joaſh*, whoſe ſon he was, it is a thing of much difficulty to affirm, and hath cauſed much controverſie among Writers. The places of Scripture, which call him *the ſon of* Ahazia, 2 *King.* 11. 2. & 2 *Chr.* 22. 11. ſeem plain enough. How any figure of the *Hebrew* language might give title of Son unto him, in regard that he was his Succeſſour, I neither by my ſelf can find, nor can by any help of Authors learn how to anſwer the difficulties appearing in the contrary opinions of them, that think him to have been, or not, the natural ſon of *Ahaziah*. For whereas it is ſaid, that *the houſe of* Ahazia *was not able to retain the Kingdom*; ſome do infer that this *Joaſh* was not properly called his ſon, but was the next of his kindred, and therefore ſucceeded him, as ſon in the inheritance of his Father. And hereunto the 2 *Chro.* 22. 9.

murder

murder committed by *Athalia*, doth very well agree. For ſhe perceiving that the Kingdom was to fall into their hands, in whom ſhe had no intereſt, might eaſily find cauſe to fear, that the Tyranny exerciſed by her Husband at her inſtigation upon ſo many noble Houſes, would now be revenged upon her ſelf. The ruine of her Idolatrous Religion might in this caſe terrifie both her and her Minions; the ſentence of the Law rewarding that offence with death; and the Tragedy of *Jezabel* teaching her what might happen to another Queen. All this had little concerned her, if her own Grand-child had been heir to the Crown; for ſhe that had power enough to make her ſelf Queen, could with more eaſe, and leſs envy, have taken upon her the office of a Protector, by which authority ſhe might have done her pleaſure, and been the more both obeyed by others, and ſecure of her own Eſtate, as not wanting an Heir. Wherefore it was not needful, that ſhe ſhould be ſo unnatural, as to deſtroy the Child of her own Son, of whoſe life ſhe might have made greater uſe than ſhe could of his death: whereas indeed, the love of Grand-mothers to their Nephews, is little leſs than the Mothers to their children.

This argument is very ſtrong. For it may ſeem incredible, that all natural affection ſhould be caſt aſide, when as neither neceſſity urgeth, nor any commodity thereby gotten requireth it, yea, when all humane policy doth teach one the ſame, which nature without reaſon would have perſwaded.

§. II.

That Joas *did not deſcend from* Nathan.

But (as it is more eaſie to find a difficulty in that which is related, than to ſhew how it might have otherwiſe been) the pedigree of this *Joaſh* is, by them which think him not the ſon of *Ahazia*, ſet down in ſuch ſort, that it may very juſtly be ſuſpected. They ſay, that he deſcended from *Nathan* the ſon of *David*, and not from *Solomon*: to which purpoſe they bring a Hiſtory (I know not whence) of two Families of the race of *David*, ſaying, that the line of *Solomon* held the Kingdom with this condition, that if at any time it failed, the Family of *Nathan* ſhould ſucceed it. Concerning this *Nathan* the ſon of *David*, there are that would have him to be *Nathan* the Prophet, who, as they think, was by *David* adopted. And of this opinion was *Origen*, as alſo St. *Auguſtine* ſometimes was, but afterward he revoked it, as was meet; for this *Nathan* is reckoned among the ſons of *David*, by *Bethſua* the daughter of *Ammes*, and therefore could not be the Prophet. *Gregory Nazianzen* (as I find him cited by *Peter Martyr*) and after him *Eraſmus*, and *Faber Stapulenſis*, have likewiſe held the ſame of *Joaſh*, deriving him from *Nathan*. But *Nathan* and thoſe other brethren of *Solomon* by the ſame Mother, are thought, upon good likelihoods to have been the Children of *Uriah* the *Hittite*: and ſo are they accounted by ſundry of the Fathers, and by *Lyra*, and *Abulenſis*, who follow the *Hebrew* Expoſitors of that place in the firſt of *Chronicles*. The words of *Solomon* calling himſelf the only begotten of his Mother, do approve this Expoſition: For we read no more than two ſons which *Bethſua* or *Bethſheba* did bear unto *David*, whereof one begotten in Adultery, died an Infant, and *Solomon* only of her Children by the King did live. So that the reſt muſt needs have been the Children of *Uriah*, and are thought to have been *Davids* only by adoption. Wherefore if *Joas* had not been the ſon of *Ahazia*, then muſt that pedigree have been falſe, wherein S. *Matthew* deriveth him lineally from *Solomon*; yea, then had not *our bleſſed Saviour* iſſued from the loins of *David*, according to the fleſh, but had only been of his line by courteſie of the Nation, and form of Law, as any other might have been. As for the authority of *Philo*, which hath drawn many late Writers into the opinion that *Joaſh* was not of the poſterity of *Solomon*, it is enough to ſay, that this was *Friar Annius* his *Philo*: For no other Edition of *Philo*, hath any ſuch matter; but *Annius* can make Authors to ſpeak what he liſt.

1 *Chron.* 3. 5.

§. III.

That Joas *may probably be thought to have been the ſon of* Jehoram.

In ſo doubtful a caſe, if it ſeem lawful to hold an opinion that no man hath yet thought upon, methinks it were not amiſs to open at once, and peruſe together two places of Scripture, whereof the one telling the wickedneſs of *Jehoram* the ſon of *Jehoſaphat* King of *Juda*, for which he and his Children periſhed, rehearſeth it as one of Gods Mercies towards the houſe of *David*, that according to his promiſe he would *give him a Light, and to his Children for ever*: the other doth ſay, that for the offences of the ſame *Jehoram*, *there was not a ſon left him, ſave* Jehoahas *the youngeſt of his Sons*. Now if it were in regard of Gods promiſe to *David*, that after thoſe Maſſacres of *Jehoram* upon all his Brethren, and of the *Philiſtims* and *Arabians* upon the children of *Jehoram*, one of the ſeed of *David* eſcaped; why may it not be thought that he was ſaid to have eſcaped, in whom the line of *David* was preſerved? For had all the race of *Solomon* been rooted up in theſe woeful Tragedies, and the progeny of *Nathan* ſucceeded in place thereof; like enough it is that ſome remembrance more particular would have been extant, of an event ſo memorable. That the race of *Nathan* was not extinguiſhed, it is indeed apparent by the *Genealogie* of our Lord, as it is recounted by St. *Luke*: But the preſervation of the Houſe of *David*, mentioned in the Book of *Kings* and *Chronicles*, was performed in the perſon of *Jehoahas*, in whom the Royal branch of *Solomon*, the natural, and not only legal iſſue remaining of *David* was kept alive. Wherefore it may be thought that this *Joaſh*, who followed *Athalia* in the Kingdom, was the youngeſt ſon of *Jehoram*, whoſe life *Athalia*, as a Step-dame, was not likely to purſue. For it were not eaſily underſtood, why the preſervation of *Davids* line, by Gods eſpecial Mercy, in regard of his Promiſe made, ſhould pertain rather to that time, when beſides *Ahazia* himſelf, there were two and forty of his Brethren, or (as in another place they are called) ſons of his Brethren remaining alive, which afterwards were all ſlain by *Jehu*; than have reference to the lamentable deſtruction, and little leſs than extirpation of that Progeny, wherein one only did eſcape. Certainly that inhumane Murther which *Jehoram* committed upon his brethren, if it were (as appeareth in the Hiſtory) revenged upon his own children; then was not this vengeance of God accompliſhed by the *Philiſtims* and *Arabians*, but being only begun by them, was afterwards proſecuted by *Jehu*, and finally took effect by the hands of that ſame wicked Woman, at whoſe inſtigation he had committed ſuch barbarous outrage. And from this execution of Gods heavy judgment laid upon *Jehoram* and all his children, only *Jehoahas* his youngeſt ſon was exempted; whom therefore I ſhould affirm to be the ſame with *Joas*, which is called the ſon of *Ahazia*, I ſhould

2 *Kings* 8. 19.

2 *Kings* 10. 13.

2 *Chron.* 21. 8.

2 *Chron.* 24. 14.

ſhould not want good probability. Some further appearance of neceſſity there is, which doth argue that it could no otherwiſe have been. For it was the youngeſt ſon of *Jehoram*, in whom the race was preſerved; which could not in any likelihood be *Ahazia*, ſeeing that he was twenty years old at the leaſt (as is already noted) when he began to reign, and conſequently, was born in the eighteenth or twentieth year of his Fathers age. Now I know not whether of the two is more unlikely, either that *Jehoram* ſhould have begotten many Children before he was eighteen years old, or that having (as he had) many Wives and Children, he ſhould upon the ſudden, at his eighteenth year, become unfruitful, and beget no more in twenty years following: each of which muſt had been true, if this were true that *Ahazia* was the ſame *Jehoahas* which was his youngeſt ſon. But this inconvenience is taken away, and thoſe other doubts ariſing from the cauſleſs cruelty of *Athalia*, in ſeeking the life of *Joas* are eaſily cleared, if *Joas* and *Jehoahas* were one. Neither doth his age withſtand this opinion; For he was *ſeven years old when he began to reign*; which if we underſtood of years compleat, he might have been a year old at the death of *Jehoram*, being begotten ſomewhat after the beginning of his ſickneſs. Neither is it more abſurd to ſay that he was the natural ſon of *Jehoram*, though called the ſon of *Ahazia*, than it were to ſay, as great Authors have done, this difficulty notwithſtanding, that he was of the Poſterity of *Nathan*. One thing indeed I know not how to anſwer; which, had it concurred with the reſt, might have ſerved as the foundation of this opinion. The name of *Jehoahas*, that ſoundeth much more near to *Joas*, than to *Ahaziah*, in an Engliſh ear, doth in the *Hebrew* (as I am informed by ſome, skilful in that language) through the diverſity of certain Letters, differ much from that which it moſt reſembleth in our Weſtern manner of writing, and little from the other. Now, although it be ſo that *Ahazia* himſelf be alſo called *Azaria*, and moſt have had three names, if he were the ſame with *Jehoahas*; in which manner *Joas* might alſo have had ſeveral names; yet, becauſe I find no other warrant hereof than a bare poſſibility, I will not preſume to build an opinion upon the weak foundation of mine own conjecture, but leave all to the conſideration of ſuch as have more ability to judg, and leiſure to conſider of this point.

2 Chron. 23. 1.

2 Chron. 22. 5.

§. IV.

Upon what reaſons Athalia *might ſeek to deſtroy* Joas, *if he were her own Grand-child.*

IF therefore we ſhall follow that which is commonly received, and interpret the Text according to the Letter, it may be ſaid, that *Athalia* was not only blinded by the paſſions of Ambition and Zeal to her Idolatrous worſhip of *Baalam*, but purſued the accompliſhment of ſome unnatural deſires, in ſeeking the deſtruction of her Grand-child, and the reſt of the Blood-Royal. For whether it were ſo that *Athalia* (as proud and cruel Wome are not always chaſt) had imitated the liberty of *Jezabel* her Siſter in Law, whoſe Whoredoms were upbraided by *Jehu* to her ſon; or whether ſhe had Children by ſome former Husband, before ſhe was married unto *Jehoram* (which is not unlikely, in regard of her age, who was daughter of *Omri*, and Siſter to *Ahab*) certain it is that ſhe had Sons of her own, and thoſe old enough to be employed, as they were, in robbing of the Temple. So it is not greatly to be wondred at, that to ſettle the Crown upon her own Children, ſhe did ſeek to cut off, by wicked policy, all other claims. As for *Joas*, if ſhe were his Grand-mother, yet ſhe might miſtruſt the intereſt which his Mother would have in him, leſt when he came to years, it might draw him from her devotion. And hereof (beſides that Women do commonly better love their Daughters Husbands, than their Sons Wives) there is ſome appearance in the reign of her Son; for ſhe made him ſpend all his time in idle journeys, to no other apparent end, than that ſhe might rule at home; and he living abroad be eſtranged from his Wife, and entertain ſome new fancies, wherein *Jezabel* had cunning enough to be his Tutoreſs. But when the ſword of *Jehu* had rudely cut in ſunder all theſe fine devices, then was *Athalia* fain to go roundly to work, and do as ſhe did, whereby ſhe thought to make all ſure. Otherwiſe, if (as I could rather think) ſhe were only Step-dame to *Joas*, we need not ſeek into the reaſons moving her to take away his life; her own hatred was cauſe enough to diſpatch him among the firſt.

2 Kings 9. 22.

SECT. VI.

A digreſſion, wherein is maintained the liberty of uſing conjecture in Hiſtories.

THus much concerning the Perſon of *Joas*, from whom, as from a new root, the Tree of *David* was propagated into many Branches. In handling of which Matter, the more I conſider the nature of this Hiſtory, and the diverſity between it and others, the leſs me-thinks I need to ſuſpect mine own preſumption, as deſerving blame, for curioſity in matter of doubt, or boldneſs in liberty of conjecture. For all Hiſtories do give us information of humane counſels and events, as far forth as the knowledg and faith of the Writers can afford; but of Gods Will, by which all things are ordered, they ſpeak only at random, and many times falſly. This we often find in prophane Writers, who aſcribe the ill ſucceſs of great undertakings, to the neglect of ſome impious Rites, whereof indeed God abhorred the performance as vehemently, as they thought him to be highly offended with the omiſſion. Hereat we may the leſs wonder, if we conſider the anſwer made by the *Jews* in *Egypt* unto *Jeremy* the Prophet, reprehending their Idolatry. For howſoever the written Law of God was known unto the People, and his puniſhments laid upon them for contempt thereof were very terrible, and even then but newly executed; yet were they ſo obſtinately bent unto their Wills, that they would not by any means be drawn to acknowledg the true cauſe of their affliction, but they told the Prophet roundly, that they would worſhip the *Queen of Heaven*, as they and their Fathers, their Kings and their Princes had uſed to do: *For then* (ſaid they) *had we plenty of Victuals, and were well, and felt no evil:* Adding, that all manner of miſeries were befaln them, ſince they left off that ſervice of the *Queen of Heaven*. So blind is the wiſdom of Man, in looking into the Counſel of God, which to find out, there is no better nor other guide than his own written Will not perverted by vain additions.

Jer. 44. 17, 18.

But this Hiſtory of the Kings of *Iſrael* and *Juda* hath herein a ſingular prerogative above all that have been written by the moſt ſufficient of meerely humane Authors: it ſetteth down expreſly the true, and firſt cauſes that happened; not in imputing the death of *Ahab* to his over-frowardneſs in Battel; the ruine of his Family, to the ſecurity of *Jehoram*,

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in *Jezreel*; not the Victories of *Hazael*, to the great commotions raised in *Israel* by the coming of *Jehu*; but referring all unto the Will of God, I mean, to his revealed Will, from which that his hidden purposes do not vary, this Story, by many great examples, gives most notable proof. True it is, that the concurrence of second causes with their effects, is in these Books nothing largely described; nor perhaps exactly in any of those Histories that are in these points most copious. For it was well noted by that worthy Gentleman, Sir *Philip Sidney*, that Historians do borrow of Poets, not only much of their Ornament, but somewhat of their substance. Informations are often false, Records not always true, and notorious Actions commonly insufficient to discover the Passions which do set them first on foot, Wherefore they are fain (I speak of the best, and in that which is allowed; for to take out of *Livy* every one circumstance of *Claudius* his Journey against *Asdrubal* in *Italy*, fitting all to another Business, or any Practice of that kind, is neither Historical, nor Poetical) to search into the particular humour of Princes, and of those which have Governed their Affections, or the Instruments by which they wrought; from whence they do collect the most likely motives or impediments of every business; and so figuring as near to the life as they can imagine, the matter in hand, they judiciously consider the defects in counsel, or obliquity in proceeding.

Sir *Philip Sid.* in his Apol. for Poetry.

Yet all this, for the most part, is not enough to give assurance, howsoever it may give satisfaction. For the heart of Man is unsearchable: and Princes, howsoever their intents be seldom hidden from some of those many eyes which pry both into them, and into such as live about them; yet sometimes either by their own close temper, by some subtil mists, they conceal the truth from all reports. Yea, many times the affections themselves lie dead, and buried in oblivion, when the preparations which they begat, are converted to another use. The industry of an Historian, having so many things to weary it, may well be excused, when finding apparent cause enough of things done, it forbeareth to make further search; though it often fall out, where sundry occasions work to the same end, that one small matter in a weak mind is more effectual, than many that seem far greater. So comes it many times to pass, that great fires, which consume whole Houses or Towns, begin with a few straws, that are wasted or not seen; when the flame is discovered, having fastened upon some Wood-pile, that catcheth all about it. Questionless it is, that the War commenced by *Darius*, and pursued by *Xerxes* against the *Greeks*, proceeded from desire of the *Persians* to enlarge their Empire: Howsoever the enterprize of the *Athenians* upon *Sardes*, was noised abroad as the Ground of that Quarrel; yet *Herodotus* telleth us, that the wanton desire of the Queen *Atossa*, to have the *Grecian* dames her Bond-women, did first move *Darius* to prepare for this War before he had received any injury, and when he did not yet so much desire to get more, as to enjoy what was already gotten.

Hero. l. 1.

I will not here stand to argue whether *Herodotus* be more justly reprehended by some, or defended by others, for alledging the vain appetite, and secret speech of the Queen in Bed with her Husband, as the cause of those great evils following; this I may boldly affirm (having, I think, in every estate some sufficient witness) that matters of much consequence, founded in all seeming upon substantial reasons, have issued indeed from such petty trifles, as no Historian would either think upon, or could well search out.

Therefore it was a good answer that *Sixtus Quintus* the Pope, made to a certain Friar, coming to visit him in his Popedom, as having long before in his meaner estate, been his familiar Friend. This poor Friar, being emboldened by the Pope to use his old liberty of speech, adventured to tell him, that he very much wondered how it was possible for his Holiness, whom he rather took for a direct honest Man, than any cunning Polititian, to attain unto the Papacy; in compassing of which, all the subtilty (said he) of the most crafty brains, find work enough: and therefore the more I think upon the Art of the Conclave, and your unaptness thereto, the more I needs must wonder. Pope *Sixtus* to satisfie the plain dealing Friar, dealt with him again as plainly, saying; Hadst thou lived abroad as I have done, and seen by what folly this World is Governed, thou wouldst wonder at nothing.

Surely, if this be referred unto those exorbitant Engines, by which the course of affairs is moved, the Pope said true. For the wisest of Men are not without their Vanities, which requiring and finding mutual Toleration, work more closely, and earnestly, than right reason either needs or can. But if we lift up our thoughts to that Supreme Governour, of whose Empire all that is true, which by the Poet was said of *Jupiter*.

Qui terram inertem, qui mare temperat
Ventosum, & urbes, regnaque tristia,
Divosque mortalesque turmas,
Imperio regit unus æquo.

Who rules the duller Earth, the Wind swoln streams,
The civil Cities, and th'infernal Realms,
Who th'Host of Heaven, and the mortal Band,
Alone doth Govern by his just Command.

Then shall we find the quite contrary. In him there is no uncertainty nor change, he foreseeth all things, and all things disposeth to his own Honour; He neither deceiveth nor can be deceived; but continuing one and the same for ever, doth constantly Govern all Creatures by that Law, which He hath prescribed, and will never alter. The vanities of Men beguile their vain contrivers, and the prosperity of the wicked, is the way leading to their destruction: yea, this broad and head-long passage to Hell, is not so delightful as it seems at the first entrance, but hath growing in it, besides the poysons which infect the soul, many cruel thorns deeply wounding the Body; all which if any few escape, they have only this miserable advantage of others, that their descent was the more swift and expedite. But the Service of God is the Path guiding us to perfect happiness, and hath in it a true, though not compleat felicity, yielding such abundance of joy to the Conscience, as doth easily countervail all afflictions whatsoever; though indeed those brambles that sometimes tears the skin of such as walk in this blessed Way, do commonly lay hold upon them at such time as they sit down to take their ease, and make them wish themselves at their journeys end, in the presence of their Lord whom they faithfully serve, in whose *presence is the fulness of joy, and at whose right Hand are pleasures for ever.* *Psal. 65. 11.*

Wherefore it being the end and scope of all History, to teach by example of times past, such Wisdom as may guide our desires and actions, we should not marvel though the *Chronicles of the Kings of* Juda *and* Israel, being written by Men inspired with the Spirit of God, instruct us chiefly, in that which

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is moſt requiſite for us to know; as the means to attain unto true felicity, both here, and hereafter, propounding examples which illuſtrate this infallible rule, *The fear of the Lord is the beginning of Wiſdom.* Had the expedition of *Xerxes* (as it was foretold by *Daniel*) been written by ſome Prophet after the captivity: we may well believe that the Counſel of God therein, and the Executioners of his righteous Will, ſhould have occupied either the whole or the principal room in that Narration. Yet had not the purpoſe of *Darius*, the deſire of his Wife, and the buſineſs at *Sardes*, with other occurrents, been the leſs true, though they might have been omitted, as the leſs material: But theſe things it had been lawful for any Man to gather out of prophane Hiſtories, or out of Circumſtances otherwiſe appearing, wherein he ſhould not have done injury to the Sacred Writings, as long as he had forborn to derogate from the firſt cauſes, by aſcribing to the ſecond more than was due.

Such, or little different, is the buſineſs that I have now in hand: wherein I cannot believe that any Man of judgment will tax me, as either fabulous or preſumptuous. For he doth not feign, that rehearſeth probabilities as bare conjectures; neither doth he deprave the Text, that ſeeketh to illuſtrate and make good in humane reaſon, thoſe things which Authority alone, without further Circumſtance, ought to have confirmed in every Mans belief. And this may ſuffice in defence of the liberty which I have uſed in conjectures, and may hereafter uſe when occaſion ſhall require, as neither unlawful, nor miſ-beſeeming an Hiſtorian.

SECT. VII.

The conſpiracy againſt Athalia.

WHen *Athalia* had now ſix years and longer worn the Crown of *Juda*, and had found neither any forreign Enemy, nor domeſtical Adverſary to diſturb her poſſeſſion, ſuddenly the period of her Glory, and reward of her wickedneſs meeting together, took her away without any warning, by a violent and ſhameful death. For the growth of the young Prince began to be ſuch, as permitted him no longer to be concealed, and it had been very unfitting that his Education ſhould be ſimple, to make him ſeem the Child of ſome poor Man (as for his ſafety it was requiſite) when his Capacity required to have been indued with the ſtomack and qualities meet for a King. All this *Jehojada* the Prieſt conſidered, and withal, the great increaſe of Impiety, which taking deep root in the Court, was likely to ſpread it ſelf over all the Country, if care were not uſed to weed it up very ſpeedily. Wherefore he aſſociated unto himſelf five of the Captains, in whoſe fidelity he had beſt aſſurance; and having taken an oath of them, and ſhewed them the Kings ſon, he made a Covenant with them, to advance him to the Kingdom. Theſe drew in others of the principal Men, to countenance the action, procuring at the firſt only that they ſhould repair to *Jeruſalem*, where they were further acquainted with the whole Matter. There needed not many perſwaſions to win them to the buſineſs: The promiſe of the Lord unto the Houſe of *David*, was enough to aſſure them that the action was both lawful, and likely to ſucceed as they deſired.

But in compaſſing their intent, ſome difficulties appeared: For it was not to be hoped, that with open force they ſhould bring their purpoſe to good iſſue; neither were the Captains, and other Aſſociates of *Jehojada* able by cloſe working, to draw together ſo many truſty and ſerviceable hands as would ſuffice to mannage the buſineſs. To help in this caſe, the Prieſt gave order to ſuch of the Levites that had finiſhed their courſes waiting on the Divine Service at the Temple, and were now relieved by others that ſucceeded in their turns, that they ſhould not depart until they knew his further diſpleaſure. So by admitting the new comers, and not diſcharging the old, he had, without any noiſe, made up ſuch a number, as would be able to deal with the Queens ordinary Guard, and that was enough: for if the Tyranneſs did not prevail againſt them at the firſt brunt, the favour of the People was like to ſhew it ſelf on their ſide, who made head againſt her. Theſe Levites were placed in the inner Court of the Temple, about the perſon of the King, who as yet was kept cloſe; the followers of the Captains, and other Adherents, were beſtowed in the outer Courts: As for Weapons, the Temple it ſelf had ſtore enough; King *David* had left an Armory to the place, which was now employed in defence of his iſſue.

All things being in readineſs, and the day come, wherein this high deſign was to be put in execution; *Jehojada* delivered unto the Captains, Armour for them and their adherents, appointed a Guard unto the Kings perſon, produced him openly, and gave unto him the Crown; uſing all ceremonies accuſtomed in ſuch Solemnities, with great applauſe of the People. Of theſe doings, the Queen was the laſt that heard any word. Which is not ſo ſtrange as it may ſeem: for inſolent natures, by dealing outragiouſly with ſuch as bring them ill-tidings, do commonly loſe the benefit of hearing what is to be feared, whilſt yet it may be prevented, and have no information of danger, till their own eyes, amazed with the ſuddenneſs, behold it in the ſhape of inevitable miſchief.

All *Jeruſalem* was full of the rumour, and entertained it with very good liking. Some carried home the news, others ran forth to ſee, and the common joy was ſo great, that without apprehenſion of peril, under the windows of the Court, were the People running and praiſing the King. *Athalia* hearing and beholding the extraordinary concourſe, and noiſe of folks in the ſtreets, making towards the Temple, with much unuſual paſſion in their looks, did preſently conceive, that ſomewhat worthy of her care was happened; though, what it might be, ſhe did not apprehend. Howſoever it were, ſhe meant to uſe her own wiſdom in looking into the matter, and ordering all as the occaſion might happen to require. It may be, that ſhe thought it ſome eſpecial ſolemnity uſed in the Divine Service, which cauſed this much adoe; and hereof the unaccuſtomed number of Levites, and of other devout Men, about the Town, might give ſome preſumption. *2 Chron. 23. 12.*

Many things argue that ſhe little thought upon her own Tragedy; although *Joſephus* would make it ſeem otherwiſe. For we find in the Text, *She came to the People in the Houſe of the Lord*, (which was near to her Palace) and that when ſhe looked and ſaw the King ſtand by his Pillar, as the manner was with the Princes, or Great Men of the Land by him, and the Trumpeters proclaiming him; ſhe rent her cloths, and cried Treaſon, Treaſon. Hereby it appears that ſhe was quietly going, without any miſtruſt or fear, to take her place; which when ſhe found occupied by another, then ſhe began to afflict her ſelf, as one caſt away, and cried out in vain upon the Treaſon, whereby ſhe ſaw that ſhe muſt periſh. But that ſhe came with a Guard of armed Men to the Temple, (as *2 Chron. 23. 12. & 13. 2. 1 Kings c. 11. 7. & 13. 14.*

Joſephus

Josephus reporteth) and that her company being beaten back, she entred alone, and commanded the people to kill the young Tyrant, I find no where in Scripture, neither do I hold it credible. For had she truly known how things went, she should surely have gathered her friends about her, and used those forces in defence of her Crown, by which she gat it, and hitherto had held it. Certainly, if it were granted, that she, like a new *Semiramis*, did march in the head of her troop, yet it had been meer madness in her, to enter the place alone, when her assistants were kept out; but if she, perceiving that neither her authority, nor their own weapons, could prevail to let in her guard, would nevertheless take upon her to command the death of the new King, calling a child of seven years old a Conspirator, and bidding them to kill him, whom she saw to be armed in his defence, may we not think that she was mad in the most extreme degree? Certain it is that the counsel of God would have taken effect, in her destruction, had she used the most likely means to disappoint it: yet we need not so cut her throat with any moral impossibilities. It is enough to say, that the godly zeal of *Jehojada* found more easie success, through her indiscretion, than otherwise could have been expected; so that at his appointment, she was without more ado, carried out of the Temple and slain, yea so, that no bloud, save her own, was shed in that quarrel; her small train that she brought along with her, not daring to stand in her defence.

SECT. VIII.

The death of Athalia, *with a comparison of her and* Jezabel.

MOst like it is, that *Athalia* had many times, with great indignation, bewailed the rashness of her Nephew *Jehoram* the *Israelite*, who did foolishly cast himself into the very throat of danger, gaping upon him, only through his eager desire of quickly knowing what the matter meant: yet she her self, by the like bait, was taken in the like trap, and having lived such a life as *Jezabel* had don, was rewarded with a suitable death. These two Queens were in many points much alike, each of them was Daughter, Wife, and Mother to a King; each of them ruled her Husband; was an Idolatress and a Murdress. The onely difference appearing in their condition, is, that *Jezabel* is more noted as incontinent of body, *Athalia* as ambitious: So that each of them surviving her Husband about eight years, did spend their time in satisfying her own affections; the one using tyranny, as the exercise of her haughty mind; the other painting her face, for the ornament of her unchaste body. In the manner of their death little difference there was, or in those things which may seem in this world to pertain unto the dead when they are gone. Each of them was taken on the sudden by Conspirators, and each of them exclaiming upon the Treason, received sentence from the mouth of one that had lived under her subjection; in execution whereof, *Jezabel* was trampled under the feet of her enemies horses; *Athalia* slain at her own horse-gate; the death of *Athalia* having (though not much) the more leisure to vex her proud heart; that of *Jezabel* the more indignity, and shame of body. Touching their burial, *Jezabel* was devoured by Dogs, as the Lord had threatned by the Prophet *Elias*; what became of *Athalia* we do not find. Like enough it is, that she was buried, as having not persecuted and slain the Lords Prophets, but suffered the Priests to exercise their function; yet of her burial there is no monument, for she was a Church-robber. The service of *Baal* erected by these two Queens, was destroyed as soon as they were gone, and their Chaplains, the Priests of that Religion, slain. Herein also it came to pass, alike, as touching them both when they were dead; the Kings who slew them, were afterwards afflicted, both of them by the same hand of *Hazael* the *Syrian*; in which point *Athalia* had the greater honour, if the *Syrian* (who seems to have been her good friend) pretended her revenge, as any part of his quarrel to *Juda*. Concerning children, all belonging to *Jezabel* perished in few days after her: whether *Athalia* left any behind her, it is uncertain; she had sons living after she was Queen, of whom, or of any other, that they were slain with her, we do not find.

This is a matter not unworthy of consideration, in regard of much that may depend upon it. For if the children of *Athalia* had been in *Jerusalem* when their Mother fell, their death would surely have followed hers as nearly, and been registred, as well as the death of *Mattan* the Priest of *Baal*. That Law by which *God forbad that the children should die for the fathers*, could not have saved these ungracious Imps, whom the clause following would have cut off, which commands, that every man should die for his own sin. Seeing therefore that they had been professors and advancers of that vile and Idolatrous worship of *Baal*, yea had robbed the Temple of the Lord, and enriched the house of *Baal* with the spoil of it; likely it is, that they should not have escaped with life, if *Jehojada* the Priest could have gotten them into his hands. As there was lawful cause enough requiring their death, so the security of the King and his friends, that is, of all the Land, craved as much, and that very earnestly. For these had been esteemed as heirs of their mothers Crown, and being reckoned as her assistants in that particular business of robbing the Temple, may be thought to have carried a great sway in other matters, as Princes, and fellows with their Mother in the Kingdom. Therefore it is evident, that either they were now dead, or (perhaps following *Hazael* in his Wars against *Jehu*) absent from *Jerusalem*; whereby *Jehojada* might, with the more confidence, adventure to take Arms against their Mother, that was desolate. *Deut.* 24. 16.

CHAP. XXII.

Of Joas *and* Amasia, *with their Contemporaries; where somewhat of the building of* Carthage.

SECT. I.

Of Joas *his doings, whilst* Jehojada *the Priest lived.*

BY the death of *Athalia*, the whole Country of *Juda* was filled with great joy and quietness; wherein *Joas*, a child of seven years old, or there-about, began his reign, which continued almost forty years. During his minority, he lived under the protection of that honourable man *Jehojada* the Priest, who did as faithfully govern the Kingdom, as he had before carefully preserved the Kings life, and restored him unto the Throne of his ancestors. When he came to mans estate, he took by appointment of *Jehojada* two Wives, and begat Sons and Daughters, repairing the Family of *David* which was almost worn out. The first Act that he took in hand, when he began to rule without a Protector, was the reparation of the Temple. It was a needful piece of work, in regard of the decay wherein that holy place was fallen, through the wickedness of ungodly Tyrants; and requisite it was that he should uphold the Temple, whom the Temple had upheld. This business he followed with so earnest a zeal, that not only the *Levites* were more slack than he, but even *Jehojada* was fain to be quickned by his admonition. Money was gathered for the charges of the work; partly out of the tax imposed by *Moses*, partly out of the liberality of the people; who gave so freely, that the Temple, besides all reparations, was enriched with vessels of gold and silver; and with all other Utensils. The sacrifices likewise were offered, as under godly Kings they had been, and the service of God was magnificently celebrated.

2 Chron. 24. 14.

SECT. II.

The Death of Jehojada, *and Apostasie of* Joas.

BUt this endured no longer than the life of *Jehojada* the Priest: who having lived an hundred and thirty years, dyed before his Country could have spared him. He was buried among the Kings of *Juda*, as he well deserved, having preserved the race of them, and restored the true Religion, which the late Princes of that house, by attempting to eradicate, failed but a little of rooting up themselves, and all their issue. Yet this honourable Funeral seems to have been given to him, at the motion of the people; it being said, *They buried him in the City of* David. As for the King himself, who did owe to him no less than his Crown and life, he is not likely to have been Author of it, seeing that he was as easily comforted after his death, as if he had thereby been discharged of some heavy debt.

For after the death of *Jehojada*, when the Princes of *Juda* began to flatter their King, he soon forgat, not only the benefits received by this worthy man his old Counsellor, but also the good precepts which he had received from him, yea and God himself, the Author of all goodness. These Princes drew him to the worship of Idols, wherewith *Jehoram* and *Athalia* had so infected the Country, in fifteen or sixteen Years, that thirty Years, or thereabout, of the reign of *Joas*, wherein the true Religion was exercised, were not able to clear it from that mischief. The King himself, when once he was entred into these courses, ran on head-long, as one that thought it a token of his liberty, to despise the service of God; and a manifest proof of his being now King indeed, that he regarded no longer the sowr admonitions of devout Priests. Hereby it appears, that his former zeal was only counterfeited, wherein like an Actor upon the stage, he had striven to express much more lively affection, than they could shew, that were indeed religious.

SECT. III.

The causes and times of the Syrians *invading* Juda *in the days of* Joas.

BUt God, from whom he was broken loose, gave him over into the hands of men, that would not easily be shaken off. *Hazael* King of *Aram*, having taken *Gath*, a Town of the *Philistims*, addressed himself towards *Jerusalem*, whither the little distance of way, and great hope of a rich booty, did invite him. He had an Army heartned by many victories, to hope for more; and for ground of the war (if his ambition cared for pretences) it was enough that the Kings of *Juda* had assisted the *Israelites*, in their enterprises upon *Aram*, at *Ramoth Gilead*. Yet I think he did not want some further instigation. For if the Kingdom of *Juda* had molested the *Aramites* in the time of his predecessour, this was throughly recompenced, by forbearing to succour *Israel*, and leaving the ten Tribes in their extream misery, to the fury of *Hazael* himself. Nether is it likely, that *Hazael* should have gone about to awake a sleeping Dog, and stir up against himself a powerful enemy, before he had assured the conquest of *Israel*, that lay between *Jerusalem* and his own Kingdom, if some opportunity had not performed such easie and good success as might rather advance, than any way disturb his future proceedings against the ten Tribes. Wherefore I hold it probable, that the sons of *Athalia*, mentioned before, were with him in this action, promising (as men expelled their Countries usually do) to draw many partakers of their own to his side; and not to remain, as *Joas* did, a neutral in the war between him and *Israel*, but to joyn all their forces with his, as they had cause, for the rooting out of *Jehu* his posterity, who like a bloody Traitor, had utterly destroyed all the kindred of the Queens, their mother, even the whole house of *Ahab*, to which he was a subject. If this were so, *Hazael* had the more apparent reason to invade the Kingdom of *Juda*. Howsoever we find, that *Joas* was afraid of him, and therefore *took all the hallowed things, and all the gold that was found in the treasure of the house of the Lord*, or in his own house, with which present he redeemed his peace: the *Syrian* (questionless) thinking it a better bargain, to

1 King. 12. 18.

to get so much readily paid into his hand for nothing, than to hazzard the assurance of this for the possibility of not much more. So *Hazael* departed with a rich booty of unhappy treasure, which belonging to the living God, remained a small while in the possession of this mighty, yet corruptible man, but sent him quickly to the grave. For in the thirty seventh year of *Joas*, which was the fifteenth of *Jehoahaz*, he made this purchase; but in the same or very next year he died, leaving all that he had unto his son *Benhadad*, with whom these treasures prospered no otherwise, than ill-gotten goods are wont.

This enterprise of *Hazaels*, is, by some, confounded with that war of the *Aramites* upon *Juda*, mentioned in the second book of *Chronicles*. But the reasons alledged by them that hold the contrary opinion, do forcibly prove, that it was not all one war. For the former was compounded without blood-shed or fight; in the latter, *Joas* tried the fortune of a battel, wherein being put to the worst, he lost all his Princes, and hardly escaped with life. In the one *Hazael* himself was present; in the other, he was not named: but contrariwise, the King of *Aram* then reigning (who may seem to have been the son of *Hazael*) is said to have been at *Damascus*. The first Army came to conquer, and was so great, that it terrified the King of *Juda*; The second was *a small company of men*, which did animate *Joas* (in vain, for God was against him) to deal with them, as having *a very great Army*. 2 *Chro.* 24.

Now, concerning the time of this former invasion, I cannot perceive that God forsook him, till he had first forsaken God. There are indeed some, very learned, who think that this expedition of *Hazael* was in the time of *Jehojada* the Priest, because that story is joyned to the restauration of the Temple. This had been probable, if the death of *Jehojada* had been afterwards mentioned in that place of the second book of *Kings*; or if the Apostasie of *Joas*, or any other matter implying so much, had followed in the relation. For it is not indeed to be doubted, that the Lord of all may dispose of all things, according to his own will and pleasure; neither was he more unjust in the afflictions of *Job* that righteous man, or the death of *Josias* that godly King, than in the plagues which he laid upon *Pharaoh*, or his judgment upon the house of *Ahab*. But it appears plainly, that the rich furniture of the Temple, and the magnificent service of God therewithall, which are joyned together, were used in the *house of the Lord continually all the days of* Jehojada; soon after whose death, if not immediately upon it, that is (as some very learnedly collect) in the sixth, or thirty seventh year of this *Joas* his reign, the King falling away from the God of his Fathers, became a foul Idolater. 2 *Chro.* 24. 11.

And indeed we commonly observe, that the crosses which it hath pleased God sometimes to lay upon his servants without any cause notorious in the eyes of men, have always tended unto the bettering of their good. In which respect, even the sufferings of the blessed Martyrs (*the death of his Saints being precious in the sight of the Lord*) are to their great advantage. But with evil and rebellious men, God keepeth a more even and strict account; permitting usually their faults to get the start of their punishment; and either delaying his vengeance (as with the *Amorites*) till their wickedness be full; or not working their amendment by his correction, but suffering them to run on in their wicked courses, to their greater misery. So hath he dealt with many; and so it appears that he dealt with *Joas*. For this unhappy man did not only continue an obstinate Idolater, but grew so forgetful of God and all goodness, as if he had stroven to exceed the wickedness of all that went before him, and to leave such a villanous pattern unto others, as few or none of the most barbarous Tyrants should endure to imitate. *Psal.* 115. 15.

SECT. IV.

How Zacharia *was murthered by* Joas.

SUndry Prophets having laboured in vain to reclaim the people from their superstition, *Zacharia* the son of *Jehojada* the Priest, was stirred up at length by the Spirit of God, to admonish them of their wickedness, and make them understand the punishment due unto it, whereof they stood in danger. This *Zacharia* was a man so much honoured, and son to a man so exceedingly beloved in his life time, and reverenced, that if *Joas* had reputed him (as *Ahab* did *Elias*) his open enemy, yet ought he in common honesty to have cloaked his ill affection, and have used at least some part of the respect that was due to such a person: On the other side, the singular affection which he and his father had born unto the King, and the unrecountable benefits which they had done unto him, from his first infancy, were such, as should have placed *Zacharia* in the most hearty and assured love of *Joas*, yea though he had been otherwise a man of very small mark, and not very good condition. The truth is, that the message of a Prophet sent from God, should be heard with reverence, how simple soever he appears that brings it. But this King *Joas*, having already scorned the admonitions and protestations of such Prophets as first were sent, did now deal with *Zacharia*, like as the wicked husbandmen, in that parable of our Saviour, dealt with the heir of the Vineyard; who said, *This is the heir, come let us kill him, that the inheritance may be ours.* By killing *Zacharia* he thought to become an absolute Commander, supposing belike that he was no free Prince, as long as one durst tell him the plain truth, how great soever that mans deservings were, that did so, yea though Gods commandment required it. So they conspired against this holy Prophet, and stoned him to death at the Kings appoinment; but whether by any form of open Law, as was practised upon *Naboth*; or whether surprising him by any close treachery, I do neither read, nor can conjecture. The dignity of his person, considered together with their treacherous conspiracy, makes it probable, that they durst not call him into publick judgment, though that the manner of his death, being such as was commonly, and by order of Law, inflicted upon malefactors, may argue the contrary. Most likely it is, that the Kings commandment, by which he suffered, took place in stead of Law: which exercise of meer power (as hath been already noted) was nothing strange amongst the Kings of *Juda*. Luke 20. 14.

SECT. V.

How Joas *was shamefully beaten by the* Amorites, *and of his death.*

THis odious murther, committed by an unthankful snake upon the man in whose bosom he had been fostered, as of it self alone it sufficed to make the wretched Tyrant hateful to men of his own time, and his memory detested in all ages; so had it the well

well described curse of the blessed Martyr, to accompany it unto the Throne of God, and to call for vengeance from thence, which fell down swiftly, and heavily upon the head of that ungrateful monster. It was the last year of his reign; the end of his time coming then upon him, when he thought himself beginning to live, how he listed without controulment. When that year was expired the *Aramites* came into the Country, rather as may seem to get pillage, than to perform any great action; for they *came with a small company of men:* but God had intended to do more by them, than they themselves did hope for. 2 Chro. 24. 24.

That *Joas* naturally was a coward, his bloudy malice against his best friends, is, in my judgment proof sufficient: though otherwise his base composition with *Hazael*, when he might have levied (as his son after him did muster) three hundred thousand chosen men for the war, doth well enough shew his temper. Yet now he would needs be valiant, and make his people know, how stout of disposition their King was, when he might have his own will. But his timorous heart was not well cloaked. For to encounter with a few bands of Rovers, he took a very great Army, so that wise men might well perceive, that he knew what he did, making shew as if he would fight for his Country, and expose himself to danger of war, when as indeed all was meer ostentation and no peril to be feared; he going forth so strongly appointed, against so weak enemies. Thus might wise men think, and laugh at him in secret; considering what ado he made about that, which in all apparent reason was (as they say) a thing of nothing. But God, before whom the wisdom of this world is foolishness, did laugh not only at this vain-glorious King, but at them that thought their King secure, by reason of the multitude that he drew along with him.

When the *Aramites* and King *Joas* met, whether it were by some folly of the Leaders or by some amazement happening among the souldiers, or by whatsoever means it pleased God to work, so it was, that that great Army of *Juda* received a notable overthrow, and all the Princes were destroyed: the Princes of *Juda*, at whose perswasion the King had become a Rebel to the King of Kings. As for *Joas* himself (as *Abulensis* and others expound the story) he was sorely beaten and hurt by them, being (as they think) taken and shamefully tormented, to wring out of him an excessive ransom.

And surely, all circumstances do greatly strengthen this conjecture: for the Text (in the old translation) saith, they exercised upon *Joas* ignominious judgments; and that departing from him, they dismissed him in great languor. All which argues, that they had him in their hands, and handled him ill-favouredly. Now at that time *Joas* the son of *Jehoahaz* reigned over *Israel*, and *Benhadad* the son of *Hazael* over the *Syrians*, in *Damascus*: the one a valiant undertaking Prince, raised up by God to restore the State of his miserable Country, the other inferiour every way to his father, of whose purchases he lost a great part, for want of skill to keep it. The difference in condition found between these two Princes, promising no other event than such as afterward followed, might have given to the King of *Juda* good cause to be bold, and pluck up his spirits, which *Hazael* had beaten down, if God had not been against him. But his fearful heart being likely to quake upon any apprehension of danger, was able to put the *Syrian* King in hope, that by terrifying him with some shew of war at his doors, it were easie to make him crave any tolerable conditions of peace. The unexpected good success hereof, already related, and the (perhaps as unsuspected) ill success, which the *Aramites* found in their following wars against the King of *Israel*, sheweth plainly the weakness of all earthly might, resisting the power of the Almighty. For by his Ordinance, both the Kingdom of *Juda*, after more than forty Years time of gathering strength, was unable to drive out a small company of Enemies; and the Kingdom of *Israel*, having so been trodden down by *Hazael*, that only fifty Horsemen, ten Chariots, and ten thousand footmen were left; prevailed against his Son, and recovered all from the victorious *Aramites*. But examples hereof are every-where found, and therefore I will not insist upon this; though indeed we should not, if we be Gods children, think it more tedious to hear long and frequent reports of our heavenly Fathers honour, than of the noble acts performed by our fore-fathers upon earth.

When the *Aramites* had what they listed, and saw that they were not able, being so few, to take any possession of the Country, they departed out of *Juda* loaden with spoil, which they sent to *Damascus*, themselves belike falling upon the ten Tribes, where it is to be thought that they sped not half so well. The King of *Juda* being in ill case, was killed on his bed when he came home, by the sons of an *Ammonitess*, and of a *Moabitess*, whom some (because only their Mothers names, being strangers, are expressed) think to have been bondmen. Whether it were contempt of his fortune, or fear, lest (as Tyrants use) he should revenge disaster upon them, imputing it to their fault, or whatsoever else it were that animated them to murder their King; the Scripture tells us plainly, that, *For the bloud of the children of* Jehojada, this befell him. And the same appears to have been used as the pretence of their conspiracy, in excuse of the fact when it was done. For *Amazia*, the son and successor of *Joas*, durst not punish them, till his Kingdom was established: but contrariwise his body was judged unworthy of burial in the Sepulchres of the Kings: whereby it appears, that the death of *Zacharia* caused the treason, wrought against the King, to find more approbation, than was requisite, among the people, though afterwards it was recompenced by his son, upon the Traytors, which well deserved death. 2 Chro. 24. 25.

SECT. VI.

Of the Princes living in the time of Joas: *of the time when* Carthage *was built: and of* Dido.

THere lived with *Joas*, *Mezades*, and *Diognetus* in *Athens*: *Eudemus* and *Aristomedes* in *Corinth*: about which time *Agrippa Sylvius*, and after him *Sylvius Alladius*, were Kings of the *Albans* in *Italy*. *Ocrazapes*, commonly called *Anacyndaraxes*, the thirty seventh King, succeeded unto *Ophratanes*, began his reign over the *Assyrians*, about the eighteenth year of *Joas*, which lasted forty two years. In the sixteenth of *Joas*, *Cephrenes*, the fourth from *Sesac*, succeeded unto *Cheops* in the Kingdom of *Egypt*, and held it fifty years.

In this time of *Joas*, was likewise the reign of *Pigmalion* in *Tyre*, and the foundation of *Carthage* by *Dido*, the building of which City is, by divers Authors, placed in divers ages, some reporting it to be 70 years younger than *Rome*, others above 400 Years elder, few or none of them giving any reason of their assertions, but leaving us uncertain whom to follow:

Josephus,

Joseph. cont. App. l. 1. *Josephus*, who had read the Annals of *Tyre*, counting one hundred forty and three years and eight months from the building of *Solomons* Temple, in the twelfth year of *Hyram* King of *Tyre*, to the founding of *Carthage* by *Dido*, in the seventh of *Pigmalion*. The particulars of this accompt (which is not rare in *Josephus*) are very perplexed, and serve not very well to make clear the total sum. But whether it were so that *Josephus* did omit, or else that he did mis-write some number of the years, which he reckoned in Fractions, as they were divided among the Kings of *Tyre*, from *Hyram* to *Pigmalion*, we may well enough believe, that the *Tyrian* writers, out of whose Books he gives us the whole sum, had good means to know the truth, and could rightly reckon the difference of time, between two works no longer following one the other than the memory of three or four Generations might easily reach. This hundred forty and four years current, after the building of *Solomons* Temple, being the eleventh year of *Joas*, was an hundred forty and three years before the birth of *Rome*; and after the destruction of *Troy*, two hundred eighty and nine: A time so long after the death of *Æneas*, that we might truly conclude all to be fabulous which *Virgil* hath written of *Dido*, as *Ausonius* noteth, who doth honour her Statua with this Epigram:

Auson. ep. 117.

Illa ego sum Dido *vultu quam conspicis hospes,*
Assimulata modis pulchraque mirificis.
Talis eram, sed non Maro *quam mihi finxit erat mens,*
Vita nec incestis læta cupidinibus:
(Namque nec Æneas *vidit me Troius unquam,*
Nec Lybiam advenit, classibus Iliacis.
Sed furias fugiens, atque arma procacis Iarbæ,
Servavi, fateor, morte pudicitiam;
Pectore transfixo castos quod pertulit enses:)
Non furor, aut læso crudus amore dolor.
Sic cecidisse juvat: Vixi sine vulnere famæ,
Ulta virum, positis mœnibus oppetii.
Invida cur in me stimulasti Musa Maronem,
Fingeret ut nostræ damna pudicitiæ?
Vos magis Historicis lectores credite de me
Quam qui furta Deum concubitusque canunt,
Falsidici vates: Temerant qui carmine verum,
Humanisque deos assimulant vitiis.

Which in effect is this:

I Am that *Dido* which thou here dost see,
Cunningly fram'd in beauteous Imag'rie,
Like this I was, but had not such a soul,
As *Maro* feign'd, incestuous and foul.
Æneas never with his *Trojan* Hoast
Beheld my face, or landed on this coast.
But flying proud *Iarbas* villany,
Not mov'd by furious love or jealousie,
I did with weapon chaste, to save my fame,
Make way for death untimely, ere it came.
This was my end; but first I built a Town,
Reveng'd my Husbands death, liv'd with renown.
Why didst thou stir up *Virgil*, envious Muse,
Falsly my name and honour to abuse?
Readers, believe Historians; not those.
Who to the World *Joves* thefts and vice expose.
Poets are Liars, and for Verses sake,
Will make the Gods of humane Crimes partake.

From the time of *Dido* unto the first *Punick* War, that *Carthage* grew and flourished in Wealth and Conquests, we find in many Histories: But in particular we find little of the *Carthaginian* affairs before that War, excepting those few things that are Recorded of their attempts of the Isle of *Sicil*. We will therefore defer the Relation of Matters concerning that mighty City, until such time as they shall encounter with the State of *Rome*, by which it was finally destroyed; and prosecute in the mean while the History that is now in hand.

SECT. VII.

The beginning of Amazia *his reign: Of* Joas *King of* Israel, *and* Elisha *the Prophet.*

Amazia, the son of *Joash*, being twenty five years old when his Father died, took possession of the Kingdom of *Juda*, wherein he laboured so to demean himself, as his new beginning reign might be least offensive. The Law of *Moses* he professed to observe; which howsoever it had been secretly despised since the time of *Jehoram*, by many great Persons of the Land, yet had it by provision of good Princes, yea, and of bad ones (in their best times) imitating the good, but especially by the care of holy Priests, taken such deep root in the Peoples hearts, that no King might hope to be very plausible, who did not conform himself unto it. And at that present time, the slaughter which the *Aramites* had made of all the Princes, who had withdrawn the late King from the Service of God, being seconded by the death of the King himself, even whilst that execrable Murther, committed by the King upon *Zacharia*, was yet fresh in Memory, did serve as a notable example of Gods Justice against Idolaters, both to animate the better sort of the People in holding the Religion of their Fathers, and to discourage *Amazia* from following the way, which led to such an evil end. He therefore, having learned of his Father the art of Dissimulation, did not only forbear to punish the Traytors that had slain King *Joas*, but gave way to the time, and suffered the dead body to be interred, as that of *Jehoram* formerly had been in the City of *David*, yet not among the Sepulchres of the Kings of *Juda*. Nevertheless, after this, when (belike) the noise of the People having wearied it self into silence, it was found that the Conspirators (howsoever their deed done, was applauded as the handy-work of God) had neither any mighty partakers in their fact, nor strong maintainers of their persons, but rested secure, as having done well, seeing it was not ill taken: The King, who perceived his Government well established, called them into question, at such a time, as the heat of Mens affections being well allayed, it was easie to distinguish between their Treasons and Gods Judgments, which by their Treasons, had taken plausible effect. So they were put to death without any tumult, and their Children (as the Law did require) were suffered to live: which could not but give contentment to the People, seeing that their King did the office of a just Prince, rather than of a revenging son. This being done, and his own life better secured by such exemplary Justice, against the like attempts, *Amazia* carried himself outwardly as a Prince well affected to Religion, and so continued in rest, about twelve or thirteen years.

As *Amazia* gathered strength in *Juda* by the commodity of a long peace, so *Joas* the *Israelite* grew as fast in power, by following the war hotly against the *Aramites*.

Aramites. He was a valiant and fortunate Prince, yet an Idolater, as his Predeceſſors had been, worſhipping the Calves of *Jeroboam*. For this ſin had God ſo plagued the houſe of *Jehu*, that the ten tribes wanted little of being utterly conſumed, by *Hazael* and *Benhadad*, in the time of *Jehu* and his ſon *Jehoahaz*. But as Gods benefits to *Jehu*, ſufficed not to withdraw him from this politick Idolatry, ſo were the miſeries, rewarding that impiety, unable to reclaim *Jehoahaz* from the ſame impious courſe: yet the mercy of God beholding the trouble of *Iſrael*, did condeſcend unto the prayers of this ungodly Prince, even then when he and his miſerable Subjects, were obſtinate in following their own abominable ways. Therefore in temporal matters the ten Tribes recovered apace; but the favour of God which had been infinitely more worth, I do not find, nor believe that they ſought: that they had it not, I find in the words of the Prophet, ſaying plainly to *Amazia*, *The Lord is not with* Iſrael, *neither with all the houſe of* Ephraim.

2 *Chron.* 25. 7.

Whether it were ſo, that the great Prophet *Eliſha*, who lived in thoſe times, did foretel the proſperity of the *Iſraelites* under the reign of *Joas*; or whether *Jehoahaz*, wearied and broken with long adverſity, thought it the wiſeſt way, to diſcharge himſelf in part of the heavy cares attending thoſe unhappy *Syrian* Wars, by laying the burthen upon his hopeful ſon; we find that *in the thirty ſeventh year of* Joas, *King of* Juda, Joas *the ſon of* Jehoahaz *began to reign over* Iſrael *in* Samaria; which was in the 15th year of his Fathers reign, and ſome two or three years before his death.

2 *Kings* 13. 10.

It appears that this young Prince, even from the beginning of his Rule, did ſo well husband that poor ſtock that he received from his Father, of ten Chariots, fifty Horſemen, and ten thouſand Foot, that he might ſeem likely to prove a thriver. Amongſt other circumſtances, the words which he ſpake to *Eliſha* the Prophet, argue no leſs. For *Joas* viſiting the Prophet, who lay ſick, ſpake unto him thus, *O my Father, my Father, the Chariots of* Iſrael, *and the Horſemen of the ſame:* by which manner of ſpeech he did acknowledg, that the prayers of this holy Man had ſtood his Kingdom in more ſtead than all the Horſes and Chariots could do.

2 *Kings* 13. 14.

This Prophet who ſucceeded unto *Elias*, about the firſt year of *Joram* the ſon of *Ahab* King of *Iſrael* died (as ſome have probably collected) about the third or fourth year of this *Joas*, the Nephew of *Jehu*. To ſhew how the ſpirit of *Elias* was doubled, or did reſt upon him, it exceedeth my faculty. This is recorded of him, that he did not only raiſe a dead Child unto life, as *Elias* had done, but when he himſelf was dead, it pleaſed God that his dead Bones ſhould reſtore life unto a Carcaſe, which touched them in the Grave. In fine, he beſtowed as a Legacy, three Victories upon King *Joas*, who thereby did ſet *Iſrael* in a fair way of recovering all that the *Aramites* had uſurped, and weakning the Kings of *Damaſco* in ſuch ſort, that they were never after terrible to *Samaria*.

SECT. VIII.

Of Amazia *his War againſt* Edom; *His Apoſtacy and overthrow by* Joas.

THe happy ſucceſs which *Joas* had found in his War againſt the *Aramites*, was ſuch as might kindle in *Amazia* a deſire of undertaking ſome expedition, wherein himſelf might purchaſe the like Honour. His Kingdom could furniſh three hundred thouſand ſerviceable Men for the Wars, and his Treaſures were ſufficient for the payment of theſe, and the hire of many more. Cauſe of War he had very juſt againſt the *Edomites*, who having rebelled in the time of his Grand-father *Jehoram*, had about fifty years been unreclaimed, partly by reaſon of the troubles happening in *Juda*, partly through the ſloth and timerouſneſs of his Father *Joas*. Yet, foraſmuch as the Men of *Juda* had in many years been without all exerciſe of War (excepting that unhappy fight wherein they were beaten by a few Bands of the *Aramites*) he held it a point of wiſdom to increaſe his Forces, with Souldiers waged out of *Iſrael*, whence he hired for an hundred talents of Silver, *an hundred thouſand valiant men*, as the Scripture telleth us, though *Joſephus* diminiſheth the number, ſaying that they were but twenty thouſand.

2 *Chron.* 25. 6. *Joſ. Antiq. Jud. l. 9. c. 10.*

This great Army, which with ſo much coſt *Amazia* had hired out of *Iſrael*, he was fain to diſmiſs before he had imployed it, being threatned by a Prophet with ill ſucceſs, if he ſtrengthened himſelf with the help of thoſe Men, whom God (though in Mercy he gave them Victory againſt the cruel *Aramites*) did not love, becauſe they were Idolaters. The *Iſraelites* therefore departed in great anger, taking in ill part this diſmiſſion, as an high diſgrace, which to revenge, they fell upon a piece of *Juda* in their return, and ſhewed their malice in the ſlaughter of three thouſand Men, and ſome ſpoil, which they carried away. But *Amazia* with his own Forces, knowing that God would be aſſiſtant to their journey, entred couragiouſly into the *Edomites* Country; over whom obtaining Victory, he ſlew ten thouſand, and took other ten thouſand Priſoners, all which he threw from an high Rock; holding them, it ſeems, rather as Traytors, than as juſt Enemies. This Victory did not ſeem to reduce *Edom* under the ſubjection of the Crown of *Juda*, which might be the cauſe of that ſeverity, which was uſed to the Priſoners; the *Edomites* that had eſcaped, refuſing to buy the lives of their friends and kinſmen at ſo dear a rate, as the loſs of their own liberty. Some Towns in Mount *Seir*, *Amazia* took, as appears by his carrying away the Idols thence; but it is like they were the places moſt indefenſible, in that he left no Garriſons there, whereby he might another year the better have purſued the Conqueſt of the whole Country. Howſoever it were, he got both Honour by the Journey, and Gains enough, had he not loſt himſelf.

Among other ſpoils of the *Edomites*, were carried away their Gods; which being vanquiſhed and taken Priſoners, did deſerve well to be led in triumph. But they contrariwiſe, I know not by what ſtrange witchcraft, ſo beſotted this unworthy King *Amazia*, that *he ſet them up to be his gods, and worſhipped them, and burned incenſe unto them.*

2 *Chron.* 25. 14.

For this, when he was rebuked by a Prophet ſent from God, he gave a churliſh and threatning anſwer; asking the Prophet, who made him a Counſeller and bidding him hold his peace for fear of the worſt. If either the coſtly ſtuff, whereof theſe Idols were made, or the curious workmanſhip and beauty, with which they were adorned by Artificers, had raviſhed the Kings fancie; me-thinks, he ſhould have rather turned them to matter of Profit, or kept them as houſhold Ornaments and things of Pleaſure, than thereby have ſuffered himſelf to be blinded, with ſuch unreaſonable devotion towards them. If the ſuperſtitious account wherein the *Edomites* had held them, were able to work much upon his imagination; much more ſhould the bad ſervice which they had done to their old Clients, have moved him thereupon

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to laugh, both at the *Edomites*, and them. Wherefore it seems to me, that the same affections carried him from God, unto the service of Idols, which afterwards moved him to walk so roughly to the Prophet reprehending him. He had already obeyed the warning of God by a Prophet, and sent away such Auxiliary Forces as he had gathered out of *Israel*; which done, it is said, that *he was encouraged, and led forth his People*, thinking belike, that God would now rather assist him by Miracle, than let him fail of obtaining all his hearts desire. But with better reason he should have limitted his desires by the Will of God, whose pleasure it was that *Esau* having broken the yoak of *Jacob* from his neck, according as *Isaac* had foretold, should no more become his servant. If therefore *Amazia* did hope to reconquer all the Country of *Edom*, he failed of his expectation; yet so, that he brought home both Profit and Honour, which might have well contended with him.

2 *Chron.* 25. 11.

But there is a foolish and a wretched Pride, wherewith Men being transported, can ill endure to ascribe unto God the Honour of those Actions, in which it hath pleased him to use their own Industry, Courage, or fore-sight. Therefore it is commonly seen, that they who entring into Battel, are careful to pray for aid from Heaven, with due acknowledgment of his Power, who is the Giver of Victory; when the Field is won, do vaunt of their own exploits; one telling how he got such a ground of advantage; another, how he gave check to such a Battalion; a third, how he seized on the Enemies Canon; every one striving to magnifie himself, whilst all forget God, as one that had not been present in the Action. To ascribe to fortune the effects of another Mans vertue, is, I confess, an argument of malice. Yet this is true, that as he which findeth better success, than he did, or in reason might expect, is deeply bound to acknowledg God the Author of his happiness; so He whose meer Wisdom and Labour hath brought things to a prosperous issue, is doubly bound to shew himself thankful, both for the Victory, and for those vertues by which the Victory was gotten. And indeed so far from weakness is the nature of such thanksgiving, that it may well be called the heighth of Magnanimity; no Vertue being so truly Heroical, as that by which the spirit of Man advanceth it self with confidence of acceptation, unto the love of God. In which sense it is a brave speech that *Evander* in *Virgil* useth to *Æneas*, none but a Christian being capable of the admonition.

Aude hostes contemnere opes, & te quoque dignum
Finge Deo.

With this Philosophy *Amazia* (as appears by his carriage) troubled not his head: he had shewed himself a better Man of War than any King of *Juda*, since the time of *Jehosaphat*, and could be well contented, that his People should think him little inferiour to *David*; of which honour he saw no reason why the Prophets should rob him, who had made him loose an hundred talents, and done him no pleasure; he having prevailed by plain force and good conduct, without any Miracle at all. That he was distempered with such vain thoughts as these (besides the witness of his impiety following) *Josephus* doth testifie, saying, That he despised God, and that being puft up with his good success, of which nevertheless he would not acknowledg God to be the Author, he commanded *Joas* King of *Israel* to become his Subject, and to let the ten Tribes acknowledg him their Soveraign, as they had done his Ancestours King *David* and *Solomon*.

Joseph. ant. 9. c. 10.

Some think that his quarrel to *Joas* was rather grounded upon the injury done to him by the *Israelites*, whom he dismissed in the Journey against Mount *Seir*. And likely it is, that the sense of a late wrong had more power to stir him up, than the remembrance of an old Title, forgotten long since, and by himself neglected thirteen or fourteen years. Nevertheless it might so be, that when he was thus provoked, he thought it not enough to requite new wrongs, but would also call old Matters into question; that so the Kings of *Israel* might, at the lest, learn to keep their subjects from offending *Juda*, for fear of endangering their own Crowns. Had *Amazia* desired only recompence for the injury done to him, it is not improbable that he should have had some reasonable answer from *Joas*, who was not desirous to fight with him. But the answer which *Joas* returned, likening himself to a Cedar, and *Amazia* in respect of him to no better than a Thistle, shews that the challenge was made in insolent terms, stuft perhaps with such proud comparison of Nobility, as might be made (according to that which *Josephus* hath written) between a King of ancient Race, and one of less Nobility than Vertue.

It is by *Sophocles* reported of *Ajax*, that when going to the War of *Troy*, his Father did bid him to be valiant, and get Victory by Gods assistance, he made answer, That by Gods assistance a Coward could get Victory, but he would also get it without such help: After which proud speech, though he did many valiant Acts, he had small thanks, and finally, killing himself in a madness, whereunto he fell upon disgrace received, was hardly allowed the honour of Burial. That *Amazia* did utter such words, I do not find, but having once entertained the thoughts, which are parents of such words, he was rewarded with success accordingly. The very first counsel wherein this War was concluded, serves to prove that he was a wise Prince indeed at *Jerusalem*, among his Parasites, but a fool when he had to deal with his equals abroad. For it was not all one, to fight with the *Edomites*, a weak People, trusting more in the seat of their Country, than the valour of their Souldiers; and to encounter with *Joas*, who from so poor beginnings had raised himself to such strength, that he was able to lend his Friend a hundred thousand Men, and had all his Nation exercised, and trained up in a long victorious War. But as *Amazia* discovered much want of judgment, in undertaking such a match; so in prosecuting the Business, when it was set on foot, he behaved himself as a Man of little experience, who having once only tried his fortune, and found it to be good, thought that in War there was nothing else to do, than send a Defiance, Fight, and Win. *Joas* on the contrary side, having been accustomed to deal with a stronger Enemy than the King of *Juda*, used that celerity, which peradventure had often stood him in good stead against the *Aramite*. He did not sit waiting till the enemies brake in and wasted his Country, but presented himself with an Army in *Juda*, ready to bid Battel to *Amazia*, and save him the labour of a long Journey. This could not but greatly discourage those of *Juda*, who (besides the impression of fear which an invasion beats into People, not inured in the like) having devoured in their greedy hopes, the spoil of *Israel*, fully perswading themselves to get as much, and at as easie a rate, as in the journey of *Edom*; were so far disappointed of their expectation that well they might suspect all new assurance of good luck, when the old had thus beguiled them. All this notwithstanding, their King that had stomack enough

Sophocles in Ajace Lor.

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to challenge the Patrimony of *Solomon*, thought like another *David* to win it by the Sword. The iſſue of which Fool-hardineſs might eaſily have been foreſeen in humane Reaſon; comparing together, either the two Kings, or the quality of their Armies, or the firſt ominous beginning of the War. But meer Humane Wiſdom, howſoever it might fore-ſee much, could not have prognoſticated all the miſchief that fell upon *Amazia*. For as ſoon as the two Armies came in ſight, God, whoſe help this wretched Man had ſo diſpiſed, did (as *Joſephus* reports it) ſtrike ſuch terrour and amazement into the Men of *Juda*, that without one blow given, they fled all away, leaving their King to ſhift for himſelf; which he did ſo ill, that his Enemy had ſoon caught him, and made him change his glorious Humour into moſt abject Baſeneſs. That the Army which fled, ſuſtained any other loſs than of honour; I neither find in the Scriptures, nor in *Joſephus*, it being likely that the ſoon beginning of their flight, which made it the more ſhameful, made it alſo the more ſafe. But of the miſchief that followed this overthrow, it was Gods Will that *Amazia* himſelf ſhould ſuſtain the whole diſgrace. For *Joas* carried him directly to *Jeruſalem*, where he had him procure that the Gates may be opened to let him in and his Army; threatning him otherwiſe with preſent death. So much amazed was the miſerable Captive, with theſe dreadful words, that he durſt do no other than perſwade the Citizens, to yield themſelves to the mercy of the Conqueror. The Town, which afterwards being in weaker ſtate held out two years againſt *Nebuchadnezzar*, was utterly diſmaied, when the King that ſhould have given his life to ſave it, uſed all his force of command and intreaty to betray it. So the Gates of *Jeruſalem* were opened to *Joas*, with which honour (greater than any King of *Iſrael* had ever obtained) he could not reſt contented, but the more to deſpiſe *Amazia* and his People, he cauſed 400 cubits of the Wall to be thrown down, and entred the City in his Chariot through that breach, carrying the King before him as in triumph. This done, he ſack'd the Temple, and the Kings Palace, and ſo taking Hoſtages of *Amazia*, he diſmiſſed the poor Creature that was glad of his life, and returned to *Samaria*.

Joſ. Ant. l. 9. c. 10.

SECT. IX.

A diſcourſe of the reaſons hindring Joas *from uniting* Juda *to the Crown of* Iſrael, *when he had won* Jeruſalem, *and held* Amazia *priſoner. The end of* Joas *his reign.*

WE may juſtly marvel how it came to paſs, that *Joas*, being thus in poſſeſſion of *Jeruſalem*, having the King in his hands, his Enemies forces broken, and his own entire, could be ſo content to depart quietly with a little ſpoil, when he might have ſeized upon the whole Kingdom. The reign of *Athalia* had given him cauſe to hope that the iſſue of *David* might be diſpoſſeſſed of that Crown; his own nobility, being the Son and Grand-child of Kings, together with the famous acts that he had done, were enough to make the People of *Juda* think highly of him; who might alſo have preferred his form of Government before that of their own Kings, eſpecially at ſuch a time, when a long ſucceſſion of wicked Princes had ſmothered the thanks which were due to the memory of a few good ones. The commodity that would have enſued upon the union of all the twelve Tribes under one Prince, is ſo apparent, that I need not to inſiſt on it. That any meſſage from God, forbade the *Iſraelite* (as afterwards in the victory which *Peka* the ſon of *Romelia* got upon *Ahaz*) to turn his preſent advantage to the beſt uſe, we do not read. All this makes it the more difficult to reſolve the queſtion, why a Prince ſo well exerciſed as *Joas* had been in recovering his own, and winning from the Enemy, ſhould forſake the poſſeſſion of *Jeruſalem*, and wilfully neglect the poſſibilities, or rather caſt away the full aſſurance of ſo fair a conqueſt, as the Kingdom of *Juda*.

But concerning that point, which of all others had been moſt material, I mean the deſire of the vanquiſhed People to accept the *Iſraelite* for their King, it is plainly ſeen, that entring *Jeruſalem* in triumphant manner, *Joas* was unable to concoct his own proſperity. For, the opening of the Gates had been enough to have let him not only into the City, but into the Royal Throne, and the Peoples hearts, whom by fair intreaty (eſpecially having ſure means of compulſion) he might have made his own, when they ſaw themſelves betrayed, and baſely given away by him whoſe they had been before. The fair mark which this opportunity preſented, he did not aim at, becauſe his ambition was otherwiſe, and more meanly buſied, in levelling at the Glory of a triumphant entry through a breach. Yet this error might afterwards have been corrected well enough, if entring as an Enemy, and ſhewing what he could do, by ſpending his anger upon the Walls, he had within the City done offices of a Friend, and laboured to ſhew good will to the Inhabitants. But when his pride had done, his covetouſneſs began, and ſought to pleaſe it ſelf with that which is commonly moſt ready to the ſpoyler, yet ſhould be moſt forborn. The Treaſure wherewith *Seſac*, *Hazael*, and the *Philiſtims*, Men ignorant of the true God and his Religion, had quenched their greedy thirſt, ought not to have tempted the appetite of *Joas*, who though an Idolater, yet acknowledged alſo and worſhipped the Eternal God, whoſe Temple was at *Jeruſalem*. Therefore when the People ſaw him take his way directly to ſeiſe that holy place, and lay his ravenous hands upon the conſecrated Veſſels, calling the Family of *Obed Edom* (*whoſe children had hereditary charge of the treaſure*) to a ſtrict account, as if they had been Officers of his own Exchequer; they conſidered him rather as an execrable Church-robber, than as a noble Prince, an *Iſraelite*, and their Brother, though of another Tribe. Thus following that courſe, which the moſt vertuous King of our Age (taxing it with the ſame phraſe) hath wiſely avoided; by ſtealing a few Apples, he loſt the inheritance of the whole Orchard. The People deteſted him, and after the reſpite of a few days, might, by comparing themſelves one to one, perceive his Souldiers to be no better than Men of their own mould, and inferiour in number to the Inhabitants of ſo great a City. It is not ſo eaſie to hold by force a mighty Town entred by Capitulation, as to enter the Gates opened by unadviſed fear. For when the Citizens, not being diſarmed, recover their ſpirits, and begin to underſtand their firſt Error, they will think upon every advantage, of Place, of Proviſions, of Multitude, yea, Women armed with Tile-ſtones; and rather chooſe by deſperate Reſolution, to correct the evils grown out of their former Cowardiſe, than ſuffer thoſe Miſchiefs to poyſon the Body, which in ſuch Half-Conqueſt, are eaſily taſted in the Mouth. A more lively Example hereof cannot be deſired, than the City of *Florence*, which through the weakneſs of *Peter de Medices*, Governing therein as a Prince, was reduced into ſuch hard Terms, that it opened

2 Chron. 26. 15.

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the gates unto the French King *Charles* the eighth, who not plainly profeſſing himſelf either friend or foe to the State, entred the Town, withhis Army, in triumphant manner, himſelf and his Horſe armed, with his Lance upon his Thigh. Many inſolences were therein committed by the French, and much argument of quarrel miniſtred between them and the Towns-men: ſo far forth that the *Florentines*, to preſerve their liberty, were driven to prepare for fight. To conclude the matter, *Charles* propounds intollerable conditions, demanding huge ſums of ready Money, and the abſolute Seigniory of the State, as conquered by him, who entred the City in Arms. But *Peter Caponi*, a principal Citizen, catching theſe Articles from the Kings Secretary, and tearing them before his face, bad him ſound his Trumpets, and they would ring their Bells: which peremptory words made the French bethink themſelves, and come readily to this agreement, that for forty thouſand pounds, and not half of that Money to be paid in hand, *Charles* ſhould not only depart in peace, but reſtore whatſoever he had of their Dominion, and continue their aſſured Friend. So dangerous a matter did it ſeem for that brave Army, which in few Months after wan the Kingdom of *Naples*, to fight in the Streets, againſt the armed multitude of that populous City. It is true, that *Charles* had other buſineſs (and ſo perhaps had *Joas*, as ſhall anon be ſhewed) that called him away: but it was the apprehenſion of imminent danger that made him come to reaſon. In ſuch caſes the firing of houſes, uſually draws every Citizen to ſave his own, leaving victory to the Souldier: yet where the people are prepared and reſolved, Women can quench, as faſt as the enemy, having other things to look unto, can ſet on fire. And indeed that Commander is more given to anger than regardful of profit, who upon the uncertain hope of deſtroying a Town, forſakes the aſſurance of a good compoſition. Diverſity of circumſtance may alter the caſe: it is enough to ſay, that it might be in *Jeruſalem*, as we know it was in *Florence*.

How ſtrongly ſoever *Joas* might hold himſelf within *Jeruſalem*, he could not eaſily depart from thence, with his booty ſafe, if the Army of *Juda*, which had been more terrified than weakened in the late encounter, ſhould re-inforce it ſelf, and give him a check upon the way. Wherefore it was wiſely done of him, to take hoſtages for his better ſecurity, his Army being upon return, and better loaden than when it came forth; for which cauſes it was the more unapt to fight.

Beſides theſe impediments, within the City and without, ſerving to cool the ambition of *Joas*, and keep it down from aſpiring to the Crown of *Juda*; it appears that ſomewhat was newly fallen out, which had reference to the anger of *Eliſha* the Prophet; who, when this *Joas* had ſmitten the ground with his Arrows thrice, told him that he ſhould no oftner ſmite the *Aramites*. The three victories which *Iſrael* had againſt *Aram*, are by ſome, and with great probability, referred unto the fifth, ſixth, and ſeventh years of *Joas*: after which time, if any loſſes enſuing had blemiſhed the former good ſucceſs, ill might the King of *Iſrael* have likened himſelf to a ſtately Cedar, and worſe could he have either lent the *Judæan* one hundred thouſand Men, or meet him in battel, who was able to bring into the Field three hundred thouſand of his own. Seeing therefore it is made plain by the words of *Eliſha*, that after three victories *Joaſh* ſhould find ſome change of fortune and ſuffer loſs; we we muſt needs conclude. That the *Aramite* prevailed upon him this year, it being the laſt of his Reign. That this was ſo, and that the *Syrians*, taking advantage of *Joas* his abſence gave ſuch a blow to *Iſrael*, as the King at his return was not able to remedy, but rather fell himſelf into new misfortunes which increaſed the calamity; we may evidently perceive in that which is ſpoken of *Jeroboam* his Son. For it is ſaid, *That the Lord ſaw the exceeding bitter affliction of Iſrael*, and that having *not decreed to put out the name of Iſrael from under the Heaven, he preſerved them by the hand of* Jeroboam *the Son of* Joas. This is enough to prove, that the victorious Reign of *Joas* was concluded with a ſad cataſtrophe; the riches of the Temple haſtening his miſery and death, as they had done with *Seſac*, *Athalia*, and *Hazael*, and as afterwards they wrought with *Antiochus Craſſus*, and other ſacrilegious Potentates.

Thus either through indignation conceived againſt him, by the people of *Jeruſalem*, and courage which they took to ſet upon him within the Walls; or through preparation of the Army that lay abroad in the Country to bid him battel in open Field, and recover by a new charge the honour which was loſt at the former encounter; or through the miſeries daily brought upon his own Country, by the *Syrian* in his abſence (if not by all of theſe) *Joas* was driven to lay aſide all thought of winning the Kingdom of *Juda*; and taking hoſtages for his quiet paſſage, made all haſt homewards, where he found a ſad wel-come, and being utterly forſaken of his wonted proſperity, forſook alſo his life in few months after, leaving his Kingdom to *Jeroboam* the ſecond, his fortunate and valiant Son.

SECT. X.

The end of Amazia *his Reign and life.*

ANy Man is able to gueſs how *Amazia* looked, when the enemy had left him. He that had vaunted ſo much of his own great proweſs and skill in Arms, threatning to work wonders, and ſet up a-new the glorious Empire of *David*, was now uncaſed of his Lions hide, and appeared nothing ſo terrible a Beaſt as he had been painted. Much argument of ſcoffing at him he had miniſtred unto ſuch as held him in diſlike; which at this time doubtleſs were very many: for the ſhame that falls upon an inſolent Man, ſeldom fails of meeting with abundance of reproach. As for *Amazia*, (beſides that the multude are always prone to lay the blame upon their Governours, even of thoſe calamities which happen by their own default) there was no Child in all *Jeruſalem*, but knew him to be the root of all this miſchief. He had not only challenged a good Man of War, being himſelf a Daſtard; but when he was beaten and taken by him, had baſely pleaded for the common enemy, to have him let into the City, that with his own eyes he might ſee what ſpoil there was, and not make a bad bargain by hear-ſay. The Father of this *Amazia* was a beaſtly Man; yet when the *Aramites* took him and tormented him, he did not offer to buy his own life at ſo dear a rate, as the City and Temple of *Jeruſalem*. Had he offered, ſhould they have made his promiſe good? ſurely the haſt which they had made in condeſcending to this hard match, was very unfortunate: for by keeping out the *Iſraelites* (which was eaſie enough) any little while, they ſhould ſoon have been rid of him, ſeeing that the *Aramites* would have made him run home, with greater ſpeed than he came forth. Then alſo, when having truſsed up his baggage, he was ready to be gone, a little courage would have ſerved to per-

ſwade him to leave his load behind; had not their good King delivered up hoſtages, to ſecure his return, as loath to defraud him of the recompence due to his pains taken.

Such exprobations could not but vex the heart of this unhappy King: it had been well for him, if they had made him acknowledge his fault unto God, that had puniſhed him by all this diſhonour. But we find no mention of his amendment. Rather it appears, that he continued an Idolater to the very laſt. For it is ſaid of him, that after his turning away from the
2 Chro 25. 27. Lord, *they wrought treaſon againſt him in Jeruſalem*: a manifeſt proof that he was not reclaimed unto his lives end. And certainly, they which tell a Man in his adverſity of his faults paſſed, ſhall ſooner be thought to upbraid him with his fortune, than to ſeek his reformation. Wherefore it is no marvel, that Prieſts and Prophets were leſs welcome to him, than ever they had been. On the other ſide, flatterers, and ſuch as were deſirous to put a heart into him, whereof themſelves might always be maſters, wanted not plauſible matter to revive him. For he was not the firſt, nor ſecond of the Kings of *Juda*, that had been overcome in battel. *David* himſelf had abandoned the City, leaving it before the enemy was in ſight, unto *Abſalom* his rebellious Son. Many beſides him had received loſſes, wherein the Temple bare a part. If *Joas* might ſo eaſily have been kept out; why did their Anceſtors let *Seſac* in? *Aſa* was reputed a vertuous Prince, yet with his own hands he emptied the Temple, and was not blamed, but held excuſable by neceſſity of the State. Belike theſe traducers would commend no Actions but of dead Princes: if ſo, he ſhould rather live to puniſh them, than die to pleaſe them. Though wherein had he given them any cauſe of diſpleaſure? It was he indeed that commanded to ſet open the Gates to *Joas*; but it was the people that did it. Good ſervants ought not to have obeyed their Maſters Commandments to his diſadvantage, when they ſaw him not maſter of his own Perſon. As his captivity did acquit him from blame of all things that he did or ſuffered in that condition; ſo was that misfortune it ſelf, in true eſtimation, as highly to his honour, as deeply to his loſs. For had he been as haſty to fly as others were, he might have eſcaped as well as others did. But ſeeking to teach the baſe multitude courage by his Royal example, he was ſhamefully betrayed by thoſe in whom he truſted. Unworthy creatures, that could readily obey him, when ſpeaking another Mans words, being priſoner, he commanded them to yield; having neglected his charge, when leading them into the Field, he bad them ſtand to it and fight like Men. The beſt was, that they muſt needs acknowledge his miſchance, as the occaſion whereby many thouſand lives were ſaved; the enemy having wiſely preferred the ſurpriſe of a Lion that was Captain, before the chaſe and ſlaughter of an Army of Stags that followed him.

Theſe or the like words comforting *Amazia*, were able to perſwade him, that it was even ſo indeed. And ſuch excuſes might have ſerved well enough to pleaſe the people, if the King had firſt ſtudied how to pleaſe God. But he that was unwilling to aſcribe unto God the good ſucceſs foretold by a Prophet; could eaſily find how to impute this late diſaſter unto fortune, and the fault of others. Now concerning fortune, it ſeems that he meant to keep himſelf ſafe from her by ſitting ſtill; for in fifteen years following (ſo long he out lived his honour) we find not that he ſtirred. As for his ſubjects, though nothing henceforth be recorded of his government, yet we may ſee by his end, that the middle time was ill ſpent among them, increaſing their hatred to his own ruine. He that ſuſpecteth his own worth or other Mens opinions, thinking the leſs regard is had of his Perſon than he believeth to be due to his place, will commonly ſpend all the force of his authority in purchaſing the name of a ſevere Man. For the affected ſowreneſs of a vain fellow, doth many times reſemble the gravity of one that is wiſe: and the fear wherein they live, which are ſubject unto oppreſſion, carries a ſhew of reverence to him that does the wrong; at leaſt it ſerves to dazle the eyes of underlings, keeping them from prying into the weakneſs of ſuch as have juriſdiction over them. Thus the time, wherein, by well uſing it, Men might attain to ſuch as they ought, they do uſually miſ pend, in ſeeking to appear ſuch as they are not. This is a vain and deceivable courſe; procuring, in ſtead of the reſpect that was hoped for, more indignation than was feared. Which is a thing of dangerous conſequence; eſpecially when an unable Spirit, being over-perted with ſo high authority, is too paſſionate in the execution of ſuch an office, as cannot be checked but by violence. If therefore *Amazia* thought by extream rigour to hold up his reputation, what did he elſe than ſtrive to make the people think he hated them, when of themſelves they were apt enough to believe that he did not love them? the beſt was, that he had, by revenging his Fathers death, provided well enough for his own ſecurity: but who ſhould take vengeance (or upon whom?) of ſuch a murther, wherein every one had a part? Surely God himſelf, who had not given commandment or leave unto the people, to take his office out of his hand, in ſhedding the blood of his Anointed. Yet as *Amazia* careleſs of God, was carried headlong by his own affections; ſo his ſubjects, following the ſame ill example, without requiring what belonged unto their duties, roſe up againſt him, with ſuch head long fury, that being unable to defend himſelf in *Jeruſalem*, he was driven to forſake the City, and fly to *Lachis*, for ſafeguard of his life. But ſo extream was the hatred conceived againſt him, and ſo general, that neither his abſence could allay the rage of it in the Capital City, nor his preſence in the Country abroad procure friends to defend his life. Queſtionleſs he choſe the Town of *Lachis* for his refuge, as a place of all other beſt affected to him; yet found he there none other favour, than that the people did not kill him with their own hands; for when the Conſpirators (who troubled not themſelves about raiſing an Army for the matter) ſent purſuers after, he was abandoned to death. *Lachis* was the utmoſt City of his Dominion Weſtward, ſtanding ſomewhat without the border of *Juda*; ſo that he might have made an eaſie eſcape (if he durſt adventure) into the Territory of the *Philiſtims*, or the Kingdom of *Iſrael*. Therefore it may ſeem that he was detained there, where certain it is that he found no kind of favour: for had not the people of this Town added their own treaſon to the general inſurrection; the murderers could not at ſo good leiſure as they did, have carried away his body to *Jeruſalem*, where they gave him burial with his Fathers.

SECT.

SECT. XI.

Of the Inter-regnum, *or vacancy, that was in the Kingdom of* Juda, *after the death of* Amazia.

IT hath already been shewed, that the Reigns of the Kings of *Juda* and *Israel* were sometimes to be measured by compleat years, otherwhiles, by years current: and that the time of one King is now and then confounded with the last year of his Fathers Reign, or the foremost of his Sons, But we are now arrived at a meer vacation, wherein the Crown of *Juda* lay void eleven whole years: a thing not plainly set down in Scriptures, nor yet remembred by *Josephus*, and therefore hard to be believed, were it not proved by necessary consequence.

Twice we find it written, that *Amazia, King of* Juda, *lived after the death of* Joas *King of* Israel, *fifteen years*; whereupon it follows, that the death of *Amazia*, was about the end of fifteen years compleat, which *Jeroboam* the second (who *in the fifteenth year of* Amazia *was made King over* Israel) had reigned in *Samaria*. But the succession of *Uzzia*, who is also called *Azaria*, unto his Father in the Kingdom of *Juda*, was eleven years later than the sixteenth of *Jeroboam*: for it is expressed, that *Azaria began to reign in the seven and twentieth year of Jeroboam*; the sixteenth year of his life, being joyned with the first of two and fifty that he reigned. So the *Inter-regnum* of eleven years cannot be divided, without some hard means used, of interpreting the Text otherwise than the letter sounds.

2 Chron. 25. 2. & *2 Kin.* 14. 17.

2 King. 14. 23.

2 King. 15. 1.

Yet some conjectures there are made, which tend to keep all even, without acknowledging any void time. For it is thought that in the place last of all cited, by the seven and twentieth year of *Jeroboam*, we should perhaps understand the seven and twentieth year of his life; or else (because the like words are no where else interpreted in the like sense) that *Azaria* was eleven years under age, that is five years old, when his Father died, and so his sixteenth year might concur with the seven and twentieth of *Jeroboam*; or that the Text it self might have suffered some wrong, by miswriting twenty seven for seventeen years; and so by making the seventeenth year of *Jeroboam* to be newly begun, all may be salved. These are the conjectures of that worthy Man *Gerard Mercator*: concerning the first of which it may suffice, that the Author himself doth easily let it pass, as improbable; the last is followed by none that I know, neither is it fit, that upon every doubt, we should call the text in question; which could not be falsified in all copies, if perhaps it were in one, as for the second it may be held with some qualification, that *Azaria* began his Reign being five years old; but then must we add those eleven years which passed in his minority, to the two and fifty that followed his sixteenth year, which is all one in a manner, with allowing an *Inter-regnum*.

But why should we be so careful to avoid an *Inter-regnum* in *Juda*, seing that the like necessity hath inforced all good Writers to acknowledg the like vacancy, twice happening within few years, in the Kingdom of *Israel*? The space of time between *Jeroboam*'s death, and the beginning of *Zachariah*'s reign, and such another gap found between the death of *Peka*, and the beginning of *Hosea*, have made it easily to be admitted into *Samaria*; which the consideration of things as they stood in *Juda*, when *Amazia* was slain, doth make more probable to have happened there, yea, although the necessity of computation were not so apparent.

For the publick fury having so far extended it self, as unto the destruction of the Kings own person, was not likely to be appeased without order taken for obtaining some redress of those matters, which had caused it at the first to break forth into such extremity. We need not therefore wonder how it came to pass, that they which already had thrown themselves into such an horrible treason, should afterwards dare to withhold the Crown from a Prince of that age, which being invested in all ornaments of Regality, is nevertheless exposed to many injuries, proceeding from head-strong, and forgetful subjects.

As for their conjecture, who make *Azaria* to have been King but one and forty years after he came out of his non-age; I dare not allow it, because it agrees too harshly with the Text. The best opinion were that which gives unto *Jeroboam* eleven years of reign with his Father, before he began to reign single in the fifteenth of *Amazia*; did it not swallow up almost the whole reign of *Joas*, and extending the years of those which reigned in *Israel* (by making such of them compleat as were only current) and take at the shortest the reigns of Princes ruling in other Nations. But I will not stand to dispute further of this: every Man may follow his own opinion, and see mine more plainly in the Chronological Table, drawn for these purposes.

SECT. XII.

Of Princes Contemporary with Amazia, *and more particularly of* Sardanapalus.

THe Princes living with *Amazia*, and in the eleven years that followed his death, were *Joas* and *Jeroboam* in *Israel*; *Cephrenes* and *Mycerinus* in *Egypt*; *Sylvius Alladius*, and *Sylvius Aventinus* in *Alba*; *Agamemnon* in *Corinth*; *Diognetus Pheredus*, and *Ariphron* in *Athens*; in *Lacedæmon Theleclus*, in whose time the *Spartans* wan from the *Achaians*, *Garanthæ*, *Amyclæ*, and some other Towns.

But more notable than all these, was *Assyrian Sardanapalus*, who in the one and twentieth year of *Amazia*, succeeding his Father *Ocrazapes* or *Anacyndaraxes*, reigned twenty years, and was slain the last of the eleven void years which fore-went the reign of *Azaria*. In him ended (as most agree) the line of *Ninus*, which had held that Empire one thousand two hundred and forty years. A most luxurious and effeminate Palliard he was, passing away his time among strumpets, whom he imitated both in apparel and behaviour.

In these voluptuous courses he lived an unhappy life, knowing himself to be so vile, that he durst not let any Man have a sight of him; yet seen he was at length, and the sight of him was so odious, that it procured his ruine. For *Arbaces*, who governed *Media* under him, finding means to behold the person of his King, was so incensed with that beastly spectacle, of a Man disguised in Womans attire, and striving to counterfeit an Harlot, that he thought it a great shame to live under the command of so unworthy a Creature. Purposing therefore to free himself and others from so base subjection, he was much encouraged by the prediction of *Belesis* or *Belosus* a *Chaldæan*, who told him plainly, that the Kingdom of *Sardanapalus* should fall into his hands. *Arbaces* well

pleased

pleased with the Prophecy, did promise unto *Belosus* himself the government of *Babylon*; and so concluding how to handle the business, one of them stirred up the *Medes*, and allured the *Persians* into the quarrel, the other perswaded the *Babylonians* and *Arabians* to venture themselves in the same cause. These four Nations armed forty thousand Men against *Sardanapalus*, who in this danger was not wanting to himself, but gathering such forces as he could out of other Nations, encountred the rebels, as one that would by deeds refute the tales that they had told of him. Neither did his carriage in the beginning of that War, answer to the manner of his retiredness. For in three battels he carried away the better, driving *Arbaces* and his followers into such fearful terms, that had not *Belosus* promised them constantly some unexpected succours, they would forthwith have broken up their Camp. About the same time, an Army out of *Bactria* was coming to assist the King; but *Arbaces* encountring it upon the way, perswaded so strongly by promise of liberty, that those forces joyned themselves with his. The sudden departure of the enemy seeming to be a flight, caused *Sardanapalus* to feast his Army, triumphing before victory. But the Rebels being strengthened with this new supply, came upon him by night, and forced his Camp, which through over-great security was unprepared for resistance.

This overthrow did so weaken the Kings heart, that leaving his Wives Brother *Salamenus* to keep the Field, he withdrew himself into the City of *Nineve*; which, till new aids that he sent for should come, he thought easily to defend; it having been prophesied, that *Nineve* should never be taken, till the River were Enemy to the Town. Of the greatness and strength of *Nineve*, enough hath been spoken in our discourse of *Ninus*. It was so well victualled, that *Arbaces* (having in two battels overthrown the Kings Army, and slain *Salamenus*) was fain to lye two whole years before it, in hope to win it by famine; whereof yet he saw no appearance. It seems that he wanted Engines and skill to force those Walls, which were an hundred foot high, and thick enough for three Chariots in front to pass upon the rampire. But that which he could not do in two years, the River of *Tigris* did in the third: for being high swoln with rains, it not only drowned a part of the City through which it ran, but threw down twenty furlongs of the Wall, and made a fair breach for *Arbaces* to enter.

Sardanapalus, either terrified with the accomplishment of the old Oracle, or seeing no means of resistance left, shutting up himself into his Palace, with his Wives, Eunuchs, and all his Treasures, did set the house on fire, wherewith he and they were together consumed. *Strabo* speaks of a Monument of his, that was in *Anchiale*, a City of *Cilicia*, whereon was found an inscription, shewing that he built that City and *Tharsus* upon one day: but the addition hereto, bidding Men eat and drink, and make merry, encouraged others with verses well known, to a voluptuous life, by his own example testified that his nature was more prone to sensuality, than to any vertue beseeming a Prince. *Strab. l. 9.*

There are some that faintly report otherwise of his end, saying that *Arbaces*, when he first found him among his Concubines, was so enraged, that suddenly he slew him with a dagger. But the more general consent of Writers agrees with this relation of *Diodorus Siculus*, who citeth *Ctesias* a Greek Writer, that lived in the Court of *Persia*, where the truth might best be known. *Diod. Sic. l. 2. c. 7.*

Concerning the Princes which reigned in *Assyria*, from the time of *Semiramis*, unto *Sardanapalus*, though I believe that they were sometimes (yet not, as *Orosius* hath it, incessantly) busied in offensive, or else defensive arms; yet for the most part of them I do better trust *Diodorus Siculus*, who saith that their names were over passed by *Ctesias*, because they did nothing worthy of memory. Whatsoever they did, that which *Theophilus Antiochenus* hath said of them is very true; *Silence and Oblivion have oppressed them.* *Diod. l. 2. c. 6.* *Theophilus Antiochenus l. 2.*

CHAP.

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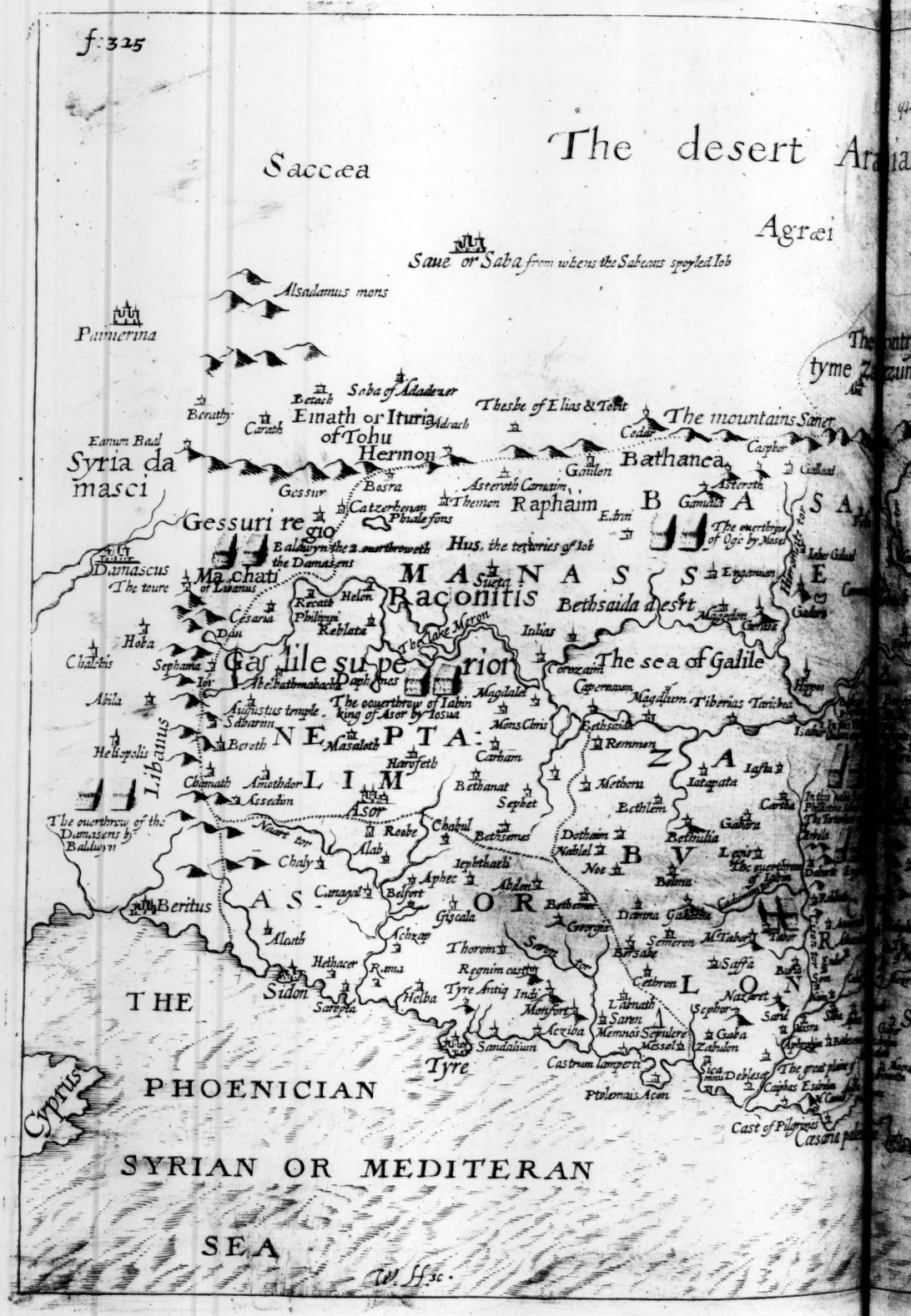
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Gaulen
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Gamala
The ouerthrow of Ogic by Moses
Balduyn the 2. ouerthroweth the Damasens
Hus. the territories of Iob
Damascus
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Lysanias
MANASSES
Raconitis
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Recath
Helon
Cæsaria Philippi
Reblata
Dan
Hobra
Chalchis
Sephama
Galilee superior
The sea of Galile
Abelbathmachath
Daphnes
Magdalel
Capernaum
Magdum
Tiberias
Tarichea
Abila
Augustus temple
Sabarun
Mons Chris
Bethsaida
Heliopolis
Libanus
Beroth
NEPTA:
Masaloth
Remmon
Carham
Harrofeth
Chamath
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Bethanat
Sephet
Methera
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Assedun
Asor
Bethlem
Gabira
The ouerthrow of the Damasens by Balduyn
Nazareth
Reobe
Chakul
Bethsemes
Dothaim
Nabilel
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Alab
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Larmath
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Nazarett
Sarepta
Acriba
Memnois Sepulcre
Gabra
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Ptolemais Acon
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THE
PHOENICIAN
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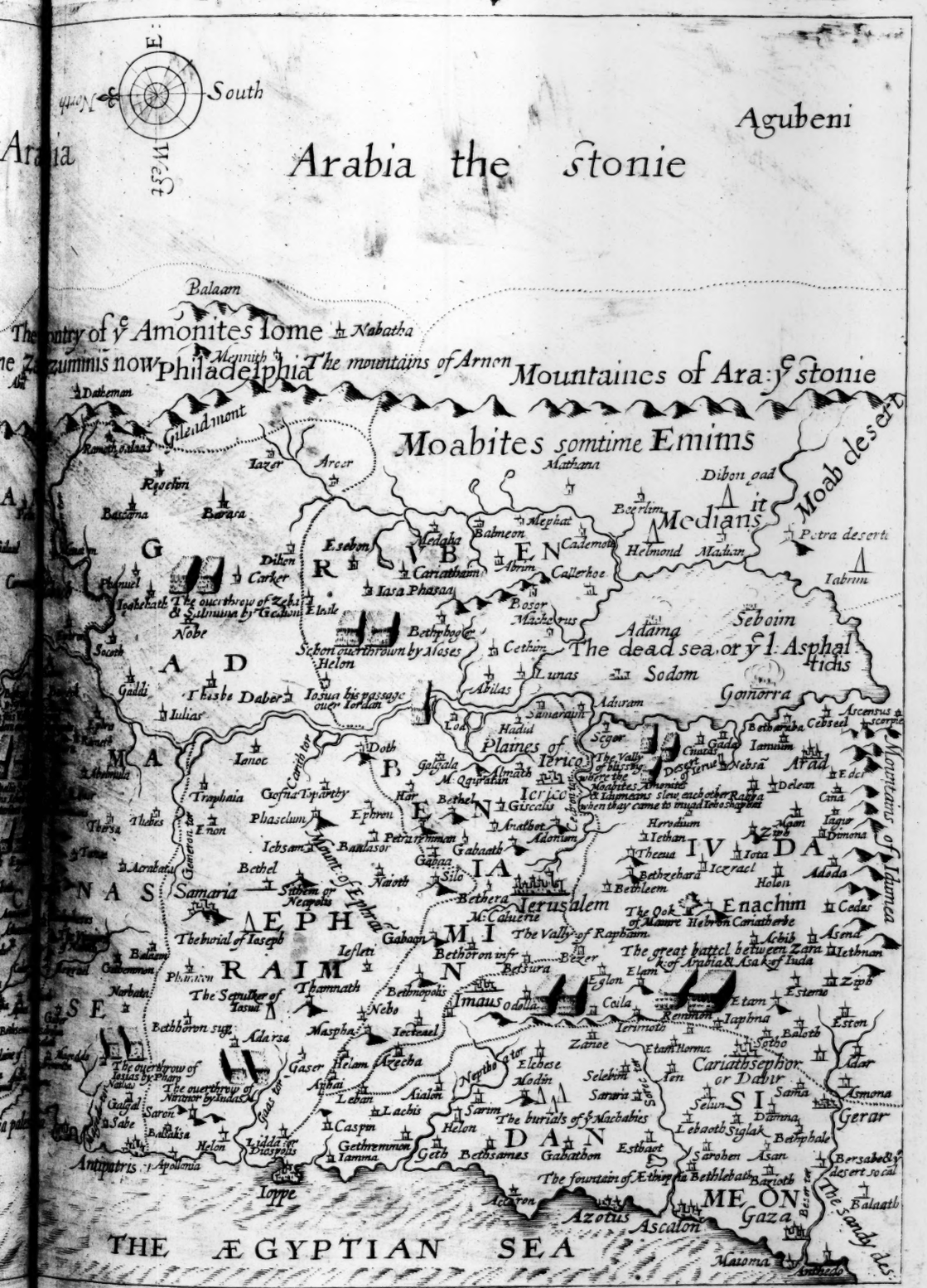
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The mountains of Arnon
Mountaines of Ara: ye stonie
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Moab desert
Medians
Petra deserta
Iabrim
Seboim
The dead sea, or ye Asphaltis
Sodom
Gomorra
Mountains of Idumea
Plaines of Iericho
Mount of Ephraim
Samaria
Ierusalem
Enachim
Imaus
Cariathsephor or Dabir
Gerar
Azotus
Ascalon
Gaza
THE ÆGYPTIAN SEA
Ioppe
Antipatris
Apollonia
Lydda
Arad
Hebron
Bethlehem
Bethel
Gilead mont
Iabesh Galaad
Ramoth Galaad
Aroer
Mathana
Dibon gad
Beerlim
Medeba
Babmeon
Mephaat
Cademoth
Helmond
Madian
Esebon
Dibon
Carker
Cariathaim
Abrim
Callerhoe
Iasa
Phasga
Baser
Macherus
Nobe
Bethphogor
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Lunas
Abilas
Adama
Iosua his passage ouer Iordan
Adiuram
Samaritis
Lod
Hadid
Doth
Ianoc
Galgala
Almath
Segor
Gades
Iamnim
Cinaas
Nebsa
Ascensus Scorpionis
Cebsed
Betharaba
Delean
Edei
Cana
Iaquir
Dimona
Traphaia
Ephron
Phasclum
Petra Himan
Arathot
Adomim
Herodium
Iethan
Zoeb
Thecua
Iota
Icezraci
Bethzehara
Holon
Adeda
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Bersabee & desert so call
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Socho
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Helam
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Lachis
Sarim
Iether
Selebim
Sanaria
Elthese
Modin
Caspin
Gethremmon
Iamma
Geth
Helon
Lidda
Sarohen
Asan
Lebaoth
Siglak
Bethphale
Elon
Iezer
Areer
Bethsura
Bezer
Eglon
Coila
Remmon
Iaphia
Etam
Etam Horma
Ziph
Ziaree
Iarimoth
Bethhoron sup:
Bethhoron infr:
Gabaon
Gabaath
Gabaa
Silo
Naioth
Sichem or Neapolis
Bethera
Mi Calvarie
The Vally of Raphaim
The great battel between Zara k: of Arabia & Asa k: of Iuda
The Ook of Mamre Hebron Cariatharbe
The fountain of Ethiopia
Bethlehath
Barioth
Masoma
Arathedo
Ioppe
Azotus
Ascalon
Gaza
Iabesh
Naioth
Sichem
Samaria
Bethel
Ephron
Phasclum
Traphaia
Iericho
Iordan
Mount of Ephraim
Caritho tor
Gophna Toparchy
Acrabatta
Thebes
Thersa
Ichsam
Baalasor
Gabaath
Adomim
Bethel
Naioth
Silo
Bethera
Ierusalem
Gabaon
Bethoron infr
Bezer
Eglon
Coila
Remmon
Iaphia
Etam
Ziph
Esteno
Eston
Baloth
Sabbo
Ader
Asama
Iemona
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Bersabee & desert so call
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Siglak
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Areer
Bethsura

CHAP. XXIII.

Of UZZIAH.

SECT. I.

The Prosperity of Uzziah *and of* Jeroboam *the second, who reigned with him in* Israel. *Of the Anarchy that was in the ten Tribes after the death of* Jeroboam. *Of* Zachariah, Sallum, Menahem, *and* Pekahiah.

UZzia, who is called *Ahazia*, the son of *Jotham*, was made King of *Juda*, when he was sixteen years old, in the seven and twentieth year of *Jeroboam* the son of *Joas* King of *Israel*. He served the God of his father *David*, and had therefore good success in all his enterprises. He built *Eloth*, a Town that stood near to the Red Sea, and restored it to *Juda*. He overcame the *Philistims*, of whose Towns he dismantled some, and built others in sundry parts of their Territories: Also he got the mastery over some parts of *Arabia*, and brought the *Ammonites* to pay him Tribute. Such was the fruits of his prosperous Wars, wherein (as *Josephus* rehearseth his acts) he began with the *Philistims*, and then proceeded unto the *Arabians* and *Ammonites*. His Army consisted of three hundred and seven thousand men of War, over which were appointed two thousand and six hundred Captains. For all this multitude the King prepared *shields, and spears, and helmets*, and other Arms requisite; following therein happily a course quite opposite unto that which some of his late Predecessours had held, who thought it better policy to use the service of the Nobility, than of the multitude; carrying forth to war *the Princes, and all the Chariots*.

2 *Chro.* 26. 14.

2. *Chro.* c. 21. v. 9.

As the Victories of *Uzzia* were far more important, than the atcheivments of all that had reigned in *Juda*, since the time of *David*; so were his riches and magnificent workes, equal, if not superiour to any of theirs that had been Kings between him and *Solomon*. For, besides that great conquests are wont to repay the charges of War with triple interest, he had the skil to use, as well as the happiness to get. He turned his lands to the best use, keeping Plough-men and Dressers of Vines, in grounds convenient for such husbandry. In other places he had Cattel feeding; whereof he might well keep great store, having won so much from the *Ammonties* and *Arabians*, that had abundance of wast ground serving for pasturage. For defence of his Cattel and Heardsmen, he built Towers in the Wilderness. He also digged many Cisterns or Ponds. *Josephus* calls them Water-courses; but in such dry grounds, it was enough that he found water, by digging in the most likely places. If by these Towers he so commanded the water, that none could without his consent, relieve themselves therewith, questionless he took the onely course, by which he might securely hold the Lordship over all the Wilderness; it being hardly passable, by reason of the extream drought, when the few Springs therein found, are left free to the use of Travellers.

Besides all this cost, and the building both of *Eloth* by the Red Sea, and of sundry Towns among the *Philistims*; he repaired the wall of *Jerusalem*, which *Joas* had broken down, and fortified it with Towers, whereof some were an hundred and fifty Cubits high.

The state of *Israel* did never so flourish, as at this time, since the division of the twelve Tribes into two Kingdoms. For as *Uzzia* prevailed in the South, so (if not more) *Jeroboam* the son of *Joas*, King of the ten Tribes, enlarged his border on the North; where obtaining many victories against the *Syrians*, he wan the Royal City of *Damascus*, and he wan *Hamath*, with all the country thereabout, *from the entring of* Hamath, *unto the Sea of the Wilderness*, that is (as the most expound it) unto the vast desarts of *Arabia*, the end whereof was undiscovered. So the bounds of *Israel* in those parts, were in time of this *Jeroboam*, the same (or not much narrower) which they had been in the reign of *David*.

2 *King.* 14. 25, 28.

But it was not for the piety of *Jeroboam*, that he thrived so well, for he was an Idolater, it was only the compassion which the Lord had on *Israel*, seeing the exceeding bitter affliction whereinto the *Aramites* had brought his people, which caused him to alter the succession of war, and to throw the victorious *Aramites* under the feet of those whom they had so cruelly oppressed. The line of *Jehu* to which God had promised the Kingdom of *Israel unto the fourth generation*, was now not far from the end; and now again it was invited to repentance by new benefits, as it hath been at the beginning. But the sin of *Jeroboam* the son of *Nebat* was held so precious, that neither the Kingdom it self given to him by God, was able to draw *Jehu* from that politick Idolatry: nor the misery falling upon him and his posterity, to bring them to a better Course of Religion; nor yet, at the last, this great Prosperity of *Jeroboam* the son of *Joas*, to make him render the honour that was due to the onely Giver of victory. Wherefore the promise of God made unto *Jehu*, that his sons, *unto the fourth generation*, should sit on the throne of *Israel*, was not enlarged; but being almost expired, gave warning of the approaching end, by an accident (so strange, that we who find no particulars recorded, can hardly guess at the occasions) foregoing the last accomplishment.

1 *Reg.* 10. 13.

When *Jeroboam* the son of *Joas*, after a victorious reign of one and forty years, had ended his life; it seems in all reason that *Zacharia* his son should forthwith have been admitted to reign in his stead; the Nobility of that race having gotten such a lustre by the immediate succession of four Kings, that any Competitor, had the Crown passed by election, must needs have appeared base; and the vertue of the last King having been so great, as might well serve to lay the foundation of a new house, much more to establish

the already confirmed right of a family ſo rooted in poſſeſſion. All this notwithſtanding, two or three and twenty years did paſs before *Zacharia* the Son of *Jeroboam* was, by uniform conſent, recieved as King. The true original cauſes hereof were to be found at *Dan* and *Bethel*, where the golden Calves did ſtand; yet ſecond Inſtruments of this diſturbance are likely not to have been wanting, upon which the wiſdom of man was ready to caſt an eye. Probable it is, that the Captains of the army (who afterwards ſlew one another ſo faſt, that in fourteen years there reigned five Kings) did now by head-ſtrong violence, rend the Kingdom aſunder, holding each what he could, and either deſpiſing or hating ſome qualities in *Zacharia*; until, after many years, being wearied with diſſention, and the principal of them perhaps, being taken out of the way by death, for want of any other eminent man, they conſented to yeild all quietly to the ſon of *Jeroboam*. That this Anarchy laſted almoſt three and twenty years, we find by the difference of time between the fifteenth year of *Uzzia*, which was the laſt of *Jeroboam* his one and fortieth (his ſeven and twentieth concurring with the firſt of *Uzzia*) and the eight and thirtieth of the ſame *Uzzia*, in the laſt ſix months whereof *Zacharia* reigned in *Samaria*. There are ſome indeed that by ſuppoſing *Jeroboam* to have reigned with his father eleven years, do cut of the *interregnum* in *Juda* (before mentioned) and by the ſame reaſon abridge this Anarchy that was before the reign of *Zacharia* in *Iſrael*. Yet they leave it twelve years long: which is time to prove that the Kingdom of the ten tribes was no leſs diſtempered than as is already noted. But I chooſe rather to follow the more common opinion, as concurring more exactly with the times of other Princes reigning abroad in the World, than this doubtfull conjecture, that gives to *Jeroboam* two and fifty years, by adding three quarters of his fathers reign unto his own; which was it ſelf indeed ſo long, that he may well ſeem to have begun it very young: for I do not think that God bleſſed this Idolater both with a longer reign, and with a longer life than he did his ſervant *David*.

Thus much being ſpoken of the time wherein the throne of *Iſrael* was void, before the reign of *Zachariah*; little may ſuffice to be ſaid of his reign it ſelf, which laſted but a little while, Six months only was he King; in which time he declared himſelf a worſhipper of the golden Calves; which was enough to juſtifie the judgment of God; whereby he was ſlain. He was the laſt of *Jehu*'s houſe, being (incluſively) the firſt of that line; which may have been ſome cauſe of the troubles impeaching his orderly ſucceſſion: the propheſie having determined that race in the fourth generation. But (beſides that Gods promiſe was extended to the utmoſt) there was no warrant given to *Sallum*, or to any other, for the death of *Zacharia*, as had been given to *Jehu* for the ſlaughter of *Jeboram*, and for the eradication of *Ahab*'s houſe.

2 *King.* 15. 13. *Zacharia* having been ſix months a King, was then ſlain by *Sallum*, who reigned after him, *the ſpace of a moneth in Samaria*. What this *Sallum* was I do not find; ſave only that he was a Traytor, and the ſon of one *Jabeſh*, whereby his father got no honour. It ſeems that he was one of thoſe who in time of faction had laboured for himſelf, and now, when all other Competitors were ſitten down, thought eaſily to prevail againſt that King in whoſe perſon the race of *Jehu* was to fail. Manifeſt it is that *Shallum* had a ſtrong party, for *Tiphſah* or *Thapſah*, and the coaſt thereof even from *Tirzah*, where *Menahem*, his enemy and ſupplanter, then lay, refuſed to admit, as King in his ſtead, the man that murdered him. Yet at the end of one month, *Sallum* received the reward of his treaſon, and was ſlain by *Menahem* who reigned in his place.

Menahem the ſon of *Gadi*, reigned after *Sallum* ten years. In oppoſition to *Sallum*, his hatred was deadly, and inhumane, for he not onely deſtroyed *Tiphſah*, and all that were therein, or thereabouts, but he ript up all their women with child, becauſe they did not open their gates and let him in. Had this cruelty been uſed in reveng of *Zacharia*'s death, it is like that he would have been as earneſt, in procuring unto him his fathers Crown when it was firſt due. But in performing that office, there was uſed ſuch long deliberation, that we may plainly diſcover Ambition, Diſdain, and other private paſſions, to have been the cauſes of this beaſtly outrage.

In the time of *Menahem*, and (as it ſeems) in the beginning of his reign, *Pul*, King of *Aſſyria*, came againſt the land of *Iſrael*, whom this new King appeaſed, with a thouſand talents of ſilver, levied upon all the ſubſtantial men in his countrey. With this money the *Iſraelite* purchaſed, not only the peace of his Kingdom; but his own eſtabliſhment therein: ſome factious man (belike) having either invited *Pul* thither, or (if he came uncalled) ſought to uſe his help, in depoſing this ill-beloved King. *Joſephus* reports of this *Menahem*, that his reign was no milder than his entrance. But after ten years, his Tyranny ended with his life: and *Pekahia* his Son occupied his room. *Joſ. Ant. l. 9. c. 11.*

Of this *Pekahia* the ſtory is ſhort: for he reigned only two years, at the end whereof he was ſlain by *Peka* the ſon of *Ramalia*, whoſe treaſon was rewarded with the Crown of *Iſrael*, as in time coming, another mans Treaſon againſt himſelf ſhall be. There needs no more to be ſaid of *Menahem* and his ſon, ſave that they were both of them Idolaters, and the ſon (as we find in *Joſephus*) like to his father in cruelty. Concerning *Pul* the *Aſſyrian* King, who firſt opened unto thoſe Northern Nations the way into *Paleſtina*; it will ſhortly follow in order of the Story, to deliver our opinion: whether he were that *Beloſus* (called alſo *Beleſes*, and by ſome *Phul Belochus*) who joyned with *Arbaces* the *Median* againſt *Sardanapalus*, or whether he was ſome other man. At the preſent it is more fit that we relate the end of *Uzzia*'s life, who out lived the happineſs wherein we left him. *Joſ. ibid.*

SECT. II.

The end of Uzzia *his Reign and Life.*

AS the zeal of *Jehojada* that godly Prieſt was the mean to preſerve the lineage of *David* in the perſon of *Joas*, ſo it appears; that the care of holy men was not wanting to *Uzzia*, to bring him up and advance him to the Crown of *Juda*, when the hatred born to his Father *Amazia* had endangered his ſucceſſion. For it is ſaid of *Uzzia*, That *he ſought God in the days of* Zacharia (*which underſtood the viſions of God*) *and when as he ſought the Lord, God made him proſper*. 2 *Chron.* 26. 5.

But, when he was ſtrong, his heart was lifted up to his deſtruction: for he tranſgreſſed againſt the Lord his God, and went into the Temple of the Lord to burn incenſe upon the Altar of incenſe. Thus he thought to enlarge his own authority, by medling in the Prieſts office, whoſe power had in every extremity been ſo helpful to the Kings of *Juda*, that meer gratitude and civil policy, ſhould have held back *Uzzia* from *Verſ.* 16.

in-

incroaching thereupon; yea, though the Law of God hath been silent in this case, and not forbidding it. Howsoever, the King forgot his Duty, the Priests remembred theirs, and God forgat not to assist them. *Azariah* the high Priest interrupted the Kings purpose, and gave him to understand how little to his honour it would prove, that he took upon him the Office of the sons of *Aaron*. There were with *Azariah* fourscore other Priests, valiant men, but their valour was shewed only in assisting the high Priest, when (according to his duty) he reprehended the Kings presumption. This was enough, the rest God himself performed.

We read in *Josephus*, that the King had apparreled himself in Priestly habit, and that he threatned *Azariah* and his Companions, to punish them with death, unless they would be quiet. *Josephus* indeed inlargeth the Story, by inserting a great Earthquake, which did tear down half an Hill, that rowled four furlongs, till it rested against another Hill, stopping up the high-wayes, and spoiling the Kings Garden in the Passage. With this Earth-quake, he saith, that the Roof of the Temple did cleave, and that a Sun-beam did light upon the Kings face, which was presently infected with Leprosie. All this may have been true, and some there are who think that this Earth-quake is the same, which is mentioned by the Prophet *Amos*; wherein they do much misreckon the times. For the Earth-quake spoken of by *Amos*, was in the dayes of *Jeroboam* King of *Israel*, who dyed seven and thirty years before *Uzziah*, so that *Jotham* the son of *Uzziah*, which supplied his Fathers place in government of the Land, should, by this accompt, have been then unborn: for he was but five and twenty years old, when he began to reign as King. Therefore thus far only we have assurance; that *while* Uzzia *was wroth with the Priests, the Leprosie rose up in his forehead, before the Priests.* Hereupon he was caused in all haste to depart the place, and to live in a house by himself until he died, the rule over the Kings House, and over all the Land, being committed to *Jotham* his Son and Successour. *Jotham* took not upon himself the stile of a King, till his Father was dead: whom they buried in the same Field wherein his *Ancestors* lay interred, yet in a Monument apart from the rest, because he was a Leper.

Jos. ant. l. 9. c. 11.

2 Chro. 26. 20.

SECT. III.

Of the Prophets which lived in the time of Uzzia; *and of Princes then ruling in* Egypt, *and in some other Countries.*

IN the time of *Uzzia* were the first of the lesser Prophets, *Hosea*, *Joel*, *Amos*, *Obadia* and *Jonas*. It is not indeed set down, when *Joel* or *Obadia* did prophecy, but if the Prophets, whose times are not expressed, ought to be ranged (according to Saint *Hierom*'s rule) with the next before them; then must these two be judged contemporary with *Hosea* and *Amos*, who lived under King *Uzzia*. To enquire which of these five was the most ancient, it may perhaps be thought, at least, a superfluous labour; yet if the age wherein *Homer* lived hath so plentifully been sought, without reprehension, how can he be taxed, which offers to search out the antiquity of these holy Prophets?

It seems to me that the first of these in order of time, was the Prophet *Jonas*; who foretold the great Victories of *Jeroboam* King of *Israel*, and therefore is likely to have propheſied in the dayes of *Joas*, whilst the afflictions of *Israel* was *exceeding bitter*; the Text it self intimating no less: by which consequence he was elder than the other Prophets, whose works are now extant. But his Prophecies that concerned the Kingdom of *Israel* are now lost. that which remaineth of him, seems, not without reason unto some very learned, to have belonged unto the time of *Sardanapalus*, in whose dayes *Ninive* was first of all destroyed. This Prophet rather taught Christ by his Sufferings, than by his Writings, now extant: in all the rest are found express promises of the Messias.

2. Chro. c. 24. v. 25. 26.

In the Reign of *Uzzia* likewise it was, that *Esay* the first of the four great Prophets, began to see his Visions. This difference of *Greater* and *Lesser* Prophets is taken from the Volumns which they have left written, (as S. *Augustine* gives reason of the distinction) because the greater hath written larger Books. The Prophet *Esay* was great indeed, not only in regard of his much writing, or of his Nobility, (for their opinion is rejected, who think him to have been the Son of *Amos*, the Prophet) and the high account wherein he lived; but for the excellency both of his stile and argument, wherin he so plainly foretelleth the Birth, Miracles, Passion, and whole History of our Saviour, with the Calling of the Gentiles, that he might as well be called an Evangelist, as a Prophet; having written in such wise, That (as *Hierome* saith) *one would think he did not foretel of things to come, but compile an History of matters already past.*

Aug. de Civit. Dei l. 18. c. 19.

Hier. in præf. super Isaiam.

Bocchoris was King of *Egypt*, and the ninth year of his reign, by our computation (whereof in due place we will give reason) was current, when *Uzzia* took possession of the Kingdom of *Juda*.

After the death of *Bocchoris*, *Aschis* followed in the Kingdom of *Egypt*: unto him succeeded *Amyſis*, and these two occupied that Crown six years. Then *Sabacus*, an *Æthiopian* became King of *Egypt*, and held it fifty years, whereof the ten first ran along with the last of *Uzzia* his reign and life. Of these and other *Egyptian* Kings, more shall be spoken, when their affairs shall come to be intermedled with the business of *Juda*.

In *Athens*, the two last years of *Aripbron* his twenty, the seven and twentieth of *Thespaius*, the twentieth of *Agamnestor*, and the three first of *Æschylus* his three and twenty, made even with the two and fifty of *Uzzia*: as likewise did in *Alba* the last seven of *Silvius Aventinus* his seven and thirty, together with the three and twenty of *Silvius Procas*, and two and twenty the first of *Silvius Amulius*. In *Media*, *Arbaces* began his new Kingdom in the first of *Uzzia*, wherein, after eight and twenty years, his son *Sosarmus* succeeded him, and reigned thirty years. Of this *Arbaces*, and the division of the *Assyrian* Empire, between him and others, when they had oppressed *Sardanapalus*, I hold it convenient to use more particular discourse, that we may not wander in too great uncertainty in the story of the *Assyrian* Kings, who have already found the way into *Palestina*, and are not likely to forget it.

SECT. IV.

Of the Assyrian *Kings, descending from* Phul: *Whether* Phul *and* Belosus *were one person, or heads of sundry families, that reigned a part in* Nineve *and* Babylon.

BY that which hath formerly been shewed of *Sardanapalus* his death, it is apparent, that the chief therein was *Arbaces* the *Median*; to whom the rest of the Confederates did not onely submit themselves in that War, but were contented afterwards to be judged by him, receiving by his Authority, sentence of death or pardon of their forfeited lives. The first example of his power was shewn upon *Belosus* the *Babylonian*, by whose special advice and help, *Arbaces* himself was become so great: Yet was not this power of *Arbaces* exercised in so tyrannical a manner, as might give offence in that great alteration of things, either to the Princes that had assisted him, or to the generality of the people. For in the condemnation of *Belosus*, he used the counsel of his other Captains, and then pardoned him of his own grace; allowing him to hold not onely the City and Province of *Babylon*, but also those treasures, for the embezelling whereof his life had been endangered.

In like manner, he gave rewards to the rest of his partakers, and made them Rulers of Provinces: retaining (as it appears) onely the Soveraignty to himself, which to use immoderately, he did naturally abhor. He is said, indeed, to have excited the *Medes* against *Sardanapalus*, by propounding unto them hope of transferring the Empire to their Nation. And to make good this his promise, he destroyed the City of *Nineve*, permitting the Citizens nevertheless to carry away every one his own goods. The other Nations that joyned with him, as the *Persians* and *Bactrians* he drew to his side, by the allurement of liberty; which he himself so greatly loved, that by slackning too much the reins of his own Soveraignty, he did more harm to the general estate of *Media* than the pleasure of the freedom, which it enjoyed, could recompence. For both the Territory of that Country was pared narrower by *Salmanassar*, (or perhaps by some of his progenitours) whom we find in the Scriptures to have held some Towns of the *Medes*; and the civil administration was so disorderly, that the people themselves were glad to see that reformation, which *Deioces* the fift of *Arbaces* his Line, did make in that government, by reducing them into stricter terms of obedience.

How the force of the *Assyrians* grew to be such as might in fourscore years, if not sooner, both extend it self unto the conquest of *Israel*, and tear away some part of *Media*, it is a question hardly to be answered; not onely in regard of the destruction of *Nineve*, and the subversion of the *Assyrian* Kingdom, whereof the *Medes*, under *Arbaces*, had the honour, who may seem at that time to have kept the *Assyrians* under their subjection, when the rest of the Provinces were set at liberty; but in consideration of the Kings themselves, who reigning afterwards in *Babylon* and *Nineve*, are confounded by some, and distinguished by others; whereby their History is made uncertain.

I will first therefore deliver the opinion generally received, and the grounds whereupon it stands: then, producing the objections made against it, I will compare together the determination of that worthy man *Joseph Scaliger*, with those learned, that subscribe thereunto, and the judgement of others that were more ancient Writers, or have followed the Ancients in this doubtfull case. Neither shall it be needfull to set down a-part the several authorities and arguments of sundry men, adding somewhat of weight, or of clearnes one to another: it will be enough to relate the whole substance of each discourse: which I will do as briefly as I can, and without fear to be taxed of partiality, as being no more addicted to the one opinion than to the other, by any fancie of my own, but meerly led by those reasons, which upon examination of each part, seemed to me most forceable, though to others they may perhaps appear weak.

That which, until of late, hath passed as current, is this; That *Belosus* was the same King, who, first of the *Assyrians*, entred *Palestina* with an Armie; being called *Pul*, or *Phul*, in the Scriptures, and by *Annius* his authors with such as follow them, *Phul Belochus*. Of this man it is said, that he was a skilful Astrologer, subtile, and ambitious; that he got *Babylon* by composition made with *Arbaces*; and not therewith content, he got into his hand part of *Assyria*: finally that he reigned eight and fortie years, and then dying, left the Kingdom to *Teglat-phalassar* his son, in whose Posterity it continued some few descents, till the house of *Merodach* prevailed. The truth of this, if *Annius* his *Metasthenes* were sufficient proof, could not be gainsaid; for that Author (such as he is) is peremptorie herein. But howsoever *Annius* his Authors deserve to be suspected, it stands with no reason, that we should conclude all to be false which they affirme. They, who maintain this Tradition, justifie it by divers good Allegations, as a matter confirmed by circumstances found in all Authors, and repugnant unto no historie at all. For it is manifest by the relation of *Diodorus* (which is indeed the foundation whereupon all have built) that *Arbaces* and *Belosus* were partners in the action against *Sardanapalus*; and that the *Bactrians*, who joyned with them, were thought well rewarded with liberty, as likewise other Captains were with governments: but that any third person was so eminent, as to have *Assyria* it self, the cheife Countrey of the Empire, bestowed upon him, it is a thing whereof not the least appearance is found in any Historie. And certainly it stood with little reason, that the *Assyrians* should be committed unto a peculiar King, at such time as it was not meet to trust them in their own walls and houses. Rather it is apparent, that the destruction of *Nineve* by *Arbaces*, and the transplantation of the Citizens, was held a needfull policy, because thereby the people of that Nation might be kept down from aspiring to recover the Soveraignty, which else they would have thought to belong, as of right, unto the Seat of the Empire.

Upon such considerations did the *Romans*, in ages long after following, destroy *Carthage* and dissolve the Corporation, or body politick, of the Citizens of *Capua*; because those two Towns were capable of the Empire: a matter esteemed over-dangerous, even to *Rome* it self, that was Mistresse of them both. This being so, how can it be thought that the *Assyrians* in three or four years had erected their Kingdom a-new, under one *Pul*? or what must this *Pul* have been (of whose deservings or intermedling, or indeed of whose very name, we find no mention in the War against *Sardanapalus*) to whom the principal parts of the Empire fell either by general consent in the division of the Provinces, or by his own power and purchase very soon after? Surely he was none other then *Belosus*; whose neer neighbourhood gave him opportunity (as he was wise enough to

Tull. contra Rullum. or. 2.

to play his own game) both to get *Assyria* to himself, and to impeach any other man that should have attempted to seize upon it. The Province of *Babylon*, which *Belosus* held, being as (*Herodotus* reports) in riches and power, as good as the third part of the *Persian* Empire, was able to furnish him with all that was requisite for such a business: if that were not enough, he had gotten into his own hands all the gold and silver that had been in the Palace of *Nineve*. And questionless, to restore such a City as *Nineve*, was an enterprise fit for none to take in hand, except he had such means, as *Belosus* had, which *Pul*, if he were not *Belosus*, is likely to have wanted.

Herodot. l. 1.

Besides all this, had *Pul* been a distinct person from *Belosus*, and Lord of *Assyria*, which lay beyond the Countries of *Babylon* and *Mesopotamia*, it would not have been an easie matter for him, to pass quite through another mans Kingdom with an Army, seeking booty afar off in *Israel*: the onely action by which the name of *Phul* is known. But if we grant, that he, whom the Scriptures call *Pul* or *Phul*, was the same whom prophane writers have called *Belosus*, *Beleses*, or *Belestis* (in like manner as *Josephus* acknowledgeth, that he whom the Scriptures called never otherwise then *Darius* the *Mede*, was the son of *Astiages*, and called of the *Greeks* by another name, that is, *Cyaxeres*) then is this scruple utterly removed. For *Babylon* and *Mesopotamia* did border upon *Syria* and *Palestina*: so that *Belosus* having settled his affairs in *Assyria* towards the East and North, might with good leisure encroach upon the Countries that lay on the other side of his Kingdom, to the South and West. He that looks into all particulars, may find every one circumstance concurring, to prove that *Phul*, who invaded *Israel*, was no other then *Belosus*. For the Prince of the *Arabians*, who joyned with *Arbaces*, and brought no small part of the forces wherewith *Sardanapalus* was overthrown, did enter into that action, meerly for the love of *Belosus*. The friendship of these *Arabians* was a thing of main importance, to those that were to pass over *Euphrates* with an Army into *Syria*. Wherefore *Belosus*, that held good correspondence with them, and whose most fruitfull Province, adjoyning to their barren quarters, might yearly do them inestimable pleasures, was not only likely to have quiet passage through their borders, but their utmost assistance: yea it stands with good reason, that they who loved not *Israel*, should for their own behoof have given him intelligence of the destructions and civil broyles among the ten Tribes; whereby as this *Pul* got a thousand talents, so it seems that the *Syrians* and *Arabians*, that had felt an heavy neighbour of *Jeroboam*, recovered their own, setting up a new King in *Damasco*, and clearing the coast of *Arabia*, (from the Sea of the Wilderness to *Hamath*) of the *Hebrew* Garrisons. Neither was it any new acquaintance, that made the Nations, divided by *Euphrates*, hold together in so good terms of friendship: it was ancient consanguinity, the memory whereof was availeable to the *Syrians*, the time of *David*, when the *Aramites* beyond the river came over willingly, to the succour of *Hadadezer*, and the *Aramites* about *Damasco*. So *Belosus* had good reason to look into those parts: what a King reigning so far off as *Nineve*, should have to do in *Syria*, if the other end of his Kingdom had not reached to *Euphrates*, it were hard to shew.

Joseph. Ant. l. 10. c. 12.

But concerning this last Argument of the business which might allure the *Chaldeans* into *Palestina*, it may be doubted, lest it should seem to have ill coherence with that which hath been said of the long Anarchy that was in the ten Tribes. For if the Crown of *Israel* were worn by no man in three and twenty years, then it is likely that *Belosus* was either unwilling to stir, or unable to take the advantage when it was fairest and first discovered. This might have compelled those, who alone were not strong enough to seek after help from some Prince that lay further off; and so the opinion of those that distinguish *Phul* from *Belosus*, would be somewhat confirmed.

On the other side, if we say, that *Belosus* did pass the river of *Euphrates*, as soon as he found likelyhood of making a prosperous journey, then may it seem that the *inter-regnum* in *Israel* was not so long as we have made it: for three and twenty years leisure would have afforded better opportunity, which ought not to have been lost.

For answer hereunto, we are to consider, what *Orosius* and *Eusebius* have written concerning the *Chaldees*: the one, that after the departure of *Arbaces* into *Media*, they laid hold on a part of the Empire: the other, that they prevailed and grew mighty, between the times of *Arbaces* and *Deioces*, the *Medes*: Now, though it be held an errour of *Orosius*, where he supposeth that the occupying of *Babylonia* by the *Chaldeans* was in a manner of a rebellion from the *Medes*; yet herein he and *Eusebius* do concur, that the authority of *Arbaces* did restrain the ambition, which by his absence grew bold, and by his death, regardfull onely of it self. Now, though some have conjectured that all *Assyria* was given to *Belosus* (as an overplus, besides the Provinces of *Babylon* which was his, by plain bargain made aforehand) in regard of his high deservings; yet the opinion more commonly received, is, that he did onely encroach upon that Province by little and little, whilest *Arbaces* lived, and afterwards by dealing more openly, got it all himself. Seeing therefore, that there passed but twelve years between the death of *Arbaces*, and the beginning of *Menahem* his Reign; manifest it is, that the conquest of *Assyria*, and settling of that Countrey, was work enough to hold *Belosus* occupied, besides the restauration of *Nineve*, which thing alone was able to take up all the time remaining of his reign, if perhaps he lived to see it finished in his own days. So that this argument may rather serve to prove that *Phul* and *Belosus* were one person. Forasmuch as the journey of *Phul* against *Israel* was not made until *Belosus* could find leisure; and the time of advantage which *Belosus* did let slip, argued his busines in some other quarter, namely, in that province of which *Phul* is called King. Briefly, it may be said, that he who conquered *Assyria*, and performed somewhat upon a Country so far distant as *Palestina*, was likely to have been, at least, named in some History, or, if not himself, yet his Country to have been spoken of, for those victories: but we neither hear of *Phul*, in any prophane Author; neither doth any Writer, sacred or prophane, once mention the victories or acts whatsoever of the *Assyrians*, done in those times; whereas of *Belosus*, and the power of the *Chaldeans*, we find good Record.

Surely that great slaughter of so many thousand *Assyrians*, in the quarrel of *Sardanapalus*, together with other calamities of that long and unfortunate war, which overwhelmed the whole Country, ending but with the ruine and utter desolation of *Nineve*, must needs have so weakned the state of *Assyria*, that it could not in thirty years space be able to invade *Palestina*, which the ancient Kings, reigning in *Nineve*, had, in all their greatness, forborn to attempt. Yet these afflictions, disabling that Country, did help to enable *Belosus* to subdue it; who having once extended his Dominion to the borders of *Media*, and being (especially if he had compounded with the *Medes*) by the interposition of that Countrey,

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ſecure of the *Scythians*, and other warlike Nations on that ſide, might very well turn Southward, and try his fortune in thoſe Kingdoms, whereinto civil diſſention of the inhabitants, and the bordering envy of the *Arabians* and *Aramites* about *Damaſco*, Friends and Couſins to the *Chaldeans* and *Meſopotamians*, did invite him. For theſe, and the other before alledged reaſons, it may be concluded, That what is ſaid of *Pul* in the Scriptures, ought to be underſtood of *Beloſus*; even as by the names of *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Darius* the *Mede*, *Artaſhaſht*, and *Ahaſhueroſh*, with the like, are thought, or known to be meant the ſame, whom prophane Hiſtorians, by names better known in their own Countries, have called *Nabopollaſſar*, *Cyaxares*, and *Artaxerxes*: eſpecially conſidering, that hereby we ſhall neither contradict any thing that hath been written of old, or need to trouble our ſelves or others with framing new conjectures. This in effect, is that which they alledge in maintenance of the opinion commonly received.

Now this being once granted, other things of more importance will of themſelves eaſily follow. For it is a matter of no great conſequence to know the truth of this point (conſidering it apart from that which depends thereon) Whether *Pul* were *Beloſus*, or ſome other man: the whole race of theſe *Aſſyrian* and *Babylonian* Kings, wherein are found thoſe famous Princes, *Nabonaſſar*, *Mardocempadus*, and *Nabopollaſſar* (famous for the Aſtronomical obſervations recorded from their times) is the main ground of this contention. If therefore *Beloſus* or *Beleſes* were that *Phul* that invaded *Iſrael*; if he and his poſterity reigned both in *Nineve* and in *Babylon*, if he were father of *Teglat-phul-Aſer*, from whom *Salmanaſſar*, *Senacherib*, and *Aſarhaddon* deſcended; then it is manifeſt, that we muſt ſeek *Nabonaſſar*, the *Babylonian* King, among thoſe Princes, yea and conclude him to be none other than *Salmanaſſar*, who is known to have reigned in thoſe years which *Ptolomy* the Mathematitian hath aſſigned unto *Nabonaſſar*. As for *Merodech*, who ſupplanted *Aſar-haddon*, manifeſt it is, that he and his ſucceſſors were of another houſe. This is the ſcope and end of all his Diſputation.

But they that maintain the contrary part, will not be ſatisfied with ſuch Conjectures. They lay hold upon the Concluſion, and by ſhaking that into pieces, hope to overthrow all the Premiſes upon which it is inferred. For (ſay they) if *Nabonaſſar* that reigned in *Babylon*, could not be *Salmanaſſar*, or any of thoſe *Aſſyrian* Kings, then it is manifeſt that the races were diſtinct, and that *Phul* and *Beloſus* were ſeveral Kings. This conſequence is ſo plain, that it needs no confirmation. To prove that *Nabonaſſar* was a diſtinct perſon from *Salmanaſſar*, are brought ſuch Arguments as would ſtagger the reſolution of him that had ſworn to hold the contrary.

For firſt, *Nabonaſſar* was King of *Babylon*, and not of *Aſſyria*; this is proved by his Name, which is meerly *Chaldean*, whereas *Salman*, the firſt part of *Salmanaſſar*'s name is proper to the *Aſſyrians*.

It is likewiſe proved by the Aſtronomical obſervations, which proceeding from the *Babylonians*, not from the *Aſſyrians*, do ſhew that *Nabonaſſar*, from whom *Ptolomy* draws that *Epocha*, or account of times, was a *Babylonian* and no *Aſſyrian*.

Thirdly, and more ſtrongly, it is confirmed by the ſucceſſor of *Nabonaſſar*, which was *Mardocempadus*, *Eſay* 39. 1. called in his own language *Merodac-ken-pad*, but more briefly in *Eſay* his Prophecy, *Merodac*, by the former part of his Name; or *Merodach Baladan*, the ſon of *Baladan*. Now if *Merodach* the ſon of *Baladan* King of *Babel* were the ſon of *Nabonaſſar*, then was *Nabonaſſar* none other than *Baladan* King of *Babel*, and not *Salmanaſſar* King of *Aſſyria*.

What can be plainer? As for the cadence of theſe two names, *Nabonaſſar* and *Salmanaſſar*, which in *Greek* or *Latine* writing, hath no difference, we are taught by *Scaliger*, that in the *Hebrew* letters there is found no affinity therein.

So concerning the places of *Babylonia*, whereinto *Salmanaſſar* carried captive ſome part of the ten Tribes, it may well be granted, that in the Province of *Babylon*, *Salmanaſſar* had gotten ſomewhat, yet will it not follow that he was King of *Babylon* it ſelf.

To conclude, *Merodach* began his reign over *Babylon* in the ſixth year of *Hezekia*, at which time *Salmanaſſar* took *Samaria*; therefore if *Salmanaſſar* were King of *Babylon*, then muſt we ſay that he and *Merodach*, yea, and *Nabonaſſar*, were all one man. Theſe are the arguments of that noble and learned Writer *Joſeph Scaliger*; who not contented to follow the common opinion founded upon likelihood of conjectures, hath drawn his proofes from matter of more neceſſary inference.

Touching all that was ſaid before of *Phul Beloſus*, for the proving that *Phul* and *Beloſus* were not ſundry Kings; *Joſeph Scaliger* pities their ignorance, that have ſpent their labour to ſo little purpoſe. Honeſt and painfull men he confeſſeth that they were, who by their diligence might have won the good liking of their Readers, had they not by mentioning *Annius* his Authors, given ſuch offences that men refuſed thereupon to read their Books and Chronologies. A ſhort anſwer.

For mine own part, howſoever I believe nothing that *Annius* his *Beroſus*, *Metaſthenes*, and others of that ſtamp affirm, in reſpect of their bare authority; yet am I not ſo ſqeamiſh, but that I can well enough digeſt a good book, though I find the names of one or two of theſe good fellows alledged in it: I have (ſomewhat peradventure too often) already ſpoken my mind of *Annius* his Authors: Nevertheleſſe, I may ſay here again, that where other Hiſtories are ſilent, or ſpeak not enough, there may we, without ſhame, borrow of theſe, as much as agrees with that little which elſewhere we find, and ſerveth to explain or inlarge it without improbabilities.

Neither indeed are thoſe honeſt and painfull men (as *Scaliger* terms them, meaning, if I miſtake him not, good ſilly fellows) who ſet down the *Aſſyrian* Kings from *Pul* forwards, as Lords alſo of *Babylon*; taking *Pul* for *Beloſus*, and *Salmonaſſar* for *Nabonaſſar*, ſuch Writers, as a man ſhould be aſhamed or unwilling to read. For (to omit a multitude of others, that herein follow *Annius*, though diſliking him in general) *Gerard Mercator* is not ſo ſlight a Chronologer, that he ſhould be laughed out of doors with the name of an honeſt meaning fellow.

But I will not make compariſons between *Scaliger* and *Mercator*; they were both of them men notably learned: let us examine the arguments of *Scaliger*, and ſee whether they be of ſuch force as cannot either be reſiſted or avoided. It will eaſily be granted, that *Nabonaſſar* was King of *Babylon*; that he was not King of *Aſſyria*, ſome men doubt whether *Scaliger*'s reaſons be enough to prove. For though *Nabonaſſar* be a *Chaldean* name, and *Salmanaſſar* an *Aſſyrian*; yet what hinders us from believing that one man in two languages might be called by two ſeveral names? That Aſtronomy flouriſhed among the *Chaldees*, is not enough to prove *Nabonaſſar* either an Aſtrologer or a *Chaldean*. So it is, that *Scaliger* himſelf calls them. *Prophetas neſcio quos, qui* Nabonaſſarum *Aſtronomum fuiſſe in ſomniis viderunt; Prophets I know not who, that in their ſleep have dreamt of* Nabonaſſar, *that he was an Aſtrologer.* Scal. Canon l. 3.

Whether

Whether *Nabonaſſar* were an Aſtrologer or no, I cannot tell; it is hard to maintain the negative: But as his being Lord over the *Chaldeans*, doth not prove him to have been learned in their ſciences; ſo doth it not prove him not to have been alſo King of *Aſſyria*. The Emperour *Charles* the fift, who was born in *Gant*, and *Philip* his ſon, King of *Spain*, and Lords of the *Netherlands*, had men far more learned in all Sciences, and particularly in the Mathematicks, among their Subjects of the Low Countries, than were any that I read of then living in *Spain*, if *Spain* at that time had any; yet I think, Poſterity will not uſe this as an argument, to prove that *Spain* was none of theirs. It may well be, that *Salmanaſſar* or *Nabonaſſar* did uſe the *Aſſyrian* Souldiers, and *Babylonian* Scholars; but it ſeems, that he and his poſterity, by giving themſelves wholly to the more warlike Nation; loſt the richer, out of which they firſt iſſued, as likewiſe King *Philip* loſt partly, and partly did put to a dangerous hazard all the *Netherlands*, by ſuch a courſe. As for the two unanſwerable arguments (as *Scaliger* terms them, being methinks none other then anſwers to ſomewhat that is or might be alledged on the contrary ſide) one of them which is drawn from the unlike ſound and writing of thoſe names *Salmanaſſar* and *Nabonaſſar* in the *Hebrew*, I hold a point, about which no man will diſpute; for it is not likeneſs of ſound, but agreement of time, and many circumſtances elſe, that muſt take away the diſtinction of perſons: the other likewiſe may be granted, which is, that *Salmanaſſar* might be Lord of ſome places in the Province of *Babylon*, yet not King of *Babylon* it ſelf: this indeed might be ſo, and it might be otherwiſe. Hitherto there is nothing ſave conjecture. But in that which is alledged out of the Prophet *Eſay* concerning *Merodach* the ſon of *Baladan*; and in that which is ſaid of this *Merodach*, and *Mardokenpadus*, his being the ſucceſſor of *Nabonaſſar*, and his beginning to reign in the ſixth year of *Hezekia*, I find matter of more difficulty, than can be anſwered in haſt. I wil therefore defer the handling of theſe objections until I meet with their ſubject in his proper place; which will be when we come to the time of *Hezekia*, wherein *Merodach* lived, and was King. Yet that I may not leave too great a ſcruple in the mind of the Reader, thus far will I here ſatisfie him; that how ſtrong ſoever this argument may ſeem, *Scaliger* himſelf did live to retract it, ingenuouſly confeſſing, that in thinking *Merodach* to be the ſon of *Nabonaſſar*, he had been deceived.

Now therefore let us conſider, in what ſort they have faſhioned their Story, who taking *Pul* to be a diſtinct perſon from *Beloſus* or *Beleſis*, have in like ſort, as was neceſſary, diſtinguiſhed their off-ſpring, making that of *Pul* to fail in *Aſarhaddon*, which left all to *Merodach* the *Babylonian*. And here I muſt firſt confeſs my want of Books, if perhaps there be many, that have gone about to reduce this narration into ſome ſuch order, as might preſent unto us the body of this Hiſtory, in one view. Divers, indeed, there are, whom I have ſeen, that ſince *Joſeph Scaliger* delivered his opinion, have written in favour of ſome one or other point thereof: but *Setbus Calviſius* himſelf, who hath abridged *Scaliger*'s learned Work, *De emendatione Temporum*, hath not been careful to give us notice, how long *Beloſus*, *Baladan*, *Pul*, or *Tiglat Pulaſſar* did reign (perhaps becauſe he found it not expreſſed in *Scaliger*) but is content to ſet down *Baladan*, for the ſame perſon with *Nabonaſſar*, which *Scaliger* himſelf revoked.

In this caſe therefore I muſt lay down the plot of theſe divided Kingdoms, in ſuch ſort as I find it conceived by *Auguſtinus Torniellus*; who onely of all that I have ſeen, ſets down the ſucceſſion, continuance, and acts, of thoſe that reigned in *Aſſyria* after *Sardanapalus*, diſtinguiſhing them from *Beloſus*, and his Poſterity, of whom he hath the like remembrance. This *Torniellus* is a regular Clark of the congregation of S. *Paul*, whoſe Annals were printed the laſt year; he appears to me a man of a curious induſtry, ſound judgement, and free Spirit; yet many times (and I take it wilfully) forgetfull of thanking, or mentioning thoſe *Proteſtant* Writers, by whoſe Books he hath received good information, and enriched his works by inſerting ſome what of theirs. But in this buſineſs he hath openly profeſſed to follow *Scaliger*, whoſe help, without wrong or diſhonour to himſelf, he hath both uſed and acknowledged. For mine own part, I will not ſpare to do right unto *Torniellus*; but confeſs my ſelf to have received benefit by his writing; and wiſh that his Annals had ſooner come to light; for that as he hath confirmed me in ſome things, ſo would he have inſtructed me and imboldened me to write more fully and leſs timerously in other things, which now I have no leiſure to reviſe. Particularly in that conjecture (which I had faintly delivered, and yet feared leſt it had over haſtily paſſed out of my hand, and been expoſed to other mens conſtructions) of the four Kings that invaded the Valley of *Siddim*, and were ſlain by *Abraham*, I find him adventuring as I have done, to ſay, that they may propably be thought to have been ſome petty Lords; the contrary opinion of all Writers notwithſtanding. *Cap. 1. Sect. 13.* But now let us conſider how he hath ordered theſe laſt *Aſſyrian* and *Babylonian* Kings. After the deſtruction of *Sardanapalus*, *Arbaces*, being the moſt mighty, ſought to get all to himſelf, but was oppoſed by *Beloſus*; in which contention, one *Phul*, a powerfull man in *Aſſyria*, ſided with *Beloſus*, and they two prevailid ſo far, that finally *Arbaces* was content to ſhare the Empire with them, making ſuch a diviſion thereof, as was long after made of the *Roman* Empire between *Octavian*, *Anthony*, and *Lepidus*.

Another conjecture is (for *Torniellus* offers not this, or the reſt as matter of certainty) that *Arbaces* made himſelf Soveraign Lord of all, and placed the ſeat of his Empire in *Media*, appointing *Beloſus* his Lieutenant in *Babylonia*, and *Phul* in *Aſſyria*. But in ſhort ſpace, that is, in four years, it came to paſs by the juſt judgement of God, that *Phul* and *Beloſus* rebelled againſt *Arbaces*, like as *Arbaces* had done againſt *Sardanapalus*; and inſtead of being Viceroys, made themſelves abſolute Kings. And to this latter opinion *Torniellus* himſelf leans, holding it much the more probable, as being more agreeable to that which is found in prophane Hiſtories. Why he did make and publiſh the former ſuppoſing, reſolving to hold the latter, I ſhall anon, without any wrong to him make bold to gheſs. Having thus deviſed how *Phul* and *Beloſus* might, at the firſt, attain to be Kings, he orders their time and their ſucceſſours in this manner.

Four years after *Arbaces*, *Phul* begins to reign, and continues eight and forty years. *Teglatphalaſſar* (whoſe name, and the names of other Princes, I write diverſly, according to the Authors whom I have in hand are pleaſed to diverſifie them) ſucceeding unto *Phul*, reigned three and twenty. *Salmanaſſar* followed him, and reigned ten. After him *Senacherib* reigned ſeven: and when he was ſlain, *Aſarhadden* his ſon, ten years: in whom that line failed.

The ſame time that *Phul* took upon him as King of *Aſſyria*, or not long after (why not rather afore? for

for ſo it had been more likely) *Beloſus* uſurped the Kingdom of *Babylon*, and held it threeſcore and eight years; at the leaſt, threeſcore and eight years did paſs before *Nabonaſſar* followed him in the poſſeſſion.

To *Nabonaſſar*, whom (with *Scaliger*) he thinks to be *Baladen*, are aſſigned ſix and twenty years: then two and fifty to *Merodach*, or *Mardocempadus*: four and twenty to *Ben Merodach*: and laſtly, one and twenty to *Nabolaſſar* the father of *Nebuchodonoſor*; who is like to offer matter of further diſputation.

Concerning the original of theſe *Aſſyrian* and *Babylonian* Kingdoms, I may truly ſay, That the conjectures of other men, who give all to *Beloſus*, and confound him with *Phul*, appear to me more nearly reſembling the truth. Neither do I think, that *Torniellus* would have conceived two different waies, by which *Phul* might have gotten *Aſſyria* (for how *Beloſus* came to get *Babylon*, it is plain enough) if either of them alone could have contented him. He adheres to the latter of the two, as better agreeing with *Diodore*, and other Hiſtorians. But he perceived, that to make *Phul* on a ſudden King of *Aſſyria*; or to give him ſo noble a Province, as would, of it ſelf, invite him to accept the name and power of a King, was a thing moſt unlikely to have happened, unleſs his deſerts (whereof we find no mention) had been proportionable to ſo high a reward. And for this cauſe (as I take it) hath he deviſed the means, whereby *Phul* might be made capable of ſo great a ſhare in the Empire. If this were a true or probable ſuppoſition, then would a new doubt ariſe,, Why this *Phul* being one of the three that divided all between them, was utterly forgotten by all Hiſtorians? yea, why this diviſion it ſelf, and the civil wars that cauſed it, were never heard of? Queſtionleſs; the interverting of ſome treaſures by *Beloſus*, with his Judgment, Condemnation, and Pardon following, were matters of farre leſſe note. Therefore I do not ſee, how one of the two inconveniences can this way be avoided; but that either we muſt confeſs the Dominion given to *Phul* to have been exceeding his merits; or elſe his merits, and name withal, to have been ſtrangely forgotten: either of which is enough to make us think, that rather the conjecture, inferring ſuch a ſequel, is wide of the truth. As for the rebellion of *Phul*, and *Beloſus*, againſt *Arbaces*, it was almoſt impoſſible for the *Aſſyrians* to recover ſuch ſtrength in foure yeares, as might ſerve to hold out in rebellion: for *Beloſus* it was needleſs to rebell, conſidering, that *Arbaces* did not ſeek to moleſt him, but rather permitted (as being an over great-favourer of liberty) even the *Medes* that were under his own Government, to do what they liſted.

But it is now fit that we peruſe the Catalogue of theſe Kings, not paſſing through them all (for ſome will require a large diſcourſe in their own times) but ſpeaking of their order and time in general. If it be ſo unlawful to think, that ſome of *Annius* his tales (let them all be counted his tales, which are not found in other Authors as well as in his) may be true, eſpecially ſuch as contradict no acknowledged truth, or apparent likelihood; why then is it ſaid, that *Phul* did reign in *Aſſyria* eight and forty years? For this hath no other ground then *Annius*. It is true that painful and judicious Writers have found this number of years to agree fitly with the courſe of things in Hiſtory: yet all of them took it from *Annius*. Let it therefore be the puniſhment of *Annius* his forgery (as queſtionleſs he is often guilty of this crime) that when he tells truth, or probability, he be not believed for his own ſake; though for our own ſakes we make uſe of his boldneſs, taking his words for good, whereas (nothing elſe being offered) we are unwilling our ſelves to be Authors of new, though not unprofitable conjectures. Herein we ſhall have this commodity, that we may without bluſhing after a little, to help our own opinions, and lay the blame upon *Annius*, againſt whom we ſhall be ſure to find friends that will take our part.

The reigns of *Theglathalaſar* and *Salmanaſſar* did reach, by *Annius* his meaſure, to the length of five and twenty years the one, and ſeventeen the other; *Torniellus* hath cut off two from the former, and ſeven from the latter of them, to fit (as I think) his own compuration; uſing the liberty whereof I ſpake laſt: for that any Author, ſave our good *Metaſthenes*, or thoſe that borrowed of him, hath gone about to tell how long each of theſe did reign, it is more than I have yet found. To *Senacherib* and *Aſarhaddon*, *Torniellus* gives the ſame length of reign, which is found in *Metaſthenes*, I think there are not many, that will arrogate ſo much unto themſelves, as may very well be allowed unto a man ſo judicious as is *Torniellus:* and yet I could wiſh that he had forborn to condemn the followers of *Annius* in this buſineſs, wherein he himſelf hath choſen, in part, rather to become one of them, than to ſay, as elſe he muſt have done, almoſt nothing.

The like liberty we find that he uſed in the meaſuring the reigns of the *Chaldeans*, filling up all the ſpace between the end of *Sardanapalus* and the beginning of *Nabonaſſar*, with the threeſcore and eight years of *Beloſus*. In this reſpect it was, perhaps, that he thought *Beloſus* might have begun his reign ſomewhat later than *Phul*: for threeſcore and eight years would ſeem a long time for him to hold a Kingdom, that was no young man when he took poſſeſſion of it. But how is any whit of his age abated by ſhortning his reign, ſeeing his life reacheth to the end of ſuch a time, as were alone without adding the time wherein he was a private man, enough for a long liver? Indeed eight and forty years had been ſomewhat of the moſt, conſidering that he ſeems by the ſtory to have been a little leſs at ſuch time as he joyned with *Arbaces*; and therefore the addition of twenty years, did well deſerve that note (which *Torniellus* adviſedly gives) that if his reign extended not ſo far, then the reign of ſuch as came after him, occupied the middle time, unto *Nabonaſſar*.

I neither do reprehend the boldneſs of *Torniellus*, in conjecturing, nor the modeſty of *Scaliger* and *Sethus Calviſius*, in forbearing to ſet down as warrantable, ſuch things as depend onely upon likelihood. For things, whereof the perfect knowledg is taken away from us by Antiquity, muſt be deſcribed in Hiſtory, as Geographers in their Maps deſcribe thoſe Countreys, whereof as yet there is made no true diſcovery, that is, either by leaving ſome part blank, or by inſerting the land of Pigmies, Rocks of Load-ſtone, with Head lands, Bayes, great Rivers, and other particularities, agreeable to common report, though many times controlled by following experience, and found contrary to truth. Yet indeed the ignorance growing from diſtance of place, allows not ſuch liberty to a Deſcriber, as that which ariſeth from the remedileſs oblivion of conſuming time. For it is true that the Poet ſaith.

——Neque fervidis
Pars incluſa caloribus
Mundi, nec Boreæ finitimum latus,
Duratæque Sole Nives,
Mercatorem abigunt; horrida calidi
Vincunt æquora Navitæ,

Nor

Nor Southern heat, nor Northern Snow
That freezing to the ground doth grow,
The Subjects Regions can fence,
And keep the greedy Merchant thence:
The subtile Shipmen way to find,
Storm never so the Seas with Wind.

Therefore the fictions (or let them be called conjectures) painted in Maps, do serve only to mis-lead such discoverers as rashly believe them, drawing upon the publishers, either some angry curses or well deserved scorn; but to keep their own credit, they cannot serve alwayes. To which purpose I remember a pretty jest of *Don Pedro de Sarmiento*, a worthy *Spanish* Gentleman, who had been employed by his King in planting a Colony upon the Streights of *Megellan*: for when I asked him, being then my Prisoner, some questions about an Island in those Streights, which, me-thought, might have done either benefit or displeasure to his enterprise, he told me merrily that it was to be called the *Painters wives Island*; saying, That whilest the fellow drew that Map, his wife sitting by, desired him, to put in one Countrey for her, that she in imagination, might have an Island of her own. But in filling up the blankes of old Histories, we need not be so scrupulous. For it is not to be feared, that time shall run backward, and by restoring the things themselves to knowledge, make our conjectures appear ridiculous: What if some good copy of any ancient Author, could be found, shewing (if we have it not already) the perfect truth of these uncertainties? would it be more shame to have believed in the mean while, *Annius* or *Torniellus*, than to have believed nothing? Here I will not say, that the credit which we gave to *Annius*, may chance otherwhiles to be given to one of those Authors whose names he pretendeth. Let it suffice, that in regard of authority, I had rather trust *Scaliger* or *Torniellus*, than *Annius*, yet him than them, if his assertion be more probable, and more agreeable to approved Histories than their conjecture, as in this point it seems to me; it having moreover gotten some credit, by the approbation of many, and those not meanly learned.

To end this tedious disputation; I hold it a sure course in examination of such opinions as have once gotten the credit of being general, so to deal as *Pacuvius* in *Capua* did with the multitude, finding them desirous to put all the Senatours of the City to death. He lockt the Senatours up within the Statehouse, and offered their lives to the peoples mercy; obtaining thus much, that none of them should perish, until the Commonalty had both pronounced him worthy of death, and elected a better in his place. The condemnation was hasty; for as fast as every name was read, all the town cried, Let him dye: but the execution required more leisure; for in substituting of another, some notorious vice of the person, or baseness of his condition, or sufficiency of his quality, made each new one that was offered, to be rejected: so that finding the worse and less choice, the further and the more that they sought, it was finally agreed, that the old should be kept for lack of better.

SECT. V.

Of the Olympiads, *and the time when they began.*

After the division of the *Assyrian* Empire, follows the instauration of the *Olympian* games, by *Iphitus*, in the reign of the same King *Uzzia* and in his one and fiftieth year. It is, I know, the general opinion, that these games were established by *Iphitus* in the first of *Jotham*: yet is not that opinion so general, but that Authors, weighty enough, have given to them a more early beginning. The truth is, that in fitting those things unto the sacred History, which are found in prophane Authors, we should not be too careful of drawing the *Hebrews* to those works of time, which had no reference to their affairs, it is enough, that setting in good order these beginnings of accounts, we joyn them to matters of *Israel* and *Juda*, where occasion requires.

These *Olympian* games and exercises of activity, were first instituted by *Hercules*, who measured the length of the race by his own foot; by which *Pythagoras* found out the state and likely strength of *Hercules* his body. They took name not from the Mountain *Olympus*, but from the City *Olympia*, otherwise *Pisa*, near unto *Elis*; where also *Jupiter's* Temple in *Elis*, famous among the *Grecians*, and reputed among the Wonders of the World, was known by the name of the Temple of *Jupiter Olympius*. These games were exercised from every fourth year compleat, in the Plains of *Elis*, a City of *Peloponnesus*, near the River *Alpheus*.

After the death of *Hercules*, these meetings were discontinued for many years, till *Iphitus*, by advice from the Oracle of *Apollo*, re-established them, *Licurgus* the Law-giver then living: from which time they were continued by the *Grecians*, till the reign of *Theodosius* the Emperour, according to *Cedrenus*: others think that they were dissolved under *Constantine* the Great. *Aul. Gel. l. 1. ex Plut. Plut. ex Hermip.*

From this institution, *Varro* acompted the *Grecian* times and their stories to be certain: but reckoned all before, either doubtful or fabulous: and yet *Pliny* gives little credit to all that is written of *Greece*, till the reign of *Cyrus*, who began in the five and fiftieth *Olympiad*, as *Eusebius* out of *Diodore*, *Castor*, *Polybius*, and others, hath gathered, in whose time the seven wise *Grecians* flourished. For *Solon* had speech with *Cræsus*, and *Cræsus* was overthrown and taken by *Cyrus*. *Plin. l. 36. cap. 4.*

Many patient and piercing brains have laboured to find out the certain beginning of these *Olympiads*, namely, to set them in the true year of the World, and the reign of such and such Kings: but seeing they all differ in the first accompt, that is, of the Worlds year, they can hardly jump in particulars thereon depending.

Cyril against *Julian*, and *Dydimus* begin the *Olympiads* the nine and fortieth of *Ozias*, or *Azariah*.

Eusebius, who is contrary to himself in this reckoning, accounts with those that find the very first *Olympiad* in the beginning of the four hundredth and sixth year after *Troy*; yet he telleth us that it was in the fiftieth year of *Uzzia*, which is (as I find it) two years later. *Euseb. de Prap. Evang. lib. 10. cap. 3.*

Eratosthenes placeth the first *Olympiad* four hundred and seven years after *Troy*, reckoning the years that passed between; to whom *Dionysius Halicarnassæus*, *Eratost. apud Clem. Alex. strom. lib. 1.*

nasſæus, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Solinus*, and many others adhere.

The diſtance between the deſtruction of *Troy* and the firſt *Olympiad*, is thus collected by *Eratoſthenes*. From the taking of *Troy* to the deſcent of *Hercules* his poſterity into *Peloponneſus*, were fourſcore years; thence to the *Ionian* expedition, threeſcore years; from that expedition to the time of *Lycurgus* his government in *Sparta*, one hundred fifty nine; and thence to the firſt *Olympiad*, one hundred and eight years. In this account the firſt year of the firſt *Olympiad* is not included.

But vain labour it were to ſeek the beginning of the *Olympiads* by numbring the years from the taking of *Troy*, which is of date far more uncertain. Let it ſuffice that by knowing the inſtauration of theſe games to have been in the four hundred and eighth year current after *Troy*, we may reckon back to the taking of that City, ſetting that, and other accidents which have reference thereto, in their proper times. The certainty of things following the *Olympiads* muſt needs teach us how to find when they began.

To this good uſe we have the enſuing years unto the death of *Alexander* the Great, thus divided by the ſame *Eratoſthenes*. From the beginning of the *Olympiads* to the paſſage of *Xerxes* into *Greece*, two hundred fourſcore and ſeventeen years; from thence to the beginning of the *Peloponneſian* War, eight and forty years; forwards to the victory of *Lyſander*, ſeven and twenty; to the battel of *Leuctra*, thirty four; to the death of *Philip* King of *Macedon*, five and thirty; and finally to the death of *Alexander*, twelve. The whole ſum ariſeth to 453 years; which number he otherwiſe alſo collecteth, and it is allowed by the moſt.

Now for placing the inſtitution of the *Olympiads* in the one and fiftieth year of *Uzzia*, we have arguments grounded upon that which is certain, concerning the beginning of *Cyrus* his reign, and the death of *Alexander*; as alſo upon the Aſtronomical calculation of ſundry Eclipſes of the Sun; as of that which happened when *Xerxes* ſet out of *Sardis* with his Army to invade *Greece*; and of divers other.

Touching *Cyrus*, it is generally agreed that his reign as King, before he was Lord of the great Monarchy, began the firſt year of the five and fiftieth *Olympiad*, and that he reigned thirty years: they who give him but twenty nine years of reign (following *Herodotus* rather then *Tully*, *Juſtin*, *Euſebius*, and others) begin a year later, which comes all to one reckoning. So is the death of *Alexander* ſet by all good Writers in the firſt year of the hundred and fourteenth *Olympiad*. This latter note of *Alexanders* death ſerveth well to lead us back to the beginning of *Cyrus*; as many the like obſervations do. For if we reckon upwards from the time of *Alexander*, we ſhall find all to agree with the years of the *Olympiads*; wherein *Cyrus* began his reign, either as King, (or taking the word Monarch to ſignifie a Lord of many Kingdoms) as a great Monarch. From the beginning of *Cyrus*, in the firſt year of the five and fiftieth *Olympiad*, unto the end of the *Perſian* Empire, which was in the third of the hundred and twelfth *Olympiad*, we find two hundred and thirty years compleat: from the beginning of *Cyrus* his Monarchy, which laſted but ſeven years, we find compleat two hundred and ſeven years, which was the continuance of the *Perſian* Empire.

Tul. de Div. l. 1. Juſt. l. 1. Euſeb. de Præp. Evang. l. 10 c. 3. & de Dem. Evang. l. 8. caſ. 1.

Now therefore ſeeing that the firſt year of *Cyrus* his Monarchy (which was the laſt of the ſixtieth *Olympiad*, and the two hundred and fortieth year from the inſtitution of thoſe games by *Iphitus*) followed the laſt of the ſeventy years captivity of *Juda*, and deſolation of the land of *Iſrael*. Manifeſt it is, that we muſt reckon back thoſe ſeventy years, and one hundred and threeſcore, and ten years more, the laſt which paſſed under the Kings of *Juda*, to find the firſt of theſe *Olympiads*; which by this accompt, is the one and fiftieth of *Uzzia*, as we have already noted.

The Eclipſes whereof we made mention, ſerve well to the ſame purpoſe. For example ſake; that which was ſeen when *Xerxes* muſtered his Army at *Sardis*, in the two hundred threeſcore and ſeventh year of *Nabonaſſar*, being the laſt of the threeſcore and fourteenth *Olympiad*, leads us back unto the beginning of *Xerxes*, and from him to *Cyrus*, whence we have a fair way through the three-ſcore and ten years, unto the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*; and ſo upwards through the reigns of the laſt Kings of *Juda*, to the one and fiftieth year of *Uzzia*.

Thus much may ſuffice concerning the time wherein theſe *Olympiads* began.

To tell the great ſolemnity of them, and with what exceeding great concourſe of all *Greece*, they were celebrated, I hold it a ſuperfluous labour. It is enough to ſay, that all bodily exerciſes, or the moſt of them, were therein practiſed; as Running, Wreſtling, Fighting, and the like. Neither did they only contend for the Maſtery in thoſe feats, whereof there was good uſe, but in running of Chariots, fighting with Whorle-bats, and other the like ancient kinds of Exerciſes, that ſerved only for oſtentation. Thither alſo repaired Orators, Poets, Muſicians, and all that thought themſelves excellent in any laudable quality, to make tryal of their skill. Yea, the very Cryers which proclaimed the Victories, contended which of them ſhould get the honour of having plaid the beſt part.

The *Ælans* were Preſidents of thoſe Games, whoſe juſtice, in pronouncing without partiality who did beſt, is highly commended. As for the Rewards given to the Victors, they were none other than Garlands of Palm or Olive, without any other commodity following than the Reputation. Indeed there needed no more. For that was held ſo much, that when *Diagoras* had ſeen his three ſons crowned for their ſeveral Victories in thoſe Games, one came running to him with this gratulation: *Morere* Diagoras, *non enim in Cœlum aſcenſurus es*, that is, *Die*, Diagoras, *for thou ſhalt not climb up to Heaven*: as if there could be no greater happineſs on earth, than what already had befallen him.

In like ſence *Horace* ſpeaks of theſe Victories, calling them,

Quos Elæa domum reducit
Palma Cœleſtes.

Horat. Carm. l. 4. Ode. 2.

Such as like heavenly wights do come
With an *Elean* Garland home.

Neither was it only the voyce of the People, or ſongs of Poets, that ſo highly extolled them, which had won theſe *Olimpian* prizes; but even grave Hiſtorians thought it a matter worthy their noting. Such was (as *Tully* counts it) the vanity of the *Greeks* that have eſteemed it almoſt as great an honour to have won the Victory at Running or Wreſtling in thoſe Games, as to have triumphed in *Rome* for ſome famous Victory or conqueſt of a Province.

Tull. in Orat. pro Flacco.

That theſe *Olympian* Games were celebrated at the full of the Moon; and upon the fifteenth day of the Month *Hecatombæon*, which doth anſwer to our *June*; and what means they uſed to make the Month begin

w it

with the new Moon, that the fifteenth day might be the full, I have shewed in another place. Wherefore I may now return unto the Kings of *Juda*, and leave the merry *Greeks* at their games, whom I shall meet in more serious imployments, when the *Persian* quarrels draw the Body of the History into the Coasts of *Ionia* and *Hellespont*.

SECT. VI.

Of Jotham *and his Contemporaries.*

JOtham the son of *Uzziah*, when he was five and twenty years old, and in the second of *Pekah* King of *Israel*, was anointed King in *Jerusalem*, his Father yet living. He built an exceeding high Gate to the Temple, of threescore cubits upright, and therefore called *Ophel*: besides divers Cities in the Hills of *Juda*, and in the Forrest, Towers and Palaces: He enforced the *Ammonites* to pay him Tribute, to wit, of Silver, an hundred talents, and of Wheat and Barly, two thousand measures. He reigned six and twenty years: of whom *Josephus* gives this testimony. *Ejusmodi vero Princeps hic fuit, ut nullum in eo virtutis genus desideres: ut qui Deum adeo pie coluerit, hominibus suis adeo juste præfuerit, urbem ipsam tantæ sibi curæ esse passus sit, & tantopere auxerit, ut universum regnum hostibus quidem minimè contemnendum, domesticis autem ejus incolis atque civibus fœlix, faustum & fortunatum sua virtute effecerit.* *This was such a Prince, as a man could find no kind of virtue wanting in him: He worshipped God so religiously, he governed his men so righteously, he was so provident for the City and did so greatly amplify it, that by his virtue and proweſs he made his whole Kingdom not contemptible to his Enemies, but to his Servants, Inhabitants and Citizens prosperous and happy.* 2 King. 15. 33.

This is all that I find of *Jotham*: His reign was not long, but as happy in all things as he himself was devout and virtuous.

Auchomenes about this time succeeded *Pheleſtes* in *Corinth*: after whom the *Corinthians* erected Magistrates which Governed from year to year. And yet *Pausanias* in his second Book, with *Strabo* and *Plutarch*, in many places are of opinion, That *Corinth* was governed by Kings of the race of the *Bacidæ*, to the time of *Cypselus*, who drove them out.

Teglathphalassar, or *Teglathpeleser*, the son of *Phul* the second of the *Babylonians* and *Assyrians*, that was of this new Race, about this time invaded *Israel*, while *Pekah* (who murdered his Master *Pekeiah*) was King thereof. In which expedition he took most of the Cities of *Nephali* and *Galilee*, with those of *Gilead* over *Jordan*, and carried the Inhabitants captive. This *Tiglath*, reigned twenty five years according to *Metasthenes*. But *Krentzhemius* finds, that with his son *Salmanassar* he reigned yet two years longer; which years I would not ascribe to the son, because the *Æra* of *Nabonassar* begins with his single reign, but reckon them to *Tiglath Phulassar* himself, who therewith reigned 27 years. 2 King. 15.

Æschylus, the son of *Agamnestor*, about the same time, the twelfth *Archon* in *Athens*, ruled twenty five years.

Alcamenes governed *Sparta*, after whom the Estate changed, according to *Eusebius*: But therein surely *Eusebius* is mistaken; for *Diodore*, *Plutarch*, *Pausanias*, and others witness the contrary.

Pausanias affirmeth, That *Polydorus*, a Prince of eminent virtues, succeeded his Father, and reigned sixty years; and out-lived the *Messeniack* War; which was ended by *Theopompus*, the son of *Nicander*, his Royal companion. Paus. l. 3.

At this time, lived *Nahum* the Prophet, who foretold the destruction of the *Assyrian* Empire, and of the City of *Ninive*, which succeded, (saith *Josephus*) a hundred and fifteen years after.

The Cities of *Cyrene* and of *Aradus* were built at this time, while in *Media*, *Sosarmus* and *Medidus* reigned, being the second and third Kings of those parts.

SECT. VII.

Of Achaz *and his Contemporaries.*

AHAS or *Achaz*, succeded unto *Jotham* in the seventeenth year of *Peka*, the son of *Remaliah*: the same being also the last of his Fathers reign, who began in the second of the same *Peka*, and reigned sixteen, but not compleat years. This *Ahaz* was an Idolater, exceeding all his predecessors. He made molten Images for *Baalim*, and burnt his Son for sacrifice before the Idol *Moloch*, or *Saturn*, which was represented by a man-like brazen body, bearing the head of a Calf, set up not far from *Jerusalem*, in a Valley shadowed with Woods, called *Gehinnom* or *Tophet*, from whence the word *Gehenna* is used for Hell. The Children offered, were inclosed within the Carkass of this Idol, and as the fire encreased, so the Sacrificers, with a noise of Cymbals, and other Instruments, filled the air to the end, the pittiful cryes of the Children might not be heard: Which unnatural, cruel and divilish Oblation, *Jeremy* the Prophet vehemently reprehendeth, and of which S. *Hierom* upon the tenth of *Matthew* hath written at large. By the prohibition in *Leviticus* the eighteenth, it appeareth that this horrible sin was ancient. In the twelfth of *Deuteronomy*, it is called *an Abomination which God hateth*. 2 King. 16. 11. 2 Chron. 28. c. 7. 9 32.

That it was also practised elsewhere, and by many Nations remote from *Judæa*, divers Authors witness, as *Virgil* in the second *Æneids*,

——— *Sanguine Placastis*, &c.

And *Silvius*, ——— *Poscere cæde Deos.*

Saturn is said to have bronght this Custom into *Italy*; besides the casting of many souls into the River of *Tyber*, in stead of which, *Hercules* commanded that the waxen Images of men should be thrown in and drowned.

The Devil also taught the *Carthaginians* this kind of butchery, insomuch that when their City was besieged, and in distress, the Priest made them believe that because they had spared their own Children, and had bought and brought up others to be offered, that therefore *Saturn* had stirred up and strengthened their Enemies against them: whereupon they presently caused two hundred of the noblest youths of their City to be slain, and offered to *Saturn*, or *Satan*, to appease him: who, besides these forenamed Nations, had instructed the *Rhodians*, the People of *Crete*, and *Chios*, of *Messena*, of *Galatia*, with the *Massagetes*, and others, in these his services. Further, as if he were not content to destroy the souls of many Nations in *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa* (as *Acosta* writeth) the *Mexicans* and other People of *America*, were brought by the Devil under this fearful servitude, in which he also holdeth the *Floridans* and *Virginians* at this day. *Euseb. de Præp. Evan. l. 6. Diod. l. 3. Diod. l. 20.* *Acost. de Hist. nat. & mor. Ind.*

For the wickedness of this King *Ahaz*, God stirred up *Rezin* of *Damascus*, and *Pekah* the Son of *Remaliah*, King of *Israel* against him, who invaded *Judea*, and besieged *Jerusalem*, but entred it not.

The King of *Syria*, *Rezin*, poſſeſt himſelf of *Elah* by the Red Sea, and caſt the *Jewes* out of it; and *Pekah* ſlaughtered in one day an hundred and twenty thouſand *Judæans*, of the ableſt of the Kingdome, at which time *Maaſeiah*, the Son of *Achaz*, was alſo ſlain by *Zichri*, with *Azrikam* the Governour of his houſe, and *Elcanath* the ſecond perſon unto the King. Beſides all this, two hundred thouſand priſoners of women and children, the *Iſraelites* lead away to *Samaria*: but by the counſel of the Prophet *Oded*, they were returned and delivered back again.

2 *Chron.* 28. 6.

As *Iſrael* and *Aram* vexed *Juda* on the North, ſo the *Edomites* and the *Philiſtims*, who evermore attended the ruine of *Judæa*, entred upon them from the South, and took *Bethſemes*, *Ajalon*, *Gaderoth*, *Shocho*. *Timnah*, and *Gemzo*, ſlew many people, and carried away many priſoners. Whereupon when *Achaz* ſaw himſelf environed on all ſides, and that his Idols and dead gods gave him no comfort, he ſent to the *Aſſyrian Teglathpileſer*, to deſire ſome aid from him againſt the *Iſraelites* and *Aramites*, preſenting him with the ſilver and gold both of the Temple, and Kings houſe.

2 *Chro.* 28.

2 *King.* 16

Tiglathpileſer wanted not a good example to follow, in making profit of the trouble that roſe in *Paleſtina*. His father having lately made himſelf from a Provincial Lieutenant, King of *Babylon* and *Aſſyria*, had a little before led him the way into *Judæa*, invited by *Menahem*, King of *Iſrael*. Wherefore now the ſon willingly harkened to *Achaz*, and embraced the advantage. As for *Belochus* himſelf, he was content to aſſign ſome other time for going through with this enterprize: becauſe (as I have ſaid before) he was not firmly ſettled at home, and the *Syrian* Kings lay directly in his way, who were yet ſtrong both in men and fame. But *Tiglath*, having now, with the treaſures of *Jeruſalem*, prepared his Army, firſt invaded the Territory of *Damaſcus*, wan the City, and killed *Rezin* the laſt of the race of the *Adads*, who began with *David*, and ended with this *Achaz*. At *Damaſcus*, *Achaz* met *Tiglath*, and and taking thence a pattern of the Altar, ſent it to *Uriah* the Prieſt, commanding the like to be made at *Jeruſalem*, whereon at his return he burnt Sacrifice to the gods of the *Syrians*. In the mean while *Tiglath* poſſeſt all *Baſan*, and the reſt beyond *Jordan*, which belonged to the Tribes of *Reuben*, *Gad*, and *Manaſſe*. And then paſſing the River, he maſtered the Cities of *Galilee*, invaded *Ephraim*, and the Kingdom of *Iſrael*, and made them his Vaſſals. And notwithſtanding that he was invited and waged by *Achaz*, yet after the ſpoil of *Iſrael*, he poſſeſt himſelf of the greater part of *Juda*, and, as it ſeemeth, inforced *Achaz* to pay him tribute, For in the ſecond of *Kings*, the eighteenth, it is written of *Ezechia*, that he revolted from *Aſſur*, or rebelled againſt him, and therefore was invaded by *Senacherib*. After *Achaz* had beheld and born theſe miſeries, in the end of the ſixteenth year of his reign he died; but was not buried in the Sepulchres of the Kings of *Juda*.

With *Ahaz* lived *Medidus*, the third Prince in *Media*, who governed 40. years, ſaith *Euſebius*: *Diodorus* and *Cteſius* find *Anticarmus* inſtead of this *Medidus*, to have been *Soſarmus* his ſucceſſor, to whom they give 50. years.

Euſeb. in Chron.

Tiglath-Pileſer held the Kingdom of *Aſſyria*, all the reign of *Ahaz*: yet ſo, that *Salmanaſſar* his Son may ſeem to have reigned with him ſome part of the time. For we find that *Ahaz* did *ſend unto the Kings of* Aſſhur *to help him*. The *Geneva* note ſays, that theſe Kings of *Aſſhur*, were *Tiglath-Pileſer*, and thoſe Kings that were under his Dominion, But that he or his Father had hitherto made ſuch conqueſts, as might give him the Lordſhip over other Kings, I do neither find any Hiſtory, nor circumſtance that proveth. Wherefore I think that theſe Kings of *Aſſhur*, were *Tiglath*, and *Salmanaſſar* his Son, who reigned with his father, as hath been ſaid before: though how long he reigned with his Father, it had been hard to define.

2 *Kings* 28.16.

At this time began the *Ephori* in *Lacedæmon*, a hundred and thirty years after *Lycurgus*, according to *Plutarch*. *Euſebius* makes their beginning far later, namely, in the fifteenth *Olympiad*. Of theſe *Ephori*, *Elalus* was the firſt; *Theopompus* and *Polydorus*, being then joynt Kings. Theſe *Ephori*, choſen every year, were controllers, as well of their Senators, as of their Kings, nothing being done without their advice and conſent. For (ſaith *Cicero*) they were oppoſed againſt their Kings as the *Roman* Tribunes againſt the Conſuls.

Plutarch in vita Solo.

In the time of *Ahaz* died *Æſchylus*, who had ruled in *Athens* ever ſince the fiftieth year of *Uzzia*. *Alcamenon* the thirtieth of the *Medontidæ*, or Governours of the *Athenians* (ſo called of *Medon* who followed *Codrus*) ſucceeded his Father *Æſchylus*, and was the laſt of their Governours: he ruled only two years. For the *Athenians* changed firſt from Kings (after *Codrus*) to Governours for life; which ending in this *Alcamenon*, they erected a Magiſtrate, whom they termed an *Archon*, who was a kind of *Burgho-Maſter* or Governour of their City for ten years.

This alteration, *Pauſanias* in his fourth Book begins in the firſt year of the eighth *Olympiad*, *Euſebius* and *Halicarnaſſeus* in the firſt of the ſeventh *Olympiad*: at which time indeed, *Carops* the firſt of theſe, began his ten years rule.

The Kingdom of the *Latines*, governed about three hundred year by the *Sylvii*, of the race of *Æneas*, took end in the ſame *Ahaz*'s time: the foundation of *Rome* being laid by *Romulus* and *Remus* in the eighth year of the ſame King, *Codoman* builds it in the eleventh of *Achaz*. *Bucholzer* in the eighth as I think he ſhould; others ſomewhat later, and in the reign of *Ezechias*, *Cicero*, *Eutropius*, *Oroſius*, and others ſquare the time of the foundation to the third year of the ſixth *Olympiad*.

But *Halicarnaſſeus*, *Solinus*, *Antiochenus*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and *Euſebius* to the firſt year of the ſeventh; who ſeem not only to me, but to many very learned Chronologers, to have kept herein the beſt account.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIV.

Of the Antiquity of Italy, *and the Foundation of* Rome *in the time of* Ahaz.

SECT. I.

Of the Inhabitants, and the Name of Italy.

AND here to speak of the more Ancient times of *Italy*, and what Nations possest it before the arrival of *Æneas*, the place may seem to invite us: the rather, because much fabulous matter hath been mixed with the truth of those elder Plantations.

Italy, before the fall of *Troy*, was known to the *Greeks* by divers Names; as first *Hesperia*, then *Ausonia*; the one name arising of the Seat, the other of the *Ausones*, a People inhabiting part of it: One ancient name of it was also *Oenotria*, which it had of the *Oenotrii*, whom *Halicarnassæus* thinks to have been the first that brought a Colony of *Arcadians* into that Land. After it was called *Italy* of *Italus*; concerning which changes of Names, *Virgil* speaks thus:

Halicarn. lib. 1.

Est locus, Hesperiam Graii cognomine dicunt,
Terra antiqua, potens armis, atque ubere gleba:
Oenotrii coluere viri, nunc fama, minores
Italiam dixisse, Ducis de nomine, gentem.

There is a Land which *Greeks Hesperia* name;
Ancient, and strong, of much fertility:
Oenotrians held it, but we hear by fame,
That by late ages of Posterity,
'Tis from a Captains name call'd *Italy*.

Who this Captain or King may have been, it is very uncertain. For *Virgil* speaks no more of him, and the opinions of others are many and repugnant. But like enough it is, that the name which hath continued so long upon the whole Country, and worn out all other denominations, was not at the first accepted without good cause. Therefore to find out the original of this name, and the first Planters of this noble Country, *Reyneccius* hath made a very painful search, and not improbable conjecture.

Halicarn. lib. 1. And *first* of all, he grounds upon that of *Halicarnassæus*, who speaks of a Colony which the *Eleans* did lead in *Italy*, before the name of *Italy* was given unto it.

Just. l. 12. *Secondly*, Upon that of *Justine*, who saith, that *Brundusium* was a Colony of the *Ætolians*.

Strabo. lib. 6. *Thirdly*, Upon that of *Strabo*, who affirms the same of *Temesa*, or *Tempsa*, a City of the *Brutii* in *Italy*.

Plin. lib. 3. cap. 5. *Lastly*, Upon the authority of *Pliny*, who shews that the *Italians* did inhabit only one Region of the Land, whence afterward the Name was derived over all.

Concerning that which is said of the *Eleans* and *Ætolians* who (as he shews) had one original; from them he brings the Name of *Italy*. For the word *Italia*, differs in nothing from *Aitolia*, save that the first Letter is cast away, which in the *Greek* words is common; and the letter (*o*) is changed into (*a*) which change is found in the name of *Æthalia*, an Island near Italy, peopled by the *Ætholians*: and the like changes are very familiar in the *Æolick* Dialect; of which Dialect (being almost proper to the *Ætolians*) the accent and pronunciation, together with many words little altered, were retained by the *Latines*, as *Dionysius*, *Halicarnassæus*, *Quintilian*, and *Priscian* the Grammarian teach.

Hereunto appertains that of *Julian* the Apostata, who called the *Greeks* cousins of the *Latines*. Also the common Original of the *Greeks* and *Latines* from *Javan*; and the fable of *Janus*, whose image had two faces, looking East and West, as *Greece* and *Italy* lay, and was stamped on Coins, with a Ship on the other side, all which is, by interpretation, referred to *Javan*, father of the *Greeks* and *Latines*; who sayling over the *Ionian* Sea, that lies between *Ætolia* and the Western parts of *Greece* and *Italy*, planted Colonies in both. Now whereas *Reineccius* thinks, that the names of *Atlas* and *Italus* belonged both to one man, and thereto applyes that of *Berosus*, who called *Sethim*, *Italus*; though it may seem strengthened by the marriage of *Dardanus*, whilest he abode at *Italy* with *Electra*, the daughter of *Atlas*, yet is it by arguments (in my valuation) greater and stronger, easily disproved. For they who make mention of *Atlas*, place him before the time of *Moses*: and if *Atlas* were *Cethim*, or *Kittim*, then was he the son of *Javan*, and Nephew of *Japheth*, the eldest son of *Noah*, which antiquity far exceeds the name of *Italy*, that began after the departure of *Hercules* out of the Countrey, not long before the War of *Troy*.

Likewise *Virgil*, who speaks of *Atlas*, and of *Dardanus*, his marriage with *Electra*, hath nothing of his meeting with her in *Italy*, but calleth *Electra* and her sister *Maia* (poetically) the daughters of the Mountain in *Africa*, naming *Italus* among the Kings of the *Aborigenes*; which he would not have done, had *Atlas* and *Italus* been one person.

As for the authority of *Berosus* in this case, we need the less to regard it, for that *Reineccius* himself, whose conjectures are more to be valued than the dreams wherewith *Annius* hath filled *Berosus*, holds it but a figment.

That the name of *Italy* began long after *Atlas*, it appears by the verses of *Virgil* last rehearsed, wherein he would not have said,

——*Nunc fama, minores*
Italiam dixisse, Ducis de nomine, gentem,

had that name been heard of ere *Dardanus* left the Countrey. But seeing that, when *Hercules*, who died a few years before the War of *Troy*, had left in *Italy*

Italy a Colony of the *Eleans* (who in a manner were one and the ſame Nation with the *Ætolians*, as *Strabo*, *Herodotus*, and *Pauſanias* teach) then the name of *Italy* began: and ſeeing *Virgil* makes mention of *Italus* among the *Italian* Kings, it were no great boldneſs to ſay, that *Italus* was a Commander of theſe *Eleans*. For though I remember not that I have read of any ſuch *Greek* as was named *Italus*; yet the name of *Ætolus* written in *Greek Aitolus*, was very famous among the *Ætolians*, and among the *Eleans*, he being ſon of a King of *Elis*, and founder of the *Ætolian* Kingdom. Neither is it more hard to derive the name of *Italus* from *Ætolus*, than *Italia* from *Ætolia*. So may *Virgils* authority ſtand well with the collections of *Reyneccius*; the name of *Italy* being taken both from a Captain, and from the Nation, of which he and his people were.

SECT II.

Of the Aborigines, *and other Inhabitants of* Latium, *and of the reaſon of the names of* Latini *and* Latium.

IN *Italy* the *Latines* and *Hetrurians* were moſt famous; the *Hetrurians* having held the greateſt part of it under their ſubjection; and the *Latines* by the vertue and felicity of the *Romans*, who were a branch of them, ſubduing all *Italy*, and in a few ages whatſoever nation was known in *Europe*: together with all the Weſtern parts of *Aſia*, and North of *Africk*.

The Region called *Latium*, was firſt inhabited by the *Aborigenes*, whom *Halicarnaſſæus*, *Varro*, and *Reyneccius* (following them) think to have been *Arcadians*: and this name of *Aborigenes* (to omit other ſignifications that are ſtrained) imports as much as Original, or Native of the place, which they poſſeſſed: which title the *Arcadians* are known in vaunting manner to have alwaies uſurped, fetching their antiquity from beyond the Moon; becauſe indeed, neither were the inhabitants of *Peloponneſus* inforced to forſake their ſeats ſo oft as other *Greeks* were, who did dwell without that half Iſland, neither had the *Arcadians* ſo unſure a dwelling as the reſt of the *Peloponneſians*, becauſe the Countrey was leſs fruitfull in land, mountainous, and hard of acceſs, and they themſelves (as in ſuch places commonly are found) very warlike men. Some of theſe therefore having occupied a great part of *Latium*, and held it long, did according to the *Arcadian* manner, ſtile themſelves *Aborigenes*, in that language, which either their new Seat, or their Neighbours thereby had taught them. How it might be that the *Arcadians*, who dwelt ſomewhat farr from the Sea, and are alwaies noted as unapt men to prove good Mariners, ſhould have been Authors of new diſcoveries, were a queſtion not eaſie to be anſwered, were it not ſo, that both fruitfulneſs of children, in which thoſe ages abounded, inforced the ſuperfluous company to ſeek another ſeat, and that ſome expeditions of the *Arcadians*, as eſpecially that of *Evander*, into the ſame parts of *Italy*, are generally acknowledged.

After the *Aborigenes*, were the *Pelaſgi*, an ancient Nation, who ſometimes gave name to all *Greece*: but their antiquities are long ſince dead, for lack of good records. Neither was their glory ſuch in *Italy*, as could long ſuſtain the name of their own Tribe; for they were in ſhort ſpace accounted one people with the former inhabitants. The *Sicani*, *Auſones*, *Arunci*, *Rutili*, and other people, did in ages following, diſturbe the peace of *Latium*, which by *Saturne* was brought to ſome civility; and he therefore canonized as a god.

This *Saturne*, S. *Auguſtine* calleth *Sterces* or *Sterculius*, others term him *Stercutius*, and ſay, that he taught the people to dung their grounds. That *Latium* took his name of *Saturn*, becauſe he did *latere*, that is, lie hidden there, when he fled from *Jupiter*, it is queſtionleſs, a fable. For as in Heatheniſh ſuperſtition, it was great vanity to think that any thing could be hidden from God, or that there were many gods of whom one fled from another; ſo in the truth of Hiſtory, it is well known, that no king reigning in thoſe parts was ſo mighty, that it ſhould be hard to find one Countrey or another, wherein a man might be ſafe from his purſuit: And yet, as moſt fables and poetical fictions were occaſioned by ſome ancient truth, which either by ambiguity of ſpeech, or ſome alluſion, they did maimedly and darkly expreſſe (for ſo they feigned a paſſage over a River in Hell) becauſe death is a paſſage to another life: and becauſe this paſſage is hatefull, lamentable, and painfull, therefore they named the River *Styx*, of hate; *Cocytus* of lamentation, and *Acheron*, of pain: ſo alſo becauſe men are ſtonie hearted; and becauſe the *Greek* λαοὶ, people, and λᾶες, ſtones, are neer in ſound, therefore they feigned in the time of *Deucalion*, ſtones converted into men, as at other times men into ſtones: in like manner it may be, that the original of *Saturus* hiding himſelf, was ſome alluſion to that old opinion of the wiſeſt of the Heathen, that the true God was *ignotus Deus*, as it is noted in the *Acts*; whence alſo *Eſay* of the true God ſayes, *tu Deus abdens te*. For it cannot be in vain, that the word *Saturnus* ſhould alſo have this very ſignification, if it be derived (as ſome think) from the *Hebrew Satar*, which is to hide: Howbeit I deny not but that the original of this word, *Latium*, ought rather to be ſought elſe where,

See lib. 1. cap. 6. ſect. 1 & ſeq.

Act. 7. 2, 3. Eſay 45. 15.

Reyneccius doth conjecture that the *Ceteans*, who deſcended of *Cethim*, the ſon of *Javan*, were the men who gave the name to *Latium*. For theſe *Ceteans*, are remembred by *Homer* as aiders of the *Trojans* in their war. *Strabo*, interpreting the place of *Homer*, calls them ſubjects to the Crown of *Troy*. Hereupon *Reyneccius* gathers, that their abode was in *Aſia*: viz. *in agro Elaitico*, *in the Elaitian Territory*, which agreeth with *Strabo*. Of a City, which the *Æolians* held in *Aſia*, called *Elæa* or *Elaia*, *Pauſanias* makes mention: *Stephanus* calls it *Cydæmis*, or (according to the *Greek* writing) *Cidamis*, which name laſt rehearſed, hath a very near ſound to *Cethim*, *Citim*, or *Cithim*; the *Greek* Letter (D) having (as many teach) a pronunciation very like to (*TH*) differing onely in the ſtrength or weakneſs of utterance, which is found between many Engliſh words, written with the ſame letters. Wherefore that theſe *Ceteans*, being deſcended of *Cethim*, *Cittim*, or *Kittim*, the ſon of *Javan*, who was Progenitour of the *Greeks*, might very well take a denomination from the City, and Region, which they inhabited, and from thence be called *Eleites*, or *Elaites*, it is very likely, conſidering that among the *Arcadians*, *Phocians*, *Ætolians*, and *Eleans*, who all were of the *Æolique* Tribe, are found the names of the Mountain *Elæus*, the Haven *Elæus*, the people *Elaitæ*, the City *Elæus*, *Elaia*, and *Elateia*, of which laſt, it were ſomewhat harſh in the Latine tongue to call the Inhabitants by any other name then *Elatini*, from whence *Latini* may come. Now whereas both the *Cetei* and *Arcadians*, had their original from *Cethim*, it is nothing unlikely, that agreeing in language and ſimilitude of names, they might

nevertheleſs differ in ſound and pronunciation of one and the ſame word. So that as he is by many called *Sabinus*, to whom ſome (deriving the *Sabines* from him) give the name of *Sabus*: in the like manner might he whom the *Arcadians* would call *Elatus* (of which name they had a Prince that founded the City *Elateja*) be named of the *Ceteans Latinus*. *Reyneccius*, purſuing this likelihood, thinks that when *Euripylus*, Lord of the *Ceteans*, (being the ſon of *Telephus*, whom *Hercules* begat upon *Auge*, the daughter of *Aleus* King of *Arcadia*) was ſlain by *Achilles* in the *Trojan* War: then did *Telephus* brother to *Euripylus*, conduct the *Ceteans*, who (fearing what evil might befall themſelves by the *Greeks*, if the affairs of *Troy* ſhould go ill) paſſed into that part of *Italy*, whereas the *Arcadians* were planted by *Oenotrius*. And *Reyneccius* farther thinks, that *Telephus*, being the more gracious among the *Oenotrian Arcadians*, by the memory of his Grand-mother *Auge*, an *Arcadian* Lady, was well contented to take an *Arcadian* name, and to be called *Elatus*, which in the dialect and pronunciation either of the *Ceteans*, or of the *Oenotrians*, was firſt *Elatinus*, and then *Latinus*. That this name of *Elatus* may have been taken or impoſed by the *Arcadians*, it is the more eaſie to be thought, for that there were then two Families, the one of *Iphidas*, the other of *Elatus*, who were ſons of *Arcas* King of *Arcadia*, which gave name unto the Countrey: and between theſe two families the the ſucceſſion in that Kingdom did paſs, almoſt interchangeably, for many ages, till at the end of the *Trojan* War it fell into the hand of *Hippotheus* of the race of *Elatus*, in whoſe Poſterity it continued untill the laſt. Again the name of *Latinus*, having a derivative ſound, agrees the better with the ſuppoſition of ſuch an accident. This is the conjecture of *Reyneccius*, which if he made over-boldly, yet others may follow it with the leſs reproofe, conſidering that it is not eaſie to find either an apparent truth, or fair probability among theſe diſagreeing Authors, which have written the originals of *Latium*.

SECT. VI.

Of the ancient Kings of the Latines *until* Æneas *his coming.*

THe Kings which reigned in *Latium* before the the arrival of *Æneas*, were *Saturnus*, *Picus*, *Faunus*, & *Latinus*. Of *Saturn* there is nothing remembred, ſave what is mentioned already, and many Fables of the *Greeks*, which whether they be applyable to this man, it is for him to judge, who ſhall be able to determine, whether this were the *Saturn* of the *Greeks* called by them Κρόνος, or ſome other, ſtiled *Saturn* by the *Aborigenes*. For the age wherein he lived, may very well admit him to have been the ſame: but the names of *Sterces*, and *Stercutius* (for it may be, this name was not borrowed from the skill which he taught the people, but rather the ſoil which they laid on their grounds had that appellation from him) do rather make him ſeem ſome other man.

Of *Picus* it is ſaid that he wa a good horſe-man. The fable of his being changed into a Bird, which we call a Py, may well ſeem (as it is interpreted) to have grown from the skill which he had in ſouth-ſaying, or divination, by the flight and chattering of Fowles. *Faunus*, the ſon of *Picus*, reigned after his Father: He gave to *Evander* the *Arcadian* (who having ſlain by miſchance his father *Echemus* King of *Arcadia*, fled into *Italy*) the waſt grounds on which *Rome* was afterward built.

Fauna, called *Fatua*, the ſiſter of *Faunus*, who was alſo his wife, as all Hiſtorians agree, ſhe was held a Propheteſs and highly commended for her chaſtity, which praiſe in her muſt needs have been much blemiſhed by her marriage, it ſelf being meerly inceſtuous.

It is not mentioned that *Faunus*, had by his ſiſter any child, neither do we read of any other Wife which he had, ſave only that *Virgil* gives unto him *Latinus* as his ſon, by a Nymph called *Marica*.

But who this *Marica* was, it is not found, ſave only that her aboad was about the River *Lyris* near *Minturnæ*.

Of the name *Latinus*, there are by *Pomponius Sabinus* recounted four: one, the Son of *Faunus*, another of *Hercules*, a third of *Ulyſſes* by *Circe*, the fourth of *Telemachus*. *Suidas* takes notice only of the ſecond, of whom he ſaith, that his name was *Telephus*, and the people anciently named the *Cetii*, were from his ſurname called *Latini*, This agrees in effect with the opinion of *Reyneccius*, the difference conſiſting almoſt in this only, that *Suidas* cals *Telephus* the ſon of *Hercules*, whereas *Reyneccius* makes him his Nephew, by a ſon of the ſame name. This *Latinus* having obtained the ſucceſſion in that Kingdom after *Faunus*, did promiſe his only Daughter and Heir *Lavinia*, to *Turnus* the Son of *Venilia*, who was ſiſter to *Amata*, *Latinus* his Wife.

Suidas in the word *Latini*.

But when *Æneas* arrived in thoſe parts with fifteen ſhips, or perhaps fewer, wherein might be imbarked, according to the rate which *Thucydides* allows to the Veſſels then uſed, about one thouſand and two hundred men: then *Latinus* finding that it would ſtand beſt with his aſſurance, to make alliance with the *Trojan*, and moved with the great reputation of *Æneas*, which himſelf had heard of in the war of *Troy*, gave his Daughter to him, breaking off the former appointment with *Turnus*: who incenſed herewith, ſought to avenge himſelf by war: which was ſoon ended with his own death.

Of *Amata* the wife of *Latinus*, it is very certain, that were ſhe an *Italian*, ſhe could not have born a Daughter marriageable at the arrival of *Æneas*; unleſs we ſhould wholly follow *Suidas*, and rather give the conduct of the *Cetei* into *Italy*, to *Telephus* the father, than to his Son, who ſerved in the laſt year of the *Trojan* War. But *Reyneccius* holds her an *Aſiatique*, and thinks withall, that *Lavinia* was born before *Telephus* came into *Italy*. That this name *Amata*, by which *Virgil* and *Halicarnaſſeus* call her, was not proper, but rather a ſurname, it may ſeem by *Varro*; who calleth her *Palatia*: which name very well might be derived from the *Greek* name *Pallas*. *Amata*, which ſignifieth beloved, or dear, was the name by which the High Prieſt called every Virgin whom he took to ſerve as a Nun of *Veſta*; wherefore it is the more eaſie to be thought a ſurname, howſoever *Virgil* diſcourſe of her and *Venilia* her ſiſter.

Lavinia, the Daughter of *Latinus*, being given in marriage to *Æneas*, the Kingdom of *Latium*, or the greateſt part of that Country, was eſtabliſhed in that race: wherein it continued until it was overgrown by the might and greatneſs of the *Romans*.

Ezekiel often calls the Idols of the Heathen, *deos ſtercoreos*. And hence it may be that in the Evangelift we read of *Belzebub*, *Belzebul*, which is interpreted *Dominus ſtercoreus*: and it may be that after that, *Saturn* became the name of an Idol, it pleaſed God that in a like ſence this name *Stercutius* ſhould ſtick unto him. *Æneid.7.*

SECT.

SECT. IV.

Of Æneas, and of the Kings and Governours of Alba

Æneas himself being of the Royal bloud of *Troy*, had the command of the *Dardanians*, he was a valiant man, very rich, and highly honoured among the *Trojans*. By his Wife *Creusa*, the Daughter of *Priamus*, he had a Son called *Ascanius*; whose surname was *Julus*, having before the ruine of *Troy* (as *Virgil* notes) been surnamed *Ilus*. But when *Æneas* was dead, his Wife *Lavinia*, the Daughter of *Latinus*, being great with child by him, and fearing the power of this *Ascanius*, fled into the Woods, where she was delivered of a Son, called thereupon *Sylvius*, and surnamed *Posthumus*, because he was born after his fathers Funeral. This flight of *Lavinia* was so evil taken by the people, that *Ascanius* procured her return, entreated her honourably, and using her as a Queen, did foster her young Son, his half-brother *Sylvius*. Yet afterwards whether to avoid all occasions of disagreement, or delighted with the situation of the place; *Ascanius* leaving to his Mother in law the City *Lavinium*, which *Æneas* had built and called after his new Wives name, founded the City *Alba Longa* and therein reigned. The time of his reign was, according to some, eight and twenty years: *Virgil* gives him thirty; others five and thirty, and eight and thirty. After his decease, there arose a contention between *Sylvius*, the son of *Æneas*, and *Julus* the son of *Ascanius*, about the Kingdom: but the people inclining to the Son of *Lavinia*, *Julus* was contented to hold the Priesthood, which he and his race enjoyed, leaving the Kingdom to *Sylvius Posthumus*, whose posterity were afterwards called *Sylvii*.

The reign of the *Alban* Kings, with the continuance of each mans reign, I find thus set down:

1	*Sylvius Posthumus.*	29	Years.
2	*Sylvius Æneas.*	31	
3	*Sylvius Latinus.*	50	
4	*Sylvius Alba.*	39	
5	*Sylvius Atis.*	26	
6	*Sylvius Capys.*	28	
7	*Sylvius Capetus.*	13	
8	*Sylvius Tiberinus.*	8	
9	*Sylvius Agrippa.*	41	
10	*Sylvius Alladius.*	19	
11	*Sylvius Aventinus.*	37	
12	*Sylvius Procas.*	23	
13	*Sylvius Amulius.*	44	
	Sylvius Numitor.		

Ilia, called also *Rhea* and *Sylvia*.
Romulus. Remus.

The most of these Kings lived in peace, and did little or nothing worthy of remembrance.

Latinus founded many Towns in the borders of *Latium*: who standing much upon the honour of their original, grew thereby to be called *Proles Latii*. Of *Tiberinus* some think, that the River *Tiber* had name, being formerly called *Albula*: but *Virgil* gives it that denomination of another called *Tybris*: before the coming of *Æneas* into *Italy*. The Mountain *Aventinus* had name (as many write) from *Aventinus* King of the *Albanes*, who was buried therein: but *Virgil* hath it otherwise. *Julius* the brother of *Aventinus*, is named by *Eusebius* as father of another *Julius*, and grandfather of *Julius Proculus*, who leaving *Alba*, dwelt with *Romulus* in *Rome*: *Numitor*, the elder Son of *Procas*, was deprived of his Kingdom by his brother *Amulius*; by whom also his Son *Ægesthus* was slain, and *Ilia* his daughter made a Nun of *Vesta*, that thereby the issue of *Numitor* might be cut off. But she conceived two Sons, either by her Uncle *Amulius*, as some think, or by *Mars*, as the Poets feign; or perhaps by some man of war. Both the children their Uncle commanded to be drowned, and the mother buried quick, according to the law, which so ordained, when the Vestal Virgins brake their chastity. Whether it was so, that the mother was pardoned at the entreaty of *Antho*, the Daughter of *Amulius*, or punished as the Law required (for Authors herein do vary) it is agreed by all, that the two children were preserved, who afterward revenged the cruelty of their Uncle, with the slaughter of him and all his; and restored *Numitor* their Grandfather to the Kingdom: wherein how long he reigned, I find not, neither is it greatly material to know; for as much as the Estates of *Alba* and of *Latinum* were presently eclipsed by the swift increase of *Rome*; upon which the computation of Time following (as far as concerns the things of *Italy*) is dependant. After the death of *Numitor*, the Kingdom of *Alba* ceased; for *Numitor* left no male issue. *Romulus* chose rather to live in *Rome*; and of the Line of *Sylvius* none else remained. So the *Albanes* were governed by Magistrates; of whom onely two Dictators are mentioned, namely *Caius Cluilius*, who in the dayes of *Tullus Hostilius*, King of the *Romans*, making War upon *Rome*, dyed in the Camp; and *Metius Suffetius*, the successor of *Cluilius*, who surrendred the Estate of *Alba* unto the *Romans*, having committed the hazard of both Seigniories to the success of three men of each side, who decided the quarrel by Combat: in which, the three brethren *Horatii*, the Champions of the *Romans*, prevailed against the *Curiatii*, Champions of the *Albans*. After this Combat, when *Metius* (following *Tullus Hostilius* with the *Albane* forces against the *Veientes* and *Fidenates*) withdrew his Companies out of the battel, hoping thereby to leave the *Romans* to such an overthrow, as might make them weak enough for the *Albanes* to deal with; *Tullus*, who notwithstanding this falshood, obtained the victory, did reward *Metius* with a cruel death, causing him to be tyed to two Chariots, and so torn in pieces. Then was *Alba* destroyed, and the Citizens carried to *Rome*, where they made free Denizens, the noble Families being made *Patricians*; among which were the *Julii*: of whom *C. Julius Cæsar* being descended, not onely gloried in his ancient, royal, and forgotten pedigree, in full assembly of the *Romans*, then governed by a free Estate of the People: but by his rare industry, valour, and judgment, obtained the Soveraignty of the *Roman* Empire (much by him enlarged) to himself and his posterity; whereby the name of *Æneas*, and honour of the *Trojan* and *Alban* Race, was so revived, that seldom, if ever, any one Family hath attained to a proportionable height of glory.

SECT.

SECT. V.

Of the beginning of Rome, *and of* Romulus *his Birth and Death.*

OF *Rome*, which devoured the *Alban* Kingdom, I may here beſt ſhew the beginnings, which (though ſomewhat uncertain) depend much upon the birth and education of *Romulus*, the Grand-child of *Numitor*, the laſt that reigned in *Alba*. For how not onely the bordering people, but all Nations between *Euphrates* and the Ocean, were broken in pieces by the iron teeth of this fourth Beaſt, it is not to be deſcribed in one place, having been the work of many ages; whereof I now do handle onely the firſt, as incident unto the diſcourſe preceding. *Q. Fabius Pictor, Portius Cato, Calphurnius, Piſo, Sempronius*, and others, ſeek to derive the *Romans* from *Janus*: but *Herodotus, Marſylus*, and many others of equal credit, give the *Grecians* for their Anceſtors: and as *Strabo* reporteth in his fifth Book, Cæcilius *rerum Romanarum Scriptor, eo argumento colligit, Romam a Græcis eſſe conditam, quod Romani Græco ritu, antiquo inſtituto*, Herculi *rem ſacram faciunt: matrem quoque* Evandri *venerantur Romani:* Cæcilius (ſaith he) *a* Roman *Hiſtoriographer, doth by this argument gather, that* Rome *was built by the* Greeks, *becauſe the* Romans, *after* Greekiſh *faſhion, by ancient ordinance, do ſacrifice to* Hercules, *the* Romans *alſo worſhip the Mother of* Evander,

Strab. 5. f. 159.

Plutarch in the life of *Romulus* remembreth many Founders of that City: as *Romanus* the Son of *Ulyſſes* and *Circe*; *Romus* the Son of *Emathion*, whom *Diomedes* ſent thither from *Troy*; or that one *Romus*, a Tyrant of the *Latines*, who drave the *Tuſcans* out of that Countrey, built it. *Solinus* beſtows the honour of building *Rome* upon *Evander*, ſaying, That it was beforetimes called *Valentia*. *Heraclides* gives the denomination to a captive Lady, brought thither by the *Grecians*: others ſay, That it was anciently called *Febris*, after the name of *Februa*, the Mother of *Mars*; witneſs S. *Auguſtine* in his third Book *de Civitate Dei*. But *Livie* will have it to be the work of *Romulus*, even from the foundation: of whom and his conſort, *Juvenal* to a *Roman* Citizen, vaunting of their original, anſwered in theſe Verſes:

Attamen ut longe repetas longeque revolvas,
Majorum quiſquis primus fuit ille tuorum,
Aut paſtor fuit, aut illud quod dicere nolo.

Yet though thou fetch thy pedigree ſo far;
Thy firſt Progenitor, who ere he were,
Some Shepheard was, or elſe, that I'll forbear.
meaning, either a Shepheard or a Thief.

Now of *Romulus* begetting, of his education and preſervation, it is ſaid, That he had *Rhea* for his mother, and *Mars* ſuppoſed to be his father; that he was nurſt by a Wolf, found and taken away by *Fauſtula* a Shepheards Wife. The ſame unnatural nurſing had *Cyrus*, the ſame incredible foſtering had *Semiramis*; the one by a Bitch, the other by Birds. But as *Plutarch* ſaith, it is like enough that *Amulius* came covered with armour to *Rhea*, the mother of *Romulus*, when he begat her with child: and therein it ſeemeth to me that he might have two purpoſes; the one to deſtroy her, becauſe ſhe was the daughter and heir of his elder brother, from whom he injuriouſly held the Kingdom; the other, to ſatisfie his appetite, becauſe ſhe was fair and goodly. For ſhe being made a Nun of the goddeſs *Veſta*, it was death in her, by the law, to break her chaſtity. I alſo find in *Fauchet* his *Antiquitez de Gaule*, that *Meroüee*, King of the *Francs*, was begotten by a Monſter of the Sea: but *Fauchet* ſaies, *Let them believe it that liſt*; *Il le croira qui voudra*: Alſo of *Alexander*, and of *Scipio African*, there are poetical inventions: But to anſwer theſe imaginations in general, It is true, that in thoſe times, when the World was full of this barbarous Idolatry, and when there were as many gods as there were Kings, or paſſions of the mind, or as there were of vices and virtues, then did many women greatly born, cover ſuch ſlips as they made, by proteſting to be forced by more then humane power: ſo did *Oenone* confeſs to *Paris*, that ſhe had been raviſhed by *Apollo*, And *Anchiſes* boaſted that he had known *Venus*. But *Rhea* was made with child by ſome man of War, or other, and therefore called *Mars*, the god of battel, according to the ſenſe of the time. *Oenone* was overcome by a ſtrong wit, and by ſuch a one as had thoſe properties aſcribed to *Apollo*. The Mother of *Meroüee* might fancy a Sea-Captain, to be gotten with young by ſuch a one: as the Daughter of *Inachus* fancied, according to *Herodotus*. *Æneas* was a baſtard, and begotten upon ſome fair Harlot, called for her beauty *Venus*. And was therefore the Child of Luſt, which is *Venus*. *Romulus* was nurſt by a Wolf, which was *Lupa*, or *Lupina*; for the Curteſans in thoſe dayes were called Wolfs, *Quæ nunc* (ſaith *Halicarnaſſæus*) *honeſtiori vocabulo amicæ appellantur*; *Which are now by a honeſter name called friends.*

Fauchet. f. 114.

It is alſo written, that *Romulus* was in the end of his life taken up into heaven, or rather out of the world, by his father *Mars*, in a great ſtorm of thunder and lightning: ſo it was ſaid that *Æneas* vaniſhed away by the River *Numicus*: but thereof *Livie* ſpeaketh modeſtly; for he rehearſeth the other opinion that the ſtorm was the fury of the Senators, but ſeemeth to adhere partially to this taking up; and many Authors agree, that there was an unnatural darkneſs, both at his birth, and at his death; and that he might be ſlain by thunder or lightning, it is not unlikely. For the Emperor *Anaſtaſius* was ſlain with lightning; ſo was *Strabo* the Father of *Pompey* ſlain with a thunderbolt: ſo *Carus* the Emperor (who ſucceeded *Probus*) whileſt he lodged with his Army upon the River *Tygris*, was there ſlain with lightning. But a *Mars* of the ſame Kind might end him that began him; for he was begotten by a man of War, and by violence deſtroyed. And that he died by violence (which deſtiny followed moſt of the *Roman* Emperors) it appeareth by *Tarquinius Superbus*, who was the ſeventh King after him: who when he had murthered his Father-in-law, commanded that he ſhould not be buried, for (ſaid he) *Romulus* himſelf died and was not buried. But let *Halicarnaſſæus* end this diſpute; whoſe words are theſe:

They (ſaith he) *who drew neareſt to the truth, ſay that he was ſlain by his own Citizens; and that his cruelties in puniſhment of offenders, together with his arroganey, were the cauſe of his ſlaughter. For it is reported, that both when his mother was raviſhed, whether by ſome man, or by a god, the whole body of the Sun was eclipſed, and all the earth covered with darkneſs like unto night, and that the ſame did happen at his death.*

Such were the birth and death of *Romulus*: whoſe life hiſtorified by *Plutarch*, doth contain (beſides what is here already ſpoken of him) the conqueſt of a few miles, which had ſoon been forgotten, if the *Roman* greatneſs built upon that foundation, had not given it memory in all ages following, even

unto this day. A valiant man he was, very ſtrong of body, patient of travel, and temperate in diet, as forbearing the uſe of wine and delicacies: but his raging ambition he knew not how to temper, which cauſed him to ſlay his brother, and neglect to revenge the death of *Tatius*, his companion in the Kingdom, that he himſelf might be Lord alone in thoſe narrow Territories. He reigned 37. years, firſt alone, then with *Tatius*, and after his death, ſingle, till he was ſlain, as is already ſhewed: after which time, the Soveraignty fell into the hands of *Numa*, a man to him unknown, and more Prieſt-like than King like: wherein *Rome* it ſelf in her latter times hath ſomewhat reſembled this King. For having long been ſole Governeſs, till *Conſtantinople* ſhared with her: afterwards, when as the *Greek* Emperour was cruſhed by forreign enemies, and the *Latines* diſpoyled of Imperial power, ſhe fell into the ſubjection of a Prelate, ſwelling by degrees from the Sheep-hook to the Sword, and therewith victorious to exceſſive magnificence, from whence by the ſame degrees it fell, being driven from luxury to defenſive arms, and therein having been unfortunate, at length betakes her ſelf again to the Croſier ſtaff.

And thus much of *Rome* in this place, by occaſion of the ſtory of the times of King *Ahaz*, during whoſe reign in *Jury*, the foundations of this famous City were laid.

CHAP. XXV.

Of EZECHIA, *and his Contemporaries.*

SECT. I.

Of the beginning of Ezechias, *and of the agreeing of* Ptolomy, Nabonaſſar, Nabopolaſſar, *and* Mardocempadus, *with the Hiſtory of the Bible.*

AS the firſt year of *Ahaz* his reign was confounded with the laſt of his father *Jotham*, ſo was the latter end of his ſixteen years taken up in the three firſt of *Ezechias*, his ſon. This appears by the Reign of *Hoſea*, over *Iſrael*, which began in the twelfth of *Ahaz*, and therefore, the third thereof was concurrent with *Ahaz*, his fourteenth. But the third of *Hoſea*, was the firſt of *Ezechia*; ſo it follows, that *Ezechia* began to reign in his Fathers fourteenth year. Like enough it is, that the third year of *Hoſea*, the ſame being the fourteenth of *Ahaz*, was almoſt ſpent when *Ezechia* began, and ſo the fifteenth year of *Ahaz* may have been concurrent, for the moſt part, with the firſt of *Ezechia*.

By ſuppoſing that *Hoſea* began his Kingdom, when the twelfth year of *Ahaz* was almoſt compleat, ſome would find the means how to diſ-joyn the firſt of *Ezechia* from the fifteenth of *Ahaz*, placing him yet one year later, of which year, *Ahaz* may perhaps have lived not many daies. But ſeeing that the fourteenth and fifteenth years of *Ezechia* may not be removed out of their places, it is vain labour to alter the firſt year.

2 *Kin.* 19. 35. In the fourteenth year of *Ezechia*, *Senacherib*, invaded *Juda* and the Countries adjoyning, loſt his Army by a miraculous ſtroak from Heaven, fled home, and was ſlain.

The year following it was that God added ſixteen years to the life of *Ezechia*, when he had already reigned fourteen of his nine and twenty, and the ſame year was that miracle ſeen of the Suns going back; of which wonder (as I hear) one *Bartholomew Scultet*, who is much commended for skill in Aſtronomy, hath by calculation found the very day, which anſwered to the twenty fift of *April*, in the *Julian* year, being then Thurſday. I have not ſeen any works of *Scultet*, but ſurely to find a motion ſo irregular and miraculous, it is neceſſary that he produce ſome Record of obſervation made at ſuch a time. Howſoever it be, the fifteenth year of *Ezechia* agreed upon: and therefore we may not alter the firſt. As for that ſaying, which is uſual in like caſes, that *Ahaz ſlept with his fathers, and* Ezechia *his ſon reigned in his ſtead*, it doth no more prove that *Ezechia* reigned not with his Father, than the like ſaying doth infer the like at the death of *Jehoſaphat*, and ſucceſſion of *Jehoram*; whereof, as concerning the beginning of the Son to reign whileſt his Father lived, we have already ſaid enough. 1 *Chro.* 28. 17.

Of this godly King *Ezechias*, we find, that his very beginning teſtified his devotion and zeale. For whether it were ſo, that his unfortunate and ungracious Father (who had outworn his reputation) gave way to his Sons proceedings, which perhaps it lay not in him to hinder; or whether (as I rather think) the firſt year and firſt month of his reign, wherein *Ezechias* opened the doors of the Temple, were to be underſtood as the beginning of his ſole government; we plainly find it to have been his firſt work, that he opened the doors of the houſe of the Lord, which *Achaz* had ſhut up, cleanſed the City and Kingdom of the Idols, reſtored the Prieſts to their offices and eſtates, commanded the Sacrifices to be offered which had been for many years neglected, and brake down the braſen ſerpent of *Moſes*, becauſe the people burnt incenſe before it, and he called it *Nehuſhtan*, which ſignifieth a lumpe of braſſe. He did alſo celebrate the paſſe-over with great magnificence, inviting thereinto the *Iſraelites* of the ten Tribes. Many there were, even out of thoſe Tribes, that came up to *Jeruſalem*, to this feaſt; But the general multitude of *Iſrael* did laugh the Meſſengers of *Ezechias* to ſcorn. 2 *Chro.* 29. v. 3. 2 *Chro.* 30.

It was not long ere they that ſcorned to ſolemnize the memorial of their deliverance out of the *Egyptian* ſervitude, fell into a new ſervitude; out of which they never were delivered. For in the fourth of *Ezechia* his reign, *Salmanaſſar* the Son of *Tiglath*, the Son of *Belochus*, hearing that *Hoſea* King of *Iſrael* had practiſed with *So* King of *Egypt*, againſt him, invaded *Iſrael*, beſieged *Samaria*, and in the third year (after

(after the inhabitants had endured all sorts of miseries) forced it, and carried thence the ten Idolatrous Tribes into *Assyria* and *Media*: among whom *Tobias* and his Son of the same name, with *Anna* his Wife, were sent to *Nineve*; in whose seats and places the *Assyrians* sent strangers of other Nations, and among them many of the ancient enemies of the *Israelites*, as those of *Cutha*, *Ava*, *Hamah*, and *Sepharvaim*, besides *Babylonians*; whose Places and Nations I have formerly described in the Treatise of the Holy Land.

These latter *Assyrian* Kings, and the *Persians*, which followed them, are the first of whom we find mention made both in Prophane and Sacred books. These therefore serve aptly to joyn the times of the old World, (whereof none but the Prophets have written otherwise than fabulously) with the Ages following that were better known, and described in course of History. True it is, that of *Cyrus* and some other *Persians*, we find in the Bible the same names by which other Authors have recorded them: but of *Phul* and *Salmanassar*, with other *Assyrian*, *Chaldean* Kings, diversity of name hath bred question of the persons. Therefore, whereas the Scriptures do speak of *Salmanassar*, King of *Assur*, who reigned in the time of *Ahaz* and *Ezechia*, Kings of *Juda*, and of *Hosea* King of *Israel*, whom he carried into captivity: and whereas *Ptolomy* makes mention of *Nabonassar*, speaking precisely of the time wherein he lived; it is very pertinent to shew, that *Salmanassar* and *Nabonassar* were one and the same man. The like reason also requireth, that it be shewed of *Nebuchadnezzar*, that he was the same whom *Ptolomy* calleth *Nabopolassar*.

Of both these points *Bucholerus* hath well collected sufficient proof from the exact calculations of sundry good Mathematicians, For by them it appears, that between *Nabonassar* and the birth of *Christ*, there passed seven hundred forty and six years: at which distance of time the reign of *Salmanassar* was. One great proofe hereof is this, which the same *Bucholerus* alledgeth out of *Erasmus Reinboldus*, in the *Prutenick* Tables. *Mardocempadus*, King of *Babylon* (whom *Ptolomy*, speaking of three Eclipses of the Moon, which were in his time, doth mention) was the same whom the Scriptures call *Merodach*, who sent Embassadors to *Hezekia* King of *Juda*. So that if we reckon backward to the difference of time between *Merodach* and *Salmanassar*, we shall find it the same which is between *Mardocempadus* and *Nabonassar*. Likewise *Functius* doth shew, that whereas from the destruction of *Samaria*, to the destruction of *Jerusalem*, in the nineteenth of *Nebuchadnezzar*, we collect out of the Scriptures, the distance of one hundred thirty and three years: the self-same distance of time is found in *Ptolomy*, between *Nabonassar* and *Nabopolassar*. For whereas *Ptolomy* seems to suffer from this accompt, making *Nabonassar* more ancient by an hundred and forty years, than the destruction of *Jerusalem*, we are to understand that he took *Samaria* in the eighth year of his reign; so that the seven foregoing years added to these one hundred thirty and three, make the accompt of the Scriptures to fall even with that of *Ptolomy*. *Ptolomy*'s computation is, that from the first of *Nabonassar*, to the fifth of *Nabopolassar*, there passed a hundred twenty seven years. Now if we add to these one hundred twenty seven, the thirteen ensuing of *Nebuchadnezzers* years, before the City and Temple were destroyed, we have the sum of one hundred and forty years. In so plain a case more proofes are needless, though many are brought, of which this may serve for all, that *Ptolomy* placeth the first of *Nabopolassar*, one hundred twenty and two years after the first of *Nabonassar*, which agreeth exactly with the Scriptures. To these notes are added the consent of all Mathematicians: which in accompt of times I hold more sure than the authority of any History; and therefore I think it folly to make doubt; whereas Historians and Mathematical observations do so throughly concur.

Yet forasmuch as that argument of the learned *Scaliger* doth rest unanswered, whereby he proved *Baladan* the Father of *Merodach*, to have been this *Nabonassar*, I will not spare to lose a word or two in giving the Reader satisfaction herein. It is true, that the next observations of the heavenly Bodies, which *Ptolomy* recorded, after the time of *Nabonassar*, were in the reign of *Mardocempadus*; the second year of whose reign, is, according to *Ptolomy*, concurrent in part with the twenty seven of *Nabonassar*. For the second of three ancient Eclipses which he calculates, being in the second year of *Mardocempadus*, was from the beginning of *Nabonassar* twenty seven years, seventeen dayes, and eleven hours: the accompt from *Nabonassar*, beginning at high-noon the first day of the *Egyptian* Moneth *Thot*, then answering to the twenty sixth of *February*; and this Eclipse being fifty minutes before mid-night, on the eighteenth day of that Month, when the first day thereof agreed with the nineteenth of *February*; so that the difference of time between the two Kings *Nabonassar* and *Mardocempadus*, is noted by *Ptolomy*, according to the *Egyptian* years. But how doth this prove that *Mardocempadus* or *Merodach*, was the Son of *Nabonassar*? yea, how doth it prove, that he was his next successor, or any way of his lineage? it was enough to satisfie me, in this argument, that *Scaliger* himself did afterwards believe *Mardocempadus* to have been rather the Nephew than the Son of *Baladan*, or *Nabonassar*. For if he might be either the Nephew, or the Son; he might perhaps be neither the one, nor the other. But because our Countryman *Lydiat* hath reprehended *Scaliger* for changing his opinion; and that both *Torniellus*, who follows *Scaliger* herein, and *Sethus Calvisius*, who hath drawn into form of Chronology, that learned work, *De Emendatione Temporum*, to hold up the same assertion, confounding *Baladan* with *Nabonassar*, I have taken the pains to search, as far as my leisure and diligence could reach, after any sentence that might prove the Kindred or Succession of these two: Yet cannot I find in the *Almageſt* (for the Scriptures are either silent in this point, or adverse to *Scaliger*; and other good authority, I know none, in this business) any sentence more nearly proving the succession of *Merodach* to *Nabonassar*, than the place now last rehearsed: which makes no more, to shew that the one of these was farther to the other, than (that I may use a like example) the as near succession of *William* the *Conqueror*, declares him, to have been Son, or Grand-child to *Edward* the *Confessor*. This considered, we may safely go on with our account from *Nabonassar*, taking him from *Salmanassar*; and not fearing, that the Readers will be driven from our Book, when they find something in it, agreeing with *Annius*, forasmuch as these Kings mentioned in Scriptures, reigned in *Babylon* and *Assyria*, in those very times which by *Diodorus* and *Ptolomy* are assigned to *Belosus*, *Nabonassar*, and *Mardocempadus*, and the rest: no good History naming any others that reigned there in those ages; and all Astronomical observations, fitly concurring with the years that are attributed to these, or numbred from them.

Ptol. Almag. l. 4. c. 8.

SECT II.

Of the danger and deliverance of Judæa *from* Senacherib.

WHen *Salmanaſſar* was dead, and his ſon *Senacherib* in poſſeſſion of the Empire, in the fourteenth year of *Ezechias*, he demanded of him ſuch Tribute as was agreed on, at ſuch time as *Tiglath*, the Grandfather of *Senacherib*, and Father of *Salmanaſſar*, invited by *Ahaz*, invaded *Rezin*, King of *Damaſcus*, and delivered him from the dangerous War which *Iſrael* had undertaken againſt him. This Tribute and acknowledgment when *Ezechias* denied, *Senacherib*, having (as it ſeems) a purpoſe to invade *Egypt*, ſent one part of his Army to lye before *Jeruſalem*. Now though *Ezechias* (fearing this powerful Prince) had acknowledged his fault, and purchaſed his peace, as he hoped, with thirty hundred talents of ſilver, and gold, wherewith he preſented *Senacherib*, now ſet down before *Lachis* in *Judæa*: yet under the colour of better aſſurance, and to force the King of *Judæa* to deliver Hoſtages, the *Aſſyrian* environed *Jeruſalem* with a groſs Army, and having the ſword in his hand, thought it the fitteſt time to write his own conditions. 2 *Kin.* 18. 21.

Ezechias directed his three great Counſellers, to parly with *Rabſaces* over the Wall; and to receive his demands: who uſed three principal arguments to perſwade the people to yeild themſeves to his maſter *Senacherib*. For though the Chancellour, Steward, and Secretary, ſent by *Ezechias*, deſired *Rabſaces* to ſpeak to them in the *Syrian* tongue, and not in the *Jewiſh*, yet he with a louder voice directed his ſpeech unto the multitude in their own language. And for the firſt, he made them know, That if they continued obſtinate, and adhered to their King, that they would in a ſhort time be inforced to eat their own dung, and drink their own urine: Secondly, he altogether diſabled the King of *Egypt*, from whom the *Judæans* hoped for ſuccour; and compared him to a broken ſtaffe, on which whoſoever leaneth, pierceth his own hand: Thirdly, that the gods who ſhould help them, *Ezechias* had formerly broken and defaced, meaning chiefly (as it is thought by ſome) the braſen Serpent, which had been preſerved ever ſince *Moſes*'s time: and withall he bad them remember the gods of other Nations, whom, notwithſtanding any power of theirs, his Maſter had conquered and thrown down; and for God himſelf, in whom they truſted, he perſwaded them by no means to rely upon him, for he would deceive them. But finding the people ſilent (for ſo the King had commanded them) after a while, when he had underſtood that the King of *Arabia* was marching on with a powerfull Army, he himſelf left the *Aſſyrian* forces in charge to others, and ſought *Senacherib* at *Libna* in *Judæa*, either to inform him of their reſolution in *Jeruſalem*, or to confer with him concerning the Army of *Tarbaca* the *Arabian*. Soon upon this there came letters from *Senacherib* to *Ezechias*, whom he partly adviſed, and partly threatned to ſubmit himſelf, uſing the ſame blaſphemous outrage againſt the all-powerful God, as before. But *Ezechias* ſending thoſe Counſellers to the Prophet *Eſay*, which had lately been ſent to *Rabſaces*, received from him comfort, and aſſurance, that this heathen Idolater ſhould not prevail; againſt whom the King alſo beſought aid from Almighty God, repeating the moſt inſolent and blaſphemous parts of *Senacherib*'s letter, before the Altar of God in the Temple, confeſſing this part thereof to be true, *That the King of* Aſſhur *had deſtroyed the Nations and their Lands, and had ſet fire on their gods, for they were no gods, but the work of mens hands, even wood and ſtone, &c.* 2 *Kin.* 19.

The reaſon that moved *Senacherib* to deſire to poſſeſs himſelf in haſt of *Jeruſalem* was, that he might thereinto have retraited his Army, which was departed as it ſeemeth from the ſiege of *Peluſium* in *Egypt*, for fear of *Terbaca*: and though the Scriptures are ſilent of that enterpriſe (which in theſe Books of the *Kings*, and of the *Chronicles* or *Paralipomenon*, ſpeak but of the affairs of the *Jews* in effect) yet the ancient *Beroſus*, and out of him *Joſephus* and Saint *Hierom*, together with *Herodotus*, remember it as followeth. *Herodotus* calleth *Senachirib* King of *Arabia* and *Aſſyria*: which he might juſtly do, becauſe *Tiglath* his Grand-father held a great part thereof, which he wreſted from *Pekah* King of *Iſrael*: as *Gilead* over *Jordan*, and the reſt of *Arabia Petræa* adjoyning: the ſame *Herodotus* alſo maketh *Sethon* King of *Egypt*, to be *Vulcan*'s Prieſt; and reporteth that the reaſon of *Senacherib*'s return from *Peluſium* in *Egypt*, which he alſo beſieged, was, that an innumerable multitude of Rats had in one night eaten in ſunder the Bow-ſtrings of his Archers, and ſpoiled the reſt of their Weapons in that kind, which no doubt might greatly amaze him: but the approach of *Tarbaca*, remembred by *Joſephus* and *Beroſus*, was the more urgent. Saint *Hierome* upon the ſeven and thirtieth of *Eſay*, out of the ſame *Beroſus*, as alſo in part out of *Herodotus*, whom *Joſephus* citeth ſomewhat otherwiſe than his words lye, reports *Senacherib*'s retrait in theſe words: *Pugnaſſe autem* Senacherib *Regem Aſſyriorum contra Ægyptios, & obſediſſe Peluſium, jamque extructis aggeribus urbi capiendæ, veniſſe* Tarhacam *Regem Æthiopum in auxilium, & una nocte juxta Jeruſalem, centum octoginta quinque millia exercitus Aſſyrii peſtilentia corruiſſe, narrat Herodotus: & pleniſſime* Beroſus *Chaldaicæ Scriptor Hiſtoriæ, quorum fides de propriis libris petenda eſt.* *That* Senacherib *King of the* Aſſyrians *fought againſt the* Ægyptians, *and beſieged* Peluſium, *and that when his Mounts were built for the taking of the City,* Tarhacas *King of the* Æthiopians *came to help them, and that in one night, near* Jeruſalem, *one hundred eighty five thouſand of the* Aſſyrian *Army periſhed by peſtilence; of theſe things* (ſaith Hierome) * Herodotus *reports, and more at large* Beroſus *a writer of* Chaldæan *Story, whoſe credit is to be taken from their own Books.* Out of *Eſay* it is gathered, that this deſtruction of the *Aſſyrian* Army was in this manner: *Thou ſhalt be viſited of the Lord of Hoſts with thunder, and ſhaking, and a great noiſe, a whirlewind, and a tempeſt, and a flame of devouring fire.* But *Joſephus* hath it more largely out of the ſame *Beroſus*, an authority (becauſe ſo well agreeing with the Scriptures) not to be omitted; *Senacheribus autem ab Ægyptiaco bello revertens, offendit ibi exercitum quem ſub* Rabſacis *imperio relinquerat peſte divinitus immiſſa deletum, prima nocte poſt ea quam Urbem oppugnare cœperat, abſumptis cum Ducibus et Tribunis centum octoginta quinque millibus Militum; qua clade territus, & de reliquis copiis ſollicitus, maximis itineribus in regnum ſuum contendit ad regiam, quæ Ninus dicitur. Ubi paulo poſt per inſidias Seniorum e filiis ſuis,* Adrameleehi *&* Selennari, *vitam amiſit: occiſus in ipſo Templo quod dicitur* Araſci, *quem præcipuo cultu dignabitur; quibus ob patricidium a popularibus pulſis, & in Armeniam fugientibus,* Aſaracoldas *minor filius in Regnum ſucceſſit.* Senacherib (*ſaith* Joſephus) *returning from the* Ægyptian *War, found there his Army which he had left under the command of* Rabſaces, *deſtroyed by a peſtilence ſent from God, the firſt night that he had begun to aſſault the Town:*

Herod. l. 2. p. 69.

Joſ. ant. l. 10. c. 1. Her. Euterp. l. 2.

* To wit, in part, for *Herodotus* mentioneth nothing neither of *Tarhaca* nor of *Jeruſalem*, nor of the Army there.

Eſay 29. 6. Joſ. Ant. l. 10. c. 1.

Selennar otherwiſe *Shavezer*, who ſlew him as he was praying to *Nesroe* his god. 2 *King.* 19.

Town: one hundred fourscore and five thousand of the Souldiers being consumed with their Chieftains and Colonels. With which destruction being terrified, and withall afraid what might become of the rest of his Army, he made great marches into his Kingdom, to his Royal City, which is called Ninus, *where shortly after by the treason of two of the eldest of his Sons,* Adramelech *and* Selennor *or* Sharezer, *he lost his life in the Temple dedicated to* Arasces, *or* Nesroth; *Whom he especially worshipped. These his Sons being for their paricide chased away by the people, and flying into* Armenia, Asaracoldas *his younger Son succeeded in the Kingdome.* Who in the beginning of his reign sent new troops out of *Assyria* to *Samaria*, to fortifie the Colony therein planted by his Grand-father *Salmanassar*. What this *Nesroth* was, it is uncertain: *Hierome* in his *Hebrew* Traditions hath somewhat of him, but nothing positively. It is certain, that *Venus Urania* was worshipped by the *Assyrians*; and so was *Jupiter Belus*, as *Dion*, *Eusebius*, and *Cyrillus* witness. Many fancies there are, what cause his Sons had to murther him, but the most likely it is, that he had formerly dis-inherited those two, and conferred the Empire on *Assarhaddon*. *Tobit* tels us, that it was fiftie five dayes after *Senacherib*'s returne, ere he was murthered by his Sons, during which time he slew great numbers of the *Israelites* in *Nineve*, till the most just God turned the sword against his own breast.

2 *Kings* 19. 37. 1 *Esd.* 4. 2.

Lyr.

SECT. III.

Of Ezechiah*'s sickness and recovery: and of the* Babylonian *King that congratulated him.*

After this marvellous delivery, *Ezechias* sickned, and was told by *Isaiah* that he must dye: but after he had besought God with tears for his delivery, *Isaiah*, as he was going from him, returned again, and had warrant from the Spirit of God to promise him recovery after three dayes, and a prolongation of life for fifteen years. But *Ezechias* somewhat doubtful of this exceeding grace, prayeth for a sign to confirm him: whereupon, at the prayer of *Isaiah*, the shadow of the Sun cast it self the contrary way, and went back ten degrees, upon the Dyall of *Achaz*. The cause that moved *Ezechias* to lament (saith Saint *Hierome*) was, because he had as yet no Son, and then in despair that the *Messias* should come out of the house of *David*, or at least of his Seed. His disease seemeth to be the pestilence, by the medicine given him by the Prophet, to wit, a masse of figs, laid to the Botch or Sore.

2 *King.* 20.

This wonder when the Wise-men of *Chaldæa* had told to *Merodach*, King of *Babylon*, the first of that house, he sent to *Ezechias*, to be informed of the cause: at which time *Ezechias* shewed him all the Treasure he had, both in the Court and in the Kingdome, for which he was reprehended by the Prophet *Isaiah*, who told him: *The dayes are at hand that all that is in thy house, and whatsoever thy Fathers have laid up in store to this day, shall be carried into Babel; nothing shall be left, saith the Lord.* It may seem strange, how *Ezechia* should have got any treasure worth the shewing: for *Senacherib* had robbed him of all, the year before. But the spoyl of the same *Senacherib* his Camp repayed all with advantage, and made *Ezechia* richer upon the sudden than ever he had been: which unexpected wealth was a strong temptation to boasting. After this time *Ezechia* had rest, and spending without noise that addition which God had made unto his life, he dyed having reigned nine and twenty years. One only offensive War he made, which was against the *Philistims*, with good success. Among his other acts (shortly remembred in *Ecclesiasticus*) he devised to bring water to *Jerusalem*.

Esay 39.

Eccluſ. 28.

In two respects they say that he offended God: the one, that he rejoyced too much at the destruction and lamentable end of his enemy: the other, that he so much gloried in his riches, as he could not forbear to shew them to strangers. But the reason which moved *Ezechias* (speaking humanely) to entertain the Embassadours of *Merodach* in this friendly and familiar manner, was because he came to visit him, and brought him a present, congratulating the recovery of his health; as also in that *Merodach* had weakned the house of *Senacherib*, his fearful enemy. For *Merodach*, who was Commander and Lieutenant under *Senacherib* in *Babylon*, usurped that State himself, in the last year of that King, and held it by strong hand against his Son *Assarhaddon*; who was not only simple, but impaired in strength, by the molestation of his brothers. This advantage *Merodach* espied, and remembring that their ancestor *Phul Belochus* had set his own Master *Sardanapalus* besides the cushion, thought it as lawful for himself to take the opportunity which this Kings weakness did offer, as it had been for *Belochus* to make use of the others wickedness, and so, finding himself beloved of the *Babylonians*, and sufficiently powerful he did put the matter to hazard, and prevailed: the assertion of this history is made by the same arguments that were in maintaining the common opinion of Writers, touching *Phul Belochus*; which I will not here again rehearse. So of this new race, which cut asunder the Line of *Ninus*, there were onely five Kings.

Phul Belochus		48	
Tiglath Philassar		27	
Salmanassar	reigned	10	Years.
Senacherib		7	
Assarhaddon		10	

But forasmuch as the last year of *Salmanassar* was also the first of *Senacherib* his Son, we reckon the time, wherein the house of *Phul* held the *Assyrian* Kingdom, to have been one hundred and one years, of which, the last five and twenty were spent with *Ezechia*, under *Salmanassar*, *Senacherib*, and *Assarhaddon*.

SECT.

SECT. IV.

Of the Kings that were in Media *during the Reign of* Ezechia: *of the difference found between ſundry Authors in rehearſing the* Median *Kings. Other Contemporaries of* Hezekia. *Of* Candaules, Gyges, *and the Kings deſcended from* Hercules.

IN the time of *Ezekia*, *Medidus*, and after him *Cardiceas*, reigned in *Media*. Whether it were ſo, that variety of Names, by which theſe Kings were called in ſeveral Hiſtories, hath cauſed them to ſeem more than indeed they were; or whether the Sons reigning with the Fathers, have cauſed not only the names of Kings, but the length of Time wherein they governed *Media*, to exceed the due proportion, or whether the Copies themſelves of *Cteſias* and *Annius* with *Metaſthenes*, have been faulty, as neither of theſe two Authors is over-highly commended of truſtineſs; ſo it is that the names, number, and length of reign are all very diverſly reported of theſe *Median Kings*, that follow *Arbaces*: therefore it need not ſeem ſtrange, that I reckon *Medidus* and *Cardiceas* as Contemporaries with *Ezechia*. For to reconcile ſo great a difference, as is found in thoſe Writers that vary from *Euſebius*, is more than I dare undertake. I will only here ſet down the Roll of Kings that reigned in *Media*, accordingly as ſundry Authors have delivered it. *Annius* his *Metaſthenes* orders them and their reigns thus.

Arbaces	reigned	28	Years.
Mandanes		50	
Soſarmon		30	
Articarmin		50	
Arbianes		22	
Artæus		40	
Artines		22	
Aſtibarus, with his ſon *Apanda*		20	
Apanda alone		30	
Darius with *Cyrus*		36	

Diodorus Siculus following *Cteſias* (as perhaps *Annius* made his *Metaſthenes* follow *Diodore*, with ſome little variation, that he might not ſeem a borrower) placeth them thus;

Arbaces	reigned	28	Years.
Mandanes		50	
Soſarmus		30	
Artieus		50	
Arbianes		22	
Arſaces		40	
Artines		22	
Artabanus		40	
Aſtibara	The continuance of theſe two he doth mention.		
Aſtyages			

Mercator hath laboured, with much diligence, to reconcile theſe Catalogues, and to make them alſo agree with *Euſebius*. But forasmuch as it ſeems to me an impoſſible matter, to attain unto the truth of his forgotten times, by conjectures founded upon *Cteſias* and *Metaſthenes*, I will lay the burden upon *Euſebius*, who lived in an age better furniſhed than ours, with Books of this Argument. Let it therefore ſuffice, that theſe two kings (whom I have reckoned as contemporaries with *Ezekia*) *Medidus* and *Cardiceas*, are found in *Euſebius*: for whether *Cardiceas* were *Diodorus* his *Arbianes*, I will not ſtay to ſearch. The Kings of *Media*, according to *Euſebius*, reigned in this order.

Arbaces	reigned	28	Years.
Soſarmus		30	
Medidus		40	
Cardiceas		15	
Deioces		54	
Phraortes.		24	
Cyaxares		32	
Aſtyages		38	

Theſe names, and this courſe of Suceſſion I retain, but add unto theſe, *Cyaxares*, the ſon of *Aſtyages*, according to *Xenophon*; and ſometimes follow *Herodotus*, in ſetting down the length of a Kings reign, otherwiſe than *Euſebius* hath it, of which variations I will render my reaſons in due place.

The twenty nine years of *Ezekia* were concurrent, in part, with the rule of the four firſt that were choſen Governours of *Athens* for ten years, that is, of *Charops*, *Æſimedes*, *Elidicus*, and *Hippones*. Touching the firſt of theſe I hear nothing, ſave that *Rome* was built in his firſt year; of which perhaps himſelf did not hear. Of the ſecond and third I find only the Names. The fourth made himſelf known by a ſtrange example of juſtice, or rather of cruelty, that he ſhewed upon his own Daughter. For he finding that ſhe had offended in unchaſtity, cauſed her to be lockt up with an Horſe, giving to neither of them any food: ſo the Horſe, conſtrained by hunger devoured the unhappy Woman.

In *Rome*, the firſt King, and Founder of that City was *Romulus*, he reigned both before and ſomewhat after *Ezekiah*.

In *Lydia*, *Candaules* the laſt King ruled in the ſame age.

This Region was firſt called *Mæonia*. *Lydus*, the the ſon of *Atys* reigning in it, gave the name of *Lydia*, if we believe ſuch authority as we find.

This Kingdom was afterward, by the appointment of an Oracle conferred upon *Argon*, who came of *Alceus* the ſon of *Hercules* by *Jardana* a bondwoman.

The race of theſe *Heiraclida* continued reigning fifty five years (in which two and twenty Generations paſſed) the Son continually ſucceeding the Father. *Candaules* the ſon of *Myrſus* was the laſt of his race, who doated ſo much upon the beauty of his own Wife, that he could not be content to enjoy her, but would needs enforce one *Gyges* the ſon of *Daſcylus* to behold her naked body, and placed the unwilling man ſecretly in her chamber, where he might ſee her preparing to bedward. This was not ſo cloſely carried, but that the Queen perceived *Gyges* at his going forth and underſtanding the matter, took it in ſuch high diſdain, that ſhe forced him the next day to requite the Kings folly with treaſon. So *Gyges* being brought again into the ſame Chamber by the Queen, ſlew *Candaules*, and was rewarded not only with his Wife but with the Kingdom of *Lydia*. He reigned thirty eight years, beginning in the laſt of *Ezekia*, one year before the death of *Romulus*.

After *Gyges*, his ſon *Ardys*, reigned nine and forty years; then *Sadiattes* twelve; *Halyattes* fifty ſeven; and finally *Cræſus* the ſon of *Halyattes* fourteen years: who loſt the Kingdom, and was taken by Cyrus of Perſia.

And here by the way we may note, that as the *Lydian* Kings whom *Cræſus* his Progenitor diſpoſſeſt, are deduced from *Hercules*, ſo of the ſame *Hercules* there

there ſprang many other Kings, which governed ſeveral countries very long; as in *Aſia*, the *Myſians*, in *Greece*, the *Lacedemonians*, *Meſſenians*, *Rodians*, *Corinthians* and *Argives*; and from the *Argives*, the *Macedonians*, as likewiſe from the *Corinthians*, the *Syracuſians*: beſides many great and famous, though private families. But of the *Heraclidæ* that reigned in *Lydia*, I have not troubled my ſelf to take notice of the time of their ſeveral reigns: for little is found of them beſides the bare names, and the folly of this laſt King *Candaules*.

CHAP. XXVI.

Of the Kings that reigned in Egypt, *between the deliverance of* Iſrael *from thence, and the reign of* Ezechia *in* Juda *when* Ægypt *and* Juda *made a League againſt the* Aſſyrians.

SECT. I.

That many names of Egyptian *Kings, found in Hiſtory, are like to have belonged only to Viceroys. An Example proving this out of* William *of* Tyre *his Hiſtory of the Holy War.*

THE emulation and quarrels ariſing in theſe times between the mighty Kingdoms of *Egypt* and *Aſſyrians*, do require our pains, in collecting the moſt memorable things in *Egypt*, and ſetting down briefly the ſtate of that Country, which had coutinued long a flouriſhing Region, and was of great power, when it contended with *Aſſyria* for the Maſtery.

Of *Cham* the ſon of *Noah*, who firſt planted that Country, and of *Oſiris*, *Orus* and other ancient Kings that reigned there, untill the *Iſraelites* were thence delivered, more hath been ſaid already than I can ſtand too: Though I hold it no ſhame to fail in ſuch Conjectures. That which I have delivered, in ſpeaking mine opinion of the *Egyptian Dynaſties*, muſt here again help me. For it may truly be affirmed, That the great number of Kings, which are ſaid to have reigned in *Egypt*, were none other than Vice-roys or Stewards, ſuch as *Joſeph* was, and ſuch as were the Soldans in later ages. Therefore I will not only forbear to ſeek after thoſe, whom *Herodotus* and *Diodorus* have reckoned up, from the mouthes of *Egyptian* Prieſts, delivering them by number, without rehearſing their Names; but will ſave the labour of marſhalling them in order, whoſe names only are found; the years of their reigns, and other circumſtances proving them to have been Kings indeed, being not recorded.

But that I may not ſeem before hand to lay an imaginarie ground, whereupon after I may build what I liſt; it were not amiſſe, to give unto the Reader ſuch ſatisfaction in this point, as apparent reaſon, and truth of Hiſtory doth afford: Firſt therefore, we ought not to believe thoſe numbers of Generations, which the lying Prieſts have reckoned up, to magnifie their Antiquities. For we know that from *Abraham*, our *Saviour Chriſt* was removed onely forty two deſcents; which makes it evident, that in far ſhorter time, namely before the *Perſian* Empire, there could not have paſſed away twice as many ſucceſſions in *Ægypt*: eſpecially conſidering, that many of theſe, whoſe continuance is expreſſed, having reigned longer than forty years. It follows that we ſhould ſquare the number of the *Egyptian* Kings in ſome even proportion, to thoſe which did bear rule in other Countries. As for the reſt whoſe names we find ſcattered here and there; any man that will take the paines to read the 19th Book of the Holy War, written by *William* Archbiſhop of *Tyre*, may eaſily perſwade himſelf, that it is not hard to find names enough, of ſuch as might be thought to have reigned in *Egypt*, being none other than Regents or Viceroyes. Yet will I here inſert as briefly as I can, ſome things making to that purpoſe, for the pleaſure and information of ſuch as will not trouble themſelves with turning over many Authors.

When *Elahdech* the Caliph ruled in *Egypt*, one *Dargan* a powerfull and a ſubtile man, made himſelf Soldan, by force and cunning, chaſing away *Sanar* an *Arabian*, who was Soldan before and after him. This *Dargan* miniſtred matter of quarrel to *Amalrick* King of *Jeruſalem*, and ſuſtained, with little loſſe, an invaſion, which *Amalrick* made upon *Egypt*. Whereupon he grew ſo inſolent and proud, that *Sanar* the former Soldan hoped to make his party good againſt him, if he could get any forces wherewith to enter *Egypt*. Briefly, *Sanar* ſueth to *Noradine*, King of *Damaſco*, for ayde, who ſends an Army of his Turks, under the command of *Syracon*, againſt the *Soldan Dargan*. So *Dargan* and *Sanar* met, and fought: The Victory was *Dargans*; but he enjoyed it not: For in few dayes after he was ſlain by treaſon, whereby *Sanar* did recover his dignity: which to eſtabliſh, he ſlew all the kindred and friends of *Dargan*, that he he could find in the great City of *Cairo*.

To all theſe doings, the *Caliph Elhadech* gave little regard: for he thought it little concerned him, which of them lived, and had the adminiſtration of the Kingdome, whileſt he might have the profit of it and his pleaſure. But new troubles preſently ariſe, which (one would think) do nearly touch the *Caliph* himſelf. *Syracon* with his Turks, whom *Sanar* had gotten to come into *Egypt*, will not now be intreated there to leave him, and quietly go their way home. They ſeize upon the Town of *Belbeis*, which they fortifie, and there attend the arrival of more company from *Damaſco* for the conqueſt of all *Egypt*. The *Soldan* perceives their intent, and finds himſelf not ſtrong enough to expell them, much leſs to expel the Turkiſh Army that was likely to ſecond them: He therefore ſends Meſſengers to King *Almarick* of *Jeruſalem*, whom with large promiſes he

he gets to bring him ayde, and ſo drives out the Turks: Of all this trouble the great *Caliph* hears nothing, or not ſo much as ſhould make him look to the playing of his own game.

A greater miſchief ariſeth, concerning the *Caliph Elhadech* particularly in his own Title. *Syracon* Captain of the Turks that had been in *Egypt*, goes to the *Caliph* of *Baldach* (who was oppoſite to him of *Egypt*, each of them claiming as heir to *Mahomet* that falſe Prophet, the Soveraignty over all that were of the Saracen Law) and tels him the weakneſs of the *Egyptian*, with his own ability of doing ſervice in thoſe parts; offering his beſt means for the extirpation of the Schiſmatical *Caliph*, and the reduction of all *Egypt*, with the Weſtern parts, under the ſubjection of the *Babylonian*. This motion is readily and joyfully entertained; all the Eaſtern Provinces are up in Arms and *Syracon*, with a mighty power, deſcendeth into *Egypt*. The noyſe of this great expedition ſo affrighteth King *Alnarick*, that with all his forces he hatteth into *Egypt*, well knowing how neerly it concerned him and his Kingdom of *Jeruſalem*, to keep the *Saracens* from joyning all under one head. *Sanar* the Soldan percieving the faithful care of the Chriſtians his friends, welcomes them, and beſtirs himſelf in giving them all manner of content, as it behoved him: for by their admirable valour, he finally drave the enemies out of the Country. But this victory was not ſo ſoon gotten, as it is quickly told.

Strange it is (which moſt concerns our preſent purpoſe) that of ſo deſperate a danger, the *Caliph*, as yet, ſeems to know nothing. May we not think him to have been King in Title only, who medled ſo little in the Government? The Soldan, finding that the Chriſtians (without whoſe help all was loſt) could not well ſtay ſo long as his neceſſities required, makes large offers to King *Almarick*, upon condition that he ſhould abide by it. He promiſeth a great Tribute (*William* of *Tyre* calls it a Tribute; the *Sarazens* perhaps, called it a Penſion) which the Kings of *Jeruſalem* ſhould receive out of *Egypt*, for this behoveful aſſiſtance. But the Chriſtians underſtanding that the Soldan (how much ſoever he took upon him) was ſubject to a higher Lord, would make no bargain of ſuch importance with any other than the *Caliph* himſelf. Hereupon *Hugh* the Earl of *Cæſarea*, and a Knight of the Templers, are ſent unto *Elhadech* to ratifie the covenants. Now ſhall we leave the greatneſs of the *Caliph* and his eſtate.

Theſe Embaſſadours were conveighed by the Soldan to *Cairo*, where arriving at the Palace, they found it guarded by great Troops of Souldiers. The firſt entrance was through dark Porches, that were kept by many armed bands of *Ethiopians*, which with all diligence did reverence to the Soldan as he paſſed along. Through theſe ſtreights the Warders lead them into goodly open Courts, of ſuch beauty and riches, that they could not retain the gravity of Embaſſadours, but were inforced to admire the things which detained their eyes. For there they ſaw goodly Marble Pillars, gilded Beams, all wrought over with Emboſſed Works, curious Pavements, Fiſh-ponds of Marble with clear Waters, and many ſorts of ſtrange Birds, unknown in thoſe parts of the World, as coming perhaps from the Eaſt Indies, which then was undiſcovered. The further they went, the greater was their magnifence; for the *Caliph* his Eunuches conveyed them into other Courts within theſe, as far excelling the former, as the former did ſurpaſs ordinary houſes. It were tedious perhaps to rehearſe how the further they entred, the more high ſtate they found, and cauſe of marvail; ſuffice it, that the good Archbiſhop, who wrote theſe things, was never held a vain Author. Finally they were brought into the *Caliph*'s own lodgings, which were yet more ſtately and better guarded; where entring the Preſence, the Soldan having twice proſtrated himſelf, did the third time caſt off his Sword, that he wore about his neck, and throw himſelf on the ground before the Curtain, behind which the *Caliph* ſate. Preſently the traverſe wrought with Gold and Pearls was opened, and the *Caliph* himſelf diſcovered, ſitting with great Majeſty on a Throne of Gold, having few of his moſt inward Servants and Eunuches about him. When the Soldan had humbly kiſſed his Maſters feet, he briefly told the cauſe of his coming, the danger wherein the Land ſtood, and the offers that he made unto King *Almerick*, deſiring the *Caliph* himſelf to ratifie them in the preſence of the Embaſſadors. The *Caliph* anſwered, That he would throughly perform all which was promiſed. But this contented not the Embaſſadors: They would have him to give his hand upon the bargain; which the *Egyptians* that ſtood by thought an impudent requeſt. Yet his greatneſs condeſcended at length, after much deliberation, at the earneſt requeſt of the Soldan to reach out his hand. When the Earl of *Cæſarea* ſaw that the *Caliph* gave his hand neither willingly nor bare, he told them roundly thus much in effect: Sir, Truth ſeeks no holes to hide it ſelf; Princes that will hold Covenant, muſt deal openly, nakedly, and ſincerely; Give us therefore your bare hand, if you mean that we ſhall truſt you, for we will make no bargain with your Glove. Much ado there was about this: for it ſeemed againſt the Majeſty of ſuch a Prince to yield ſo far. But when it would none otherwiſe be, with a ſmiling chear (though to the great grief of his Servants) he vouchſafed to let the Earl take him by the bare hand; and ſo rehearſing the covenants word by word, as the Earl ſpake them, he ratified all; diſmiſſing finally the Embaſſadors with ſuch rewards as teſtified his greatneſs.

In this Caliph and his Sultan, we may diſcern the Image of the ancient *Pharaoh*, and his Viceroy: we ſee a Prince of great eſtate, ſitting in his Palace, and not vexing himſelf with the great preparations made againſt him which terrifie the neighbour Countries: we ſee his Viceroy, in the mean ſeaſon, uſing all Royall power; making War and Peace, entertaining and repelling Armies of ſtrangers; yea, making the Land of *Egypt* tributary to a forrain Prince. What greater authority was given to *Joſeph*, when *Pharaoh* ſaid unto him, *Thou ſhalt be over mine houſe, and at thy word ſhall all my people be armed, only in the Kings throne will I be above thee. Behold I have ſet thee over all the Land of* Egypt.

I do not commend this form of government; neither can I approve the conjecture of mine Author, where he thinks that the *Egyptians*, ever ſince *Joſeph*'s time, have felt the burthen of that ſervitude which he brought upon them. when he bought them and their Lands for *Pharaoh*. Herein I find his judgment good: that he affirms this manner of the *Egyptian* Kings, in taking their eaſe, and ruling by a Viceroy, to be part of the ancient cuſtoms practiſed by the *Pharaohs*. For we find, that even the *Ptolomies* (excepting *Ptolomæus Lagi*, and his Son *Philadelphus*, Founder and eſtabliſher of that race) were given, all of them wholly, to pleaſe their own appetites, leaving the charge of the Kingdom to Women, Eunuches, and other Miniſters of their deſires. The pleaſures which that Country afforded, were indeed ſufficient to invite the Kings thereof unto a volup u-

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ous life, and the awful regard wherein the *Egyptians* held their Princes, gave them ſecurity, whereby they might the better truſt their Officers with ſo ample commiſſion. But of this matter, I will not ſtand any longer to diſpute. It is enough to have ſhewed, that the great and almoſt abſolute power of the Viceroys governing *Egypt*, is ſet down by *Moſes*, and that a lively example of the ſame is found in *William* of *Tyre*, who lived in the ſame age, was in few years after Chancellor of the Kingdom of *Jeruſalem*, and had full diſcourſe with *Hugh* Earl of *Cæſaria* touching all theſe matters. Wherefore it remains that we be not carried away with a vain opinion, to believe that all they were Kings, whom reports of the fabulous *Egyptians* have honoured with that ſtile; but reſt contented with a Catalogue of ſuch, as we find by circumſtance, likely to have reigned in that Country; after whom it follows that we ſhould make inquiry.

SECT. II.

Of Acherres; *whether he were* Uchoreus *that was the eighth from* Oſymandyas. *Of* Oſymandyas *and his Tomb.*

IN this buſineſs I hold it vain to be too curious. For who can hope to attain to the perfect knowledge of the truth, when as *Diodorus* varies from *Herodotus*, *Euſebius* from both of them; and late Writers that have ſought to gather the truth out of theſe and others, find no one with whom they can agree? In this caſe *Annius* would do good ſervice, if a man could truſt him. But it is enough to be beholding to him when others do either ſay nothing, or that which may juſtly be ſuſpected. I will therefore hold my ſelf contented with the pleaſure that he hath done me, in ſaying ſomewhat of *Oſiris*, *Iſis*, *Orus*, and thoſe antiquities removed ſo far out of ſight: as for the Kings following the departure of *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*, it ſhall ſuffice that *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, and *Euſebius* have not been ſilent, and that *Reyneccius* hath taken pains to range into ſome good order the names that are extant in theſe, or elſe found ſcattering in others.

From the departure of *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*, unto the reign of *Thuoris* (who is generally taken to be the ſame that the *Greeks* call *Proteus*) there is little or no diſagreement about the *Egyptian* Kings. Wherefore I ſet down the ſame which are found in *Euſebius*, and give to every one the ſame length of reign.

Acherres was the firſt of theſe, who ſucceeded unto *Chencres*, that periſhed in the Red Sea. This King ſeems to *Reyneccius* to be the ſame whom *Diodorus* calls *Uchoreus*, the founder of *Memphis*. But whereas mention is found in *Diodorus* of a great King named *Oſymandyas*, from whom *Uchoreus* is ſaid to be the eighth; it will either hardly follow, that *Timaus* (as *Reyneccius* conjectures) was the great *Oſymandyas*; or elſe that this *Acherres* was *Uchoreus*: for the diſtance between them was more than eight generations.

Mercator judgeth *Oſymandyas* to have been the huſband of *Ancheres*, *Orus* the ſeconds daughter; thinking that *Manethon* (cited by *Joſephus*) doth omit his name, and inſert his Wifes into the Catalogue of Kings, becauſe he was King in his Wifes right. As for *Uchoreus*, it troubles not *Mercator* to find him the eighth from this man: for he takes *Ogdous*, not to ſignifie in this place of *Diodore* (as that Greek word elſe doth) the eighth, but to be an *Egyptian* name, belonging alſo to *Uchoreus*, who might have had two names, as many of the reſt had. I will not vex my braines in the unprofitable uſe of this, and the like inextricable doubts.

All that *Diodore* hath found of this *Oſymandyas*, was wrought upon his monument; the moſt thereof in figures, which I think the *Egyptians* did fabulouſly expound. For whereas there was portrayed a great Army, with the ſiege of a Town, the captivity of the people, and the triumph of the Conqueror; all this the *Egyptians* ſaid to denote the conqueſt of *Bactria* made by that King: which how likely it was, let others judge. I hold this goodly piece of work which *Diodore* ſo particularly deſcribes, to have been erected for a common place of burial to the ancient Kings and Queens of *Egypt*, and to their Viceroyes; whileſt yet they were not ſo ambitous, as every one to have his own particular monument, ſtriving therein to exceed all others. This appears by the many ſtatues therein placed, by the Wars, the judgment ſeate, the recieving of tribute, the offering ſacrifice to God, the account of revenues, and plenty of cattel and food: all which were there curiouſly wrought, ſhewing the ſeveral Offices of a Governor. On the Tomb of *Oſymandyas* was this Inſcription.

> *I am* Oſymandyas *King of Kings; if any deſire to know what I am, or where I lye, let him exceed ſome of my works.*

Let them that hope to exceed his works, labour to know what he was. But ſince by thoſe words, *Or where I lye*, it ſhould ſeem, that he lay not there interred, we may lawfully ſuſpect that it was. *Joſeph*, whoſe bodie was preſerved among the *Hebrews*, to be buried in the land of *Canaan*, and this empty monument might King *Orus*, who outlived him, erect in honour of his high deſerts, among the royal ſepulchres. To which purpoſe the plenty of cattel and all manner of Viands, had good reference. The name of *Oſymandyas* doth not hinder this conjecture; ſeeing *Joſeph* had one new name given him by *Pharaoh*, for the expounding the dream, and might, upon further occaſions, have another to his increaſe of honour. As for that ſtile, *King of Kings*, it was perhaps no more then *Beglerberg*, as the *Turkiſh Baſſas*, are called, that is, Great above the Great.

Now although it be ſo, that the reckoning fals out right, between the times of *Joſeph* and *Acherres* (for *Acherres* was the eighth in order, that reigned after the great *Orus*, whoſe Viceroy *Joſeph* was) yet will I hereby ſeek, neither to fortifie mine own conjecture, as touching *Joſeph*, nor to infer any likelihood of *Acherres* his being *Uchoreus*: For it might well be that *Memphis* was built by ſome ſuch King as was *Gehoar*, Lieutenant unto the Caliph *Elcain*; who having to his Maſters uſe conquered *Egypt*, and many other Countries, did build, not farr from old *Memphis*, the great City of *Cairo* (corruptly ſo pronounced) naming it *El Cahira*, that is, an enforcing or an imperious Miſtreſſe, though he himſelf were a *Dalmatian* ſlave. *John Leo. Hiſt. fric. l. 8.*

SECT. III.

Of Cherres, Armeus, Rameſſes, *and* Amenophis. *Of* Myris, *and the Lake that bears his name.*

WHen *Archerres* had reigned eight years, *Cherres* ſucceeded and held the Kingdom fifteen years: then reigned *Armeus* five years, and after him *Rameſſes* threeſcore and eight. Of *Armeus* and *Rameſſes* is that Hiſtory underſtood by *Euſebius*, which is common among the *Greeks*, under the names of *Danaus* and *Egyptus*. For it is ſaid that *Danaus*, being expelled out of *Egypt* by his brother, fled into *Greece*, where he obtained the Kingdom of *Argos*: that he had fifty Daughters, whom upon ſeeming reconciliation, he gave in marriage to his brothers fifty ſons, but commanded every one of them to kill her husband the firſt night: that onely *Hipermeneſtra*, one of his daughters, did ſave her husband *Linceus*, and ſuffered him to eſcape; finally, That for this fact, all the bloody ſiſters, when they died, were enjoyned this fooliſh puniſhment in Hell, to fill a leaking veſſel with water.

The reign of *Danaus* in *Argos* was indeed in this age; but that *Armeus* was *Danaus*, and *Rameſſes*, *Egyptus*, is more than *Reyneccius* believes: he rather takes *Armeus* to have been *Myris*, or *Meris*, who cauſed the great lake to be made which bears his name. For my own part, as I can eaſily believe, that he which fled out of *Egypt* into *Greece*, was a man of ſuch quality as the Soldan *Sanar*, of whom we ſpake before; ſo do I not find how in ſo ſhort a reign, as five years, a work of that labour could be finiſhed, which was required unto the Lake of *Myris*, and the Monument therein; whereof his own ſepulchre and his wives being ſome part, it is manifeſt that he was not buried in *Argos*. Wherefore of *Myris*, and of all other Kings, whoſe age is uncertain, and of whoſe reigns we have no aſſurance, I may truly ſay, that their great works are not enough to prove them like thoſe of *Joſeph*'s, who bought all the people of *Egypt* as bondmen, and all their land for bread; of *Geboar*, who founded *Cairo*; and of *Sanar*, who made the Country Tributary; were performed by none of them.

It ſhall therefore be enough to ſet down the length of their reigns whom we find to have followed one another in order of ſucceſſion: but in rehearſing the great acts which were performed, I will not ſtand to examine whether they that did them were Kings or no.

The Lake of *Myris*, is by the report of *Diodore* and *Herodotus*, three thouſand ſix hundred furlongs in compaſs, and fifty fathoms deep. It ſerved to recieve the waters of *Nilus*, when the overflow being too great, was harmful to the Country: and to ſupply the defect, by letting out the waters of the lake, when the River did not riſe high enough. In opening the ſluces of this Lake, for the letting in or out of waters, were ſpent fifty talents; but the lake it ſelf defrayed that coſt; ſeeing the tribute impoſed upon fiſh taken therein, was every day one talent, which *Myris* gave to his Wife to buy ſweet oyntments and other Ornaments for her body. In the middeſt of it was left an Iſland, wherein were the Sepulchres of *Myris* and his Wife, and over each of them a Pyramis that was a furlong, or (according to *Herodotus*) fifty paces high; having on the tops their ſtatues, ſitting in Thrones. I find not the deſcription of this Lake in Maps, anſwerable to the report of Hiſtorians: yet it is very great. The years of *Armeus* are by *Menathon* divided, by inſerting one *Armeſis* (whom *Euſebius* omits) that ſhould have reigned one year and odd months of the time: but I hold not this difference worthy of examination.

After *Rameſſes*, his ſon *Amenophis* held the Kingdom forty years. Some give him only nineteen years; and *Mercator* thinks him to have been the King that was drowned in the Red Sea: whereof I have already ſpoken in the firſt Book.

SECT. IV.

Of the Kings that reigned in the Dynaſty of the Larthes.

SEthoſis, or *Zethus*, reigned after his Father *Amenophis*, fifty five years. To him are aſcribed the famous acts of that ancient *Seſoſtris*. But the ſtate of the world was not ſuch at theſe times, that ſo great an expedition as the old *Seſoſtris* made, could have been either eaſily performed, or forgotten in the Countries through which he paſſed, had it now been performed; as any man will percieve, if he look upon my Chronological Table, and conſider who lived with this *Zethus*. With this King began the Dynaſty of the *Larthes*; which *Reyneccius* conjectures to have had the ſame ſignification, wherein the old Kings of *Hetruria* were called *Lartes*, (the *Hetrurians* being iſſued out of *Lydia*, the *Lydians* out of *Egypt*) and to have ſignified as much as *Imperator*, or *General*. The Wars in which theſe Kings were Generals, I take to have been againſt the *Æthiopians*, for ſure I am, that they troubled not the Country of *Paleſtina*, that lay next unto them on the one hand; nor is it likely that they travelled over the deſart ſands, on the other hand, to ſeek matter of conqueſt, in the poor Countries of *Africa*. But theſe Generals (if the *Larthes* were ſuch) were not many. Five only had that title; and the laſt of theſe took it perhaps, as hereditary from the firſt; in ſuch ſort as the *Roman* Emperors were proud, for a while, to be called *Antonini*, till the moſt unſuitable conditions of *Heliogabalus*, made his ſucceſſors forbear the name.

Here it may be objected, that the Dynaſties (as appears by this particular) took name from the Kings; that the Kings alſo did adminiſter the government themſelves, and that therefore I am decieved in aſcribing too much unto the Viceroys. But it is to be conſidered, that what is ſaid of theſe *Larthes*, depends wholly upon conjecture, and that the authority of the Regents, or Viceroys, might be great enough, though ſome few Kings took the conduct of Armies into their own hands. For ſo we find in *John Leo*, that the Soldan of *Egypt* (after ſuch time as the Soldan *Saladine*, murdering the Caliph, got the ſoveraignty to himſelf) had under him a Viceroy, ſtiled *Eddaguadare*, who had authority to place, or diſplace any Magiſtrates or Officers; and that this mans Family was almoſt as great as the Soldans own. Yet was there alſo the *Amir Cabir*, or Lord General of the Soldans forces, who had the charge of defending the Land, and might, as he thought good, ſpend of the Soldans treaſure. So might the office of the Viceroys continue, though the Kings themſelves, taking the charge, or title of Generals upon them, did ſomewhat abridge the greatneſs of the ſecond place. As for the names of the Dynaſties, it ſkills not whence they were drawn; whether from their Country, as thoſe of the *Thebans* and *Diapolitans*; *John Leo* 8.

or

or from some eminent men, or man, who ruled in that time; as many think, that the seventeenth Dynasty was called of the Shepheards, because *Joseph* governed in part thereof; or from the Kings themselves that reigned; as this was said to be of the *Larthes* or Generals.

The next, as *Manetho* (but *Annius* his *Manetho*) hath it, was without any *Larthes*, or Generals, yet was it not without Kings, forasmuch as *Vaphres*, and *Sesac*, reigned therein, if many others did not. But let us now return to the business which we now left.

Rameses was King after *Zethus*, or *Sethosis*, threescore and six years. He is mistaken for that second *Sesostris*, of whom I have spoken in the first Book. I find nothing worth rehearsing of this *Rameses*, or of *Amenophis* and *Annemenes*, that followed him in order, the former of which reigned fourty, the latter six and twenty years. Wherefore it may very well be, that the name which *Zethus* had from valour, was taken by these as hereditary.

Thuoris, the last of the *Larthes*, reigned only seven years, yet he is thought to have been that *Proteus*, of whom *Herodotus* hath mention, saying, That he took *Helena* from *Paris*, and after the sack of *Troy*, restored her to *Menelaus*.

I need say no more in refutation of this, than that the time of *Thuoris* his reign lasted not so long as from the Rape of *Helen* to her restitution.

This *Proteus* or *Cetes* (as he is named by some) together with *Thou*, and others mentioned by *Greek* Writers in this business, or in other such matters, may seem to be under-Officers: for such only are like to have had their residence about *Pharos*, and the Sea-coast where *Menelaus* arrived.

Of *Proteus* who detained *Helen*, it is said that he could foretel things to come, and that he could change himself into all shapes: whereby is signified his crafty head. For which he is, grown into a Proverb. The Poets feigned him a Sea-god, and keeper of *Neptune*'s Seal-fishes, for belike he was some under-Officer to the Admiral, having charge of the Fishing about the Isle of *Pharos*, as was said before.

Remphes the son of *Proteus* is reckoned the next King, by *Diodore*, as also by *Herodotus*, who calls him *Ramsinitus*, and tells a long tale fit to please children, of his covetousness, and how his Treasure-house was robb'd by a cunning Thief, that at last married his Daughter. But of this a man may believe what he list. How long this King reigned I know not, nor think that either he or his Father did reign at all.

SECT. V.

Of the Egyptian *Kings, whose names are found scattering in sundry Authors, their times being not recorded. The Kings of* Egypt, *according to* Cedrenus. *Of* Vaphres *and* Sesac.

MAny other names of *Egyptian* Kings are found scattered here and there: as *Toneperſobis*, of whom *Suidas* delivers only the bare name and title: *Senemures*, or *Senepos*, mentioned in *Macrobius*, who perhaps was the same that by *Suidas* is called *Senyes*, or *Enenes*, noted by occasion of a great Physician that lived under him; *Banchyris*, recorded by the same *Suidas* for his great justice; and *Thulis*, of whom *Suidas* tells great matters; as that his Empire extended to the Ocean Sea; that he gave Name to the Isle of *Thule*, which some take to be *Iseland*, and that he consulted with the Devil, or (which is all one) with *Seraphis*, desiring to know, who before him had been, or after him should be, so mighty as himself. The Answer or confession of the Devil was remarkable; which I find Englished in the translation of *Plessis*, in his Work, *Of the trueness of the Christian Religion*. The *Greek* Verses are somewhat otherwise, and much more imperfect in those Copies that I have of *Cedrenus* and *Suidas*, but the sense is all one; which is this:

First God, *and next* The Word, *and then* The Spirit,
Which Three be One, *and joyn in* One *all Three*:
Whose force is endless. Get thee hence frail Wight,
The man of Life unknown, excelleth thee.

I should have thought that *Suidas* had borrowed all this of *Cedrenus*, had I not found somewhat more in *Suidas* than *Cedrenus* hath hereof; as the form of invocation which *Thulis* used, and that clause of his, giving name to the Island: though in this last point I hold *Suidas* to be deceived; as also *Cedrenus* is, or (at least) seems to me, in giving to this King such profound antiquity of reign. Indeed the very name of that Book, cited often by *Cedrenus*, which he calls *Little Genesis*, is alone enough to breed suspicion of some imposture: But the Frierly stuff that he alledgeth out of it, is such as would serve to discredit himself, were it not otherwise apparent that he was a man both devout and of good judgement, in matters that fell within his compass.

I will here set down a list of old *Egyptian* Kings delivered by him, and leave the censure to others.

The first King of *Egypt*, that he sets down, is *Mizraim* the son of *Cham*. After him, he finds many of a new race, deriving their pedigree thus. *Nimrod* the son of *Chus*, was also called *Orion*, and further took upon him the name of the Planet *Saturn*, had to Wife *Semiramis*, who was of his own Lineage, and by her, three sons; *Picus*, sirnamed *Jupiter*, *Belus*, and *Ninus*.

Picus chasing his Father out of *Assyria* into *Italy*, reigned in his stead thirty years, and then gave up that Kingdom to *Juno* his sister and wife, and to *Belus* his son: after which *Belus*, who reigned only two years, *Ninus* had the Kingdom, and married his own Mother *Semiramis*. But *Picus* went into *Italy* to visit his old Father *Saturn*; *Saturn* forthwith resigned the Kingdom unto him. *Picus Jupiter* reigned in *Italy* threescore and two years, had threescore and ten Wives or Concubines, and about as many Children: finally died, and lies buried in the Isle of *Crete*.

The Principal of *Jupiter*'s Sons were *Faunus*, *Perseus*, and *Apollo*.

Faunus was called by the name of the Planet *Mercury*: He reigned in *Italy* after his Father, five and thirty years, and then (finding that all his Brethren conspired against him) he went into *Egypt*, with abundance of Treasure, where, after the death of *Misraim*, he got the Kingdom, and held it nine and thirty years.

After *Mercury*, *Vulcan* reigned in *Egypt*, four years and a half. Then *Sol*, the son of *Vulcan*, reigned twenty years and a half.

There followed in order *Sosis*, *Osiris*, *Orus* and *Thules*, of whom we spake before: the length of their several reigns is not set down.

After *Thules*, was the great *Seſoſtris* King, twenty years.

His Succeſſor was *Pharaoh*, called *Narecho*, that held the Crown fifty years, with which there paſſed from him the ſurname of *Pharaoh*, to a very long poſterity.

Theſe reports of *Cedrenus* I hold it enough to ſet down as I find them: let their credit reſt upon the Author.

Others yet we find, that are ſaid to have reigned in *Egypt*, without any certain note when, or how long: about whom I will not labour, as fearing more to be reprehended of vain curioſity, in the ſearch made after theſe already rehearſed, than of negligence, in omitting ſuch as might have been added.

Clem. Strom. l. 1. Euſeb. de Præp. Evang. l. 9. c. 4. *Vaphres*, the father in law to *Solomon* and *Seſac*, the afflicter of *Rehoboam*, led us again into fair way, but not far.

1 Kings 9 16. and 11. 18, 19, &c. The name of *Vaphres* is not found in the Scriptures; but we are beholding to *Clemens Alexandrinus* and *Euſebius* for it. Theſe give us not the length of his reign; but we know that he lived in the times of *David* and of *Solomon*. He came into *Paleſtina* with an Army, took *Gezar* from the *Canaanites*, and gave it to his daughter, *Solomon*'s Wife: though for her ſake perhaps it was, that in time following either he, or (as I rather take it) *Seſac* his ſon did favour the Enemies of *Solomon*, who kept ſo many Wives and Concubines, beſides this *Egyptian* Princeſs. In the life of *Rehoboam* all hath been written, that I find of *Seſac*, excepting the length of his reign, which muſt have been ſix and twenty years, if he were that *Smendis*, with whom, *Euſebius* begins the one and twentieth *Dynaſty*.

Now foraſmuch as it would ſerve to no great purpoſe, that we knew the length of *Seſac* his reign, and of theirs that followed him, unleſs therewithall we knew the beginning of *Seſac*, upon which the reſt have dependance; this courſe I take.

From the fourth year of *Jehojakim* King of *Juda*, in which *Pharaoh Neco* was ſlain, I reckon upwards the years of the ſame *Neco*, and of his Predeceſſors, unto the beginning of *Seſac*: by which account, the firſt year of *Seſac* is found concurrent with the twentieth of *Solomon*'s reign, and the twenty ſixth of *Seſac* with the fifth of *Rehoboam*, wherein *Seſac* ſpoiled the Temple, and dyed, enjoying the fruits of his Sacriledge no longer than *Joas* the *Iſraelite*, and *Craſſus* the *Roman* did; who after him ſpoiled the Temple of *Jeruſalem*.

To fill up the time between *Seſac* and *Neco*, I have rather taken thoſe Kings that I find in the *Greek* Hiſtorians, than them which are in *Euſebius* his Catalogue. For of thoſe that are delivered by *Euſebius*, we find no Name nor Act recorded elſewhere, ſave only of *Bocchoris*, who is remembred by *Diodore*, *Plutarch*, and others, much being ſpoken of him, that makes him appear to have been a King.

Hereunto I may add, that the Succeſſion is often interrupted in *Euſebius* by *Æthiopians*, which got the Kingdom often and held it long: whereas contrariwiſe it appears by the Prophet *Eſay*, that the Counſellors of *Pharaoh* did vaunt of the long and flouriſhing continuance of that houſe, inſomuch that they *Eſay 19.11.* ſaid of *Pharaoh*, *I am the ſon of the Wiſe, I am the ſon of the Ancient King.*

But that which overthrows the reckoning of *Euſebius*, is the good agreement of it with his miſtaken times of the Kings of *Juda*. For though it pleaſe him well to ſee how the reigns of *Joſias* and *Neco* meet by his computation, yet this indeed mars all, the reign of *Joſias* being miſplaced. This error grows from his omitting to compare the reigns of the Kings of *Juda* with theirs of *Iſrael*: by which occaſion *Joram* King of *Iſrael* is made to reign three years after *Ahazia* of *Juda*; *Samaria* is taken by *Salmanaſſar* before *Hezechia* was King: and in a word, all, or moſt of the Kings have their beginnings placed in ſome other year of their collaterals, than the Scriptures have determined.

SECT. VI.

Of Chemnis, Cheops, Cephrenes, *and other Kings recited by* Herodotus *and* Diodorus Siculus, *which reigned between the times of* Rehoboam *and* Ezechia.

FOllowing therefore the *Greek* Hiſtorians, I place *Chemnis*, or (according to *Diodore*, *Chembis*, firſt in the rank of thoſe that were Kings after *Seſac*. He reigned fifty years, and built the greateſt of the three Pyramids, which was accounted one of this Worlds Wonders. The Pyramis hath his name from the ſhape, in that it reſembleth a flame of fire, growing from the bottom upwards narrower and narrower to the top. This of *Chemnis* being four-ſquare, had a Baſe of ſeven Acres every way, and was about ſix acres high. It was of a very hard and durable ſtone, which laſted, when *Diodore* ſaw it, about a thouſand years, without complaining of any injury that it had ſuffered by weather in ſo long ſpace. From the reign of *Chemnis*, unto the age of *Auguſtus Cæſar*, wherein *Diodore* lived, are indeed a thouſand years: which do give the better likelihood unto this time wherein *Chemnis* is placed. As for this and other Pyramids, late Writers do teſtifie, that they have ſeen them yet ſtanding.

After *Chemnis*, *Diodore* placeth *Cephrenes* his Brother, but doubtfully, and enclining rather to the opinion, that his ſon *Chabreus* ſucceeded. *Herodotus* hath *Cheops* (who might be *Chabreas*) and *Cephrenes* after him. Theſe are ſaid to have been brethren; but the length of their reigns may argue the latter to have been ſon to the former: for *Cheops* reigned fifty years; *Cephrenes* fifty ſix. Theſe were, as *Chemnis* had been, builders of Pyramids, whereby they purchaſed great hatred of their people, who already had overlaboured themſelves in erecting the firſt. Theſe Pyramids were ordained to be Tombs for thoſe that raiſed them; but the malice of the *Egyptians* is ſaid to have caſt out their bodies, and to have called their Mounments by the name of an Herdſman, that kept his Beaſts thereabouts. It may be, that the robbing them of the honour, and entiteling a poor fellow to their works, was held to be caſting out of their bodies; otherwiſe it is hard to conceive how it might be, that they, who had not power to avoid the like ſlavery laid upon them by the younger brother or ſon, ſhould have power or leiſure to take ſuch revenge upon his Predeceſſor. To the like malice may be aſcribed the tale deviſed againſt *Cheops* his Daughter; That her Father wanting mony, did proſtitute her, and that ſhe getting of every man that accompanied her, one ſtone, did build with them a fourth Pyramis, that ſtood in the midſt of the other three. Belike ſhe was an inſolent Lady and made them follow their drudgery for her ſake, longer a while then they thought to have done, in raiſing a Monument with the ſuperfluity of her Fathers proviſions. *Diodor. l. 1.* *Herod. l. 2.*

Mycerinus the ſon of *Cephrenes*, reigned after his Father

ther six years. He would have built as his fore-goers did, but prevented by death, finished not what he had begun. The people thought him a good King, for that he did set open the Temples, which *Cheops* and *Cephrenes* had kept shut. But an Oracle threatned him with a short life of six years only, because of this his devotion; *For* (said the Oracle) *Egypt should have been afflicted an hundred and fifty years, which thy Predecessors knew, and performed for their parts; but thou hast released it, therefore shalt thou live but six years.* It is very strange, that the gods should be offended with a King for his piety; or that they should decree to make a Country impious, when the people were desirous to serve them; or that they having so decreed, it should lye in the power of a King to alter destiny, and make the ordinance of the gods to fail in taking full effect. But these were *Egyptian* gods. The true God was doubtless more offended with the institution of such Idolatry, than with the interruption. And who knows whether *Chemnis* did not learn somewhat at *Jerusalem* in the last year of his Father *Sesac*, that made him perceive, and deliver to those that followed him, the vanity of his *Egyptian* superstition? Most sure it is that in his reign, and the reigns of *Cheops* and *Cephrenes*, were more long and more happy than that of *Mycerinas*, who to delude the Oracle, revelled away both days and nights, as if by keeping candles lighted, he had changed his nights into dayes, and so doubled the time appointed: a service more pleasing to the Devil, than the restitution of Idolatry durst then seem, when it could speed no better. I find in *Reyneccius*, fifty years assigned to this King; which I verily believe to have been some error of the print, though I find it not corrected among other such over-sights: For I know no Author that gives him so many years, and *Reyneccius* himself takes notice of the Oracle, that threatned *Mycerinas* with a short life, as is before shewed.

Bochorus is placed next unto *Mycerinas*, by *Diodore*, who speaks no more of him than this, that he was a strong man of body, and excelling his predecessors in wit. He is spoken of by divers Authors as one that loved justice; and may be taken for that *Banchyris*, whom *Suidas* commends in that kind: *Eusebius* reckons 44 years of his reign.

After *Bocchorus*, one *Sabacus* an *Æthiopian*, follows in the Catalogue of *Diodore*; but certain ages after him. *Herodotus* quite omitting *Bochorus*, hath *Asychis*; who made a sharp law (as it was then held) against bad debtors, that their dead bodies should be in the creditors disposition, till the debt were paid. This *Asychis* made a Pyramis of brick, more costly and fair, in his own judgment, than any of those that the former Kings had raised. Besides this *Asychis*, *Herodotus* placeth one *Anysis*, a blind man, before the *Æthiopian*. The reigns of these two are perhaps those many ages which the *Egyptians*, to magnifie their antiquities, accounted between *Bocchorus* and him that followed them. But all this could make but six years; and so long doth *Functius*, so long doth *Reyneccius* hold, that these two Kings between them both did govern. If any man would lengthen this time, holding it unprobable that the reigns of two Kings should have been so soon spent; he may do it by taking some years from *Sethon* or *Psammiticus*, and adding them to either of these. To add unto these, without substracting from some other, would breed a manifest inconvenience: forasmuch as part of *Sesac* his reign, must have been in the fifth of *Roboam*, as also the last of *Pharao Neco* was the fourth of *Jehojakim*, and the first of *Nebuchadnezzar*. For mine own part I like it better to allow six years only to

1 *Kin.* 14. 25.
2 *Chro.* 12. v. 2.

these two Kings, than to lose the witness of *Herodotus*, who concurring herein with the Scriptures, doth speak of *Senacherib*'s war, at which time *Sethon* was King of *Egypt*. I will not therefore add years unto these obscure names; for by adding unto these men, three years, we shall thrust the beginning of *Sethon* out of place, and make it later than the death of *Senacherib*. In regard of this agreement of *Herodotus* with the Scriptures, I am the more willing to hold with him in his *Egyptian* Kings. Otherwise it were a matter of no great envy to leave both *Asychis* and *Anysis* out of the roll, which were eatily done by placing *Sesac* lower, and extending his life yet six years further, or more (if abridgement shall be required of *Psammiticus* his reign) into the years of *Roboboam*.

Of *Sabachus* the *Æthiopian*, who took the Kingdom from *Anysis*, it is agreed by the most, that he reigned fifty years: He was a merciful Prince, not punishing all capital offences with death, but imposing bondage and bodily labour upon malefactors; by whose toil he both got much wealth into his own hands, letting out their service to hire, and performed many works of more use than pomp, to the singular benefit of the Country.

Zonoras calls this King *Sua*; the Scriptures call him *So*.

Hosea, the last King of *Israel*, made a league with him against *Salmanassar*, little to his good: for the *Egyptian* was more rich than warlike, and therefore his friendship could not preserve the *Israelite* from destruction.

It seems, that the encroaching power of the *Assyrian* grew terrible to *Egypt* about these times; the victories of *Tiglath-Phulassar* and *Salmanassar* having eaten so far into *Syria*, in the reign of this one King *So* or *Sabacus*. Yea, perhaps it was in his dayes (for his reign began in the fourth of *Menahem*) that *Phul* himself did make the first entrance into *Palestina*. This caused *So* to animate the half-subdued people against their Conquerors; but the help which he and his Successor gave them was so faint, that *Senacherib*'s Embassadour compared the *Egyptian* succour to a broken staffe of Reed. Such indeed had *Hosea* found it, and such *Ezechia* might have found it, had he not been supported by the strong staffe of him, that ruleth all thing with a rod of iron. 2 *Kings* 18. 25.

It appeareth by the words of *Rabsake*, that the opinion was great in *Juda*, of the *Egyptian* forces, for *Chariots* and *Horse-men*; but this power, whatsoever it was, grew needful, within a litle while, for the defence of *Egypt* it self, which *So* left unto *Sethon* his Successor, having now fulfilled the fifty years of his reign.

Herodotus and *Diodorus* have both one tale, from relation of *Egyptian* Priests, concerning the departure of this King; saying, that he left the Country, and willingly retired into *Æthiopia*, because it was often signified unto him in his dreams, by the god which was worshipped at *Thebes*, that his reign should be neither long nor prosperous, unless he slew all the Priests in *Egypt*; which rather than to do, he resigned his Kingdom. Surely, these *Egyptian* gods were of a strange quality, that so ill rewarded their servants, and invited Kings to do them wrong. Well might the *Egyptians* (as they likewise did) worship Dogs as gods, when their chief gods had the property of Dogs, which love their Masters the better for beating them.

Yet to what end the Priests should have feigned this tale, I cannot tell; and therefore I think that it might be some device of the fearful old man, who seeing his Realm in danger of an Invasion, sought an honest

honeſt excuſe for his departure out of it, and withdrawing himſelf into *Æthiopia*, where he had been bred in his youth. What if I ſhould ſay, that the *Æthiopia* into which he went, was none other than *Arabia*, whereof *Tirhaka* the King (perhaps at the inſtigation of this man) raiſed an Army againſt *Sennacherib*, when he meant to invade *Egypt* within two or three years after? But I will not trouble my ſelf with much enquiry. This I hold, that *So*, or *Sabacus* was not indeed an *Æthiopian* (for in his time lived the Prophet *Eſay*, who mentioneth the antiquity of *Pharaohs* houſe) but onely ſo ſurnamed for his education, and becauſe iſſuing from thence, he got the Kingdom from *Anyſis*, who was his oppoſite. The quiet and mild form of his government, his holding the Kingdom ſo long without an Army, and many other circumſtances argue no leſs. But whether finally he betook to a private life, or whether he fore-went his life and Kingdom at once, being now very old, it is time that we leave him, and ſpeak of *Sethon* his next Succeſſor, who is omitted by *Diodore*, but remembred by *Herodotus*, by a ſure token of his having been King.

SECT VII.

Of Sethon *who reigned with* Ezechia, *and ſided with him againſt* Sennacherib.

THe firſt year of *Sethon*'s reign falls into the twelfth of *Ezechia*, which was the fifth of *Sennacherib*. It was a troubleſom age, and full of danger: the two great Kingdoms of *Aſſyria* and *Egypt*, being then ingaged in a War, the iſſue whereof was to determine whether of them ſhould rule or ſerve. The *Aſſyrian* had the better men of War; the *Egyptian* better proviſion of neceſſaries: the *Aſſyrian* more Subjects; the *Egyptian* more Friends: and among the new conquered, half Subjects of *Aſſur*, many that were *Egyptian* in heart, though *Aſſyrian* in outward ſhew.

Of this laſt ſort, were *Ezechia* and his people; who knowing how much it concerned *Pharaoh* to protect them againſt his own great Enemy, preferred the friendſhip of ſo near and mighty a Neighbour, before the ſervice of a terrible, yet far removed King. But herein was great difference between *Ezechia* and his Subjects: For the good King fixing his eſpecial confidence in God, held that courſe of policy, which he thought moſt likely to turn to the benefit of his Country; the multitude of *Judæa* looking into the fair hopes which this *Egyptian* league promiſed, were puffed up with vain conceits, thinking that all was ſafe, and that now they ſhould not need to fear any more of thoſe injuries which they had ſuffered by the *Aſſyrians*; and ſo became forgetfull of God, *taking counſel, but not of him.* The Prophet *Eſay* complaining much of this preſumption, giving the people of *Juda* to underſtand, That *the* Egyptians *were men, and not God, and their Horſes fleſh, and not ſpirit*; that God himſelf ſhould defend *Iſrael* upon repentance, and that Aſſur *ſhould fall by the ſword, but not of man.* As for the *Egyptians* (ſaid the Prophet) *they are vanity, and they ſhall help in vain, their ſtrength is to ſit ſtill.*

Eſay 30. 1.
Eſay 31. v. 3. and 8.
Eſay 30. 7.
Eſay 34.

According to the Prophets words, it came to paſs. For in the treaty of Confederacy that was held at *Zoan*, all manner of contentment and aſſurance was given to the *Jews* by *Sethon*, or his Agents, who filled them with ſuch reports, of Horſes and Chariots, that they did *not look* (as *Eſay* ſaith) *unto the holy One of* Iſrael, *nor ſeek unto the Lord.* But *he yet is wiſeſt.* *Eſay* 31. 1, 2

After a while came *Sennacherib* with his Army, and wakened them out of theſe dreams; for *Sethon* their good Neighbour, as near as he was, did ſeem far off, being unready when his help was moſt needfull. It may ſeem that he purpoſed rather to make *Paleſtina*, than *Egypt* the Stage, whereon this great War ſhould be acted, and was not without hope, that the *Aſſyrians* and *Jews*, weakning one another, ſhould yeild unto him a fair advantage over both. Yet he fought with money; for he ſent Horſes and Camels laden with treaſure, to hire the *Arabians*, whom *Eſay* calleth *A people that cannot profit.* *Eſay* 30. 6.

Theſe *Arabians* did not profit indeed; (for beſides that it ſeems by the ſame place of *Eſay*, that the rich treaſures miſcarried, and fell into the Enemies hands, before any help appeared from *Tirhaca*) all the ſtrong Cities of *Juda* were taken by *Sennacherib*, except *Libna*, *Lachis* and *Jeruſalem* it ſelf, till the Sword of God and not of Man, defeated the *Aſſyrian*, who did go, *for fear, to his Tower*, that is, he fled to *Ninive*, where he was ſlain. *Eſay* 31. 9

Concerning this expedition of *Sennacherib*, *Herodotus* takes this notice of it: That it was purpoſed againſt *Egypt*, where the men of War, being offended with *Sethon* their King, who had taken away their allowance, refuſed to bear Arms in defence of Him and their Country; that *Sethon* being *Vulcan*'s Prieſt, bemoaned himſelf to his god, who by dream promiſed to ſend him helpers, that hereupon *Sethon*, with ſuch as would follow him (which were craftſmen, ſhop-keepers, and the like) marched towards *Peluſium*; and that a great multitude of Field-Mice entering the Camp of *Sennacherib* by night, did ſo gnaw the Bows, Quivers, and ſtraps of his mens Armour, that they were fain the next day to fly away in all haſte finding themſelves diſarmed.

In memory hereof (ſaith *Herodotus*) the Statue of this King is ſet up in the Temple of *Vulcan*, holding a Mouſe in his hand, with this Inſcription,

Let him that holds me, Serve God.

Such was the relation of the *Egyptian* Prieſts, wherein how far they ſwerved from the truth, being deſirous to magnifie their own King, it may eaſily be perceived. It ſeems that this Image of *Sethon* was fallen down, and the tale forgotten in *Diodorus* his time, or elſe perhaps, the Prieſts did forbear to tell it him (which cauſed him to omit it) for that the nation of the *Jews* was then well known to the world, whereof every child could have told how much falſhood had been mingled with the truth.

We find this Hiſtory agreeable to the Scriptures, thus far forth; That *Sennacherib* King of the *Aſſyrians* and *Arabians*, (ſo *Herodotus* calleth him: the *Syrians*, or peraduenture ſome borderers upon *Syria*, being meant by the name of *Arabians*) lived in this age, made War upon *Egypt*, and was miraculouſly driven home. As for that exploit of the Mice, and the great pleaſure that *Vulcan* did unto his Prieſt, happy it was (if *Sethon* were a Prieſt) that he took his god now in ſo good a mood: For within three or four years before this, all the Prieſts in *Egypt* ſhould have been ſlain, if the merciful King had not ſpared their lives, as it were half againſt the gods will. Therefore this laſt good turn was not enough to ſerve as an example, that might ſtir up the *Egyptians*

tians to piety, ſeeing that their devotion, which had laſted ſo long before, did bring all the Prieſts into danger of ſuch a bad reward. Rather I think, that this Image did repreſent *Sennacherib* himſelf, and that the Mouſe in his hand, ſignified Hieroglyphically (as was the *Egyptian* manner of expreſſing things) the ſhamefull iſſue of his terrible expedition, or the deſtruction of his Army, by means, which came, no man knew from whence. For the vengeance of God, ſhewed upon this ungodly King, was indeed a very good motive to piety. But the Emblem, together with the Temple of *Vulcan* (being perhaps the chief Temple in that Town where this Image was erected) might give occaſion to ſuch a fable; the Divel helping to change the truth into a lie, that God might be robbed of his honour.

Yet that we may not belie the Divel, I hold it very likely, that *Sethon* finding himſelf in danger, did call upon his gods, that is, upon *Vulcan*, *Serapis*, or any to whom he had moſt devotion. But ſo had other of his predeceſſors done in the like need: yet which of them had obtained ſuccour by the like miracle? Surely the *Jews* (even ſuch of them as were moſt given to Idolatry) would have been aſhamed
Eſay 31. 1 of the confidence which they repoſed *in the Chariots of* Egypt, *becauſe they were many, and in the Horſemen, becauſe they were very ſtrong*; had it been told them, that *Sethon*, inſtead of ſending thoſe Horſemen and Chariots, was beſeeching *Vulcan* to ſend him and them good luck; or elſe (for theſe alſo were *Egyptian* gods) addreſſing their prayers to ſome Onyon or Cat.

Howſoever it was, doubtleſs the Prophecy of *Eſay* took effect, which ſaid, *They ſhall be all aſhamed of the people that cannot profit them, nor help, nor do them good, but ſhall be a ſhame and alſo a reproach.* Such is commonly the iſſue of humane wiſdom, when reſting ſecure upon proviſion which it ſelf hath made, it will no longer ſeem to ſtand in need of God.

Some there are who take *Sethon* to have been ſet down by *Euſebius* under the name of *Tarachus* the *Æthiopian*; and therefore the twenty years which are given to *Tarachus*, they allow to the reign of *Sethon*.

Theſe have well obſerved that *Tarachus* the *Æthiopian* is mentioned in the Scriptures, not as a King of *Egypt*, but as a friend to that Countrey, or at leaſt an enemy to *Sennacherib*, in the War laſt ſpoken of; the *Æthiopians* (as they are engliſhed) over which he reigned, being indeed *Cuſhites* or *Arabians*.

Hereupon they ſuppoſe aright, that *Euſebius* hath miſtaken one King for another. But whereas they think that this *Tarachus* or *Tirhaka* is placed in the room of *Sethon*, and therefore give to *Sethon* the twenty years of *Tarachus*, I hold them to have erred on the other hand. For this *Æthiopian* (as he is called) began his reign over *Egypt*, by *Euſebius* his accompt, after the death of *Sennacherib* and of *Ezechia*, in the firſt year of *Manaſſes* King of *Juda*. Therefore he or his years have no reference to *Sethon*.

Herodotus forgets to tell how long *Sethon* reigned; *Funčius* peremptorily citing no Author, nor alledging reaſon for it, ſets him down thirty three years: many omit him quite; and they that name him are not careful to examine his continuance. In this caſe, I follow that Rule which I propounded unto my ſelf at the firſt, for meaſuring the reigns of theſe *Egyptian* Kings.

The years which paſſed from the fifth of *Rehoboam*, unto the fourth of *Jehojakim*, I ſo divide among the *Egyptians*, that giving to every one the proportion allowed unto him by the Author, in whom he is found, the reſt is to be conferred upon him whoſe length of reign is uncertain: that is, upon this *Sethon*.

By this accompt I find the thirty three years that are ſet down by *Funčius*, to agree very nearly, if not preciſely, with the time of *Sethon*'s reign; therefore I conform my own reckoning to his, though I could be content to have it one year leſs.

The reaſon of this computation I ſhall render more at large, when I arrive at the time of *Pſammiticus*, whereupon it hath much dependance, and whereunto the courſe of this Hiſtory will ſhortly bring me, the *Egyptian* affairs growing now to be interlaced with the matters of *Juda*, to which it is meet that I return.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVII.

Of MANASSES, *and his Contemporaries.*

SECT. I.

The wickedneſs of Manaſſes. *His Impriſonment, Repentance, and Death.*

MAnaſſe the Son of *Ezechias*, forgetting the piety of his Father, and the proſperity which followed him, ſet up, repaired, adorned and furniſhed all the Altars, Temples and high Places, in which the Devil was by the Heathen worſhipped. Beſides, he himſelf eſteemed the Sun, the Moon, and the Stars, with all the Hoſt of Heaven, as Gods, and worſhipped them. and of all his acts the moſt abominable was, that he burnt his Sons for a Sacrifice to the Devil *Moloch* or *Melchor*, in the Valley of *Hinnon*, or *Benhinnon*: wherein was kindled the fire of Sacrifice to the Devils.

He alſo gave himſelf to all kind of Witch-craft and Sorcery, accompanied and maintained thoſe that had familiar Spirits, and all ſorts of Enchanters: beſides, he ſhed ſo much innocent bloud, as *Jeruſalem* was repleniſhed therewith, from corner to corner. For all his vices and abominations, when he was reprehended by that aged and reverend Prophet *Eſay* (who was alſo of the Kings race, and as the *Jews* affirm, the Father-in-law of the King) he cauſed the Prophet near unto the Fountain of *Siloe*, to be ſawn in ſunder with a wooden Saw, in the eightieth year of his life: a cruelty more barbarous and monſtrous than hath been heard of. The Scriptures indeed are ſilent hereof, yet the ſame is confirmed by *Epiphanius*, *Iſidore*, *Euſebius*, and others, too many to rehearſe, and too good to be ſuſpected. *Therefore the Lord brought upon them the Captains of the Hoſt of the Kings of* Aſhur, *which took* Manaſſe, *and put him in fetters, and bound him in chains, and carried him to* Babel: Where, after he had lyen twenty years as a captive, and diſpoyled of all honour and hope; yet to his hearty repentance and continual prayer, the God of infinite mercy had reſpect, and moved the *Aſſyrians* heart to deliver him:

Juſt. Martyr Cedrenus c. 91. Glycas pa. 275. Tertul. de Pat.

2 Chron. 33. 11.

It is alſo likely that *Merodach*, becauſe he loved his father *Ezechias*, was the eaſelier perſwaded to reſtore *Manaſſe* to his liberty and eſtate. After which, and when he was again eſtabliſhed, remembring the miſeries which followed his wickedneſs, and Gods great mercies towards him, he changed form, deteſted his former fooliſh and devilliſh Idolatry, and caſt down the Idols of his own erecting, prepared the Altar of God, and ſacrificed thereon. He repaired a great part of *Jeruſalem*: and dyed after the long reign of fifty five years. *Glycas* and *Suidas* report, that *Manaſſe* was held in a Cage of iron by the *Aſſyrians*: and therein fed with bread of bran and water, which men may believe as it ſhall pleaſe their fancies.

SECT. II.

Of troubles in Egypt *following the death of* Sethon. *The reign of* Pſammiticus.

THat the wickedneſs of King *Manaſſes* was the cauſe of the evil which fell upon his Kingdom and perſon, any Chriſtian muſt needs believe: for it is affirmed in the Scriptures. Yet was the ſtate of things in thoſe parts of the World ſuch, at that time, as would have invited any Prince (and did perhaps invite *Merodach*, who fulfilled Gods pleaſure, upon reſpect born unto his own ends, deſirous to enlarge his Empire) to make attempt upon *Juda*. For the Kingdom of *Egypt*, which was become the pillar whereon the ſtate of *Juda* leaned, about theſe times was miſerably diſtracted with civil diſſention, and after two years ill amended by a diviſion of the government between twelve Princes. After ſome good agreement between theſe, eleven of them fell out with the twelfth of their collegues, and were all finally ſubdued by him, who made himſelf abſolute King of all.

This *Inter-regnum*, or meer Anarchy that was in *Egypt*, with the diviſion of the Kingdom following it, is placed by *Diodore* who omitteth *Sethon*, between the reign of *Sabacus* and *Pſammiticus*: but *Herodotus* doth ſet the *Ariſtocracie*, or twelve Governors immediatly before *Pſammiticus*, who was one of them, and after *Sethon*.

The occaſion of this diſſention ſeems to have been the uncertainty of Title to that Kingdom (for that the Crown of *Egypt* paſſed by ſucceſſion of blood, I have often ſhewed) which ended for a while, by the partition of all among twelve, though things were not ſettled until one had obtained the Soveraignty.

Theſe twelve Rulers governed fifteen years in good ſeeming agreement, which to preſerve, they made ſtrait covenant and alliances one with another, being jealous of their eſtate, becauſe an Oracle had foretold, that one of them ſhould depoſe all the reſt, noting him by this token, that he ſhould make a drink-offering in *Vulcan's* Temple, out of a Copper goblet. Whileſt this unity laſted, they joyned together in raiſing a Monument of their Dominion; which was a Labyrinth, built near unto the Lake of *Meris*; a work ſo admirable, that (as *Herodotus*, who beholding it, affirms) no words could give it commendation anſwerable to the ſtatelineſs of the work it ſelf, I will not here ſet down that unperfect deſcription which *Herodotus* maketh of it, but think enough to ſay that he prefers it very far before the Pyramides, one of which (as he ſaith) excelled the Temple of *Diana* at *Epheſus*,

or

or any of the fairest works in *Greece*. *Diodorus* reports this Labyrinth to have been the work of *Marus* or *Menides*, a King which lived five generations before *Proteus*, that is before the War of *Troy*, and from this Labyrinth (saith he) *Dædalus* took the pattern of that which he made for *Minos* in *Crete*. Who this *Marus*, or *Menides* was, I cannot tell. *Reyneccius* takes him to have been *Annemenes*, which reigned immediately before *Thuoris*. But this agrees not with *Diodore*, for *Dædalus* and *Minos* were both dead long before *Annemenes* was King. Belike *Reyneccius*, desiring to accomodate the fabulous relations of *Manethon*, *Cheremon* and others, that are found in *Josephus*, touching *Amenophis* and his children, to the story of *Amasis* and *Actesanes* the *Æthiopian* mentioned by *Diodore*; held it consequent, after he had conjectured *Manethon's Amenophis* to be *Diodorus* his *Amasis*; that *Sethon* should be *Actisanes*, and that *Annemenes* should be *Marus*. If in this case I might intrude a conjecture, the times which we now handle are those about which *Reyneccius* hath erred in making search; *Amasis* was *Anysis*, *Actisanes* was *Sabacus*; and *Marus* was one of these twelve Princes to whom *Herodotus* gives the honour of building this famous Labyrinth. For *Actisanes* the *Æthiopian*, deposed *Amasis*; *Sabacus* the *Æthiopian*, deposed *Anysis*; *Actisanes* governed well, and was mild in punishing offenders; so likewise was *Sabacus*; *Marus* the next King after *Actisanes*, built this Labyrinth; and the next (saving *Sethon*, whom *Diodore* omits, as having not heard of him) that ruled after *Sabacus*, performed the same work, according to *Herodotus*, who was more likely to hear the truth, as living nearer to the Age wherein it was performed. The variety of names, and difference of times wherein *Diodore* believed the Priests, might be a part of the *Egyptian* vanity, which was familiar with them in multiplying their Kings, and boasting of their antiquities. Here I might add, that the twelve great Halls, Parlours, and other circumstances remembred by *Herodotus*, in speaking of this building, do help to prove that it was the work of these twelve Princes. But I hasten to their end.

Jos. cont. App. l.

At a solemn feast in *Vulcan's* Temple, when they were to make their drink-offerings, the Priest, forgetting himself, brought forth no more than eleven Cups, Hereupon, *Psammiticus*, who standing last, had not a Cup, took off his brazen Helmet; and therewith supplyed the want, This caused all the rest to remember the Oracle, and to suspect him as a Traytor, yet, when they found that it was done by him upon set purpose or ill intent, they forbear to kill him, but being jealous of their estate, they banished him into the marish Countries by the Sea side. This Oracle, and the event is held by *Diodore* as a fable, which I believe to have been none other: In the rest, *Herodotus* and *Diodore* agree, saying that *Psammiticus* hired Souldiers out of *Caria* and *Ionia*, by whose aid he vanquisht his Companions, and made himself sole King.

The years of his reign, according to *Herodotus*, were fifty four; according to *Eusebius*, forty four; *Mercator*, to reconcile these two, gives forty four years to his single reign, and ten to his ruling joyntly with the Princes before spoken of. Indeed, he that was admitted, being a man grown (for he cannot in reason be supposed to have been then a young fellow) into the number of the twelve Governors, must be thought to have lived unto extream age, if he ruled partly with others, partly alone, threescore and nine years. I therefore yield rather to *Eusebius*, but will not adventure to cut five years from the *Aristocracy*: though peradventure *Psammiticus* was not at first one of the twelve, but succeeded (either by election, or as next in blood) into the place of some Prince that dyed, and was ten years companion in that government.

Another scruple there is, though not great, which troubles this reckoning. The years of the *Egyptians*, as we find them set down, are more by one, than serve to fill up the time between the fifth of *Rehoboam* and the fourth of *Jehojakim*. This may not be. Wherefore either we must abate one year from *Sethon's* reign, that was of uncertain length, or else (which I had rather do, because *Functius* may have followed better authority than I know, or than himself alledgeth, in giving to *Sethon* a time so nearly agreeing with the truth) we must confound the last year of one reign with the first of another. Such a supposition were not insolent. For no man can suppose, that all the Kings, or any great part of them, which are set down in Chronological tables, reigned precisely so many years as are ascribed unto them, without any fractions: it is enough to think that the surplusage of one mans time supplyed the defect of anothers. Wherefore I confound the last year of those fifteen, wherein the twelve Princes ruled, with the first of *Psammiticus*; who surely did not fall out with his Companions, fight with them, and make himself Lord alone all in one day.

Concerning this King, it is recorded, that he was the first in *Egypt* who entertained any strait amity with the *Greeks*; that he retained in pay his Mercenaries of *Caria*, *Ionia*, and *Arabia*, to whom he gave large rewards and possessions; and that he greatly offended his *Egyptian* Souldiers, by bestowing them in the left wing of his Army, whilest his Mercenaries held the right wing (which was the more honourable place) in an expedition that he made in *Syria*. Upon this disgrace it is said, that his Souldiers, to the number of two hundred thousand, forsook their natural Country of *Egypt*, and went into *Æthiopia*, to dwell there: neither could they be revoked by kind Messages, nor by the King himself, who overtook them on the way; but when he told them of their Country, their Wives and Children, they answered, that their weapons should get them a Country, and that nature had enabled them to get other Wives and Children,.

It is also reported of him. That he caused two Infants to be brought up in such sort, as they might not hear any word spoken; by which means, he hoped to find out what Nation or Language was most ancient; forasmuch as it seemed likely, that nature would teach the children to speak that Language which men spake at the first. The issue hereof was that the children cryed, *Beccus*, *Beccus*, which word being found to signifie Bread in the *Phrygian* tongue, served greatly to magnifie the *Phrygian* antiquity, *Goropius Becanus* makes no small matter of this, for the honour of his *Low-Dutch*; in which the word *Becker* signifies (as Baker in English) a maker of bread. He that will turn over any part of *Goropius* his works, may find enough of this kind, to perswade a willing man, that *Adam* and all the Patriarchs used none other language than the *Low-Dutch*, before the confusion of Languages at *Babel*, the name it self *Babel* being also *Dutch*, and given by occasion of this confusion; for that there they began to babble and talk one knew not what.

But I will not insist upon all that is written of *Psammiticus*. The most regardable of his acts was the siege of *Azotus* in *Palæstina*, about which he spent nine and twenty years. Never have we

heard (ſaith *Herodotus*) that any City endured ſo long a ſiege as this; yet *Pſammiticus* carryed it at the laſt. This Town of *Azotus* had been won by *Tartan* a Captain of *Sennacherib*'s, and was now, as it ſeemeth, relieved, but in vain, by the *Babylonian*, which made it hold out ſo well.

SECT. III.

What reference theſe Egyptian *matters might have to the impriſonment and enlargement of* Manaſſes. *In what part of his reign* Manaſſes *was taken priſoner.*

WEre it certainly known, in what year of his reign *Manaſſes* was taken priſoner, and how long it was before he obtained liberty, I think we ſhould find theſe *Egyptian* troubles to have been no ſmall occaſion both of his captivity and enlargment: God ſo diſpoſing of humane actions, that even they who intended only their own buſineſs, fulfilled onely his high pleaſure. For either the civil Wars of *Egypt* that followed upon the death of *Sethon*, or the renting of the Kingdom, as it were into twelve pieces, or the War between *Pſammiticus* and his Collegues, or the expedition of *Pſammiticus* into *Syria*, and the ſiege of *Azotus*, might miniſter unto the *Babylonian*, either ſuch cauſe of hope to enlarge his Dominion in the South parts, or ſuch neceſſity of ſending an Army into thoſe parts, to defend his own, as would greatly tempt him to make ſure work with the King of *Juda*. The ſame occaſion ſufficed alſo to procure the delivery of *Manaſſes*, after he was taken. For he was taken (as *Joſephus* hath it) by ſubtilty, not by open force, neither did they that apprehended him, win his Country, but only waſt it. So that the *Jews*, having learned wit by the ill ſucceſs of their folly, in redeeming *Amazia*, were like to be more circumſpect, in making their bargain upon ſuch another accident: and the *Babylonian* (to whom the *Egyptian* matters preſented more weighty argument of hope and fear, than the little Kingdom of *Juda* could afford) had no reaſon to ſpend his forces in purſuing a ſmall conqueſt, but as full of difficulty as a greater, whereby he ſhould compell his mightieſt enemies to come to ſome good agreement; when by quiting his preſent advantage over the *Jews*, he might make his way the fairer into *Egypt*.

Now concerning the year of *Manaſſes* his reign, wherein he was taken priſoner; or concerning his captivity it ſelf, how long it laſted, the Scriptures are ſilent, and *Joſephus* gives no information. Yet I find cited by *Torniellus* three opinions: the one of *Bellarmine*, who thinkes that *Manaſſes* was taken in the fifteenth year of his reign; the other of the greater *Hebrew Chronology*, who affirms, that it was in his twenty ſeventh year; the third of *Rabbi Kimki* upon *Ezechiel*, who ſaith, that he was forty years an Idolater, and lived fifteen years after his repentance. The firſt of their conjectures is upheld by *Torniellus*, who rejects the ſecond, as more unprobable, and condemns the third as moſt falſe. Yet the reaſons alledged by *Torniellus* in defence of the firſt, and refutation of the opinion, are ſuch as may rather prove him to favour the Cardinal as far as he may, (for where need requires, he doth freely diſſent from him) than to have uſed his accuſtomed diligence in examining the matter, before he gave his judgment. Two arguments he brings to maintain the opinion of *Bellarmine*, the one, that *Ammon* the Son of *Manaſſes*, is ſaid by *Joſephus* to have followed the works of his fathers youth; the other, that had *Manaſſes* grown old in his ſins, it is like that he ſhould have continued as he did, in his amendment unto the end of his life. Touching the former of theſe arguments, I ſee no reaſon why the ſins of *Manaſſes* might not be diſtinguiſhed from his repentance in his old age, by calling them *works of his youth*, which appeared when he was twelve years old; though it were granted that he continued in them (according to that of *Rabbi Kimki*) until he was but fifteen years from death. Touching the ſecond; howſoever it be a fearfull thing, to caſt off unto the laſt thoſe good motions unto repentance, which we know not whether ever God will offer unto us again; yet were it a terrible hearing, That the ſins which are not forſaken before the age of two and fifty years, ſhall be puniſhed with final impenitency. But againſt theſe two collections of *Torniellus*, I will lay two places of Scripture, whence it may be inferred, as not unlikely, That *Manaſſes* continued longer in his wickedneſs than *Bellarmine* hath intimated, if not as long as *Rabbi Kimki* hath affirmed. In the ſecond book of *Kings*, the evil which *Manaſſes* did, is remembred at large, and his repentance utterly omitted; ſo that his amendment may ſeem to have taken up no great part of his life. The ſtory of him being thus concluded in the one and twentieth Chapter: *Concern-* 2 *Kings* *the reſt of the Acts of* Manaſſes, *and all that he did,* 21. 17. *and the ſin that he ſinned, are they not written in the Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of* Juda? The other place is in the four and twentieth Chapter of the ſame Book, where, in rehearſing the calamities with which that Nation was puniſhed in the time of *Jehojakim*, the great Grand-child of this *Manaſſes*, it is ſaid; *Surely by the commandment of the Lord came this upon* Juda, *that he might put them out of his ſight, for the ſins of* Manaſſes, *according to all that he did, and for the innocent blood that he ſhed (for he filled* Jeruſalem *with innocent blood) therefore the Lord would not pardon it.* Who ſo conſiders well theſe places, may find ſmall cauſe to pronounce it moſt falſe, That the repentance and amendment of *Manaſſes* was no earlier than fifteen years before his death; or moſt probable, That when he was twenty ſeven years old, he repented, and becoming a new man, lived in the fear of God forty years after. I will no longer diſpute about this matter, ſeeing that the truth cannot be diſcovered. It ſufficeth to ſay, that two years of civil diſſentions in *Egypt*, fourteen or fifteen years following, wherein that Kingdom was weakned by partition of the Soveraignty: the War of *Pſammiticus* againſt his Aſſociates: and four and twenty years of the nine and twenty, wherein the ſiege of *Azotus* continued, being all within the time of *Manaſſes*, did leave no one part of his reign (after the firſt fifteen years) free from the danger of being oppreſſed by the *Babylonian*, whoſe men of war had continual occaſions of viſiting his Country. All which I will add hereto, is this; that the fifteenth of *Manaſſes* was the laſt year of *Sethon* in *Egypt*, and the one and thirtieth of *Merodach* his reign, or (accounting from the death of *Aſarhaddon*) the twentieth: The ſeven and twentieth of *Manaſſes* was the tenth of the twelve Princes, and the three and fortieth of *Merodach*: his fortieth was the twenty third of *Pſammiticus*, and the fifth of *Nabulaſſar*, the ſon of *Merodach*, in *Babylon*: but which of theſe was the year of his impriſonment, or whether any other, I forbear to ſhew mine opinion, leaſt I ſhould thereby ſeem to draw all matters over-violently to mine own computation.

2 *Kin.* 24. 3, 4.

This was the firſt great maſtery that the *Babylonians*

nians had of the Kingdom of *Juda*. For though *Achaz* promised Tribute to *Salmanassar*, yet *Ezechias* never paid it. True it is, that he hoped to stay *Senacherib*'s enterprise against him, by presenting him with three hundred talents of silver, and thirty of gold, besides the plate which covered the doors and pillars of the Temple. 2 *King.* 18

But *Manasses* being pressed with great necessity, could refuse no tolerable conditions, that the *Babylonian* would impose upon him; among which it seems that this was one, (which was indeed a point of servitude) that he might not hold peace with the *Egyptians*, whilst they were enemies to *Babylon*. This appears not only by his fortifying with men of War all the strong Cities of *Juda* after his return (which was rather against *Psammiticus*, whose party he had forsaken, than against the *Babylonian*, with whom he had thenceforth no more controversie) but likewise by that opposition, which *Josias* made afterwards to *Pharao Neco*, in favour of *Nabulassar*, which had been against all reason or policy, if it had not been his duty by covenant. Of this I will speak more in convenient place.

SECT. IV.

Of the first and second Messenian *Wars, which were in the reigns of* Ezechia *and* Manasses, *Kings of* Juda.

NOW concerning such actions as were performed abroad in the World, about these times of *Manasses*, the most remarkable were the *Messenian* Wars; which hapned in this age, and being the greatest action performed in *Greece*, between the *Trojan* and *Persian* Wars, deserve not to be passed over with silence.

The first *Messenian* War began and ended in the dayes of *Ezechias*; the second in the reign of *Manasses*: but to avoid the trouble of interrupting our History, I have thought it best to rehearse them both in this place. Other Introduction is needless, than to say, that the posterity of *Hercules*, driving the issue of *Pelops*, and the *Achæans* out of their seats, divided their lands between themselves, and erected the kingdoms of *Lacedemon*, *Argos*, *Messene* and *Corinth*; all which agreeing well together awhile, did afterwards forget the bond of kindred, and sought one anothers ruine with bloody wars; whereof these *Messenian* were the greatest.

The pretended grounds of the *Messenian* War are scarce worth remembrance, they were so slight. Ambition was the true cause of it: wherewith the *Lacedemonians* were so transported, that any thing served them as a colour to accomplish their greedy desires. Yet other matter was alledged; namely, that one *Polychares* a *Messenian* had slain many *Lacedemonians*, for which the Magistrates of *Sparta* desiring to have him yeilded into their hands, could not obtain it. The *Messenians* on the other side, excused *Polychares*, for that he was grown frantick, through injuries received from *Euæphnes* a *Lacedemonian*. This *Euæphnes* had bargained to give pasture to the Cattle of *Polychares*, and was therefore to receive part of the increase: but not contented with the gain appointed, he sold the Cattel, and slaves that kept them, to Merchants; which done, he came with a fair tale to his friend, saying, that they were stolen. Whilst the lye was yet scarce out of his mouth, one of the slaves that had escaped from the Merchants came in with a true report of all. The *Lacedemonian* being thus deprehended, confessed all, and promised large amends; which to receive, he carried the son of *Polychares* home with him, but having him at home, he villanously slew him. Wherefore the *Lacedemonians* having refused, after long sute made by the wretched Father, to do him right against this Thief and Murderer, ought not to pick matter of quarrel out of those things which he did in that madness, whereinto they themselves had cast him. So said the *Messenians*, and further offered to put the matter to compremise, or stand unto the judgement of the *Amphictyones*, who were as the general Council of *Greece*, or to any other fair course. But the *Lacedemonians*, who had a great desire to occupy the fair Country of *Messene*, that lay close by them, were not content with such allegations. They thought it enough to have some shew for their doings; which the better to colour, they reckoned up many old injuries, and so without sending any defiance, secretly took an oath to hold War with *Messene* till they had mastered it: which done, they seised upon *Amphia*, a frontier Town of that Province, wherein they put all to the sword without mercy, very few escaped.

Hereupon the *Messenians* took Armes, and were met by the Enemy. A furious Battel was fought between them, which ended not until dark night, with uncertain Victory. The *Messenians* did strongly encamp themselves; The *Lacedemonians*, unable to force their Camp, returned home.

This War began in the second year of the ninth *Olympiad*, and ended in the first of the fourteenth *Olympiad*, having lasted twenty years. The two enemy Nations tried the matter for a while, with their proper forces, the *Lacedemonians* wasting the in-land parts of *Messene*, and the *Messenians*, the Sea-coast of *Laconia*. But it was not long ere friends on both sides, were called in to help. The *Arcadians*, *Argives*, and *Sicyonians* took part with *Messene*; the *Spartans* had, besides many Subjects of their own, aid from *Corinth*, and hired Souldiers out of *Crete*. So a second, third, and fourth battel were fought, with as great obstinacy as the first; saving that in the fourth battel the *Lacedemonians* were enforced to turn their backs; in the other fights, the Victory was still uncertain, though in one of them the *Messenians* lost *Euphaes* their King, in whose stead they chose *Aristodemus*.

Many years were spent ere all this bloud was shed; for pestilent Diseases, and want of money to entertain Souldiers, caused the War to linger. And for the same reasons, did the *Messenians* forsake all their in-land Towns, excepting *Ithome*, which was a Mountain with a Town upon it, able to endure more than the enemies were likely to do. But as some Authors tell us, the *Lacedemonians* were so obstinate in this War, because of their Vow, that having absented themselves ten years from *Sparta*, their Wives sent them word, that their City would grow unpeopled, by reason that no children had been born them in all that time: Whereupon they sent back all their ablest young men, promiscuously to accompany the young women, who got so many of them with child, as they became a great part of their Nation, and were called *Parthenians*. *Strab. l. 6. Oros. l. 2. c. 21.* *Diod. l. 15.*

Diodorus refers the begetting of these *Parthenians* to a former time.

But in process of this *Messenian* War, when the Devil in an Oracle had advised the *Messenians* to sacrifice a Virgin of the stock of * *Ægyptus*, that so they might be Victorious against the *Lacedemonians*; the lot falling upon the Daughter of one *Lyciscus*, *Epibolus* the Priest, willing to save her, said, she was only a fostered child, and not born of the wife of *Lyciscus*: which

* This *Ægyptus* was the youngest son of *Crespbon* by *Merope* the daughter of *Cypselus* King of *Arcadia* of which *Crespbon*, the chief Nobility of the *Messenians* was progated.

which answer giving delay to the execution of the Maid, *Lyciscus* secretly fled away with her into *Sparta*. Then *Aristodemus*, which afterwards was King, voluntarily offered his own Daughter: but a young Nobleman, being in love with the Maid, when otherwise he could not prevail, said openly that she was no Virgin, but that he had defloured her, and got her with child: whereupon the Father in a rage ripped up his innocent Daughters belly to disprove the Lovers slander: at the grave of which Daughter of his, afterwards falling, by other superstitions, into dispair of prevailing against the *Lacedemonians*, he slew himself to the great hurt of his Country, which he loved most dearly. For after his death, the *Messenians* lost their courage, and finding themselves distressed by many wants, especially of victuals, they craved peace, which they obtained with most rigorous conditions. Half the yearly fruits of their Lands they were bound to send unto *Sparta*; and they, with their Wives, to make solemn lamentations at the death of every *Spartan* King; they were also sworn to live in true subjection to the *Lacedemonians*; and part of their Territory was taken from them, which was given unto the *Asinæi*, and such as had followed the *Spartans* in this War.

This peace being made upon so uneven terms, was not like to hold long. Yet nine and thirty years it continued (the *Messenians* not finding how to help themselves) and then brake out into a new and more furious War than the former. The able young men, that were grown up in the room of those *Messenians* whom the former War had consumed, began to consider their own strength and multitude, thinking themselves equal to the *Lacedemonians*, and therefore scorned to serve such Masters as had against all right oppressed their Fathers.

The chief of these was *Aristomenes*, a Noble Gentleman of the house of *Egyptus*; who perceiving the uniform desires of his Country-men, adventured to become their Leader. He therefore sounding the the affections of the *Argives* and the *Arcadians*, which he found throughly answerable to his purpose, began open War upon the State of *Lacedemon*. This was in the fourth year of the three and twentieth *Olympiad*, when the *Lacedemonians* hasted to quench the fire before it should grow too hot, with such forces as they could raise of their own without troubling their friends, meaning to deal with their enemies, ere any succour were lent them. So a strong battel was fought between them and a doubtfull; save that the *Messenians* were pleased with the issue, forasmuch as they had thereby taught their late proud Lords to think them their equals. Particularly; the valour of *Aristomenes* appeared such in this fight, that his people would have made him their King: but he, refusing the honour of that name, accepted of the burthen, and became their General.

Within one year another battel was fought, whereunto each part came better provided. The *Lacedemonians* brought with them the *Corinthians*, and some other friends to help; the *Messenians* had the *Argives*, *Arcadians*, and *Sycionians*. This also was a long and bloody fight; but *Aristomenes* did so behave himself, that finally he made the Enemies run for their lives. Of such importance was this victory, that the *Lacedemonians* began to bethink themselves of making some good agreement. But one *Tyrtæus* an *Athenian* Poet, whom by appointment of an Oracle they had gotten to direct them, reinforced their spirits with his Verses. After this, *Aristomenes* took by surprise a Town in *Laconia*, and vanquished in fight *Anaxander* King of *Sparta*, who did set upon him in hope to have recovered the booty.

But all those victories of *Aristomenes* perished, in the loss of one battel, whereof the honour (if it were honour) or surely the profit, fell upon the *Lacedemonians*, through the treason of *Aristocrates*, King of *Arcadia*, who being corrupted by the enemies with mony, fled away, and left the *Messenians* exposed to cruel butchery. The loss was so great, that together with *Andania* their principal City, all the Towns of *Messene*, standing too far from the Sea, were abandoned for lack of men to defend them, and the Mount *Era* fortified, whither the multitude, that could not be safe abroad, was conveyed into a place of safety. Here the *Lacedemonians* found a tedious work, that held them eleven years. For besides that *Era* it self was a strong piece, *Aristomenes* with three hundred stout Souldiers, did many incredible exploits, that wearied them, and hindred their attendance on the siege. He wasted all the fields of *Messene*, that were in the enemies power, and brake into *Laconia*, taking away Corn, Wine, Cattel, and all Provisions, necessary for his own People, the Slaves and houshold stuffe he changed into mony, suffering the owners to redeem them. To remedy this mischief, the *Lacedemonians* made an Edict, that neither *Messene*, nor the adjoyning parts of their own Country, should be tilled or husbanded; which bred a great tumult among private men, that were almost undone by it. Yet the Poet *Tyrtæus* appeased this uprore with pleasing Songs. But *Aristomenes* grew so bold, that he not only ranged over all the fields, but adventured upon the Towns, surprised, and sackt *Amyclæ*, and finally caused the enemies to encrease and strengthen their Companies; which done, there yet appeared no likelihood of taking *Era*.

In performing these and other services, thrice *Aristomenes* was taken prisoner, yet still he escaped. One escape of his deserves to be remembred, as a thing very strange and marvellous. He had with too much courage adventured to set upon both the Kings of *Sparta*; and being in that fight wounded, and felled to the ground, was taken up senseless, and carried away prisoner, with fifty of his Companions. There was a deep natural Cave into which the *Spartans* used to cast head-long such as were condemned to dye for the greatest offences. To this punishment were *Aristomenes* and his companions adjudged. All the rest of these poor men dyed with their falls; *Aristomenes* (howsoever it came to pass) took no harm. Yet was it harm enough to be imprisoned in a deep Dungeon, among dead Carkasses, where he was like to perish through hunger and stench. But after a while he perceived by some small glimmering of light (which perhaps came in at the top) a Fox, that was gnawing upon a dead body. Hereupon he bethought himself, that this beast must needs know some way to enter the place, and get out. For which cause he made shift to lay hold upon it, and catching it by the tail with one hand, saved himself from biting with the othet hand. by thrusting his coat into the mouth of it. So letting it creep whether it would, he followed, holding it as his guide, untill the way was too strait for him; and then dismissed it. The Fox being loose, ran through a hole at which came in a little light; and there did *Aristomenes* delve so long with his nails, that at last he clawed out his passage. When some fugitives of *Messene* brought word to *Sparta*, that *Aristomenes* was returned home, their tale sounded alike, as if they had said, that a dead man was revived. But

when

when the *Corinthian* forces that came to help the *Lacedemonians* in the siege of *Era*, were cut in pieces, their Captains slain, and their Camp taken; then was it easily beleived, that *Aristomenes* was alive indeed.

Thus eleven years passed whilest the enemies hovering about *Era*, saw no likelihood of getting it; and *Aristomenes* with small forces did them greater hurt than they knew how to requite. But at the last, a slave that had fled from *Sparta*, betrayed the place. This fellow had enticed to lewdness the wife of a *Messenian*, and was entertained by her, when her Husband went forth to watch. It happened in a rainy-winter-night, that the husband came home unlooked for, whilest the Adulterer was within. The Woman hid her Paramour, and made good countenance to her husband, asking him by what good fortune he was returned so soon. He told her, that the storm of foul weather was such, as had made all his fellows leave their stations, and that himself had done as the rest did; as for *Aristomenes*, he was wounded of late in fight and could not look abroad, neither was it to be feared, that the enemies would stir in such a dark rainy night as this was. This slave that heard these tidings, rose up secretly out of his lurking hole, and got him to the *Lacedemonian* Camp with the news. There he found *Emperamus* his Master commanding in the Kings absence. To him he uttered all; and obtaining pardon for his running away, guided the Army into the Town. Little or nothing was done that night. For the Allarm was presently taken; and the extream darkness, together with the noise of wind and rain, hindred all directions. All the next day was spent in most cruel fight; one part being incited by meer hope ending a long work, the other enraged by meer desperation. The great advantage that the *Spartans* had in numbers, was recompenced partly by the assistance which women and children (to whom the hatred of servitude had taught contempt of death) gave to their husbands and fathers; partly by the narrowness of the streets and other passages, which admitteth not many to fight at once. But the *Messenians* were in continual toyl; their enemies fought in course, refreshing themselves with meat and sleep, and then returning supplyed the place of their weary fellows with fresh Companions. *Aristomenes* therefore, perceiving that his men for want of relief were no longer able to hold out, (as having been three days and three nights vexed with all miseries, of labour, watchings, fighting, hunger and thirst, besides continual rain and cold) gathered together all the weaker sort, whom he compassed about with armed men, and so attempted to break out through the midst of the Enemies. *Emperamus* General of the *Lacedemonians* was glad of this; and to further their departure, caused his Souldiers to give an open way, leaving a fair passage to these desperate mad men. So they issued forth, and arrived safe in *Arcadia*, where they were most lovingly entertained.

Upon the first bruit of the taking of *Era*, the *Arcadians* had prepared themselves to the rescue: but *Aristocrates* their false hearted King, said it was too late, for that all was already lost. When *Aristomenes* had placed his followers in safety, he chose out five hundred the lustiest of his men, with whom he resolved to march in all secret hast into *Sparta*, hoping to find the Town secure, and ill manned, the people being run forth to the spoyl of *Messene*. In this enterprise, if he sped well, it was not doubted, that the *Lacedemonians* would be glad to recover their own, by restitution of that which they had taken from others; if all failed, an honourable death was the worst that could happen. There were three hundred *Arcadians* that offered to joyn with him; but *Aristocrates* marred all, by sending speedy advertisement thereof to *Anaxander* King of *Sparta*. The Epistle which *Anaxander* sent back to *Aristocrates* was intercepted by some that mistrusted him to whom it was directed. Therein was found all his falshood, which being published in open assembly, the *Arcadians* stoned him to death, and casting forth his body unburied, erected a monument of his treachery, with a note, That the Perjurer cannot deceive God.

Of *Aristomenes* no more is remaining to be said, than that committing his people, to the charge of his son *Gorgus* and other sufficient Governors, who should plant them in some new seat abroad, he resolved himself to make aboad in those parts, hoping to find the *Lacedemonians* work at home. His daughters he bestowed honourably in marriage. One of them, *Demagetus*, who reigned in the Isle of *Rhodes*, took to wife, being willed by an Oracle, to marry the Daughter of the best man in *Greece*. Finally *Aristomenes* went with his daughter to *Rhodes*, when he purposed to have travelled unto *Ardys* the Son of *Gyges* King of *Lydia*, and to *Phraortes* King of *Media*: but death prevented him at *Rhodes*, where he was honourably buried.

The *Messenians* were invited by *Anaxilus* (whose great Grandfather was a *Messenian*, and went into *Italy* after the former War) being Lord of the *Rhegians* in *Italy*, to take his part against the *Zancleans* in *Sicily*, on the other side of the Streights. They did so; and winning the Town of *Zancle*, called it *Messene*, which name it keeps to this day.

This second *Messenian* War ended in the first year of the twenty eighth *Olympiad*. Long after which time, the rest of that Nation, who staying at home served the *Lacedemonians*, found means to rebell; but were soon vanquished, and being driven to forsake *Peloponnesus*, they went into *Acarnania*; whence likewise, after few ages, they were expelled by the *Lacedemonians*, and thence followed their ancient Country-men into *Italy* and *Sicily*; some of them went into *Africa*, where they chose unto themselves a seat.

It is very strange, that during two hundred and fourscore years, this banished Nation retained their name, their ancient customs, language, hatred of *Sparta*, and love of their forsaken Country; with a desire to return unto it. In the third year of the hundred and second *Olympiad*, the great *Epaminondas*, having tamed the pride of the *Lacedemonians*, revoked the *Messenians* home, who came flocking out of all quarters, where they dwelt abroad, into *Peloponnesus*. There did *Epaminondas* restore unto them their old possession, and help them in building a fair City; which by the name of the Province, was called *Messene*, and was held by them ever after, in despight of the *Lacedemonians*, of whom they never from thenceforth stood in fear.

SECT. V.

Of the Kings that were in Lydia *and* Media, *while* Manasses *reigned. Whether* Deioces *the* Mede, *were that* Arphaxad *which is mentioned in the Book of* Judith. *Of the History of* Judith.

Ardys King of *Lydia*, and *Phraortes* of the *Medes*, are spoken of by *Pausanias*, as reigning shortly after the *Messenian* war, *Ardys* succeding unto his father,

father *Gyges*, began his reign of nine and forty years, in the second of the five and twentieth *Olympiad*. He followed the steps of his Father, who encroached upon the *Ionians* in *Asia*, had taken *Colophon* by force, and attempted *Miletus* and *Smyrna*. In like manner *Ardys* wan *Priene*, and assayled *Miletus*; but went away without it. In his reign the *Cimmerians*, being expelled out of their own country by the *Scythians*, over-ran a great part of *Asia*, which was not freed from them before the time of *Alyattes* this mans Grand-child, by whom they were driven out. They had not onely broken into *Lydia*, but wan the City of *Sardes*; though the Castle or Citadel thereof was defended against them and held still for King *Ardys* whose long reign was unable, by reason of this great storm, to effect much.

Phraortes was not King until the third year of the nine and twentieth *Olympiad*, which was six years after the *Messenian* war ended; the same being the last years of *Manasses* his reign over *Juda*.

Deioces the father of this *Phraortes*, was King of *Media*, three and fifty of these five and fifty years, in which *Manasses* reigned. This *Deioces* was the first that ruled the *Medes* in a strict form, commanding more absolutely than his Predecessors had done. For they, following the example of *Arbaces*, had given to the people so much licence, as caused every one to desire the wholsom severity of a more Lordly King. Herein *Deioces* answered their desires to the full. For he caused them to build for him a stately Pallace; he took unto him a Guard; for the defence of his person; he seldom gave presence: which also when he did, it was with such austerity, that no man durst presume to spit or cough in his sight. By these and the like ceremonies he bred in the people an awful regard, and highly upheld the Majesty which his Predecessours had almost letten fall, through neglect of due comportments. In execution of his Royal office, he did uprightly and severely administer justice, keeping secret spies to inform him of all that was done in the Kingdom. He cared not to enlarge the bounds of his Dominion, by encroaching upon others, but studied how to govern well his own. The difference found between this King, and such as were before him, seems to have bred that opinion which *Herodotus* delivers, that *Deioces* was the first who reigned in *Media*.

Herod. l. 1.

This was he that built the great City of *Ecbatane*, which now is called *Tauris*; and therefore he should be that King *Arphaxad*, mentioned in the story of *Judith*, as also *Ben Merodach*, by the same account, should be *Nabuchodonosor* the *Assyrian*, by whom *Arphaxad* was slain, and *Holofernes* sent to work wonders upon *Phul* and *Lud*, and I know not what other Countries. For I reckon the last year of *Deioces* to have been the nineteenth of *Ben Merodach*: though others place it otherwise, some earlier, in the time of *Merodach Baladan*, some later, in the reign of *Nabulassar*, who is also called *Nabuchodonosor*.

In fitting this book of *Judith* to a certain time, there hath been much labour spent with ill success. The reigns of *Cambyses*, *Darius*, *Hystaspis*, *Xerxes*, and *Ochus*, have been sought into, but afford no great matter of likelihood; and now of late, the times foregoing the destruction of *Jerusalem*, have been thought upon, and this age that we have in hand, chosen by *Bellarmine*, as agreeing best with the story; though others herein cannot (I speak of such as fain would) agree with him. Whilst *Cambyses* reigned, the Temple was not re-built, which in the story of *Judith* is found standing and dedicated. The other two *Persian* Kings, *Darius* and *Xerxes*, are acknowledged to have been very favourable to the *Jews*; therefore neither of them could be *Nabuchodonosor*, whose part they refused to take, and who sent to destroy them. Yet the time of *Xerxes* hath some conveniences, aptly fitting this History; and above all, the opinion of a few ancient Writers (without whose judgment the authority of this Book were of no value) having placed this argument in the *Persian* Monarchy, inclines the matter to the reign of this vain-glorious King. As for *Ochus*, very few, and they faintly, entitle him to the business. Manifest it is, and granted, that in the time of this History, there must be a return from captivity lately foregoing; the Temple rebuilt; *Joachim* High Priest; and a long peace of three score and ten years, or thereabout, ensuing. All these were to be among the *Jews*. Likewise on the other side, we must find a King that reigned in *Nineve*, eighteen years at the least; that vanquished and slew a King of the *Medes*; one whom the *Jews* refused to assist; one, that sought generally to be adored as God, and that therefore commanded all Temples, of such as were accounted Gods, to be destroyed; one, whose Viceroy or Captain General knew not the *Jewish* Nation, but was fain to learn what they were of the bordering people.

Of all these circumstances; the Priesthood of *Joachim*, with a return from captivity, are found concurring, with either the time of *Manasses* before the destruction of *Jerusalem*, or of *Xerxes* afterward: the re-building of the Temple a while before, and the long peace following, agree with the reign of *Xerxes*; the rest of circumstances requisite, are to be found all together, neither before nor after the captivity of the *Jews*, and desolation of the City. Wherefore the decision of this controversy is, *That the Book of* Judith *is not Canonical*. Yet hath *Torniellus* done as much, in fitting all to the time of *Xerxes*, as was possible in so desperate a case. For he supposeth, that under *Xerxes* there were other Kings, among which *Arphaxad* might be one, (who perhaps restored and re-edified the City of *Ecbatane*, that had formerly been built by *Deioces*) and *Nabuchodonosor* might be another. This granted; he adds, that from the twelfth year to the eighteenth of *Nabuchodonosor*, that is five or six years, the absence and ill fortune of *Xerxes* in his *Grecian* expedition (which he supposeth to have been so long) might give occasion unto *Arphaxad*, of rebelling: and that *Nabuchodonosor*, having vanquished and slain *Arphaxad*, might then seek to make himself Lord of all, by the Army, which he sent forth unto *Holofernes*. So should the *Jews* have done their duty, in adhering to *Xerxes* their Sovereign Lord, and resisting one that rebelled against him; as also the other circumstances rehearsed before, be well applyed to the argument. For in these times, the affairs of *Jury* were agreeable to the History of *Judith*, and such a King as this supposed *Nabuchodonosor*, might well enough be ignorant of the *Jews*, and as proud as we shall need to think him. But the silence of all Histories, takes away belief from this conjecture: and the supposition it self is very hard, that a Rebell, whose King was abroad, with an Army consisting of seventeen hundred thousand men, should presume so far, upon the strength of twelve hundred thousand foot, and twelve thousand Archers on horse-back, as to think that he might do what he list, yea that there was none other God than himself. It is indeed easie to find enough that might be said against this device of *Torniellus*: yet if there were any necessity of holding the book of *Judith* to be Canonical, I would

would rather chuſe to lay aſide all regard of profane Hiſtories, and build ſome defence upon this ground; than, by following the opinion of any other, to violate, as they all do, the text it ſelf. That *Judith* lived under none of the *Perſian* Kings, *Bellarmine* (whoſe works I have not read, but find him cited by *Torniellus*) hath proved by many arguments. That ſhe lived not in the Reign of *Manaſſes*, *Torniellus* hath proved very ſubſtantially, ſhewing how the Cardinal is driven, as it were to break through a wall, in ſaying that the text was corrupted, where it ſpake of the deſtruction of the Temple foregoing her time, that the Kings *Arphaxad* and *Nabuchodonoſor*, found out by *Torniellus*, are the children of meer fantaſy, it is ſo plain that it needs no proof at all.

Wherefore we may truly ſay, that they, which have contended about the time of this Hiſtory, being well furniſhed of matter, wherewith to confute each other, but wanting wherewith to defend themſelves (like naked men in a ſtony field) have chaſed *Holofernes* out of all parts of time, and left him and his great expedition, *Extra anni ſoliſque vias*, in an age that never was, and in places that were never known.

Surely, to find out *the borders of* Japheth, *which were towards the South, and over againſt* Arabia: or the Countries of *Phul* and *Lud*, that lay in *Holofernes* his way; I think it would as much trouble Coſmographers, as the former queſtion hath done Chronologers. But I will not buſie my ſelf herewith; having already ſo far digreſſed, in ſhewing who lived not with *Manaſſes*, that I think it high time to return unto mine own work, and rehearſe what Others I find to have had their part, in the long time of his Reign.

Judit. 2. 22. & 25.

SECT. VI.

Of other Princes and Actions that were in theſe times.

THE firſt year of *Manaſſes* was the laſt of *Romulus*; after whoſe death, one year the *Romans* wanted a King. Then was *Numa Pompilius* a *Sabine* choſen, a peaceable man, and ſeeming very religious in his kind, He brought the rude people, which *Romulus* had employed only in Wars, to ſome good civility, and more orderly faſhion of life. This he effected by filling their heads with Superſtition; as perſwading them, that he had familiarity with a Nymph called *Egeria*, who taught him many Ceremonies which he delivered unto the *Romans* as things of great importance. But all theſe devices of *Numa* were in his own judgement, no better then meer deluſions, that ſerved only as rudiments to bring the ſavage multitude of theeves and out-laws, gathered into one body by *Romulus*, to ſome form of milder diſcipline, than their boyſterous and wild natures were otherwiſe apt to entertain. This appeared by the Books that were found in his grave, almoſt ſix hundred years after his death, wherein the Superſtition taught by himſelf was condemned as vain. His Grave was opened by chance, in digging a piece of ground that belonged to one *L. Petilius* a Scribe. Two Coffins or Cheſts of ſtone were in it, with an inſcription in Greek and Latine letters, which ſaid, that *Numa Pompilius*, the Son of *Pompo*, King of the *Romans* lay there. In the one coffin was nothing found; his body being utterly conſumed, In the other were his Books, wrapped up in two bundles of wax; of his own conſtitutions ſeven, and other ſeven of Philoſophy. They were not onely uncorrupted, but in a manner freſh and new. The Pretor of the City deſiring to have a ſight of theſe Books, when he perceived whereunto they tended, refuſed to deliver them back to the owner, and offered to take a ſolemn Oath that they were againſt the Religion then in uſe. Hereupon the Senate, without more ado, commanded them to be openly burnt. It ſeems that *Numa* did mean to acquit himſelf unto wiſer Ages, which he thought would follow, as one that had not been ſo fooliſh as to believe the Doctrine wherein he inſtructed his own barbarous times. But the poyſon wherewith he had infected *Rome*, when he ſate in his Throne, had not left working, when he miniſtred the Antidote out of his Grave. Had theſe Books not come to light until the days of *Tully* and *Ceſar*, when the miſt of ignorance was ſomewhat better diſcuſſed: likely it is, that they had not onely eſcaped the fire, but wrought ſome good (and peradventure general) effect. Being as it was, they ſerved as a confutation, without remedy, of Idolatry that was inveterate.

Numa reigned three and forty years in continual peace. After him *Tullus Hoſtilius* the third King was choſen, in the ſix and fortieth of *Manaſſes*, and reigned two and thirty years, buſied, for the moſt part, in war. He quarrelled with the *Albanes*, who met him in the field, but in regard of the danger, which both parts had cauſe to fear, that might grow unto them from the *Tuſcanes*, cauſed them to bethink themſelves of a courſe, whereby without effuſion of ſo much bloud, as might make them too weak for a common enemy, it might be decided, who ſhould command, and who obey.

There were in each Camp three Brethren, Twins, born at one birth (*Dionyſius* ſays that they were Couſin Germans) of equal years and ſtrength, who were appointed to fight for their ſeveral Countries. The end was, that the *Horatii*, Companions for the *Romans*, got the victory, though two of them firſt loſt their lives. The three *Curiatii* that fought for *Alba* (as *Livy* tels it) were all alive, and able to fight, yet wounded, when two of their oppoſites were ſlain; but the third *Horatius*, pretending fear, did run away, and thereby drew the others, who by reaſon of their hurts, could not follow him with equal ſpeed, to follow him at ſuch a diſtance one from another, that returning upon them, he ſlew them, as it had been in ſingle fight, man after man, ere they could joyn together and ſet upon him at once. *Dionyſius* reports it ſomewhat otherwiſe, telling very particularly what wounds were given and taken, and ſaying, that firſt, one of the *Horatii* was ſlain, then, one of the *Curiatii*, then, a ſecond *Horatius*, and laſtly the two *Curiatii*, whom the third *Horatius* did cunningly ſever the one from the other, as is ſhewed before.

This is one of the moſt memorable things in the old *Roman* Hiſtory, both in regard of the action it ſelf, wherein *Rome* was laid, as it were in a wager, againſt *Alba*; and in reſpect of the great increaſe which thereby the *Roman* State obtained. For the City of *Alba* did immediately become ſubject unto her own Colony, and was ſhortly after, upon ſome treacherous dealing of their Governor, utterly razed, the people being removed unto *Rome* where they were made Citizens. The ſtrong Nation of the *Latines*, whereof *Alba*, as the mother City, had been chief, became ere long dependent upon *Rome*, though not ſubject unto it, and divers petty States adjacent, were by little and little taken in; which additions, that were ſmall, yet many, I will forbear to rehearſe (as being the work of ſundry ages, and

and few of them remarkable considered apart by themselves) until such time as the fourth Empire, that is now in the Infancy, shall grow to be the main subject of this History.

The seventh year of *Hippomenes* in *Athens* was current with the first of *Manasses*. Also the three last Governors for ten years, who followed *Hippomenes*, were in the same Kings time. Of these I find only names *Leocrates*, *Absander*, and *Erixias*. After *Erixias* yearly, Rulers were elected.

These Governors for ten years were also of the race of *Medon* and *Codrus*, but their time of rule was shortned, and from term of life reduced unto ten years, it being thought likely that they would govern the better, when they knew that they were afterwards to live private men under the command of others. I follow *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus*, in applying their times unto those years of the *Olympiads*, wherein the Chronological Table, following this work, doth set them. For he not only professeth himself to have taken great care in ordering the reckoning of times: but hath noted alwaies the years of the *Greeks*, how they did answer unto the things of *Rome*, throughout all the continuance of this History. Whereas therefore he placeth the building of *Rome*, in the first year of the seventh *Olympiad*, and affirms, that the same was the first year of *Charops*'s government of *Athens*; I hope I shall not need excuse, for varying from *Pausanias*, who sets the beginning of these *Athenians* somewhat sooner.

Dion Hali. l. 1. fol. 43 & 45.

In the reign of *Manasses* it was that *Midas*, whom the Poets feigned to have had Asses ears, held the Kingdom of *Phrygia*. Many fables were devised of him; especially that he obtained of *Bacchus*, as a great gift, that all things that he should touch might immediately be changed into Gold: by which means he had like to have been starved (his meat and drink being subject to the same transformation) had not *Bacchus* delivered him from that miserable faculty, by causing him to wash himself in the River *Pactolus*, the stream whereof hath ever since, forsooth, abounded in that precious metall. Finally, it is said he dyed by drinking Bulls blood; being invaded by the *Scythians*.

In this age flourished that *Antimachus*, who (saith *Plutarch* in the life of *Romulus*) observed the Moons Eclipse at the foundation of *Rome*.

The *Milesians*, or, (as *Eusebius* hath it) the *Athenians* having obtained some power by Sea, founded *Macicratis* a City on the East of *Egypt*. *Psammiticus* herein seems to have assisted them, who used all means of drawing the *Greeks* into *Egypt*, accounting them his surest strength. For neither *Miletus* nor *Athens* were of power sufficient to plant a Colony in *Egypt* by force.

About this time *Archias* and his companion *Miscellus*, and other *Corinthians*, founded *Syracusæ* in *Sicily*, a City in after times exceeding famous. *Plut. & Euseb.*

The City of *Nicodemia*, sometime * *Astacus*, was enlarged and beautified in this age, by *Zipartes* native of *Thrace*. *Sybilla* of *Samus*, according to *Pausanias*, lived much about this time. * Whence in *Strabo* there is *sinus Astacenus*, a part of *Propontis* where this City stands.

About these times also was *Croton* founded upon the Bay of *Tarentum* by *Miscellus*, the companion of *Archias* that built *Syracusæ*, *Strabo* makes it somewhat more ancient, and so doth *Pausanias*. *Paus. l. 5. Hal. l. 3. Strab. l. 6.*

About the same time the *Parthenians* being of age, and banished *Lacedemon*, were conducted by *Phalantus* into *Italy*; where it is said they founded *Tarentum*: but *Justine* and *Pausanias* find it built before, and by them conquered and amplified. And about the same time, *Manasse* yet living, the City *Phaselis* was founded in *Pamphylia*, *Gela* in *Sicily*, *Interamne* in the Region of the *Umbrii*, now *Urbin* in *Italy*. About which time also *Chalcedon* in *Asia*, over against *Byzantium* (now *Constantinople*) was founded by the *Megarenses*, who therefore were upbraided as blind, because they chose not the other side of *Bosphorus*. It were a long work to rehearse all that is said to have been done in the five and fifty years of *Manasses*: that which already hath been told is enough, the rest being not greatly worth remembrance, may well be omitted, reserving only *Ben Merodach*, and *Nabulassar*, to the business that will shortly require more mention of them. *Justin. l. 3. Paus. l. 10.*

CHAP. XXVIII.

Of the Times from the death of MANASSES, *to the Destruction of* Jerusalem.

SECT. I.

Of AMMON *and* JOSIAS.

AMmon the Son of *Manasse*, a man no less wicked than was his Father before his conversion, restored the exercise of all sorts of Idolatry: for which God hardned the hearts of his own servants against him, who slew him after he had reigned two years. *Philo*, *Eusebius*, and *Nicephorus* give him ten years, following the Septuagint. *2 Kin. 21. 2 Chro. 33.*

Josias succeeded unto *Ammon*, being but a child of 8. years old, he began to seek after the God of *David* his Father; and in his twelfth year he purged *Juda*, and *Jerusalem from the high places, and the groves, and the carved and molten Images: and they brake down in his sight the Altars of* Baalim: He caused all the Images, as well those which were graven, as molten, to be stampt to powder, and strewed on their graves that had erected them; and this he commanded to be done throughout all his Dominions. He also slew those that sacrificed to the Sun and Moon, and caused the Chariots and Horses of the Sun to be burnt. Of *Josias* it was prophesied in the time of *Jeroboam* the first, when he erected the Golden Calf at *Bethel*, that a child should be born unto the house of *David*, *Josias* by name, and upon thee *2 Kin. 22. 2 Chro. 34. 1 Kin. 13.*

thee (said the Prophet, speaking to the Altar) shall he sacrifice the Priests of the high places, that burn incense upon thee: a prophecy very remarkable.

In the eighteenth year of his reign, he re-built and repaired the Temple, at which time *Helkiah* the Priest, found the Book of of *Moses*, called *Deuteronomy*, or, of the Law, which he sent to the King: which when he had caused to be read before him, and considered of the severe commandments therein written, the prosperity promised to those that observe them, and the sorrow and extirpation to the rest, he rent his garments, and commanded *Helkiah*, and others, to ask counsel of the Propheteſs *Hulda*, or, *Olda*, concerning the Book: who answered the messengers in these words: *Thus saith the Lord, Behold, I will bring evil upon the place, and upon the inhabitants thereof, even all the curses that are written in the Book, which they have read before the King of* Juda, *because they have forsaken me, and burnt incense to other Gods.* Only for the King himself, because he was a lover of God and his laws, it was promised that this evil should not fall on *Juda* and *Jerusalem* in his dayes, but that he himself should inherit his grave in peace.

2 Chro. 34. 24.
2 Kin. 22. 15.
2 Chro. 34.

Josias assembled the Elders, caused the Book to be read unto them, made a Covenant with the Lord, and caused all that were found in *Jerusalem* and *Benjamin* to do the like, promising thereby to observe the Laws and Commandments in the Book contained.

The execution done by *Josias* upon the Altar, Idols, Monuments, and Bones of the false Prophets at *Bethel*, argueth his Dominion to have extended unto those Countries, that had been part of the Kingdom of the ten Tribes. Yet I do not think, that any victory of *Josias* in war got possession of these places; but rather that *Ezechias*, after the flight and death of *Sennacherib*. when *Merodach* opposed himself against *Asarhaddon*, did use the advantage which the faction in the North presented unto him, and laid hold upon so much of the Kingdom of *Israel*, as he was able to people. Otherwise also it is not improbable that the *Babylonian* finding himself unable to deal with *Psammiticus* in *Syria* (as wanting power to raise the siege of *Azotus*, though the Town held out nine and twenty years) did give unto *Manasses*, together with his liberty, as much in *Israel* as himself could not easily defend. This was a good way to break the amity that the Kings of *Juda* had so long held with those of *Egypt*, by casting a bone between them, and withall by this benefit of enlarging their Territories with addition of more than they could challenge, to redeem the friend-ship of the *Jews*, which had been lost by injuries done in seeking to bereave them of their own. When it is said, that *Manasses* did after his deliverance from imprisonment, *put Captains of War in all the strong Cities of* Juda; it may be that some such business is intimated, as the taking possession and fortifying of places delivered into his hands. For though it be manifest that he took much pains, in making *Jerusalem* it self more defensible; yet I should rather believe, that he, having already compounded with the *Babylonian*, did fortifie himself against the *Egyptians*, whose side he had forsaken, than that he travelled in making such provision onely for his minds sake. The earnestness of *Josias* in the King of *Babel*'s quarrel, doth argue, that the composition wch. *Manasses* had made with that King or his Ancestor, was upon such friendly terms, as required not only a faithfull observation but a thankful requital. For no perswasions could suffice to make *Josias* sit still, and hold himself quiet in good neutrality, when *Pharao Necho* King of *Egypt* passed along by him, to war upon the Countries about the River of *Euphrates*.

2 Chron. 33. 14

The last year of *Josias* his reign it was, when as *Necho* the Son of *Psammiticus*, came with a powerful Army towards the border of *Judea*, determining to pass that way, being the neerest towards *Euphrates*, either to strengthen the passages of that River about *Carchemis*, or *Cercusium*, for the defence of *Syria* (as long after this, *Diocletian* is said by *Ammianus Marcellinus* to have done,) or perhaps to invade *Syria* it self. For it seemeth that the travail of *Psammiticus* had not been idely consumed about that one Town of *Azotus*, but had put the *Egyptians* in possession of no small part of *Syria*, especially in those quarters that had formerly belonged unto the *Adades* Kings of *Damasco*.

2 Chro. 35. 20.

Neither was the industry of *Necho* less than his Fathers had been, in pursuing their War against *Babel*. In which war, two things may greatly have availed the *Egyptian*, and advanced their affairs and hopes: the extraordinary valour of the mercenary *Greeks*, that were far better Souldiers than *Egypt* of it self could afford; and the danger wherein *Assyria* stood, by the force of the Medes, which under the command of more absolute Princes, began to feel it self better, and to shew what it could do. These were great helps, but of shorter endurance than was the war; as in a place more convenient shall be noted. At the present it seems that either some preparation of the *Chaldeans* to reconquer, did enforce, or some disability of theirs to make resistance, did invite the King of Egypt into the Countries bordering upon *Euphrates*; whither *Pharao Necho* ascended with a mighty Army.

These two great Monarchs, having their Swords drawn, and contending for the Empire of that part of the World, *Josias* advised with himself to which of these he might adhere, having his Territory set in the mid way between both, so as the one could not invade the other, but that they must of necessity tread upon the very face and body of his Country. Now though it were so that *Necho* himself desired, by his Embassadors, leave to pass along by *Judea*, protesting that he directed himself against the *Assyrian* only, without all harmful purpose against *Josias*; yet all sufficed not, but the King of *Israel* would needs fight with him.

2 Chro. 35.

Many examples there were, which taught what little good the friendship of *Egypt* could bring to those that had affiance therein: as that of *Hosea* the last King of *Israel*, who when he fell from the dependance of the *Assyrian*, and wholly trusted to *Sabacus* or *Sous* King of *Egypt*, was utterly disappointed of his hopes, and in conclusion lost both his life and estate, which the *Assyrian* so rooted up and tare in pieces, as it could never after be gathered together or replanted. The calamities also that fell upon *Juda* in the thirteenth and fourteenth years of *Ezechia*, whilst that good King and his people relied upon *Sethon*; and more lately, the imprisonment of *Manasses*, were documents of sufficient proof, to shew the ill assurance that was in the help of the *Egyptians*, who (near neighbours though they were) were alwaies unready, when the necessities of their friends required their assistance. The remembrance hereof might be the reason why *Neco* did not seek to have the *Jews* renew their ancient league with him, but onely craved that they would be contented to sit still, and behold the pastime between him and the *Assyrians*. This was an easie thing to grant; seeing the countenance of such an Army, as did soon after this, out-face *Nabulassar* upon

his own borders, left unto the *Jews*, a lawful excuſe of fear, had they forborn to give it any check upon the way. Wherefore I believe that this religious and vertuous Prince *Joſias*, was not ſtirred up only by politick reſpects, to ſtop the way of *Neco*; but thought himſelf bound in Faith and Honour, to do his beſt in defence of the *Babylonian* Crown: whereunto his Kingdom was, obliged, either by Covenant made at the enlargement of *Manaſſes*, or by the gift of ſuch part as he held in the Kingdom of the ten Tribes. As for the Princes and people of *Juda*, they had now a good occaſion to ſhew, both unto the *Babylonians*, of what importance their friendſhip was, aud to the *Egyptians*, what a valiant Nation they had abandoned, and thereby made their enemy.

Some think that this Action of *Joſias* was contrary to the advice of *Jeremy* the Prophet; which I do not find in the Prophecie of *Jeremy*, nor can find reaſon to believe. Others hold opinion that he forgat to ask the Counſel of God: and this is very likely; ſeeing he might believe that an enterpriſe grounded upon fidelity and thankfulneſs due to the King of *Babel* could not but be diſpleaſing unto the Lord. But the wickedneſs of the people (in whom the corruptions of former times had taken ſuch root, as all the care of *Joſias* in reforming the Land could not pluck up) was queſtionleſs far from hearkening how the matter would ſtand with Gods pleaſure, and much farther from enquiring into his ſecret will, wherein it was determined that their good King, whoſe life ſtood between them and their punihment, ſhould now be taken from among them, and that in ſuch ſort, as his death ſhould give an entrance to the miſeries enſuing. So *Joſias* levying all the ſtrength he could make, near unto *Megiddo*, in the half tribe of *Manaſſes*, encountred *Neco*: and there he received the ſtroke of death, which lingring about him till he came to *Jeruſalem*, brought him to the Sepulchres of his Anceſtors. His loſs was greatly bewailed of all the people and Princes of *Juda*, eſpecially of *Jeremy* the Prophet, who inſerted a ſorrowfull remembrance thereof in his Book of Lamentations. *Lam.4.20.*

SECT. II.

Of Pharaoh Neco *that fought with* Joſias: *Of* Jehoahaz *and* Jehojakim *Kings of* Iſrael.

OF theſe Wars, and particularly of this Victory, *Herodotus* hath mention among the Acts of *Neco*. He tells us of this King, that he went about to make a Channel, whereby Ships might paſs out of *Nilus* into the Red Sea. It ſhould have reached above an hundred miles in length, and been wide enough for two Gallies to row in front. But in the middeſt of the work, an Oracle foretold that the *Barbarians* ſhould have the benefit of it, which cauſed *Neco* to deſiſt when half was done. There were conſumed in this toylſome buſineſs twelve hundred thouſand *Egyptians*; a loſs great enough to make the King forſake his enterprize, without troubling the Oracle for admonition. How ſoever it were, he was not a man to be idle; therefore he built a Fleet, and levied a great Army, wherewith he marched againſt the King of *Babel*. In this expedition, he uſed the ſervice as well of his Navy, as of his Land-forces; but no particular exploits of his therein are found recorded, ſave only this victory againſt *Joſias*, where *Herodotus* calls the place *Magdalus*, and the *Jews Syrians*; which is a ſmall error, ſeeing that *Judea* was a Province of *Syria*, and *Magdolus* or *Magdala* is taken to have been the ſame place (though diverſly named) in which this battel was fought. After this, *Necus* took the City of *Caditis*, which was perhaps *Charchemiſh*, by *Euphrates*, and made himſelf Lord, in a manner, of all *Syria*, as *Joſephus* witneſſeth. *Joſ. Ant. Jud. lib. 10 cap.7. Herod.l.4.*

Particularly we find, that the *Phænicians* one of the moſt powerful Nations in *Syria*, were his Subjects, and that by his command they ſurrounded all *Africa*, ſetting ſail from the Gulf of *Arabia*, and ſo paſſing along all the coaſt, whereon they both landed, as need required, and ſowed Corn for their ſuſtenance in that long voyage, which laſted three years. This was the firſt Navigation about *Africa*, wherein that great Cape, now called *Of good hope*, was diſcovered; which after was forgotten, until *Vaſco de Gama* the *Portingal* found it out, following a contrary courſe to that which the *Phænicians* held; for they beginning in the Eaſt, ran the way of the Sun, South, and then Weſtward, after which they returned home by the pillars and ſtreights of *Hercules* (as the name was then) called now the ſtreights of *Gibraltar*, having *Africk* ſtill on the right hand; but the *Portingals*, beginning their voyage not far from the ſame ſtreights, leave *Africk* on the Larboord, and bend their Courſe unto the Eaſt. That report of the *Phænicians*, which *Herodotus* durſt not believe, how the Sun in this journy was on their right hand, that is on the North ſide of them, is a matter of neceſſary truth; and the obſervation then made hereof, makes me the better to believe, that ſuch a voyage was indeed performed. But leaving theſe diſcourſes of *Neco* his magnificence, let us tell what he did, in matters more importing his eſtate. The people of *Juda*, while the *Egyptians* were buſie at *Charchemiſh*, had made *Jehoahaz* their King, in the room of his Father *Joſias*. The Prophet *Jeremy* calls this new King *Shallum*, by the name of his younger brother; alluding perhaps to the ſhort reign of *Shallum* King of the ten tribes: for *Shallum* of *Iſrael* reigned but one month; *Jehoahaz* no more than three. He was not the eldeſt Son of *Joſias*: Wherefore it may ſeem that he was ſet up as the beſt affected unto the King of *Babel*; the reſt of his houſe being more inclined to the *Egyptian*, as appears by the ſequel. An Idolater, he was, and thrived accordingly. For when as *Neco* had diſpatched his buſineſs in the North parts of *Syria*, then did he take order for the affairs of *Judea*. This Country was now ſo far from making any reſiſtance, that the King himſelf came from *Riblah* in the Land of *Hamath*, where the matter went ſo ill on his ſide, that *Neco* did caſt him into bonds, and carry him priſoner into *Egypt*, giving away his Kingdom to *Eliakim* his elder brother, to whom of right it did belong. The City of *Riblah*, in after times called *Antiochia*, was a place unhappy to the Kings and Princes of *Juda*, as may be obſerved in divers examples. Yet here *Jehojakim*, together with his new name, got his Kingdom; an ill gain, ſince he could no better uſe it. But however *Jehojakim* thrived by the bargain, *Pharao* ſped well, making that Kingdom Tributary, without any ſtroke ſtricken; which three months before was to ſtout to give him peace, when he deſired it. Certain it is, that in his march outward, *Neco* had a greater task lying upon his hands, than would permit him to waſt his forces upon *Judea*: but now the reputation of his good ſucceſs at *Megiddo*, and *Charchemiſh*, together with the diſſention of the Princes *Joſias* his Sons (of whom the eldeſt is probably thought to have ſtormed *Jer.22.32.* *2 Kin.* 3432.

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at the preferment of his younger brother) gave him power to do even what should please himself. Yet he did forbear to make a conquest of the Land, perhaps upon the same reason, which had made him so earnest in seeking to hold peace with it. For the *Jews* had suffered much in the *Egyptians* quarrel, and being left by these their friends, in time of need, unto all extremities, were driven of necessity to forsake that party, and to joyn with the enemies; to whom if they shewed themselves faithfull, who could blame them? It was therefore enough to reclaim them; seeing they were such a people as would not upon every occasion shift side, but endure more than *Pharao*, in the pride of his victories, thought that any henceforth should lay upon them: so good a Patron did he mean to be unto them. Nevertheless, he laid upon them a Tribute, of an hundred Talents of Silver, and one Talent of Gold; that so he might both reap at present some fruits of his pains taken, and leave unto them some document in the future, of greater punishment than verbal anger, due to them, if they should rebel. So he departed, carrying along with him into *Egypt* the unfortunate King *Jehoahaz*, who died in his Captivity.

The reign of *Jehoahaz* was included in the end of his Fathers last year; otherwise it would hardly be found, that *Jehojakim* his Successor did reign ten whole years; whereas the Scriptures give him eleven, that are current and incomplete. If any man will rather cast the three mouths of this short reign, into the first year of his brother, than into the Fathers last, the same arguments that shall maintain his opinion, will also prove the matter to be unworthy of disputation; and so I leave it.

Jehojakim in impiety was like his Brother, in faction he was altogether *Egyptian*, as having received his Crown at the hand of *Pharao*. The wickedness of these last Kings being expressed in Scriptures none otherwise, than by general words with reference to all the evil their Fathers had done, makes it apparent, that the poyson wherewith *Ahaz* and *Manasses* had infected the Land, was not so expelled by the zealous goodness of *Josias*, but that it still cleaved unto the chief of the people, *Yea, unto the Priests also*; and therefore it was not strange, that the Kings had their parts therein. The Royal authority was much abased by the dangers wherein the Country stood, in this troublesome age: the Princes did in a manner what they listed, neither would the Kings forbear to profess, that they could deny them nothing. Yet the beginning of *Jehojakim* had the countenance of the *Egyptian* to grace it which made him insolent and cruel, as we find by that example of his dealing with *Uria* the Prophet: though herein also the Princes do appear to have been Instigators. This holy man denounced Gods judgments against the City and Temple, in like sort as other Prophets had formerly done, and did in the same age. The King with all the men of power, and all the Princes, hearing of this, determined to put him to death. Hereupon the poor man fled into *Egypt*: but such regard was had to *Jehojakim*, that *Uria* was delivered unto his Embassador, and sent back to the death; contrary to the custom used, both in those dayes, and since among all civil Nations, of giving refuge unto strangers, that are not held guilty of such inhumane crimes, as for the general good of mankind should be exempted from all priviledge.

2 Chro. 36. 14.

It concerned *Pharao* to give all contentment possible to *Jehojakim*; for the *Assyrian* Lion, that had not stirred in many years, began about these times to roar so loud upon the banks of *Euphrates*, that his voice was heard unto *Nilus*, threatning to make himself Lord of all the Forrest. The causes that hitherto had withdrawn the house of *Merodach* from opposing the *Egyptian* in his conquest of *Syria*, require our consideration in this place, before we proceed to commit them together at *Charchemish*, where shortly after this the glory of *Egypt* is to fall.

SECT. III.

Of the Kings of Babylon *and* Media. *How it came to pass that the Kings of* Babel *could not give attendance on their business in* Syria; *which caused them to lose that Province.*

Merodach the *Son* of *Baladan*, who taking the advantage that *Sennacherib*'s misadventure and death, together with the dissention between his children, presented, made himself King of *Babylon*, was eleven years troubled with a powerful Enemy, *Asarhaddon* the Son of *Sennacherib*, reigning over the *Assyrians* in *Nineve*; from whom whilest he could not any other way divert his cares, he was fain to omit all business in *Syria*, and (as hath been formerly shewed) to make over unto *Ezechia* some part of the Kingdom of the ten Tribes. From this molestation, the death of *Asarhaddon* did not only set him free, but gave unto him some part of *Assyria*, if not (as is commonly, but less probably thought) the whole Kingdom. How greatly this was to the liking of the *Assyrians*, I will not here stand to enquire: his long reign following, and his little intermedling with the matters of *Syria*, make it plain, that he had work enough at home, either in defending or establishing that which he had gotten, *Josephus* gives him the honour of having won *Nineve* it self which we may believe; but surely he did not hold it long, For in the times soon following, that great City was free, and vanquished *Phraortes* the *Median*. Perhaps it yielded upon some capitulation: and refused afterwards to continue subject, when the Kings, being of the *Chaldean* race preferred *Babylon* before it.

Some think that this was the *Assyrian* King, whose Captains took *Manasses* prisoner, but I rather believe those that hold the contrary, for which I have given my reasons in due place. To say truth, I find little cause why *Merodach* should have looked into those parts, as long as the *Jews* were his friends, and the *Egyptians*, that maligned the Northern Empire, held themselves quiet at home, which was until the time of *Psammiticus*, about the end of this Kings Reign, or the beginning of his Sons.

Ben Merodach the Son and successor of this King, is not mentioned in the Scriptures; yet is he named by good consent of Authors, and that speake little of his doings. The length of his Reign is gathered by inference to have been one and twenty years; for so much remaineth of the time that passed between the beginning of his Fathers and Nephews reign (which is a known sum) deducting the years of his Father, and of his Son *Nabulassar*. This (as I take it) was he that had *Manasses* prisoner, and released him. He sped ill in *Syria*, where *Psammiticus*, by the vertue of his mercenary *Greeks*, did much prevail. This may have been some cause that he released *Manasses*, and did put into his hands

ſome part more of the Kingdom of *Samaria*: which is made probable by circumſtances alledged before.

Nabulaſſar that reigned in *Babylon* after his Father *Ben Merodach*, had greater buſineſs in his own Kingdom, than would permit him to look abroad: inſomuch as it may be thought to have been a great negligence or overſight of *Pſammiticus* or *Necho*, that they did not occupy ſome good part of his Dominions beyond *Euphrates*. For it was in his time, that *Phraortes* King of the *Medes* invaded *Aſſyria*, and beſieged *Nineve*; from whence he was not repelled by any force of *Nabulaſſar*, but conſtrained to remove by the coming of the *Scythians*, who in theſe ages did overflow thoſe parts of the world, laying hold upon all that they could maſter with ſtrong hand. Of theſe *Scythians*, and the Lordſhip that they held in *Aſia*, it is convenient that I ſpeak in this place; ſhewing briefly afore-hand, how the *Medes*; upon whom they firſt fell, were buſied in the ſame times with hopes of conquering *Aſſyria*.

Phraortes, the ſon of *Deioces*, King of the *Medes*, having by many victories enlarged his Dominions, conceived at length a fair poſſibility of making himſelf Lord of *Nineve*.

Herod l. 1. That City (as *Herodotus* reports it) having been a Soveraign Lady was not forſaken of all her dependants, yet remained in ſuch caſe, that of her ſelf ſhe was well enough.

This makes it plain, that howſoever *Merodach* had gotten poſſeſſion of this Imperial ſeat, and made it ſubject as was the reſt of the Country. yet it found the means to ſet it ſelf at liberty: as after this again it did, when it had been regained by *Nabulaſſar* his Grand-child.

Sharp war, and the very novelty of ſudden violence, uſe to diſmay any State or Country, not inured to the like: but cuſtom of danger hardeneth even thoſe that are unwarlike. *Nineve* had been the Palace of many valiant Kings lately reigning therein; it had ſuffered, and reſiſted, all the fury, wherewith either Domeſtical Tumults between the Sons of *Sennachirib*, or foreign war of the *Babylonians*, could afflict it: and therefore it is the leſs wonderful, that *Phraortes* did ſpeed ſo ill in his journy againſt it, He and the moſt of his Army periſhed in that expedition: whereof I find no particular circumſtances (perhaps they undervalued their forces, and brought a leſs power than was needful.) It is enough, that herein we may believe *Herodotus*.

Cyaxares the Son of *Phraortes*, a braver man of War than his Father, wan as much of *Aſia* the leſs, as lay Eaſtward, from the River of *Halys*; he ſought revenge upon the *Aſſyrians* for the death of his Father, and beſieged *Nineve* it ſelf, having a purpoſe to deſtroy it. I rather believe *Euſebius*, *That he took the City, and he fulfilled his diſpleaſure upon it*, than *Herodotus*, *That the* Scythian *Army came upon him while he lay before it*. For where equal authorities are contradictory (as *Euſebius*, though far later than *Herodotus*, yet having ſeen other Authors that are now loſt, it is to be valued according to his great reading) there do I hold it beſt, to yield unto the beſt likelihoods.

To think that the *Scythians* came upon *Cyaxares*, whileſt he lay before *Nineve*, were to accuſe him of greater improvidence than ought to be ſuſpected in one commended as a good Souldier. But to ſuppoſe that he was fain to leave the Town, when a War ſo dangerous fell upon his own Country, doth well agree both with the condition of ſuch buſineſs as that *Scythian* expedition brought into thoſe parts, and with the State of the *Chaldean* and *Aſſyrian* affairs enſuing.

The deſtruction of this great City is both foretold in the Book of *Tobit*, and there ſet down as happening about theſe times; of which Book whoſoever was the Author, he was ancient enough to know the ſtory of thoſe ages, and hath committed no ſuch error in reckoning of times, as ſhould cauſe us to diſtruſt him in this. As for the Prophecy of *Nahum*, though it be not limited unto any certain terms, yet it appears to have taken effect, in the final deſtruction of *Nineve* by *Nabuchodonoſor*, according to the common opinion. For the Prophet hath mention of a conqueſt of *Egypt*, foregoing this calamity, whereof we will ſpeak in due place. Some that aſcribe more authority than the reformed Churches yield, to the Book of *Tobit*, are careful, as in a matter of neceſſity, to affirm that about theſe times, *Nineve* was taken; but they attribute (conjecturally) the victory over it to *Ben Merodach*: a needleſs conjecture, if the place of *Euſebius* be well conſidered. Yet I hold it probable, that *Nabulaſſar* the ſon of *Ben Merodoch* did ſeize upon it, and place a King or Viceroy therein, about ſuch time as the Country of *Aſſyria* was abandoned by *Cyaxares*, when the *Scythian* War overwhelmed *Media*. For then was the Conqueſt wrought out ready to his hand; the ſwelling ſpirits of the *Ninevites* were allayed, and their malice to *Babylon* ſo much aſſwaged, that it might be thought a great favour, if *Nabulaſſar*, appointing unto them a peculiar King, took him and them in protection: though afterwards to their confuſion, this unthankful people and their King rebelled again, as ſhall be ſhewed in the Reign of *Nabuchodonoſor*.

SECT. IV.

The great expedition of the Scythians, *who ruled in* Aſia *eight and twenty years.*

¶. I.

The time of this Expedition.

NOw that I have ſhewed what impediment was given by the *Aſſyrians* and the *Medes*, to the *Babylonians*, who thereby were much diſabled to perform any action of worth upon the *Egyptians* in *Syria*; it is time that I ſpeak of that great *Scythian* expedition, which grievouſly afflicted not only the *Babylonians*, but the *Medes* and *Lydians* with the Countries adjacent, in ſuch wiſe, that part of the trouble redounded even to the *Egyptians* themſelves.

Of the *Scythian* people in general, *Herodotus* makes very large diſcourſe, but interlaced, as of matter ill known, with many Fables; of this Expedition he tells many particulars, but ill agreeing with conſent of time. Concerning his fabulous reports, it will be needleſs to recite them; for they are far enough diſtant from the buſineſs in hand. The computation of times which by inference out of his relations, may ſeem very ſtrange, needeth ſome anſwer in this place: leſt otherwiſe I ſhould either ſeem to make my ſelf too bold with an Author, in citing him after a manner different from his own tale; or elſe to be too forgetful of my ſelf, in bringing to act upon the Stage, thoſe perſons, which I had already buried. Eight and twenty years, he ſaith, that the *Scythians* reigned in *Aſia*, before *Cyaxares* delivered the Country from them. Yet he reports a

War

War between *Cyaxares* and *Halyattes* the *Lydian*, as foregoing the ſiege of *Nineve*; the ſiege of *Nineve* being ere the *Scythians* came.

And further he tells how the *Scythians* having vanquiſhed the *Medes*, did paſs into *Syria*, and were encountred in *Paleſtina* by *Pſammiticus* King of *Egypt*, who by gifts and intreaty procured them to depart from him. Theſe narrations of *Herodotus* may, every one of them, be true; though not in ſuch order of time, as he hath marſhalled them. For *Pſammiticus* was dead before *Cyaxares* began to reign: and *Cyaxares* had ſpent half of his forty years, ere *Halyattes* was King of *Lydia*, ſo taht he could not after thoſe *Lydian* Wars, reign eight and twenty years together with the *Scythians*. It is true, that *Euſebius* doth alſo call *Pſammis* the ſon of *Pharao Neco*, by the name of *Pſammiticus*; and this King *Pſammis* may, by ſome ſtrained conjecture, be thought to have been he that met with the *Scythians*: for he lived with both *Cyaxares* and *Halyattes*. But *Euſebius* himſelf refers all that buſineſs of the *Scythian* irruption into *Paleſtina* to *Pſammiticus* the Father of *Necho*, whom he leaves dead before the reign of *Halyattes*. Therefore I dare not rely upon *Herodotus*, in this matter, otherwiſe than to believe him, that ſuch things were in theſe ages, though not in ſuch order as he ſets them down.

It remains, that I collect as well as I can, thoſe memorials which I find of this expedition ſcattered in divers places: a work neceſſary, for that the greatneſs of this action was ſuch, as ought not to be omitted in general Hiſtory; yet not eaſie, the conſent of thoſe that have written thereof, being nothing near to uniformity.

I have noted before, that in the reign of *Ardys* King of *Lydia*, the *Cimmerians* over-ran that Kingdom, and were not expelled, until *Halyattes* the Nephew of *Ardys* got the upper hand of them. In theſe times therefore of *Ardys*, *Sardyattes*, and *Haliattes*, are we to find the eight and twenty years, wherein the *Scythians* reigned over *Aſia*. Now foraſmuch as *Pſammiticus* the *Egyptian* had ſome dealings with the *Scythians*, even in the height of their proſperity, we muſt needs allow more than one or two of his laſt years unto this their Dominion. But the beginnning of *Halyattes* his reign in *Lydia*, being three and twenty years compleat after the death of *Pſammiticus*, leaves the ſpace very ſcant, either for the great victories of the *Scythians*, neceſſarily ſuppoſed before they could meet the *Egyptians* in *Syria*, or for thoſe many loſſes, which they muſt have received ere they could be driven quite away. To encreaſe this difficulty, the victorious reign of *Nabuchodonoſor* in *Babylon*, is of no ſmall moment. For now may we think it poſſible, that he ſhould have adventured the ſtrength of the Kingdom againſt the *Egyptians* and *Jews*, had he ſtood in daily fear of looſing his own, to a more mighty Nation, that lay upon his neck? To ſpeak ſimply as it appears to me, the victories aſcribed to *Cyaxares* and *Halyattes* over theſe warlike people, were not obtained againſt the whole body of their Army, but were the defeatures of ſome troops that inveſted their ſeveral Kingdoms; other Princes, and among theſe *Nabulaſſar* having the like ſucceſs, when the pleaſures of *Aſia* had mollified the courages of theſe hardy Northern Lads. Wherefore we may probably annex the eight and twenty years of the *Scythians* rule, to as many almoſt the laſt of *Nabulaſſar*'s Reign, in compaſs whereof their power was at the greateſt. This is all that I can ſay of the time, wherein *Aſia* ſuffered the violence of their oppreſſors.

‖. II.

What Nations they were that brake into Aſia; *with the cauſe of their Journey.*

TOuching the expedition it ſelf, *Herodotus* tells us, that the *Cimmerians* being driven out of their Country by the *Scythians*, invaded and waſted ſome part of *Aſia*; and that the *Scythians*, not contented with having won the land of the *Cimmerians*, did follow them, I know not why, into far removed quarters of the World, ſo (as it were by chance) falling upon *Media* and *Egypt*, in this purſuit of men that were gone another way into *Lydia*. Hereby we may gather that the *Cimmerians* were an odious and baſe people; the *Scythians*, as miſchievous and fooliſh; or elſe *Herodotus*, and ſome other of his Country-men, great ſlanderers of thoſe, by whom their Nation had been beaten, and *Ionia*, more than once, grievouſly ranſackt. The great valour of the *Cimmerians* or *Cimbrians* is ſo well known, and their many Conqueſts ſo well teſtified in Hiſtories of divers Nations, that the malice of the *Greeks* is inſufficient to ſtain them with the note of Cowards. Theſe were the poſterity of *Gomer*, who peopled the greateſt part of our Weſtern World; and whoſe reflow did overwhelm no ſmall portion of *Greece* and *Aſia*, as well before and after, as in the age whereof we do now entreat. He that would more largely inform himſelf of their original and actions, may peruſe *Goropius Becanus* his *Amazonica*, of many things in which Book, that may be verified, which the learned *Ortelius* is ſaid to have ſpoken of all *Goropius* his works, *that it is eaſie to laugh at them, but hard to confute them*: There we find it proved, by ſuch arguments and authorities as are not lightly regarded, that the *Cimmerians*, *Scythians*, and *Sarmatians*, were all of one Lineage and Nation; howſoever diſtinguiſhed in name, by reaſon of their divers tribes, profeſſions, or perhaps Dialect of ſpeech. *Homer* indeed hath mention of the *Cimmerians*; whoſe Country whether he placeth in the Weſt, as near unto the Ocean and bounds of the Earth, or in the North, as being far from the Sun, and covered with eternal darkneſs; certain it is that he would have them near neighbours to Hell: for he had the ſame quarrel to them which *Herodotus* had, and therefore belike would have made them ſeem a kind of Goblins. It was the manner of this great Poet (as *Herodotus* writing his life affirms) to inſert into his Works the names of ſuch as lived in his own time, making ſuch mention of them, as the good or ill done by them to himſelf deſerved. And for this reaſon it is proved by *Euſtathius*, that the *Cimmerians* were ſo diſgraced by him, becauſe they had waſted his Country. Perhaps that invaſion of *Phrygia* by the *Amazons*, whereof *Homer* puts a remembrance into *Priamus* his diſcourſe with *Helen*, was the very ſame, which *Euſebius* noteth to have happened ſomewhat before the age of *Homer*, at what time the *Cimmerians* with the *Amazons*, together invaded *Aſia*.

This is certain, that both the *Amazons* and the *Cimmerii* (who in after-times were called *Cimbri*) did often break into *Greece* and *Aſia*; which though it be not in expreſſe terms written, that they did with joynt forces, yet ſeeing they invaded the ſelf-ſame places, it may well be gathered, that they were companions. One journy of the *Amazons* into *Greece*, mentioned alſo by *Euſebius*, was by the ſtreights of the *Cimmerians*, as we find in *Diodore*, who

Diod. l. 4. c. 2. Diod. l. 2. c. 11. who further telleth us, that the *Scythians* therein gave them assistance. The same Author, before his entry into those discourses of the *Amazons*, which himself acknowledgeth to be fabulous, doth report them to have been Wives of the *Scythians*, and no less War-like than their Husbands; alledging the example of that Queen who is said to have slain the great *Persian Cyrus*. That it was the manner of the *Cimbri* to carry their Wives along with them to the wars; and how desperate the courage was of those Women; the terrible descent of them into *Italy*, when *Marius* the *Roman* overthrew them, gives proof sufficient. I will not here enter into a discourse of the *Amazons*; another place will give me better leisure to speak of them: but seeing that they are noted by divers Historians to have belonged unto the *Cimmerians*, to the *Scythians*, and to the *Sarmatians*, we may therefore the better approve *Goropius* his conclusion, That these three Nations were one, at least that they were near allies.

Now as concerning the expulsion of the *Cimmerians* by the *Scythians*, it appears to have been none other than the sending forth a Colony of them into *Asia*, with an Army of *Scythians* to help them in purchasing a new seat and establishing the Plantation.

The *Sarmatians* also were companions in this journy. For the City of *Novograd* in *Russia* (which Country is the same that was called *Sarmatia*) stood in their way homewards, as shall anon be further shewed. So that all the North was up in Arms: and therefore it is no marvel though many Countries felt the weight of this great inundation. Such another voyage was that, which the same people made five hundred years and more after this, when they were encountred by the *Romans*. For they issued from the parts about the Lake *Maotis*; they were then likewise assisted (saith *Plutarch* in the most likely report of them) by the *Scythians* their neighbors; they had in their Army above three hundred thousand fighting men, besides a huge multitude of women and children; they wandred over many Countries, beating all down before them; and finally, thinking to have setled themselves in *Italy*, they divided their Company, for the more eatie passage thither, and were consumed in three terrible battels by the *Roman* Consuls. Meer necessity enforced these poor Nations to trouble the World, in following such hard adventures. For their Country being more fruitfull of men by far than of sustenance, and shut up on the North side with intollerable cold, which denied issue that way to their overswelling multitudes; they were compelled to discharge upon the South, and by right or wrong to drive others out of possession, as having title to all that they had power to get, because they wanted all, that weaker but more civil, people had. Their sturdy bodies, patient of hunger, cold, and all hardness, gave them great advantage over such as were accustomed unto a more delicate life, and could not be without a thousand superfluities. Wherefore most commonly they prevailed very far; their next neighbours giving them free passage, that they might the sooner be rid of them: others giving them, besides passage, victuals and guides to conduct them to more wealthy places; others hiring them to depart with great presents; so as the farther they went on, the more pleasant Lands they found, & the more effeminate people.

Plutarch in the life of Marius

§. III,

Of the Cimmerians *War in* Lydia.

THe first Company of these, consisting for the most part of *Cimmerians*, held the way of the *Euxine* Seas, which they had still on the right hand: leaving on the other side, and behind them, the great Mountains of *Caucasus*. These having passed through the Land of *Cholchis*, that now is called *Mengrelli*, entred the Country of *Pontus*, and being arrived in *Paphlagonia*, fortified the *Promontory*, whereon *Synope*, a famous Haven Town of the *Greeks*, was afterwards built. Here it seems that they bestowed the weakest and most unserviceable of their train, together with the heaviest of their carriages, under some good guard: as drawing near to those Regions in conquest whereof they were to try the utmost hazard. For in like sort afterwards did the *Cimbri* (of whom I spake even now) dispose of their impediments, leaving them in a place of strength, where *Antwerp* now stands, when they drew near unto *Gaul*, upon which they determined to adventure themselves in the purchaser. From *Synope*, the way unto *Phrygia*, *Lydia* and *Ionia*, was fair and open to the *Cimmerians*, without any ladg of Mountains, or any deep Rivers at all to stay their march: for *Iris* and *Halis* they had already passed. Herod. l. 4.

What battels were fought between these Invaders and the *Lydians*, and with what variable success the one or other part wan and lost, I find not written, nor am able to conjecture. This I find that in the time of *Ardys*, the *Cimmerians* got possession of *Sardes* the capital City of *Lydia*; only the Castle holding out against them. Further I observe, that whereas *Herodotus* tells of the acts performed by *Gyges* and *Ardys* Kings of *Lydia*, before this invasion, and by *Halyattes* and *Crœsus* in the times folowing, all that *Ardys* did against the *Cimmerians*, and all, save burning the *Milesians* Corn fields, that was done in twelve years by *Sadyattes* his son (who perhaps had his hands so full of this business, that he could turn them to nothing else) is quite omitted: whereby it may seem, that neither of the two did any thing worthy of remembrance in those Wars, but were glad enough that they did lose all.

Certainly the miseries of War are never so bitter and many, as when a whole Nation, or a great part of it, forsaking their own seats, labour to root out the established Possessors of another Land; making room for themselves, their Wives and children. They that fight for the mastery, are pacified with Tribute, or with some other services and acknowledgments; which had they been yielded at the first, all had been quiet, and no sword bloudied. But in these migrations, the assailants bring so little with them, that they need all which the defendants have; their Lands and Cattel, their houses and their goods, even to the Cradles of the sucking Infants. The mercileſs terms of this controversy, arm both sides with desperate resolution: seeing one part must either win, or perish by famine; the other defend their goods, or lose their lives without redemption. Most of the Countries in *Europe* have felt examples thereof; and the mighty Empire of *Rome* was overthrown by such invasions. But our Isle of *Britain* can best witness the diversity of Conquests; having by the happy Victory of the *Romans*, gotten the knowledge of all Civil Arts, in exchange of liberty, that was but slenderly instructed therein before; where as the issue of the *Saxon* and *Danish* Wars, was, as were the causes, quite contrary. For these did not seek after the Dominion onely, but the entire possession of the Country, which the *Saxons* obtained, but with horrible cruelty, eradicating all of the *Britisb* Race, and defacing all memorials of the ancient inhabitants through the greater part of the Land. But the *Danes* (who are also of the *Cimmerian* blood) found such end of their enterprize, as it may seem that

that the *Cimmerians* in *Lydia*, and *Scythians* in the higher *Asia*, did arrive unto, So that by considering the process of the one, we shall the better conceive the fortune of the other. Many battels the *Danes* won, yet none of such importance, as sufficed to make them absolute Conquerors: Many the *Saxons* won upon the *Danes*, yet not so great, as could drive them quite away, and back from hence, after they had gotten firm footing. But in course of time, the long continuance even of utter enmity, had bred such acquaintance between them, as bowing the natures of both these people, made the one more pliant unto the other. So their disagreeable qualities, both ill and good, being reduced in one mild temper, no small number of the *Danes* became peaceable cohabitants with the *Saxons* in *England*, where great slaughter had made large room; others returning home, found their own Country wide enough to receive them, as having disburthened it self of many thousands, that were sent to seek their graves abroad. And such (as I think) was the end of the *Cimmerian* War in *Lydia*; whereunto though some victory of *Halyattes* may have hastened the conclusion, yet the wearisome length of time seems to have done most, in compelling them to desire of rest. I know not why I should fear to add hereunto my further conjecture, which is, that the matter was so compounded between the *Cimmerians* and *Halyattes*, that the River of *Halys* should divide their Territories. For *Halys* was henceforth the border of the *Lydians*, and on the Eastern side of the River was the Country of the *Amazons*, that is indeed, of the *Cimmerians*, and other *Scythian* people; whose wives and daughters these warlike women are supposed to have been.

And hereunto the quarrel ensuing between *Halyattes* and *Cyaxares* the *Mede*, hath very good reference. For *Halyattes* (as is said) fought in defence of certain *Scythians*, upon whom the *Median* sought revenge. And it stands with reason, that the *Lydians* and *Cimmerians*, being much weakned with mutual slaughters, should have joyned in a league of mutual defence for their common safety: though otherwise it had been dangerous to *Halyattes*, if he had permitted the *Median* to extend his Kingdom so far West-ward, whatsoever the pretences might be, of taking revenge upon such as had spoiled each of their Countries. As for that occasion of the War between these two Kings, which *Herodotus* relates, I find it of little weight, and less probability. He tells of *Scythians*, that being chased out of their Country by faction, came unto *Cyaxares*, who committed unto them certain Boys, to be instructed in the *Scythian* tongue, and feat of *Archery*. Now it so fell out (saith he) that these *Scythians* using much to hunt, and commonly bringing home somewhat with them, did nevertheless other-whiles miss of their game, and came home as they went. Hereupon the King being froward and cholerick, bitterly reviled them, and they, as impatient as he, killed one of the Boys that was under their charge, whom dressing like Venison, they presented unto him; which done, they fled unto *Halyattes*. This *Herodotus* delivers, as the ground of a War that lasted six years between the *Medes* and *Lydians*; the one King demanding these Fugitives to be delivered into his hand, the other refusing to betray such men as were become his suppliants. To this I will say no more, than that I see no cause that might induce the *Scythians* to betake themselves to either of these Kings unto whom their Nation had wrought so much displeasure. Particularly, they had reason to distrust *Cyaxares*, for the treachery that he shewed in the massacring of their Country-men that were in his Kingdom, of whom it is now meet that we should speak.

Herod. lib. 1.

SECT. IV.

The War of the Scythians *in the higher* Asia.

AS the *Cimmerians* held their course Westerly, along the shores of the *Euxine* sea, so the *Scythians* and *Sarmatians* took the other way, and having the *Caspian* Sea on their left hand, passed between it and *Caucasus*, through *Albania*, *Colthene*, and other obscure Nations, where now are the Countries of *Servan* and *Georgia*, and so they entred into *Media*. The *Medes* encountred them in Arms, but were beaten, and thereupon glad to come to any agreement with them. This was in the time of *Phraortes*, whilest *Psammiticus* reigned in *Egypt*. If it were in the sixth year of *Nabulassars* Reign over *Babylon* (supposing him to have reigned five and thirty; otherwise we must allow to *Ben Merodach* what we take from him) then do the eight and twenty years of their Dominion end, one year before the great *Nabuchodonosor* was King; so giving him good leave to provide securely for the invasion of *Syria*; which expedition he began while his Father yet lived, as *Josephus* out of *Berosus* relates the History.

Now the *Medes*, desirous to save themselves as well as they might, from this terrible nation, which when they had no lust to a second trial of the sword, refused not to undergo the burthen of a Tribute, but thought nothing dishonourable, that would serve to remove these troublesome guests into some other lodging. On the other part, the *Scythians* finding still the Countries pleasanter and better, the further that they marched into the South, did suffer themselves to be perswaded that a little more travel would add a great deal more to their content. For they relyed so much upon their own valour, that they feared no resistance, and being the bravest men, they thought it reason that they should dwell in the best Region. That *Phraortes* perswaded them into *Egypt*, I do not think; *Babylon* was near enough; whether if he could send these Locusts to graze, then should not his unfriendly Neighbours have cause to laugh at his misfortune. What shift *Nabulassar* made with them, or that at all he had any dealings with them, I do not read. But it is well known that his Dominions lay in the middest between *Media* and *Egypt*; as also, that they made all those parts of *Asia* Tributary; wherefore we may very well believe, that they watered their Horses in his Rivers, and that he also was content to give them provender.

Psammiticus hearing of their progress (like the jealous Husband of a fair Wife) took care that they might not look upon *Egypt*, lest the sight thereof should more easily detain them there, than any force or perswasion that he could use would send them going. Therefore he met them in *Syria*, presuming more on the great gifts which he meant to bestow upon them, than on his Army that should keep them back. *Egypt* was rich and half the riches had not been ill spent in saving all. Yet *Psammitticus* took the most likely course, whereby to make his part good against them by strong hand in case they had been so obstinate as to refuse all indifferent composition. For he lay close upon the edge of the Wilderness in *Gaza* (as I take it) the Southermost border of *Palestina*: whence he never advanced to meet with the *Scythians*, but gave them leave to feel as much of the scalding Sun-beams, ill agreeing with their temper, as all the length of *Syria* could beat upon them. When they were come as far as *Ascalon*, the

the next City to *Gaza*, then did he aſſay them with goodly words, accompanied with gifts, which were likely to work ſo much the better, by how much the worſe they were pleaſed with the heat of a Climate ſo far different from their own. *Pſammiticus* had at his back a vaſt wilderneſs, over the ſcorching ſands whereof, the *Sythians* more patient of cold and wet, than of the contrary diſtempers, could ill have endured to purſue him through unknown ways, had they fought with him and prevailed, eſpecially the Kingdom of *Egypt* being ready to entertain him with relief, and them with new trouble at the end of their weary journey. Wherefore they were content to be entreated, and taking in good part his courteous offers, returned back to viſit their acquaintance in the high Countries. The *Egyptian* King (beſides that he preſerved his own Eſtate from a dangerous adventure, by hireing this great Army to depart from him) found all his Coaſt well repayed in the proceſs of his War in *Syria*, where the Nations beyond *Euphrates* had no power to moleſt him, being more than ever troubled themſelves with their oppreſſors. For the *Sythians*, reſolving now to ſeek no further, began to demand more than the Tribute formerly impoſed. And not contented to fleece the Naturals with grievous exactions, they preſumed to live at diſcretion upon the Country, taking what they liſted from the owners; and many times (as it were to ſave the labour of taking often) taking all at once. This tyrannous Dominion they long uſed over the higher *Aſia*, that is over the Country lying between the *Caſpian* and *Red Seas*: and between *India* and *Aſia* the leſs. Happy it was for the poor people that in ſo large a ſpace of ground, there was room enough for theſe new comers, otherwiſe the calamity that fell, as it were by chance, upon thoſe private men, to whoſe wealth any *Scythian* did bear a fancy, would have lighted in general upon all at one clap, leaving few alive, and none able to relieve their fellows. Yet it ſeems that the heavieſt burthen lay upon *Media*; for it was a fruitful Country, not far from their own home, and lay under a Climate well agreeing with the conſtitution of their bodies, there alſo it was that they had the fatal blow, by which their inſolent Rule was taken from them.

Herod. lib. 1. *Cyaxares* King of the *Medes*, who in this extremity was no better than a Rent-gatherer for the *Scythians*, perceiving that his Land lay unmanured and waſte, through the negligence of his people, that were out of heart by daily oppreſſions, and that the matter could not be remedied by open force, reſolved to prove what might be done by ſtratagem. The managing of the buſineſs is thus delivered in brief; That he, and his *Medes*, feaſted the better part of the *Scythians*, made them drunk, and ſlew them; recovering hereby the poſſeſſion of all that they had loſt.

Such another ſlaughter was committed upon the *Danes* in *England*; but it was revenged by their Country men, with greater cruelty than ever they had practiſed before. That the *Scythians* which eſcaped this bloody feaſt made any ſtir in *Media*, I do not find; neither do I read that either in revenge hereof, or upon other pretence, the *Medes* were troubled by invaſion from *Scythia* in time following.

Herod. lib. 4. This is the more ſtrange, for that the Army returning home out of *Media*, was very ſtrong, and encountred with oppoſition (as *Herodotus* reports it) no leſs than it had found abroad. Wherefore it may be, that the device of *Cyaxares* to free his Country, took good effect, with leſs bloodſhed than hath been ſuppoſed. For if he ſurpriſed all the chief of them, it was no hard matter to make a good compoſition. Many of them doubtleſs in eight and twenty years had ſo well ſetled themſelves, that they were deſirous of reſt, and might be permitted, without any danger, to remain in the Country; many (of whom I ſhall ſpeak anon) having done what they could in the buſineſs, for which they came forth, were willing to return home with what they had gotten; ſuch as were not pleaſed with either of theſe two courſes, might go joyn with the *Cimmerians* in *Lydia*, or ſeek their fortunes in other Provinces among their own Companions. Whereas all the Families of the North are ſaid to have been with *Nebuchadnezzar*, it may be underſtood, that a great part of the *Scythians*, upon hope of gain, or deſire to keep what they had already gained, were content to become ſubject unto *Nabulaſſar*; mens love of their wealth being moſt effectual, in taming the more unquiet love of inordinate liberty. This is certain, that *Nebuchadnezzar*, as ever after, ſo in his firſt beginning of war, did beat the *Egyptians*, who in ages foregoing, had been accuſtomed to deal with the *Babylonians* after another faſhion: and this new ſucceſs of that King may be imputed, in regard of humane means, to ſuch addition as this of new forces. *Jer. 35.9.*

Of the *Scythian* Army returning out of *Media*, divers authors report a Story, which confirms me in the opinion, that this Company went forth to aſſiſt their kindred and friends, in acquiring a new ſeat, and ebliſhing their plantation. For theſe had left their wives behind them; a good argument to prove that they meant to come again. The *Scythian* women, to comfort themſelves in their husbands abſence, became bed-fellows to their ſlaves. Theſe got a luſty brood of youths, that were loth to be troubled with Fathers-in-law, and therefore prepared to fight with them at their return. If they were only the children of ſlaves, which compounded an Army (as *Herodotus* would have it, who tels us, that the *Scythians* were wont to pull out all their bond-mens eyes) it muſt needs be that they were very boys, or elſe that the Women did very little while continue chaſt. Wherefore I rather belie e that tale as it is told by the *Ruſſes* themſelves, who agreeing in the reſt with the conſent of Hiſtories, make that report of their Anceſtors returning homewards, which I will ſet down as I find it in Maſter *Doctor Fletcher* his exact diſcourſe of the *Ruſs Common-wealth*. *They underſtood by the way, that their Chorolopey, or Bond-ſlaves, whom they left at home, had in their abſence poſſeſſed their Towns, lands, houſes, wives, and all; At which news being ſomewhat amazed, and yet diſdaining the Villany of their ſervants, they made the more haſt home, and ſo not far from* Novograd *met them in warlike manner marching againſt them. Whereupon adviſing what was beſt to be done, they agreed alſo to ſet upon them with no other ſhew of weapon but with their horſe-whips (which as their manner is, every man rideth with all) to put them in remembrance of their ſervile condition, thereby to terrifie them, and abate their courage. And ſo marching on, and laſhing altogether with their whips in their hands, they gave the onſet; which ſeemed ſo terrible in the ears of their Villains, and ſtrook ſuch a ſenſe into them of the ſmart of the whip, which they had felt before, that they fled altogether like Sheep before the Drivers. In memory of this victory, the* Novogradians *ever ſince have ſtamped their Coin (which they call* Dingoe Novogradskoy, *currant through all* Ruſſia) *with the figure of a horſe-man ſhaking a whip aloft in his hand.* It may ſeem, that all the women of that Country have fared the worſe ever ſince, in regard of the univerſal fault: For ſuch a Pudkey or whip, as terrified thoſe ſlaves, curiouſly wrought by her ſelf, is the firſt preſent that the *Muſcovian* wife, even in time of wooing, ſends to him that ſhall be her husband, in token of ſubjection, being well aſſured to feel it often on her own loins. But this was a Document unto the *Scythians*, or rather *Ruſ. Commonw. cap 4.*

Sarmatians

Sarmatians (for *Novograd* ſtands in the Country that was called *Sarmatia*) to beware of abſenting themſelves any more ſo long from their wives; which after this, I find not that they did.

Thus much I thought good to ſet down of the *Scythian* expedition; not only becauſe it is the moſt memorable act performed abroad by that Nation, famous in Hiſtories, & terrible to many Countries; but for that it appears to have been a great cauſe of the *Egyptians* prevailing hitherto in *Syria*, & about *Judæa*, which continues yet a while the center of our diſcourſe.

SECT. V.

Of Princes living in divers Countries, in theſe Ages.

HAving thus far digreſſed from the matters of *Juda*, to avoid all further occaſion of doing the like, I will here inſert a note of ſuch Kings, & men of mark, as were between the death of *Manaſſes*, and the ruine of *Jeruſalem*. Of the *Egyptians*, *Babylonians*, *Medes*, & *Lydians*, I have ſpoken as much as I thought needful. In *Rome*, *Tullus Hoſtilius* held the Kingdom until the one & twentieth year of *Joſias*; at which time *Ancus Martius* ſucceding, reigned four and twenty years. After him *L. Tarquinius Priſcus*, a new come ſtranger, but very rich, prevailed ſo far by his graciouſneſs among the people that he got the Kingdom to himſelf, diſappointing the ſons of *Ancus*, over whom he was Tutor. He began in the fourth year of *Zedekia*, and reigned eight and thirty years. In this time it was, namely, in the ſecond year of the thirtieth *Olympiad*, that the *Lacedæmonians* bethinking them how to be avenged of the *Arcadians*, who gave ſuccour to the *Meſſenians* againſt them in the former war, entred their Territory, took the City of *Phigalia* or *Phialia*, from whence their Garriſons were ſoon after beaten out. *Cypſelus* expelling the race of the *Bacidæ*, made himſelf Lord of *Corinth* about theſe times, and governed it in peace thirty years; leaving for ſucceſſor his ſon *Periander*, one of the ſeven Sages, but a cruel Tyrant: who among other vile acts, ſlew his own wife, and afterwards, as in her honour, ſtripped all the *Corinthian* women ſtark naked, burning their apparel, as an acceptable offering to her Ghoſt. Hereby we may perceive, that the wiſdom of the *Greeks* was not excellent in thoſe days, when ſuch a one as this could be admired as excelling all the Country.

In theſe times alſo were *Zaleucus* and *Draco*, famous law-givers, the one among the *Locrians* in *Italy*, the other in the City of *Athens*. The laws of *Draco* were ſo rigorous, that he was ſaid to have written them with blood: for he rewarded every ſmall offence with death. Wherefore his Conſtitutions were ſoon abrogated, and power given to *Solon* by the *Athenians*, to make new in their ſtead. But the laws of *Zaleucus* were very mild. He forbad any Gentlewoman to walk abroad with more than one Bond-woman attending on her, *unleſs it were when ſhe was drunk*; or to go forth of the Town by night, unleſs it were to ſome ſweet-hearts bed; or to dreſs her ſelf up in immodeſt bravery, unleſs it were to inveigle a lover. By which pleaſant Ordinances he effected his deſire, for none would ſeem, in breaking the Statutes, to be in ſuch caſe as challenged the diſpenſation. It is noted in this man as a ſingular example of juſtice, that when his own Son had committed Adultery, and was therefore to loſe both his eyes, he did not cauſe him to be pardoned, but gave one eye of his own to ſave the young man (who alſo loſt one) from utter blindneſs.

I ſhall not therefore need ſo far to wander, as hitherto I often have done, in purſuing of actions collateral to the Hiſtory, for inſerting them in their order of time. The *Chaldeans* will ſoon fall under the *Perſians*; ere long, encounter with the *Greeks*; the *Greeks*, with the *Romans*; the *Romans*, with many Nations. Concerning all theſe, as they ſhall ſucceſſively preſent themſelves, in their flouriſhing Eſtate, it will be enough to recapitulate the moſt memorable accidents, that befell them in their Minority. But in the long ſpace of more than thirteen hundred years, which paſſed between the calling of *Abraham*, and the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, we find little matter, wherein the Hiſtory of *Iſrael* had any dealing with other Nations, than the very neareſt borderers. Yet read we of many Kingdoms, that in theſe many ages were erected and thrown down; as likewiſe many memorable acts were performed in *Greece* and elſe-where, though not following one another at any near diſtance; all which muſt have been quite omitted, or elſe reſerved unto a very unſeaſonable rehearſal, had they not been diſpoſed in this method, whereof he that will not allow the conveniency, may pardon the neceſſity.

SECT VI

The oppreſſion of Judea, *and deſtruction of* Jeruſalem *by the* Chaldeans.

NOw to return to the *Jewiſh* Story, from whence we have ſo far digreſſed. In the third year of *Jehojakim*, *Nabuchodonoſor* the ſecond, his Father yet living, entred *Judea* with a great Army, who beſieging and forcing *Jeruſalem*, made *Jehojakim* his vaſſal in deſpight of *Necho*, that had eſtabliſhed him King, and took with him for pledges *Daniel*, being as yet a child, with *Ananias*, *Miſael*, and *Azarias*. Alſo he took a part of the Church treaſures; but ſtayed not to ſearch them throughly; for *Necho* haſtened to the ſuccour of *Jehojakim*, hoping to find *Nabuchodonoſor* in *Judea*: wherein this great *Babylonian* had no diſpoſition to hazard himſelf and his Army, it being a Country of an evil affection towards him, as alſo far off from any ſuccour or ſure place of retrait. If he had, as may be ſuppoſed, any great ſtrength of *Scythian* horſe-men in his Army, it was the more wiſely done of him, to fall back, out of the rough, mountainous, and over-hot Country, into places that were more even and temperate. But beſides all theſe reaſons, the death of his father happening at the ſame time, gave him juſt occaſion to return home, and take poſſeſſion of his own Kingdom, before he proceeded further in the ſecond care, of adding more unto it. This he did at reaſonable good leiſure: for the *Egyptian* was not ready to follow him ſo far, and to bid him battel, until the new year came in; which was the fourth of *Jehojakim*, the firſt of *Nabuchodonoſor*, and the laſt of *Necho*. In this year the *Babylonian* lying upon the Bank *Euphrates* (his own territory bounding it on the North-ſide) attending the arrival of *Necho*. There, after a reſolved contention for victory, *Necho* was ſlain, and his Army remaining forced to ſave it ſelf; which full ill it did, by a violent retrait. This victory *Nabuchodonoſor* ſo well purſued, as he recovered all *Syria*, and whatſoevet the *Egyptians* held out of their proper Territory towards the North. The *Egyptians* being in this conflict beaten, and altogether for the preſent diſcouraged, *Jehojakim* held himſelf quiet, as being friend in heart unto the *Egyptians*, yet having made his peace with the *Chaldeans* the year before; who contented with ſuch profit as he could then readily make, had forborn to lay any Tribute upon *Juda*. But this cool reſervedneſs of *Jehojakim*, was, on both ſides, taken in ill part. The *Egyptian* King *Pſammis*, who ſucceeded unto *Necho*, began to think upon reſtoring *Jehoahaz*, taken priſoner by his Father, and ſetting him up as a Domeſtical Enemy, againſt his ungratefull brother. Againſt all ſuch accidents, the

2 Chro 36. 9. *Judeam* had prepared the uſual remedy practized by his forefathers: for he made his own ſon *Jechonia* King with him long before, in the ſecond year of his own Reign, when the Boy was but eight years old. As for this rumour of *Jehoahaz* his return, the Prophet *Jeremy* foretold, that it ſhould prove idle, ſaying: *He* Jer. 22. 11. & 12. *ſhall not return thither, but ſhall die in the place whither they had led him captive, and ſhall ſee this land no more.* The *Egyptians* indeed, having ſpent all their Mercenary forces, and received that heavy blow at *Carchemiſh*, had not remaining ſuch proportion of ſharp ſteel, as of fair gold, which without other help, is of little effect. The valour of *Necho* was not in *Pſammis Apres*, who reigning after *Pſammis*, did once adventure to ſhew his face in *Syria*; but after a big look, he was glad to retire, without adventuring the hazard of a battel. Wherefore this decaying Nation fought only with brave words, telling ſuch frivolous tales, as men that mean to do nothing, uſe, of their glorious acts fore-paſſed, againſt *Joſias* and *Jehoahaz*. In this caſe it was eaſie for *Jehojakim* to give them ſatisfaction, by letting them underſtand the ſincerity of his affection towards them, which appeared in time following. But *Nabuchodonoſor* went to work more roundly. He Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 10 cap. 7. ſent a peremptory meſſage to *Jehojakim*, willing him not to ſtand upon any nice points, but acknowledge himſelf a Subject, and pay him Tribute: adding hereunto ſuch fearful threats, as made the poor *Judean* lay aſide all thoughts of *Pharaoh*, and yield to do, as the more mighty would have him. So he continued in the obedience of *Nabuchodonoſor* three years. At this time *Jeremy* the Prophet cried out againſt the *Jews*, putting them in mind that he had now three and twenty years exhorted them to repentance, but becauſe they had ſtopt their ears againſt him, and the reſt of the Prophets, he now pronounced their captivity at hand, and that he ſhould endure the yoke of bondage full ſeventy years. The ſame calamity he threatned to all the neighbouring Nations, to the *Egyptians*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Idumeans*, and the reſt; foretelling that they ſhould all drink out of the *Babylonian* Pitcher, the wine of his fury whom they had forſaken; and after the ſeventy years expired, that the *Babylonians* themſelves ſhould taſte of the ſame Cup, and be utterly ſubverted by the *Medes*, and the *Judeans* permitted to return again into their own Fields and Cities. The firſt impriſonment of the Prophet *Jeremy* ſeems Jerem. 25. to have been in the fourth year of this *Jehojakim*, at which time *Baruch* the Scribe wrote all his Prophecies out of his mouth, whom he ſent to read them unto the people; and afterwards unto the Princes, who offered them to the King: but fearing the Kings fury, they had firſt ſet *Jeremy* at liberty, and adviſed him and *Baruch* to hide themſelves.

Jehojakim, after he heard a part of it, and perceived the ill news therein delivered, made no more adoe, but did cut the Book in pieces and caſt it into the fire. All which *Jeremy* cauſed to be new written with this addition; that the dead body of *Jehojakim* ſhould be caſt out, expoſed in the day to the heat, and in the night to the froſt, and there ſhould be none of his ſeed to ſit on the Throne of *David*.

Time thus running on, while *Jehojakim* reſted ſecure of all danger, as Tributary to the *Babylonian*, yet well thought of by the *Egyptian*; the mighty City of *Tyre* oppoſed it ſelf againſt the *Chaldean* forces, and upon juſt confidence of her own ſtrength, deſpiſed all preparation that could be made againſt her. Now forasmuch as the terme of ſeventy years were preſcribed unto the deſolation, as well of *Tyre*, as of *Jeruſalem*, and other Towns and Countries; it is apparent, that they which referre the expugnation of this City unto the nineteenth year of *Nabuchodonoſor*, have ſure authority for their warrant. Whereupon likewiſe it follows of neceſſity, that the ſiege thereof began in the ſeventh of his Reign, as having laſted thirteen years.

Here I will take leave to intrude a brief note, concerning the ſeveral beginnings of this great Prince his Rule, whereupon hath riſen much diſputation. The third year of *Jehojakim* was the laſt of *Nabulaſſar*, who being delivered from other cares, took notice of ſuch as had revolted from him unto *Pharaoh Necho*, and ſent this Noble Prince his Son, with an Army into *Syria*, to reclaim them. In this expedition was *Daniel* carried away, who therefore makes mention of the ſame year. The year next following, being the fourth of *Jehojakim*, was the firſt of *Nebuchadnezzar*; Dan. 1. 1. which *Jeremy* affirmeth in expreſſe words; and from Jer. 25. 1. this we reckon all his time and actions that follow. In his three and twentieth year he conquered *Egypt*; and then began to reign as a great Monarch, finding none that durſt offend him. The ſecond from this year it was, wherein he ſaw that viſion, of the Image conſiſting of ſundry Metals; which did prefigurate the ſucceſſion of great Kingdoms, that ſhould rule the Earth before the coming of Chriſt. I will not ſtand to diſpute about this, which is the beſt concluſion that I find, of long diſputations: but return unto the ſiege of *Tyre*, which began in the ſeventh of his Reign.

The City of *Tyre* covered all the ground of an Iſland, that was divided from the main, by a deep and broad channel of the Sea. The *Chaldeans* had no Fleet, and were no Sea-men; the *Tyrians*, in multitude of goodly Ships, and skill to uſe them, excelled all other Nations; and every wind, from one part or other, brought needfull proviſions into the City. Wherefore neither force, nor famine could greatly hurt the place; whereof nevertheleſs the judgments of God (denounced againſt it by *Eſay*, *Jeremy*, and *Ezekiel*) Eſay 23. Jerem 25. Ezek. 26. had threatned the deſtruction; and the obſtinate reſolution of *Nabuchodonoſor* had fully determined to perform it. This high minded King, impatient of reſiſtance, undertook a vaſt peice of work, even to fill up the Sea that parted the Iſland from the Continent. The City of old *Tyrus* that ſtood oppoſite to the new, upon the firm Land, and the Mountain of *Lybanus* neer adjoyning, that loaden with Cedars, and abundance of other trees, might furniſh him with Materials. Thirteen years were ſpent in this laborious, and almoſt hopeleſs buſineſs. Which need not ſeem ſtrang: for *Alexander* working upon that foundation which was remaining of *Nabuchodonoſor*'s Peere, and being withal aſſiſted with a ſtrong Fleet, was yet ſeven moneths ere he could make way into the City. Wherefore if the raging of the Sea was able to carry away that wherewith *Alexander* laboured to cover a ſhelve; with much more violence could it overturn, and as it were conſume, the work of *Nabuchodonoſor*, who laid his foundations in the bottom of the deep; ſtriving as it were to fill the empty belly of this Cormorant, whereas the *Macedonian* did only ſtop the throat of it. Every man knows, God could have furthered this accompliſhment of his own threats, againſt this place (though it had not pleaſed him to uſe either Miracle, or ſuch of his more immediate weapons, as are Earthquakes, and the like) by making at leaſt the Seas calm, and adding the favourable concurrence of all ſecond helps. But ſo it pleaſeth him oftentimes, in chaſtiſing the pride of man, to uſe the hand of man; even the hand of man ſtriving, as may ſeem, againſt all reſiſtance of nature and fortune. So in this exceſſive labour of the *Chaldeans*, *Every head was made bald, and every ſhoulder was made bare.* Yet *Nabuchodonoſor* would not give over till he was maſter of the Ezek. 29. Town.

When he was entred upon this deſperate ſervice; whether

whether it were ſo, that ſome loſſes received, ſome mutiny in his Army, or (which is moſt likely, and ſo *Joſephus* reports it) ſome glorious rumour of the *Egyptians*, gave courage to his evil willers; *Jehojakim* renounced his ſubjection, and began to hope for the contrary of that which quickly fell out. For *Nabuchodonoſor* gave him no leiſure to do much hurt: but with part of his Army marched directly into *Judea*, where the amazed King made ſo little reſiſtance (the *Egyptians* having left him, as it were, in a dream) that he entred *Jeruſalem*, and laid hands on *Jehojakim*, whom he firſt bound and determined to ſend to *Babylon*, but changing counſel, he cauſed him to be ſlain in the place, and gave him the ſepulchre of an Aſſe, to be devoured by beaſts and ravenous birds, according to the former Prophecies: leaving in his Place *Jehojakim* or *Jechonias* his ſon; whom after three months and ten dayes *Nabuchodonoſor* removed, and ſent priſoner to *Babylon*, with *Ezekiel*, *Mardocheus*, and *Joſedech*, the high Prieſt. The mother of *Jechonias*, together with his ſervants Eunuches, and all the ableſt men, and beſt Artificers of the land, were alſo carried away Captives. This *Jechonias*, following the counſel of *Jeremy* the Prophet, made no reſiſtance; but ſubmitted himſelf to the Kings will: wherein he both pleaſed God, and did that which was beſt for himſelf; though at the preſent it might ſeem otherwiſe, to ſuch as conſidered the evil that befell him, rather than the greater evil that he thereby avoided. This only particular act of his is recorded, which was good. But it ſeems that he was partaker, at leaſt of his Fathers faults, if not an Inſtigator, which was the cauſe, that his ſubmitting himſelf to Gods pleaſure did not preſerve his Eſtate: for ſo we read in general words, that *he did evil in the ſight of the Lord, according to all that his Father had done.* In his ſtead *Nabuchodonoſor* eſtabliſhed *Mathania* his Uncle in the Kingdom of *Juda*, and called him *Zedechias*, which is as much to ſay, as *the juſtice of God.* For like as *Necho* King of *Egypt* had formerly diſplaced *Jehoahaz*, after his Father *Joſias* was ſlain, and ſet up *Jehojakim*, the ſon of another mother, ſo *Nabuchodonoſor* ſlew *Jehojakim*, who depended on the *Egyptians*, and carrying his ſon *Jechonias* Priſoner to *Babel*, gave the Kingdom to this *Zedechias*, that was whole Brother to that *Jehoahaz*, whom *Necho* took with him into *Egypt*. From *Zedechias* he required an oath for his faithfull obedience, which *Zedechias* gave him, and called the living God to witneſs in the ſame, that he would remain aſſured to the Kings of *Chaldea*.

Joſeph. Antiq. Jud. l. 10. c. 7.

In the firſt year of *Zedechias*, *Jeremy* ſaw and expounded the viſion of the ripe and rotten Grapes, the one ſignifying thoſe *Judeans* that were carried away captive, the other thoſe that ſtayed and were deſtroyed.

In the fourth of *Zedechias*, *Jeremy* wrote in a book all the evil that ſhould fall upon *Babylon*, which book or ſcrole he gave to *Sheraiah*, when he went with the King *Zedechias* to *Babylon*, to viſit *Nabuchodonoſor*; willing him firſt to read it to the Captive *Jewes*; and then to bind it to a ſtone, and caſt it into *Euphrates*, pronouncing theſe words: *Thus ſhall* Babel *be drowned, and ſhall not riſe from the evil that I will bring upon her.* This journy of *Zedechias* to *Babel* is probably thought to have been in a way of viſitation, carrying ſome preſents. But I further think, that he had ſome ſute there to make, which his Lordly Maſter refuſed for to grant, and ſent him away diſcontented. For at his return all the bordering Princes ſent Meſſengers to him, inciting him (as it ſeems) to thoſe unquiet courſes, from which *Jeremy* dehorted both him and them. The Prophet, by Gods appointment, made bonds and yokes, one of which he wore about his own neck, others he ſent to the five Kings, of *Edom*, *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Tyre*, and *Zidon*, by thoſe Meſſengers which came to viſit *Zedechias*: making them know, that if they and the Kings of *Juda*, abode in the obedience of *Babylon*, they ſhould then poſſeſſe and enjoy their own Countries; if not, they ſhould aſſuredly periſh by the ſword, by fire and peſtilence.

He alſo foretold them, that thoſe Veſſels which as yet remained in *Jeruſalem*, ſhould alſo travel after the reſt, and at length they ſhould be reſtored again.

The ſame year *Ananias*, the falſe Prophet, took off the woodden Chain, which *Jeremy* wore in ſign of the Captivity of the *Jews*, and brake it, vaunting, that in like manner, after two years God would break the ſtrength of *Babel*, and the yoke that he laid on all Nations; reſtore *Jechonias* and all the *Jews*, with the Veſſels and riches of the Temple, and give an end to all theſe troubles. But *Jeremy*, inſtead of his woodden yoke, wore a Coller of iron: and in ſign that *Ananias* had given a deceitful and falſe hope to the people, he foretold the death of this cold Prophet, which ſeized upon him in the ſecond Month. After this, when *Zedechias* had wavered long enough between Faith and Paſſion, in the eighth year of his reign, he practiſed more ſeriouſly againſt *Nabuchodonoſor*, with his Neighbours the *Edomites*, *Ammonites*, *Moabites*, *Tyrians*, and others that were promiſed great aydes of the *Egyptians*: in confidence of whoſe aſſiſtance, he determined to ſhake off the *Babylonian* yoke. Hereof when *Nabuchodonoſor* had knowledge, he marched with his Army in the dead of the winter, toward *Jeruſalem*, and beſieged it. *Jeremy* perſwaded *Zedechias* to render the City and himſelf: but being confident of the help from *Egypt*, and being perſwaded by his Counſellors and falſe Prophets, that it was impoſſible that the Kingdom of *Juda* ſhould be extirpate, untill the coming of *Silo* (according to the Prophecy of Jacob) he deſpiſed the words of *Jeremy*, and impriſoned him. For *Jeremy* had told the King that the City ſhould be taken and burnt; that the King ſhould not eſcape, but be taken priſoner, and brought to the preſence of *Nabuchodonoſor*; that he ſhould not periſh by the ſword, but being carried to *Babel*, die his natural death.

Gen. 49. 10 Jer. 32. & 34.

Jeruſalem being the following year ſurrounded by *Nabuchodonoſors* Army; the King of *Egypt*, *Pharao Hophra*, according to *Jeremy*, (*Herodotus* calleth him *Apries*) entred the border of *Juda* with his Army to ſuccour *Zedechias*, of whoſe revolt he had been the principal Author. But *Jeremy* gave the *Jews* faithfull counſel, willing them not to have truſt in the ſuccour of *Egypt*: for he aſſured them that they ſhould return again, and in no ſort relieve them. And it fell out accordingly. For when the *Chaldeans* removed from *Jeruſalem* to encounter the *Egyptians*, theſe vaunting Patrons abandoned their enterpriſe, and taking *Gaza* in their way homeward, returned into *Egypt*, as if they had already done enough, leaving the poor people of *Jeruſalem* to their deſtined miſeries.

Jer. 44. Herod. lib. 2.

In the mean while the *Jews*, who in their firſt extremity had manumiſed their *Hebrew* Bond-men (as Gods law required at the year of *Jubilee*) and made them free, thereby the better to encourage them to fight; did now upon the breaking up of the *Chaldean* Army, repent them of their Charity: and thinking all had been at an end, held them perforce to their former ſlavery. But the *Chaldees* being returned to the ſiege, the Prophet *Jeremy*, when the ſtate of *Jeruſalem* began now to grow to extremity, counſelled *Zedechias* to render himſelf unto them; aſſuring him of his own life, and the ſafety of the City, if he would do ſo. But his obſtinate heart conducted him to that wretched end, which his neglect of God, and his infidelity and perjury, had provided for him.

Levit. 25, 39. 40. &c. Jer. 34.

Jer. 39.

Three and twenty months (as ſome do reckon it)

Jer. 39.

or,

or, according to *Josephus*, eighteen, the *Babylonian* Army laid before *Jerusalem*, and held it exceeding straitly be-
2 *Kin.* 15. 1. sieged, For *they built Forts against it round about*, or (as *P. Martyr* hath it) *extruxerunt contra eam turrem ligneam per circuitum*: *They surrounded the city with wooden Towers*, so as the besieged could neither sally out, nor receive into the City any supply of men or victu-
Jos. Ant. Jud. lib. 10 c. 11. als. *Josephus* reports, that they overtopped the walls with high Towers raised upon Mounts; from which they did so beat upon the wall with their Engines, that the Defendants were compelled to forsake their Stations. Now although it were so that the besieged also raised Counter-buildings, like unto these, yet the great King of *Babel*, who commanded all the Regions there-abouts, and had the Woods and Rivers to obey him, found means to overthrow all the Citizens endeavours: and to beat down as fast from without, as they raised from within; the body and foundation of his own works being guarded by the walls of *Jerusalem* interposed; and theirs within, laid open to their enemies disturbance. Besides, both Famine and Pestilence (which commonly accompany men straitly besieged) grew on fast upon them, whereby, when the number, strength, and courage of the *Jews* failed, the *Chaldeans* made a breach, and forcing an entry, their Princes did seat themselves, as Lords of the Town, in the middle gate. *Zedechias* beholding this uncomfortable sight, and finding no remedy of the danger present, lost both his courage and his hopes at once; and shifted himself, together with his Wives, Children, Princes, and principal servants, out of the City, by a way under ground; leaving his amazed and guideless people to the merciless swords of their enemies. Thus he, who, when *Jeremy* the Prophet perswaded him to render himself, despised both the counsel of God, and the force of *Nabuchodonosor*, used now that remedy, which *Wolphius* truly termeth, *Triste, turpe, & infœlix*: *Woefull, shamefull, and unfortunate.*

By this secret subterrane vault, *Zedechias* making his stealth, recovered (by the help of the dark night) the Plains or Desarts of *Jericho*: but by reason of the train that followed him and his, (every one leading with him those whom they held most dear unto them) he was easily traced and pursued. How great soever the company was that attended on him, yet as *Josephus* reports it, they, on whose fidelity he most reposed himself, no sooner beheld the *Chaldeans* approach, but they all abandoned his defence, and shifted themselves into the Desarts, as they could. For whom God had forsaken, no man followed, but the ministers of his vengeance; by whom *Zedechias* was made Prisoner, with his Children and Princes: he was conveyed to *Rebla* or *Reblath*, a City (as some think) of *Nepthalim*, where *Nabuchodonosor* then lay, as a place indifferent between *Jerusalem* & *Tyre*, with both which at once he had to do.

Now after *Nabuchodonosor* had laid before *Zedechias* the many graces and benefits conferred upon him, together with the notable falshood and perjury, wherewith he had requited them; he commanded his Children, Princes and Friends to be slain before his face. This being done, to the end that so lamentable a spectacle should be the last that ever he should behold in the world, he caused his eyes to be torn out of his head and so carried him in a slavish manner to *Babel*, where he consumed the rest of his wretched life in perpetual imprisonment. Herein this most marvellous Prophecy
Ezek. 12. of *Ezechiel* was performed, *Adducam eam in Babyloniam, & ipsam non videbit*: *I will bring him into* Babylon, *and he shall not see it.*

Thus in the eleventh and last year of *Zedechias*, which was the eighteenth of *Nabuchodonosor* the *Chaldeans* entred the City by force, where sparing no sex nor age, they committed all to the sword that they therein found.

In the next year following, *Nabuzaradan* General 3534. of the Army burnt the Kings Palace, and the rest of *Jerusalem*: and after this fire had lasted from the seventh to the tenth day, he also burnt the Temple of God to the Ground, when it had stood four hundred thirty and one years.

After this upon a second search, *Nabuzaradan* (not 2 *Kin.* 25. yet satiated with blood) commanded seventy and two others to be slaughtered, which had hidden themselves from the first fury, to wit, the chief, and the second Priest, two Commanders of *Zedechias* his men of war, five of his houshold servants, and others to that number; carrying away to *Babylon* the ablest of the people throughout all *Judea*; and leaving the poorest labouring souls, with some that followed the party of *Nabuchodonosor*, to till the ground over whom he left Governour, *Godoliah* the Nephew of that *Saphan*, whom *Josias* had formerly employed in the reformation of Religion, who is, for his justice and equity, by *Josephus* highly commended. This man, a *Jew* by Nation, left *Zedechias*, as it seemeth in the beginning of the war: and by *Jeremies* desire to live with him, it appeareth that he had embraced the same advice which the Prophet gave unto *Zedechias*; which was to submit himself altogether to the *Babylonian*; who being ordained by God to excercise his justice, was therefore resistless. The Prophet *Jeremy* being left to his own choice, either to live in *Chaldea*, or elsewhere, he made election of *Godoliah*, to whom he was recommended; who not only embraced *Jeremy*, but gave comfort to all the other *Jews* that were left under his charge, promising them favour and liberty, so long as they remained obedient subjects to *Nabuchodonosor*, by whom he was established Provincial Governour of his own Nation.

But ere that year was expired, a Prince of the late Kings house (who during the siege of *Jerusalem*, had kept himself out of the storm, with *Baalis* King of the *Ammonites*) being followed by ten other chosen men, while *Godoliah* feasted them in *Maspha* or *Mitspa*, the City of his residence, traiterously slew him, together with divers *Chaldeans* and *Jews* that accompanied him. This done, he made an escape, and in his way encountering with eighty persons, repairing towards *Godolia* with presents, he slew the most part of them, and spared the rest, because they promised to discover unto him some Treasures hidden in the fields during the war. He also took with him a Daughter of *Zedechias*, committed to the care of *Godoliah* by *Nabuchodonosor*. This practice and intent of *Ismael* had been formerly discovered to *Godoliah* by *Johanan*, one of the leaders of the few remaining *Jews*; but *Godoliah* was incredulous.

Judea being now left without a Governor (for *Ismael* durst not take it upon him, but retired himself, or rather fled as fast as he could to the *Ammonites*) the residue of the *Jews*, fearing the revenge of the *Chaldeans*, resolved to fly away into *Egypt*, and besought *Jeremy* to ask counsel of God for them: who readily made them answer, that if they remained in *Judea*, God would provide for them, and shew them mercy; but if they sought to save themselves in *Egypt*, that they should then undoubtedly perish. Notwithstanding this advice, the *Jews* held their determination, and despising the Oracle of God, and constraining *Jeremy* and *Baruch* to accompany them, they travelled into *Egypt*, and inhabited by the permission of *Pharao*, neer unto *Taphnes*: where when *Jeremy* often reprehended them for their Idolatry, foretelling both the destruction of themselves, and the *Egyptians* also, he was by these his own hardhearted and ungrateful Countrymen stoned to death; and by the *Egyptians*, who greatly reverenced him, buried neer the Sepulcher of their own Kings.

Finis Libri Secundi.

THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD.

Intreating of the Times from the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, to the Time of *PHILIP* of *MACEDON*.

THE THIRD BOOK.

CHAP. I.

Of the Time paſſing between the Deſtruction of Jeruſalem, *and the fall of the* Aſſyrian *Empire.*

SECT. I.

Of the Connexion of Sacred and Prophane Hiſtory.

THE courſe of time, which in prophane Hiſtories might rather be diſcerned through the greateſt part of its way hitherto paſſed, in ſome out-worn foot-ſteps, than in any beaten path, having once in *Greece* by the *Olympiads*, and in the Eaſtern Countries by the accompt from *Nabonaſſar*, left ſurer marks, and more appliable to actions concurrent, than were the War of *Troy*, or any other token of former date; begins at length in the ruin of *Jeruſalem*, to diſcover the connexion of antiquity fore-ſpent, with the ſtory of ſucceeding Ages. Manifeſt it is, that the original and progreſs of things could ill be ſought in thoſe that were ignorant of the firſt Creation: as likewiſe that the affairs of Kingdoms and Empires afterwards grown up, are not to be found among thoſe that have now no ſtate nor policy remaining of their own. Having therefore purſued the Hiſtory of the World unto that age, from whence the memory of ſucceeding accidents is with little interruption of fabulous diſcourſe derived unto us: I hold it now convenient, briefly to ſhew, by what means and circumſtances the Hiſtory of the *Hebrews*, which of all other is the moſt ancient, may be conjoined with the following times, wherein that Image of ſundry metals diſcovered by God unto *Nebuchadnezzar*, did reign over the earth, when *Iſrael* was either none, or an unregarded Nation.

Herein I do not hold it needful to inſiſt upon thoſe authorities which give, as it were by hear-ſay, a certain year of ſome old *Aſſyrian* King unto ſome action or event, whereof the time is found expreſſed in Scripture: for together with the end of *Ninus*

his line in *Sardanapulas*, if not before, all such computations were blotted out; the succession of *Belochus* and his Issue that occupied the Kingdom afterwards, depending upon the uncertain relations of such as were neither constant in assigning the years of his beginning, nor of credit enough for others to relye upon. Let it therefore suffice, that the consent and harmony which some have found in the years of those over-worn Monarchs, doth preserve their names, which otherwise might have been forgotten. Now concerning the latter Kings of that Nation, howsoever it be true, that we find the names of all, or most of them in Scriptures, which are recorded by Prophane Historians; yet hereby could we only learn in what Age each of them lived, but not in what year his reign began or ended, were it not that the reign of *Nebuchadnezzar* is more precisely applied to the times of *Jehojakim* and *Zedekias*. Hence have we the first light whereby to discover the means of connecting the Sacred and Prophane Histories. For under *Nebuchadnezzar* was the beginning of the Captivity of *Judah*, which ended when seventy years were expired; and these seventy years took end at the first of *Cyrus*, whose time being well known, affords us means of looking back into the Ages past, and forwards into the race of men succeeding. The first year of *Cyrus* his reign in *Persia*, by general consent, is joined with the first year of the 55 *Olympiad*; where, that he reigned three and twenty years before his Monarchy, and seven years afterwards, it is apparent, and almost out of controversie. Giving therefore four hundred and eight years unto the distance between the fall of *Troy*, and the instauration of the *Olympiad* by *Iphitus*; we may easily arrive unto those antiquities of *Greece*, which were not meerly fabulous. As for Princes ruling the whilst in sundry parts of the World, St. *Augustine* and others may be trusted in setting down their times, which they had by Tradition from Authors of well-approved faith and industry.

From *Cyrus* forwards, how the times are reckoned unto *Alexander*, and from him to the battel of *Actium*, it were (peradventure) in this place impertinent to set down. But seeing that the beginning and end of the *Babylonian* Captivity, are marks whereby we are chiefly directed, in passing from the first unto the latest years of the World through any story, with least interruption; it is very expedient that we take some pains to inform our selves truly of the Seventy years during which it continued, even from *Nebuchadnezzar* unto *Cyrus*.

SECT. II.

A brief rehearsal of two Opinions touching the beginning of the Captivity: with an answer to the cavils of Porphyrie, *inveighing against* St. Matthew *and* Daniel, *upon whom the latter of these Opinions is founded.*

MAny Commentators, and other Historians and Chronologers find, that the Captivity then began, when *Jechonia* was carried prisoner into *Babylon*, eleven years before the final destruction of *Jerusalem* under *Zedekias*. This they prove out of divers places in *Ezekiel*, especially out of the fourteenth Chapter, where he makes a plain distinction between the beginning of the Captivity, and utter destruction of *Jerusalem* by *Nebuzaradan*, in these words; *In the five and twentieth year of our being in Captivity, in the beginning of the year, in the tenth day of the month, in the fourteenth year after that the City was smitten.* In which words he beginneth the Captivity in plain terms, eleven years before the City was destroyed. *Beroaldus* is of opinion, that it began in the first of *Nabuchodonosor*, and the fourth of *Joakim*; which he endeavours to prove out of the second of *Chronicles*, but more especially out of St. *Matthew*, and *Daniel*, whose words afford matter of disputation, but serve not to make good so much as *Beroaldus* would enforce. That place of St. *Matthew*, and the whole Book of *Daniel*, have ministred occasion of scoffing and railing at the Christian Religion to that wretched man *Porphyrie*, who not understanding how the Sons of King *Josias* were called by divers names, as *Epiphanius* hath shewed at large, thought that the Apostle had spoken he knew not what, in reckoning the Sons, or according to some Translations, the Son, and Nephews of that good King, begotten about the time of the Captivity. Upon *Daniel* also the same *Porphyrie* doth spend the twelfth of his malicious Books written against the Christians; affirming, that these Prophesies and Visions, remembred by *Daniel*, were written long after his death, and at, or near the time of *Antiochus Epiphanes*. This fond supposition of his, *Eusebius*, *Apollonius*, and others, have sufficiently answered. For the Seventy Interpreters, who converted the Old Testament about an hundred years before *Epiphanes*, did also turn this Book out of *Hebrew* into *Greek*, as a part of Scripture received. And were there no other argument to confound *Porphyrie*, than that of *Alexander Macedon*, it were sufficient, who lived divers years before *Antiochus Epiphanes*. For *Jaddus* the High Priest shewed that great Conquerour, when he came towards *Jerusalem* to have destroyed it, this Book of *Daniel*, wherein he beheld his own glory foretold, as the same was plainly expounded unto him; which not only stayed his hand from the harm of that City and people; but his assurance and resolution was so confirmed and strengthened thereby, as despising all future peril and resistance, he conquered *Darius*, and the Eastern Empire, in a shorter time than *Nabuchodonosor* had done one City, to wit, *Tyre* in *Phœnicia*.

Ezek. c. 1. v. 2. & c. 3. v. 11. & c. 5.

1 Mac. 1. 11. Joseph. ant. 11.

It is true indeed, that the *Jews* themselves give less authority to *Daniel*, than to *Moses* and the *Prophets*; accompting his Book among those which they call *Cetaphim*, or *Hagiographa*, or holy Writings, which they say *Esdras*, and the Seniors of the Synagogue compiled after their return from *Babylon*. But first, that the Book of *Daniel* (I mean so much as is found in the *Hebrew*) is Canonical; secondly, that it was written by *Daniel* himself, and not by *Esdras* and the Seniors; we may assure our selves by testimony of Councils and Fathers. For in the Council of *Laodicea*, held about the year of our Lord 368, after the death of *Jovinian* the Emperour; and after the *Nicene* Council three and forty years, this Book of *Daniel* was received, verified and confirmed among the other Canonical Scriptures, as in the *Epitomy* of the same Council it may be seen; and so doth *Meliton* the most ancient Bishop of *Sardis* number it, witness *Eusebius* in his Ecclesiastical History, the fourth Book, and five and twentieth Chapter: so doth the same Author in the Catalogue of Canonical Books upon *Origen*: so doth *Hilarius* in his Preface upon the Psalms, and *Epiphanius* in his Book of Weights and Measures, &c. To these I may add St. *Hierom*,

Gregory

Gregory Nazianzene, and others. For, the *Hagiographa*-Books, or holy Writings, the *Jews* and *Rabbins* reckon to be these, *Daniel*, *Psalms*, *Proverbs*, *Job*, *Canticles*, *Ruth*, *Lamentations*, *Ecclesiastes*, *Hester*, *Esra*, *Nehemiah*, and the *Chronicles*. And that it was *Daniel*, and not *Esdras*, that wrote this Book, Gods commandment unto him by his Angel, to seal up the same to the time appointed, is an unanswerable testimony. Yea, that which exceedeth all strength of other proof, our Saviour Christ, who citeth no Apocryphal Scripture, in *Matthew* and *Mark* alledgeth *Daniel* the Prophet, to wit, the last verse of his ninth Chapter. Further, in the fifth of *John*, Christ distributeth the risen from the dead, as in *Dan.* 12. 2. St. *Paul* describeth *Antichrist*, out of *Daniel*; and the *Revelation* is wholly an interpretation of *Daniels* Visions.

Mat. 24. 15 Mar. 13. 14

Dan. 12.

SECT. III.

That the seventy years of Captivity are to be numbred from the destruction of Jerusalem; *not from the migration of* Jechoniah.

HAving thus far digressed in maintaining that authority which must often be cited in the present argument: it is now convenient that we return unto the differences of opinion concerning the beginning of these seventy years. Neither will I stand to trouble my self and others with laying open the grounds or weakness of that which *Eusebius*, and some few nameless Authors, have sometimes held in this point, which is lately revived by *Beroaldus*; but will forthwith enter into consideration of that opinion, which many, both ancient and late Writers, have so earnestly maintained, that it wants not much of being common.

Four Kings of *Juda* were carried away Captives to *Babylon*: First, *Manasses*; then *Jehojakim*, and with him among others, *Daniel* the Prophet: Thirdly, *Jechonias*, and with him *Ezekiel*: Lastly, *Zedechias*, at which time the City and Temple were destroyed. To the first of these Captivities, the beginning of the seventy years is referred by none that I have read; to the second, by few, and with weak proof; to the third, by very many, and with much confidence. For besides those places of *Ezekiel* already cited, there is a strong argument gathered out of *Jeremy*, which may seem to make the matter plain. For the Prophet, in comforting the people that were carried away with *Jechonias*, useth these words: *Thus saith the Lord, After seventy years be accomplished at Babel, I will visit you, and perform my good promise towards you, and cause you to return to this place.*

Jer. 29. 10.

But it stands indeed with little reason, that we should seek the interpretation of a Prophecy out of circumstances, when the Prophecy is such as doth sufficiently expound it self. *Jeremy* hath already, in the fourth year of *Jehojakim*, denounced the judgment of God against the Land, for the sins and impenitency of that obstinate people, in these words: *Behold, I will send, and take to me all the families of the North, saith the Lord, and Nebuchadnezzar the King of Babel, my servant; and will bring them against this Land, and against the Inhabitants thereof, and against all these Nations round about; and I will destroy them, and make them an astonishment, and an hissing, and a continual desolation. Moreover, I will take from them the voice of mirth, and the voice of gladness; the voice of the Bridegroom, and the voice of the Bride; the noise of the mill-stones, and the light of the candle; and this whole Land shall be desolate, and an astonishment, and these Nations shall serve the King of Babel seventy years. And when seventy years are expired, I will visit the King of Babel.* Here we see prescribed unto the Captivity the term of seventy years: which were to commence, neither when the Prophecy was uttered; nor when *Jehojakim*, who then reigned, was taken by *Nebuchadnezzar*; nor yet in the time of *Jechonia*: but with the utter desolation of the City; whereof *Jeremy* did again give notice to those that were already in *Babylon*, at such time as he sent them the comfort of deliverance before rehearsed. And so did the people understand this Prophecy, in those times when they saw it accomplished; beginning the seventy years at the time of the desolation, as manifestly appears in the end of the History of *Judah*, where it is said thus: *They burnt the House of God, and brake down the wall of Jerusalem, and burnt all the Palaces thereof with fire, and all the precious vessels thereof to destroy all: and they that were left by the sword, carried he away to Babel, and they were servants to him, and to his sons, until the Kingdom of the Persians had rule, to fulfill the Word of the Lord by the mouth of Jeremiah, until the Land had her fill of her Sabbaths: for all the days that she lay desolate, she kept Sabbath, to fulfill seventy years. But in the first year of Cyrus King of Persia (when the Word of the Lord spoken by the mouth of Jeremiah, was finished) the Lord stirred up the spirit of Cyrus.* We seldom find one piece of Scripture, so precisely and plainly expounded by another as in this Prophecy, to have afterwards been the subject of altercation. For one can hardly devise how either the Desolation could have been expressed more sensibly, than it was by the Prophet; or the event of the Prophecy have been more exactly set down, than it was in the place now last of all cited. If it be requisite that we bring more proof in so evident a case, the ninth Chapter of *Daniel* yields testimony sufficient unto this exposition of *Jeremiah* his Prophecy, that *Jerusalem* was to lye waste seventy years. For in the first year of *Darius* the *Mede*, which was the last of the seventy, *Daniel* obtained of God the deliverance that had been promised, by prayer, which he made upon consideration of the time that was expired: as he telleth in these words: *In the first year of his reign, I Daniel understood by Books the number of the years whereof the Lord had spoken unto Jeremiah the Prophet, that he would accomplish seventy years in the desolation of Jerusalem.* So that howsoever the time of *Daniel* his own Captivity be reckoned from the taking of *Jehojakim*, and that the people carried away with *Jechonia*, did accompt, as well they might, the years of their own Captivity; yet with the general desolation of the Country, wherein were few or none of the *Israelites* left remaining to inhabit, began in the nineteenth year of *Nabuchodonosor* the great Captivity, which by Gods appointment continued unto the end of seventy years.

2 Chron. 36. 19.

Dan. 9. 2.

This I will not further seek to prove, by the authority of *Josephus* and others affirming the same; forasmuch as that which already hath been produced, is enough to satisfie any man that hath not fully determined to hold the contrary.

SECT. IV.

Sundry opinions of the Kings which reigned in Babylon *during the seventy years.*

WHat Kings reigned in *Babylon*, during these seventy years of the Captivity, and how long each of them did wear the Diadem, it is a matter of no great importance to know; forasmuch as neither their acts were notable in the age wherein they lived; nor the length of their reigns any way helpful to the concordance of times, foregoing or succeeding. The conquests recounted by *Xenophon*, of *Syria*, *Arabia* (or rather some part of it) *Hyrcania*, *Bactria*, and perhaps of some other Countries, may seem fruits of the Victories obtained by *Nebuchadnezzar* the Great (or by some of his Ancestors) in the former part of his life, before he betook himself to ease, and to the sumptuous building of his great *Babel*, for the house of his Kingdom, and for the honour of his Majesty; where it may seem that he and his Heirs kept a great state, and did very little. The idle behaviour of the *Assyrian* Soldiers, in such skirmishes as afterwards they had with the *Medes*, did argue no less. For whereas under *Nebuchadnezzar*, they were so stout and industrious, that (to omit other proofs) they attempted, and finished that hardy piece of work, of winning the strong City of *Tyre*, by joining unto it the Continent, filling up the deep and broad channel of the Sea, dividing it from the Main with a mole or piece of Earth, and other matter; the reparation whereof, when the Sea had washed it away, was the very greatest of *Alexanders* works: in the times following, they became timorous, that they durst not approach nearer to the Enemy than their Bows would carry; but were ready to turn their backs as soon as any, though inferiour in numbers, adventuring within the distance, offered to charge them.

Xenoph. Cyropæd. l.1.

Xenoph. Cyropæd. l.1. & l.3.

Now as their actions from the end of *Nebuchadnezzars* Wars, till the ruin of their Empire, were not worthy to be recorded; so was the distinction of their times, and reign of their several Kings, unworthy of the great labour that hath in vain been taken in that business. For when it is granted, that the Captivity of *Judah*, ending with that Empire, lasted seventy years, we may as reasonably forbear to search into the particular continuance of two or three slothful Kings, as we are contented to be ignorant of the ages of the *Patriarchs*, and their children living in the *Egyptians* servitude; resting satisfied in both, with the general assured sum.

Yet forasmuch as many have travelled in this business, upon desire (as I take it) to approve the beginning and end of the seventy years, not only by the reigns of other Princes, ruling elsewhere, but by the times of the *Assyrians* themselves; I will not refuse to take a little pains in collecting their opinions, and shewing what I think may best be held for likely, if the certain truth cannot be found.

The opinions are many, and greatly repugnant, both in recounting the Kings themselves, and in setting down the years of their several reigns. The first and (as I take it) the surest is theirs, who meerly follow the authority of the Scriptures, without borrowing any help from others. These name only three Kings, *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Evilmerodach*, and *Balthasar*; Neither have they only the silence of *Daniel*, who names none other, to be their warrant; but the Prophecy of *Jeremy* precisely, and in a manner purposely teaching the very same. For God by the mouth of the Prophet, shewing that he being absolute Lord of all, would dispose of all according to his own will, and making it known that he had put some Countries here named, into the hands of the King of *Babel*, saith thus: *And all Nations shall serve him, and his son, and his sons son, until the very time of his Land come also; then many Nations and great Kings shall serve themselves of him.* These words expressing the continuance of the *Chaldean* Empire, and number of the Kings, will hardly be qualified with any distinction. But indeed I find no other necessity of qualification to be used herein, than such as may grow out of mens desire, to reconcile the Scriptures unto Prophane Authors. And this desire were not unjust, if the consent of all Histories were on the one side, and the letter of the Holy Text were single on the other side.

Jer. 27. 7.

But contrariwise, the Authors which are cited in this case, are so repugnant one to the other, and the proofs of their different reports, are so slender and unsufficient, that the succession of these Princes, had it not been thus delivered in Scriptures, but only set down by some Author of equal credit with the rest, might very well have found and deserved as good belief, as any of those things which they have delivered in this point. For some there are, who following *Josephus*, derive that Empire, as by descent, from Father to Son, through five generations, beginning with *Nabuchodonosor* the Great, and giving to him 43 years; to *Evilmerodach* 18; to *Nigliſar* the Son of *Evilmerodach* 40; to *Laboſardach* the Son of *Nigliſar* 9 months; and lastly, to *Balthaſar* (whom *Josephus* intimates to be of the race of *Nabuchodonosor*, without naming his Father) 17 years. And this opinion (save that he forbears to reckon the years, and plainly calls *Balthaſar* the Son of *Laboſardach*) St. *Hierom* doth follow, alledging *Beroſus*, and *Josephus* as a Sectator of *Beroſus*, for his Authors; though *Beroſus*, as he is cited by *Josephus*, report the matter far otherwise. For he tells us, that *Evilmerodach* the Son of *Nabuchodonosor* did reign but two years, for his wickedness and lust slain by his Sisters Husband *Nizigliſſoroor*, who occupied the Kingdom after him four years, and left it to his own Son *Laboſardach*; who being an ill-conditioned Boy, was at the end of nine months slain by such as were about him, and the Kingdom given to one *Nabonidus*, who held it by the election of the Conspirators, and left it unto *Cyrus* after 17 years. The relation ill agrees with that of *Josephus*, and both of them as bad with the Scriptures, in number either of years, or of generations; yet the particularities which they handle, have procured unto them some authority; so that the names which they have inserted, are taken as it were upon trust. There is a third opinion which makes the three last Kings Brethren, and Sons of *Evilmerodach*; and this may well enough agree with the Scripture: though I had rather believe *Xenophon*, who saith, that the last King of *Babylon* was immediate Successor to his Father. But whereas the Author of the Scholastical History, who is founder of this opinion, placeth between him that took *Jerusalem*, and *Evilmerodach*, another *Nabuchodonosor*: plain enough it is that he hath, out of any History Sacred or Prophane, as little warrant to guide him, as we have reason to follow him. *Eusebius*, *Sulpitius*, *Severus*, and *Theodoret*, upon better ground have supposed, that *Evilmerodach* and *Balthaſar*

Joſ. l.10. c. 12.

Joſ. cont. Ap. l. 1.

Xenoph. Cyropæd. l.4.

were

were brethren and sons of the great *Nabuchodonosor*. This is built on the fifth Chapter of *Daniel*, wherein *Balthasar* (for of *Evilmerodach* there is none that ever doubted) is often called *Nabuchodonosor* his son. And so common grew this explication, that St. *Hierom* called it the vulgar opinion. But the place of *Jeremy* before cited, proves that *Balthasar* was not the Son indeed, but the grandchild of that great Conquerour, though by the phrase very common in Scriptures, and familiar in those *Eastern* languages, he was called the Son.

Annius his *Metasthenes* hits very rightly the seventy years of Captivity, giving to *Nabuchodonosor* 45 years, to *Evilmerodach* 30 years, and to the three Sons of *Evilmerodach*, Nephews of *Nabuchodonosor*, fourteen years: that is, to *Reg-Assar* the eldest son, three years; to *Lab-Assar-Dach* the second son, six years; and to *Balthasar* the third Son, five.

To this accompt agreeing with the Scriptures, both in the whole sum of years, and in the number of generations, I have sometime subscribed; as not daring to reject an appearance of truth, upon no greater reason, than because the Author was of *Annius* his edition. Yet could I not satisfie my self herein; both for that none of the Ancient, and few such of the Modern Writers as deserve to be regarded, have consented with this *Metasthenes*; and for that in making *Balthasar* succeed unto his Brother in the Kingdom, and not unto his Father, he is wholly against *Xenophon*, whose History of the elder *Cyrus* in his *Assyrian* War, I cannot slightly value in many respects, and especially because it is very agreeable to the Scriptures, in the taking of *Babylon*, while the King was at his drunken feast.

Seeking therefore diligently into all circumstances that might give any light in this obscurity, I found manifest proof, that the time allotted unto *Balthasar* by *Annius* his *Metasthenes*, was far short of the truth; which is enough to render all suspected that he hath said in distributing what part of the seventy years he pleased among the rest.

Dan. 8. 1. & 27. For in the third year of *Balthasar*, *Daniel* saw a Vision, after which he was sick certain days; but when he rose up, he did the Kings business; from which business, that he did afterwards withdraw himself, and live retired, so long, that he was forgotten in the Court, it appears plainly, both by the many words which the old Queen used to set out his sufficiency, and by the Kings asking of him, when he came into

Dan. 5. 11, 12, 13. & 2. 49. his presence, whether he were *Daniel?* Now to think that a man of such account and place as *Daniel* had held, could in two years have been worn out of remembrance, were in my judgment a very strange conceit; which rather than I would entertain, I can well be contented to think the whole story (thus related) a part of *Annius* his Impostures.

Out of these reports of *Josephus*, *Berosus*, and others, many new opinions are framed, by conjectures of late Writers. For, the endurance of the Captivity being 70 years, and these years extending unto the first of *Cyrus*, in which course of time *Nebuchadnezzar*, his Son and Grand-child, must have reigned; it hath seemed needful to supply the years of these three descents, by inserting some, whose reigns might fill up the whole continuance of the Captivity; with which the time allotted by *Berosus* and others, to *Evilmerodach* and *Balthasar*, joined unto the years following the nineteen of *Nebuchadnezzar*, (wherein *Jerusalem* was laid desolate) are nothing even.

Therefore *Mercator* and others following him, fashion the years of *Evilmerodach* in this sort. They say, that the 18 years given to him by *Josephus* in the tenth of his Antiquities, should be read and numbred 28 years; and the two years that *Berosus* hath allowed to *Evilmerodach*, should be written 23. In the first number the figure of (1) is mistaken for the figure of (2) and in the latter there should have been added the figure of (3) to that of (2): this granted (to wit) that *Evilmerodach* reigned 28 years, whereof five together with his Father, and 23 after his death, and the same number of 23 added to the 25 which *Nabuchodonosor* lived after the destruction of *Jerusalem*, make 48, than 4 years of *Niglisar*, according to *Berosus*, nine months of *Labassardach* his son, and 17 years of *Labonidus* or *Balthasar*, make up the number of seventy years to the first of *Cyrus*. But whether by error in figures, or in words, the numbers be utterly mistaken in all Copies extant; upon how weak a foundation do they build, who having nothing to help them, save only the bare names of two unknown Kings, found in Authors manifestly corrupted, and such as if they had been entirely extant, were not worthy to have the place of *Jeremy* called into dispute, in regard of their authority?

SECT. V.

A more particular examination of one opinion touching the number, persons, and reigns of the Babylonian Kings.

OTher supppositions, little different in substance from this of *Mercator*, I purposely forbear to rehearse, as falling under the same answer. That of *Joseph Scaliger* I may not forget, as deserving to be considered apart from the rest. He gives to *Nebuchadnezzar* 44 years, to *Evilmerodach* two, to *Belsazer* 5, and to *Nabonidus* 17. So that from the 19 of *Nebuchadnezzar*, in which *Jerusalem* was destroyed, unto the time of *Cyrus*, he accounted only 59 years; beginning (as many do) the Captivity 11 years sooner, from the transportation of *Jechonia*. But hereof enough hath been said already. That which we are now to consider, is his distribution of the time running between the 19 of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and the fall of the *Chaldean* Empire: wherein if he have erred, then is all further inquisition frivolous.

Concerning the length of *Nebuchadnezzars* reign, I shall hereafter upon better occasion deliver my opinion. The time which he gives to *Evilmerodach* is very short, and more precisely agreeing with *Berosus* than with the Scriptures. For we find in *Jeremy*, that this *Evilmerodach* in the first of his reign, shewing all favour to *Jechoniah*, did among other things, take order for him at his Table; and that he did continually eat bread before him all the days of his life. His portion was a continual portion given him of the King of *Babel*, every day certain, all the days of his life until he died. The very sound of these words (which is more to be esteemed than the authority of *Berosus*, were he perfectly extant) imports a far longer time than two years, wherein *Jechonia* under this gentle Prince, enjoyed the comfort sent by God, whose commandment he had obeyed in yielding himself to *Nebuchadnezzar*. Indeed how long *Jechonia* did live, it cannot be proved; but plain it is hereby, that all his remaining days he did

Jer. 52. 33, 34.

eat

eat bread before this King. Now that he lived not so short a while after this as two years, it is more than likely; for he was but 55 years when he was set at liberty, having been 37 years in the prison, whereinto he was cast at the age of 18 years; after which time it seems plain that he begat *Salathiel*, as well by the age of *Zerobabel*, who is said to have been but a young man, and one of *Darius* his Pages, threescore years after this, as by other circumstances of his imprisonment it self.

Of *Belsazar*, to whom *Scaliger* gives the next five years, naming him also *Laborosoardoch*, I should wonder why he calls him *Nebuchadnezzars* daughter's son, were it not that herein I find him very careful to help out *Berosus*, by shifting in his *Nirigliſſoroor*, as husband to *Nebuchadnezzars* daughter, and Protector of his son four of these years; by which means there remains about one year to *Belsazar* alone, agreeing nearly with nine months assigned by *Berosus* to the son of *Nigliſar*. But *Jeremy* hath told us, that it was to *Nebuchadnezzar*, and to his son, and to his sons son (not to his daughters son) that the Empire was promised: which difficulty, if *Scaliger* could not help, it was well done of him to pass it over with silence.

Nabonidus the last of these, whom others (desirous to reconcile *Berosus* to the Scriptures) have judged to be all one with *Balthasar*, is by *Scaliger* thought to be *Darius* of the *Medes*. But herein *Scaliger* is no firm *Berosian*: for *Berosus* makes him of the same stock or race, a *Babylonian*. I speak not this to disgrace the travel of that most learned man (for it highly commends his diligence and judgment, that he was not so wedded to any Author, as affected with the love of truth) but to shew that he himself, having in some points disliked those Writers, whom in general he approveth, might with greater reason have wholly reformed them by the Scriptures, wherein can be no error. Two things there are which chiefly did breed or confirm this opinion in *Scaliger*, that he whom *Berosus* calls *Nabonidus*, was the same whom *Daniel* had called *Darius* of the *Medes*: First, the phrase of Scripture, which signifies unto us, that *Darius* took the Kingdom, not saying that he wan it by force of arms: Secondly, a fragment of *Megasthenes* found in *Eusebius*, wherein this *Nabonidus* is called the *Median*. Touching the word of the Original, or of the *Greek* translation, which expressing no force of arms, doth only signifie that *Darius* took or received the Kingdom; I see no reason why we should thereupon infer, that the next King entred by Election: seeing *Daniel* relateth not the means and circumstances of *Balthasars* death, but only the swift accomplishment of his own Prophecy. Neither could it indeed have properly been said (if *Daniel* had cared to use the most expressive terms) that *Darius* of the *Medes*, breaking into the City, did win the Kingdom; seeing this was performed by *Cyrus* in the absence of *Darius*, though by his forces, and to his use. Now concerning the fragment of *Megasthenes*, true it is, that in *Eusebius* his works Printed at *Basil*, in the year 1559, I find only thus much of *Megasthenes*, cited out of *Alpheeus*; That *Nabuchodonosor* was more valiant than *Hercules*; that he subdued all *Lybia*, and the rest of *Asia*, as far as to the *Armenians*; and that, as the *Chaldaans* report, being returned into his Kingdom, and rapt with a divine fury, he cried with a loud voice: *O* Babylonians, *I foretell ye of a great calamity that shall come upon you, which neither* Bell, *nor any of the gods shall avert: There will come a* Persian, *half an Ass, that shall bring slavery upon you:* and that this and the like when he had spoken, he vanished. Of all this I believe little or nothing, saving that *Nabuchodonosor* knew before-hand, that his Empire should be translated, as *Daniel* had foretold, from the golden head, to the silver breast. But that he wan all *Africa* or *Lybia*, I do hold it neither true nor probable.

If *Scaligers* Copy of *Eusebius* were the more perfect, out of which *Megasthenes* tells us, that *Nabuchodonosor* wan both *Africk* and *Spain*, I believe the fragment so much the less; and am as little moved with the authority of it, where it calls a *Median*, the pride and confidence of the *Assyrians*; as where it tells of *Nebuchadnezzar* his own vanishing away. Indeed that same title (of half an Ass) by which he calleth *Cyrus*, makes me to suspect the fable, as cunningly forged out of *Apollo* his Oracle, wherein he termeth him a *Mule*, because his Parentage was more noble on the Mothers side than on the Fathers; as *Mules* are begotten by *Asses* upon *Mares*; And thus much in answer of the two principal foundations whereon this opinion is built. As for the concinnity and coherence which it had within it self, I easily allow it. But this proves nothing; for meer fictions have not wanted these commendations: neither can any man believe that one so judicious, industrious, and deeply learned as *Joseph Scaliger*, would overshoot himself in setting down repugnancies.

It now remaineth to examine the agreement of this with the Scriptures, from which there is no appeal. And herein it seems that *Scaliger*, well knowing his own sufficiency, hath been little careful to satisfie men that would frame Arguments against him. For if the Prophecy of *Daniel* were true, that the Kingdom of *Balthasar* was divided, and given to the *Medes* and *Persians*; either we must think that *Darius* of the *Medes* was not *Nabonidus*, or else we must bethink our selves what *Persian* it might be that shared the Kingdom with him, For it is not more certain, that *Balthasar* lost his life and Kingdom, than that his Kingdom was divided and given to the *Medes* and *Persians*. Neither did the *Medes* and *Persians* fall out and fight for it, as by supposing *Nabonidus* to have been *Darius*, they should be thought to have done; but these two Nations did compound the body of that Empire, and were accounted as Lords over all the subject Provinces; insomuch that the *Greek* Historians did commonly call those Wars which *Darius*, and after him *Xerxes*, made upon *Greece*, The Wars of the *Medes*. Yea, to clear this point, even *Daniel* himself resembles that King, with whom *Alexander* fought, unto a Ram with two horns, calling him the King of the *Medes* and *Persians*. Dan. 8.20. Wherefore the whole Nation of *Chronologers* were not to have been condemned by *Joseph Scaliger*, for maintaining upon such good grounds, that *Darius* of the *Medes* was partner with *Cyrus*, in his victories, and not a *Chaldaan* King by him subdued. Neither was *Josephus* to be the less regarded, for affirming that *Balthasar* was destroyed by *Darius* of the *Medes*, and his Nephew *Cyrus*; though herein he varied from *Berosus* and others, whose authority elsewhere he gladly citeth. For *Josephus* had no reason to believe any mans faith or knowledg of those times half so well as *Daniels*, whom I believe that he understood as far as was needful in this case. Lawful it was for him to alledg all Authors that had any mention, though unperfect, of the same things that were contained in the Writing of the *Jews*, to whose Histories thereby he procured reputation in the *Ro-*

man

man world, where they were ſtrangers, and might ſeem fabulous. Even ſo did *Euſebius* and other Writers willingly embrace the teſtimonies of Heathen Books making for the truth in ſome particulars; yet will they not therefore be tried in general by the ſelf-ſame *Ethnick* Philoſophers, but leave them where they are againſt the truth; as *Joſephus* in this caſe hath left *Beroſus*. And thus much I thought it meet to ſay of *Scaligers* opinion in this point; holding nevertheleſs in due regard his learning and judgment, which if in ſome things it had not failed, the miracle had then been very great.

SECT. VI.

What may be held as probable of the Perſons and Times of Nabuchodonoſor *his Succeſſors.*

IT now remains that I freely acknowledg mine own weakneſs, who cannot find how the ſeventy years of Captivity are to be divided among them which reigned in *Babylon*, though I find that the diſtribution made of them, in ſuch wiſe as already is rehearſed, be ill agreeable to the holy Scriptures. Wherefore I may truly ſay with *Pererius*, that we ought liberally to pardon thoſe whoſe feet have failed them in the ſlippery ways of *Chronology*, wherein both learning and diligence are ſubject to take a fall at one time or other, by ignorance, forgetfulneſs, or heedleſs reckoning. Yet will I adventure to deliver my opinion, wherein the judgment of *Lyra* and others (holding thoſe only to have reigned over the *Chaldeans*, whoſe names are found in the Scriptures) appears more conformable to reaſon and account of time, than any of the other Sentences or Conjectures before rehearſed. Not that I will take upon me to defend *Lyra* his Conjectures, when he ſuppoſeth by *Nigliſar* and *Laboſardach* to be meant the ſame perſons which are called in Scripture *Evilmerodach* and *Balthaſar* (for this can by no good colour be maintained); but only to ſhew that the Kings by him cited, are likely to have occupied the whole time of ſeventy years. Firſt therefore let us conſider the reign of *Nebuchadnezzar*, in whoſe eighteenth year *Jeruſalem* was taken and ſackt, but in his nineteenth laid utterly deſolate.

Moſt of Writers have given to him 43 years of reign, following therein *Beroſus*. There are who have added one year more; and ſome have made it up 45. To diſpute about the certainty were needleſs: for in ſhewing by what length of time the Scriptures meaſure him, we ſhall ſhew the certain truth.

2 *King.* 2. 5,8. *Jer.* 51. 12. 2 *King.* 24. 12. 2 *King.* 25. 27. *Jer.* 52. 31. Manifeſt it is, that the 19 year of *Nebuchadnezzar*, is joined with the 11 of *Zedechia*; as alſo that his eighth year was the firſt year of *Jechonia* his Captivity; the reign of *Zedechia* occupied all the mean ſpace, being of 11 years. This is generally agreed upon, ſo that it needs no further proofs: As for the beginning of his ſucceſſor *Evilmerodach*, it was in the ſeven and thirtieth year of *Jechonia* his Captivity; ſo that *Nebuchadnezzar* after his eighth year (which was the firſt of *Jechonia* his Bondage) reigned 35 whole years, and peradventure a good part of the ſix and thirtieth, foraſmuch as *Jechonia* was inlarged with ſo great a favour, not until the end of the year. Subſtracting therefore out of theſe four and forty, which *Nebuchadnezzars* reign did well-near occupy, thoſe eighteen years of his which paſſed away before the Captivity of *Judah*, and ruin of the City, we have remaining ſix and twenty years of the Seventy, that were almoſt wholly ſpent when his Son began to reign.

It is now to be conſidered, how the remainder of the ſeventy years were divided between the Kings ruling in *Babylon*, until the firſt of *Cyrus*. A queſtion more difficult (as I ſaid before) than greatly needful: the whole ſumm being certain, and the diſtinction of times affording no benefit in knowledg of their actions, who were ſlothful Princes. Neither can any man the more juſtly ſuſpect the beginning or end of the whole ſeventy years; for that the diſtribution of ſome part of them is only conjectural; ſeeing that none who gives any other terms to their beginning or end, hath refuſed to follow both unlikely and deſperate conjectures in dividing them. I will therefore be bold to do as others have done; knowing well before-hand, that whoſoever ſhall diſcover my error, muſt do me the pleaſure (which I could rather wiſh in a caſe more material) of making me to underſtand the truth.

Of the four and forty years remaining in account of *Nebuchadnezzars* death, we are to take away the laſt, which was the firſt of *Darius* the *Mede*, and then having authority good enough to warrant us from blame of preſumption, in giving ſeventeen years to *Balthaſar*, we find left in our hands to beſtow upon *Evilmerodach* ſix and twenty years. Of the year belonging unto *Darius* the *Mede*, I have already ſpoken what I thought ſufficient, in delivering my opinion of the beginning and continuance of this Captivity. That *Balthaſar* did reign ſeventeen years, we have the authority of *Joſephus* before cited in expreſs words: We have alſo the general conſent of all, or the moſt late Writers, interpreting *Beroſus* his *Nabonidus*, who reigned ſo long, and *Balthaſar* to have been one. But nothing moved me ſo much to believe this Tradition, as firſt thoſe evident places in *Daniel*, ſhewing that in the third year of *Balthaſar* he followed the Kings buſineſs, and yet was forgotten ere the end of his reign (a proof ſufficient of no few years paſſing under this man, eſpecially ſeeing it is no where found that *Daniels* employments took end either that year or the next). Secondly, the conſideration of *Cyrus* his Wars againſt the *Aſſyrians*, which beginning with the death of this mans Father, and being always proſperous, could hardly have occupied any longer time; though we make large allowance to his deeds in the lower *Aſia*, which fell out in the mid-way: I have already ſhewed, that there appears in the Scriptures likelihood enough to make it credible, that the reign of *Evilmerodach* was not ſhort, and that men of great judgment have found it moſt probable, that he was a King three and twenty years. More, I think, they would have allowed him, had not the deſire of ſatisfying *Beroſus* cauſed them to reſt content with this. And ſurely it were greatly to be wiſhed, that Books of ſuch antiquity, as thoſe of *Beroſus*, were extant without corruption; a great light (no doubt) they would yield in many dark paſſages of Antiquity. I will yet confeſs, that were his works never ſo excellent, and in all things elſe unqueſtionably true, I would not therefore condeſcend unto him in ſome one point, wherein the Scriptures were his open enemy: How much leſs ought I obey a broken fragment of his, containing only ſeven or eight lines, and part even of the title corrupted, as they believe that follow him in the reſt? The Scriptures have told us, that God

Dan. 8. 1. & 27. & 5. *v.* 11, 12, & 13.

gave

Jer. 27. 7. gave the Empire to *Nebuchadnezzar*, to his Son, and to his Sons Son: How long each of them held it, we find not Expreſſed; yet would we gladly know it of *Beroſus*, or of any other that would teach us; provided always, that helping us in a particularity, he deſtroyed not thereby the general truth. More words are needleſs. It is enough to ſay with others, that *Beroſus*, or *Joſephus* who cited him, hath been wronged by the careleſneſs of Scribes; and that it was as eaſie for thoſe Scribes to err in writing two for ſix and twenty, as for three and twenty, or perhaps more eaſie. For, the omiſſion of the ſecond figure, was as likely the one way as the other; and the Character 5, ſignifying 6, hath a nearer reſemblance of β that ſtands for 2, than hath γ which is uſed for 3. So that the Numeral notes β 5, expreſſing 26, were not ſafe enough from being miſtaken in the true Copy, and might be altered, as ill written, if ſome crooked hand, or other miſchance not unuſual, had omitted the firſt ſtroke of the former letter, or added a daſh to the latter, which might cauſe them to ſeem not two different figures, but the one a correction of the other, which how it could be ſuppoſed in βγ ſtanding for 23, I do not well perceive. As for the Arithmetical figures now in uſe, they were long after the time of *Joſephus* brought in by the *Arabians*, and therefore do not appertain unto this buſineſs; unleſs we ſhould gueſs that his works were corrupted in that unlearned age, which following the *Saracen*-conqueſt, was little occupied in the ſtudies of Humanity, but in a ſort wholly given over to the doctrine of *Ariſtotle*. If this will ſerve to make *Beroſus* our friend, ſo let it be; If not, I will not purchaſe the favour of his authority, by forſaking *Jeremy* and *Daniel*, when they ſeem to be his Oppoſites.

SECT. VII.

Of the Victories which Nabuchodonoſor *obtained between the deſtruction of* Jeruſalem, *and conqueſt of* Egypt.

With what actions this time of ſeventy years was entertained by the *Babylonian* Kings, few have written, or little is remaining in record. Which may peradventure have been ſome cauſe that the time it ſelf was, and is yet, ſought to be abridged, as not having left ſufficient matter to witneſs the length of it. But by ſuch an argument we might as well deny to many people even their Being. For every Nation (I know not whom I ſhould except) between the beginning and laſt end of it, hath in ſome ſlothful age rather dreamt away the time, than ſpent it. It is therefore no marvel, if the poſterity of *Nabuchodonoſor*, finding all things ready to their hand, which their hearts could have deſired, betook themſelves to their eaſe and pleaſures, thinking perhaps, like the Prodigal Sons of greedy Fathers, their own wiſdom greater, which knew how to enjoy, than that of their Anceſtors, which wearied away their days in the reſtleſs travel of purchaſing: Though indeed the reign of *Nabuchodonoſor* was ſo divided, that his youthful and ſtronger years having been exerciſed in victorious arms, no ſmall part of his life was remaining to be ſpent in eſtabliſhing what was gotten, and gathering the fruit of his worthy labours paſt. The nineteenth year of his reign it was, when deſtroying utterly the great and mighty City of *Jeruſalem*, he enriched himſelf with abundance of Spoil, and terrified all that would offer to reſiſt him, by that fearful example. From that time forward, he, until his three and twentieth year, laboured in the Conqueſt of thoſe adjoining Regions, which God had expoſed unto his Sword, and commanded to wear his yoke; namely, the *Edomites*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Tyrians*, *Sydonians*, and *Egyptians*; though ſome of theſe were already become his followers, and ſerved under him, when *Jeruſalem* was beaten down and burnt. But the *Tyrians*, whoſe City was founded on an Iſland, ſafe enough from any danger of a Land-army, and whoſe Fleet was ſo ſtrong, that they needed not to fear any enemy at Sea, were neither daunted with the fall of their neighbour-Cities, nor with the obſtinate reſolution of this mighty Prince, imploying all his power to their ſubverſion.

That the City of *Tyre* was rather well pleaſed, than any way diſcouraged with the fall of *Jeruſalem*, (which had held the ſame courſe that *Tyrus* did, and endured all that might be in the ſame quarrel againſt the common enemy) it appears by the words which *Ezekiel* condemneth as the common voice of *Tyrus*; *Aha, the gate of the people is broken, it is turned unto me; for ſeeing ſhe is deſolate, I ſhall be repleniſhed.* Yet at length, even in the nineteenth year of *Nabuchodonoſor*, that great work of his, whereof we have already ſpoken, began to appear above the waters, and threaten them with inevitable miſchief. Ezek. 26. 2.

But thoſe Prophecies of *Jeremy* and of *Iſaiah*, which appoint unto this deſolation of *Tyre* the ſame term of ſeventy years, that was preſcribed unto the reign of the *Chaldæans*, do plainly ſhew that ſhe followed *Jeruſalem*, the ſame nineteenth year of *Nabuchodonoſor*, in the ſame, or a very like fortune. The particularities which doubtleſs were memorable in the iſſue of ſo great and laborious a ſiége, are in a manner utterly loſt. Thus much we find, That the Citizens perceiving the Town unable to hold out, embarked themſelves, and fled into the Iſle of *Cyprus*. Nevertheleſs, it ſeems that this evaſion ſerved only the principal men, who eſcaping with their goods, abandoned the poorer ſort unto the enemies fury. For, not only ſuch people of *Tyre* as dwelt on the Continent, (who are called her Daughters in the field) were put to the ſword; but the like execution was done in the ſtreets, into which, with exceſſive labour, the *Aſſyrian* made way for his Horſes and Chariots. Thus *Nabuchodonoſor cauſed his Army to ſerve a great ſervice againſt Tyrus, wherein every head was made bald, and every ſhoulder was made bare, yet had he no wages, nor his Army*; but was fain to reſt contented with the honour of having deſtroyed that City, which in all mens judgments had been held invincible. Jer. 25. Iſa. 23. 15. Ezek. 29. 18.

The deſtruction of theſe two great and powerful Cities, having made the name of the *Chaldæans* dreadful in the ears of all the Nations thereabout, *Nabuchodonoſor* uſed the advantage of that reputation which he had obtained by victories already gotten, to the getting of more, and more profitable, with leſs pain. The Kingdom of *Egypt* was the mark at which he aimed; a Country ſo abounding in all riches and pleaſures, that it might well have tempted any Prince, finding himſelf ſtrong enough, to ſeek occaſion of quarrel againſt it; and ſo far an enemy to the Crown of *Babylon*, that had it been poorer, yet either it muſt have been ſubdued, or the conqueſt of *Syria* could ill have been eſtabliſhed. Neverthe-

vertheleſs it was needful, that before he entred into this buſineſs, the Countries adjacent ſhould be reduced unto ſuch terms, that either they ſhould wholly ſtand at his devotion, or at leaſt be unable to work him any diſpleaſure. And herein the Decree of God concurred, as in all proſperous enterpriſes, with reaſon of State. For the people of *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Edom*, *Damaſcus*, *Kedar*, *Hazar*, and other adjoyning Regions, whom God for their ſins had condemned to fall under the *Babylonian* ſwords, were ſuch as regarding only their own gain, had ſome of them, like Ravens, followed the *Chaldæan* Army, to feed upon the carcaſes that fell by the cruelty thereof; others taking advantage of their neighbours miſeries, occupied the Countries which were by his victories belonging to *Nabuchodonoſor*: all of them thinking, that when the *Aſſyrian* had ſatisfied his fury, he ſhould be fain to forſake thoſe deſolate parts, and leave the poſſeſſion of them to thoſe that could lay hand upon it. Particularly the *Edomites* and *Philiſtims* had ſhewed much malice to the *Jews* when their City was taken. What good ſervice they had done to the *Chaldæans*, I find not: if they did any, it is likely to have been with reference to their own purpoſes, wherein they were diſappointed. The *Ammonites* were not contented to rejoyce at the fall of *Jeruſalem*, but preſently they entred upon the Country of *Gad*, and took poſſeſſion; as if not the *Aſſyrians*, but they had ſubdued *Iſrael*. Neither can I perceive what other ground that practice had of *Baalis* King of the *Ammonites*, when he ſent *Iſhmael*, a Prince of the blood of *Judah*, to murther *Gedalia*, whom the King of *Babel* had left Governour over thoſe that remained in *Iſrael*, and to carry captive into the *Ammonites* Country the people that abode in *Mizpah*, than a deſire of embroiling *Nabuchodonoſor* with ſo many labours at once, as ſhould make him retire into his own Country, and abandon thoſe waſted Lands to himſelf and others, for whom they lay conveniently. Such or the like policy the *Moabites* did exerciſe, whoſe pride and wrath were made fruſtrate by God; and their diſſimulation condemned, as not doing right.

Ezek. 25. 12, & 15.
Ezek. 25. 3. Jer. 49. 1.
Jer. 40. 14. & 41. 2. & 10. Jer. 28. 37, &c.

All theſe Nations had the art of ravening, which is familiar to ſuch as live or border upon deſarts; and now the time afforded them occaſion to ſhew the uttermoſt cunning of their thieviſh wits. But *Nebuchadnezzar* did cut aſunder all their devices by ſharp and ſudden war, overwhelming them with unexpected ruin, as it were in one night; according to the Prophecies of *Iſaiah*, *Jeremy*, and *Ezekiel*, who foretold, with little difference of words, the greatneſs and ſwiftneſs of the miſery that ſhould come upon them. With which of them he firſt began, I find not; it ſeems that *Moab* was the laſt which felt his hand: for ſo do many good Authors interpret the Prophecy of *Iſaiah*, threatning *Moab* with deſtruction after three years, as having reference to the third year following the ruin of *Jeruſalem*; the next year after it, being ſpent in the *Egyptian* Expedition. This is manifeſt, that all the principal Towns in theſe Regions were burnt, and the people ſlain, or made ſlaves, few excepted, who being preſerved by flight, had not the courage to return to their habitations over-haſtily, much leſs to attempt any thing againſt *Nabuchodonoſor*; but lived as miſerable Out-laws, or at leaſt oppreſſed wretches, until the end of ſeventy years, which God had preſcribed unto the deſolation of their Countries, as well as of the Land of *Judah*.

Iſa. 16. 14.

SECT. VIII.

That Egypt *was conquered, and the King therein reigning, ſlain by* Nabuchodonoſor, *contrary to the opinion of moſt Authors, who following* Herodotus *and* Diodorus, *relate it otherwiſe.*

WHen by a long courſe of Victory, *Nabuchodonoſor* had brought into ſubjection all the Nations of *Syria*, and the bordering *Arabians*, in ſuch wiſe, that no enemy to himſelf, nor friend to the *Egyptian*, was left at his back, that might give impediment unto his proceeding, or take advantage of any misfortune; then did he forthwith take in hand the Conqueſt of *Egypt* himſelf, upon which thoſe other Nations had formerly been depending. Of this Expedition, and the victorious iſſue thereof, the three great Prophets, *Iſaiah*, *Jeremy*, and *Ezekiel*, have written ſo plainly, that I hold it altogether needleſs to look after more authority, or to cite for proof half of that which may be alledged out of theſe. Nevertheleſs, we find many and good Authors, who following *Herodotus* and *Diodorus Siculus*, are well contented to ſtrain theſe Prophecies with unreaſonable diligence unto ſuch a ſenſe, as gives to *Nabuchodonoſor* little more than the honour of having done ſome ſpoil in *Egypt*, omitting the conqueſt of that Land by the *Babylonian*, and referring the death of *Apries* or *Hophra* to a Chance long after following, which had no coherence with theſe times or affairs. So prepoſterous is the delight which many men take in the means and ſecond helps conducing to their purpoſe, that oftentimes they do preſer the Commentator before the Author; and to uphold a ſentence, giving teſtimony to one clauſe, do careleſly overthrow the Hiſtory it ſelf, which thereby they ſought to have maintained. The reports of *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*, concerning the Kings of *Egypt* which reigned about theſe times, are already rehearſed in the former Book: but that which they have ſpoken of *Apries*, was purpoſely reſerved unto this place. *Herodotus* doth affirm, that he was a very fortunate King, but wherein he telleth not; (unleſs we ſhould underſtand that he was victorious in the War, which he is ſaid to have made upon *Tyrus* and *Sydon*) that he reigned five and twenty years; and was finally taken and put to death by his own Subjects; who did ſet up *Amaſis* as King, which prevailed againſt him. The rebellion of the *Egyptians* he imputeth to a great loſs which they received in an Expedition againſt the *Cyrenians*, by whom almoſt their whole Army was deſtroyed. This calamity the people of *Egypt* thought to be well pleaſing to their King, who had ſent them on this dangerous Expedition, with a purpoſe to have them conſumed, that ſo he might with greater ſecurity reign over ſuch as ſtayed at home. So they who eſcaped, and the friends of ſuch as were ſlain, rebelled againſt *Apries*, who ſent *Amaſis* to appeaſe the tumult; but *Amaſis* became Captain of the Rebels, and was by them choſen King. Finally, the whole Land conſented unto this new Election; whereby *Apries* was driven to truſt unto his foreign Mercenaries, the *Ionians* and *Carians*, of whom he kept conntinually in readineſs thirty thouſand good Soldiers that fought valiantly for him, but were at length vanquiſhed by the great number of the *Egyptian* forces, amounting unto two hundred and fifty thouſand,

Herod. l. 2. & l. 4.

ſand, which were all by birth and education, men of War. *Apries* himſelf being taken priſoner, was gently entreated by *Amaſis* for a while, until the *Egyptians*, exclaiming upon him, as an extream enemy to the Land, got him delivered into their hands, and ſtrangled him, yet they gave him honourable Burial. Such is the repott of *Herodotus*, with whom *Diodorus Siculus* doth nearly agree; telling us, that *Apries* did vanquiſh the *Cyprians* and *Phœnicians* in battel at Sea, took by force and demoliſhed *Sidon*, wan the other Towns of *Phœnicia*, and the Iſle of *Cyprus*, and finally periſhed, as is before rehearſed, when he had reigned two and twenty years. This authority were enough (yet not more than enough) to inform us of *Apries* his hiſtory, if greater authority did not contradict it. But the deſtruction of *Egypt* by the *Babylonian*, foretold by the Prophets, which hath no coherence with theſe relations, hath greater force to compell our belief, than have the Traditions of *Egyptian* Prieſts (which the *Greek* Hiſtorians followed) and greater probabilities to perſwade thoſe that look only into humane reaſons. For *Iſaiah* propheſied long before of the ſhameful Captivity of the *Egyptians*, whom the King of *Aſſur*, ſhould carry away naked, young and old, in ſuch wiſe, that the *Jews*, who fled then for deliverance from the *Aſſyrian*, ſhould be aſhamed of their own vain confidence in men ſo unable to defend themſelves.

Diod. Sic. l. 1. c. 2.

Iſa. 20. 4, 5, & 6.

But *Ezekiel* and *Jeremy*, as their Prophecies were nearer to the time of execution, ſo they handled this argument more preciſely. For *Ezekiel* telleth plainly, that *Egypt* ſhould be given to *Nebuchadnezzar* as wages for the ſervice which he had done at *Tyre*: Alſo he recounteth particularly all the chief Cities in *Egypt*, ſaying, That theſe by name ſhould be deſtroyed, and go into Captivity; yea that *Pharaoh and all his Army ſhould be ſlain by the ſword*. Wherefore it muſt needs be a violent expoſition of theſe Prophecies, which by applying the iſſue of ſuch threatnings to an inſurrection and rebellion, concludes all, without any other alteration in *Egypt*, than change of the Kings perſon, wherein *Amaſis* did ſucceed unto *Apries*, by force indeed, but by the uniform conſent of all the people. Certainly, if that notable place of *Jeremy*, wherein he foretelleth how the *Jews* in *Egypt* ſhould ſee *Pharaoh Hophra* delivered into the hand of his enemies, as *Zedekiah* had been, were to be referred unto the time of that rebellion, whereof *Herodotus* hath ſpoken, as the general opinion hath overruled it; then was it vainly done of the ſame Prophet (which God forbid that any Chriſtian ſhould think, ſeeing he did it by the appointment of God himſelf) to hide in the clay of a Brick-hill, thoſe very ſtones, upon which the Throne of *Nabuchodonoſor* ſhould be ſet, and his Pavilion ſpread. Yea then was that Prophecy no other than falſe, which expreſſed the end of *Pharaoh* thus: *Behold, I will viſit the common people of No, and Pharaoh and Egypt, with their gods, and their Kings, even Pharaoh, and all that truſt in him: and I will deliver them into the hands of thoſe that ſeek their lives, and into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babel, and into the hands of his ſervants.* The clearneſs of this Prophecy being ſuch as could not but refute that interpretation of many other places, which referred all to the rebellion of *Amaſis*, it cauſed me to wonder what thoſe Commentators would ſay to it, who are elſewhere ſo diligent in fitting all to the *Greek* Hiſtorians. Wherefore looking upon *Junius*, who had in another place taken the enemies of *Pharaoh Hophra* to be *Amaſis* and his followers, I found him here acknowledging that the *Egyptian* Prieſts had notably deluded *Herodotus* with lyes, coined upon a vain-glorious purpoſe of hiding their own diſgrace and bondage. And ſurely it may well be thought, that the hiſtory of *Nebuchadnezzar* was better known to the *Jews*, whom it concerned, than to the *Greeks*, that ſcarcely at any time heard of his name. Therefore I ſee no cauſe why we ſhould not rather believe *Joſephus*, reporting that *Nabuchodonoſor* in the three and twentieth year of his reign, and the fifth year of the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, did conquer *Egypt*, kill the King thereof, and appoint another in his ſtead; than *Herodotus* or *Diodore*; who being meer ſtrangers to this buſineſs, had no great reaſon to labour in ſearching out the truth, but might reſt contented with any thing that the Prieſts would tell them. Now if ſetting aſide all advantage of authority, we ſhould only conſider the relations of *Joſephus*, and of the *Greek* Hiſtorians, as either of them might be verified of it ſelf by apparent circumſtances, without reflecting upon the *Hebrew* Prophets, or *Egyptian* Prieſts; methinks the death of *Apries* can no way be approved, as having been wrought by conſent of the people, but affords great matter of ſuſpicion; yea, though no man had oppoſed the reports of *Herodotus* and *Diodore*. For the great love and honour which the *Egyptians* did bear unto their Kings, is notorious by the uniform teſtimony of all others that have handled the matters of that Country, as well as by the report of *Diodore* himſelf. How then can we think it probable, that *Apries* having won great Victories, did for one only loſs fall into the hatred of all his people? or, which may ſerve to perſwade us, that a King of *Egypt* would ſeek, or ſo demean himſelf, that he might be thought to ſeek the deſtruction of his natural ſubjects? As for that Army of thirty thouſand Soldiers, *Carians* and *Ionians*, which the King of *Egypt*, whom *Amaſis* took priſoner, is ſaid to have kept for his defence: Doth it not argue that he was a foreigner, and one that armed himſelf againſt the *Egyptians*, wiſhing them few and weak; rather than any of the *Pharaohs*, who accounted the force of the Country, as aſſuredly their own, as the ſtrength of their own bodies? It were more tedious than any way needful, to uſe all Arguments that might be alledged in this caſe. The very death of this ſuppoſed *Apries*, which the clamors of the people obtained of *Amaſis*, who ſought to have kept him alive, doth intimate that he was ſome foreign Governour, not a natural Prince; otherwiſe the people would have deſired to ſave his life, and *Amaſis* to take it quickly from him. I will not labour any further to diſprove that opinion, whereunto I ſhould not have yielded, though it had ſtood upon great appearance of truth, conſidering that the voice of truth it ſelf crys out againſt it; but leave the circumſtances, proving the Conqueſt of *Egypt* by *Nabuchodonoſor*, to be obſerved where due occaſion in courſe of the ſtory following ſhall preſent them.

Ezek. 29. 20, & c. 30. Ezek. 32. 33.

Jer. 44. 20. Jer. 45. 10.

Jer. 46. 25, & 26.

Jun. in Jerem. c. 44. v. 36.

Joſ. Ant. Jud. l. 10. c. 11.

SECT. IX.

How Egypt *was ſubdued and held by* Nebuchadnezzar.

IT is a great loſs, that the general Hiſtory of the World hath ſuffered by the ſpoil and waſte which Time hath made of thoſe Monuments that ſhould have

have preſerved the memory of ſuch famous actions as were accompliſhed by this mighty Prince *Nabuchodonoſor*; wherein, whether his Virtue, or Fortune were greater, it is now uncertain. That his Victories following the Conqueſt of *Syria*, and the Neighbour-Provinces, were ſuch as did more enlarge his Dominion, than all the former Wars had done, it may eaſily be gathered out of *Ezekiel*, who reckoneth up in his thirty Chapter (beſides the whole Country of *Egypt*) *Phut* and *Lud*, with other Nations, that may ſeem to have reached out into *Mauritania*, as people ſubdued by this great *Babylonian*. The circumſtances of theſe Wars are in a manner utterly loſt; but that the victory was eaſie and ſwift, any man ſhall find, who will take the pains to conſer the places wherein the three great Prophets touch this Argument. Thus much I think worthy of more particular obſervation; that *Pharaoh*, who (as is already noted in the former Book) thought himſelf moſt ſafe in *Egypt* by the well defenced ſituation of his Country, did very unwiſely in ſuffering his enemies to ſweep the way clean unto his own doors, by conſuming all his friends and adherents in *Syria*. For, as the labour of this buſineſs did more harden, than weary the *Chaldæan* Army; ſo the confidence and vain ſecurity of the *Egyptians*, relying upon the difficult paſſages which the enemy was to make thorough the *Arabian* deſarts, and the much advantage which the great River of *Nilus* would afford unto themſelves, did little avail them in proviſion for the War, and much aſtoniſh them (as may juſtly be thought) in the time of execution: it being uſually ſeen, that the hearts of men fail, when thoſe helps fail, in which they had repoſed more confidence than in their own virtue. Hitherto the Kingdom of *Egypt* had flouriſhed under the rule of the *Pharaohs* about a thouſand five hundred and fourſcore years; but from this time forward it remained forty years without a King, under the ſubjection of the *Babylonians*; and then at length it began to recover by little and little the former greatneſs; yet ſo, that it was never dreadful unto others; God having ſaid of that people, *I will diminiſh them, that they ſhall no more rule the Nations. For whereas it hath been ſaid of Pharaoh, I am the ſon of the wiſe, I am the ſon of the ancient Kings: And whereas he had vaunted, The River is mine, and I have made it.* The Princes of *Egypt* now became fools, the River failed them, the King himſelf was taken and ſlain, and that ancient lineage quite extinguiſhed This came to paſs in the firſt year after the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, and the three and twentieth of *Nebuchadnezzar*; at which time (ſaith *Joſephus*) *He ſlew the King then reigning, placed another in his room, and carried Captives thence to* Babylon *the* Jews *whom he found in that Country.* Now concerning the time which *Joſephus* gives unto this buſineſs, and the buſineſs it ſelf, I have already ſhewed, that it is warranted by all the Propheſies which inſinuate the ſame. As likewiſe the laſt deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, and carrying away thoſe unto *Babel* who inhabited the miſerable ruins of that great City, which was in the ſame *three and twentieth year of Nebuchadnezzar*, is not unprobably thought by good Authors to have been at the return from this *Egyptian* Expedition. But whereas *Joſephus* tells us, that there was another King put in the room of *Apries*, by *Nebuchadnezzar*, we muſt underſtand, that he was only a Vice-roy, and not (as ſome have miſtaken it) think that this was *Amaſis*. For to place the beginng of *Amaſis* his reign in the three and twentieth of *Nebuchadnezzar*, were as well repugnant unto the Propheſies before alledged, as to all Chronology and Hiſtory. Some there are, which to help this inconvenience, imagin that there were two ſucceſſively bearing the name of *Amaſis*; others that there were two *Apries*, the one ſlain by *Nebuchadnezzar*, the other by *Amaſis*; a queſtion of ſmall importance, becauſe the difference is only about a name, it being once granted, that the perſon mentioned in Scripture was deprived of Life and Kingdom by the *Aſſyrians*. Yet for any thing that I can perceive, that *Apries* of whom the *Greek* Hiſtorians wrote, could not be the Deputy of *Nebuchadnezzar*, ſeeing that he was the Grandchild of *Pharaoh Necho*, and made War (as they report) upon the *Phœnicians*, who were before the *Egyptians* become ſubject unto the Crown of *Babylon*. I might add, perhaps, that he whom *Nebuchadnezzar* left as Governour of *Egypt*, was more likely to have had ſome *Chaldæan* or *Aſſyrian*, than *Egyptian* name, unleſs we ſhould think that he had been a Traytor to his natural Prince, and ſo rewarded by the Conquerour with Lieutenantſhip of the Country: about which it were but frivolous to diſpute. Thus much in brief we ought to believe, that *Nabuchodonoſor* made an abſolute Conqueſt of *Egypt*; that he was not ſo fooliſh as to give it away, any man may gueſs; that he appointed one to rule the Country, it is conſequent unto the former, and hath authority of *Joſephus*; that his Governour (or ſome ſucceſſor of his) was afterwards taken and ſlain by *Amaſis*, I ſee probability enough to perſwade my ſelf; and yet can well be content, that others uſe their liberty, and believe what they liſt. As for the Army which this *Egyptian* King *Apries* is ſuppoſed to have kept of *Ionians* and *Carians*, I hold them to be none other than the Gariſons of Mercenary Soldiers which were left by the *Aſſyrian* for the guard of his Vice-roy, and cuſtody of the new ſubdued Province: as likewiſe the company returning from *Cyrene* and *Barce*, who together with the friends of ſuch as were ſlain in that Expedition, remembred before out of the *Greek* Hiſtorians, depoſed and ſlew *Apries*, I take them to have been the *Egyptian* fugitives, which then recovered their own Country. Sure it is, that this Propheſie of *Ezekiel* was verified; *At the end of forty years will I gather the Egyptians from the people where they were ſcattered, and I will bring again the captivity of Egypt, and will cauſe them to return into the land of Pathros, into the land of their habitation, and they ſhall be there a ſmall Kingdom.* If the *Egyptian* Prieſts alluded hereunto in the tale which they made of *Amaſis* obtaining the Kingdom, then are they to be helped with this or the like interpretation; if they deviſed matter that had no ſhadow of truth, only to keep the *Greeks* from knowledg of their Countrys diſgrace, then are they little to be regarded, ſince we know the truth with them.

Ezek. 29. 13, 14, & 15. *Iſa.* 19. 11. *Ezek.* 29. 9.

Joſ. Ant. Jud. l. 20. *c.* 11.

Jer. 25. 30.

Ezek. 30. 13, & 14.

SECT. X.

Of the ſundry accounts drawn from ſundry acts of Nebuchadnezzar, *and of the deſtruction of* Ninive *by him; the time of which action is uncertain.*

THeſe Victories brought the greatneſs of the *Aſſyrian* Empire to the full, and from them was reckoned the time of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s reign in ſundry places of Scripture. To ſpeak any more

of the queſtions ariſing about the ſupputation of *Nebuchadnezzar* his times, might ſeem to be the over-handling of one Argument: Yet thus much I will note, that whereas *Daniel* was carried Captive in the third year of *Jehojakims* reign (which ran along with ſome part of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s firſt year) and was kept in diet three years more, before he was brought into the Kings preſence; It could not be the ſecond of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s Kingdom, *Dan.* 1. 2. wherein he interpreted the forgotten dream of the great Image, fore-ſhewing the ſucceſs of Monarchies, but the ſecond of his Empire. The ſame or the like may be ſaid of divers places which refer ſundry matters unto their ſet years; as that of *Ezekiel* before cited, where he foretells, that *Egypt* ſhould be given in reward for the ſervice done before *Tyrus*, dating his Propheſie in the ſeven and twentieth year; and that of *Daniel*, placing the erection of the golden Image in the eighteenth year: for theſe years held no dependance upon either the beginning of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s Kingdom, or of his Empire, nor yet upon any of the Captivities, but had reference to ſome memorable actions, omitted in Scripture, and therefore not eaſie to be found, nor worth the labour of uncertain ſearch.

Of any War made by *Nebuchadnezzar*, after ſuch time as he returned from the Conqueſt of *Egypt*, I do not read, excepting that againſt *Nineve*, the deſtruction whereof was foretold by the Prophet *Nahum*. *Nineve* had long before been taken by *Merodach* (as in due place hath been ſhewed) and together with the reſt of *Aſſyria* made ſubject to *Babylon*. Yet was it left under a peculiar King, who rebelling againſt the *Chaldæan*, as *Jehojakim* and *Zedechias*, tributary Kings of *Judah* had done, taſted likewiſe of the ſame fortune. That the deſtruction of *Nineve* followed the Conqueſt of *Egypt*, it appeareth by the compariſon which *Nahum* the Prophet made between this City that was to fall, and the City of *No* in *Egypt*, that was fallen already. But how long after this came to paſs, it is (methinks) impoſſible to find out. For whereas it is found in an *Hebrew* Chronology, that it was in the firſt of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s reign, the place of *Nahum* laſt cited, is enough to diſprove it. Whereas it is referred by ſome unto the firſt of his Monarchy, which began at the end of the *Egyptian* *Nah.* 3. 8. Wars; the whole Propheſie of *Nahum*, which went between the one and the other, argueth ſtrongly, that there was a longer ſpace of time intercurrent. So that to enquire into the very year of this deſtruction, or other circumſtances of the War, whether managed by *Nabuchodonoſor* in perſon, or by his Lieutenants, were ſomewhat like unto the vain curioſity of *Tiberius Cæſar*, enquiring who was the Mother of *Hecuba*; or to the like idle pains which he ſhould take, who would ſeek to learn what woman that *Huzzah* Queen of *Nineve* was, whoſe woful Captivity the ſame Prophet *Nahum* likewiſe did foretell.

SECT. XI.

Of the latter time of Nebuchadnezzar; *his buildings, madneſs, and death.*

OF the time which this great Monarch ſpent in quiet, I think there are no Monuments extant, ſave thoſe which we find among the Propheſies of *Daniel*. Among theſe we may reckon his great works of *Babylon*, wherewith he pleaſed himſelf ſo well, that he brake out into thoſe glorious words: *Is not this great Babel that I have* *Dan.* 4. 27. *built, for the houſe of the Kingdom, by the might of my power, and for the honour of my Majeſty?* Surely if thoſe things be true that are by *Joſephus* rehearſed of him out of *Beroſus* and *Megaſthenes*, he might well delight himſelf with the contemplation of ſuch goodly and magnificent buildings. For it is ſaid, That he fortified *Babylon* with a triple wall; that beſides other ſtately works, he raiſed thoſe huge Arches wherewith were born up the high Orchards, hanging as it were in the Air, and equalling the tops of Mountains; which moſt ſumptuous Frame, that out-laſted all the remainder of the *Aſſyrian*, and all the *Perſian* Empire, is ſaid to have been reared, and finiſhed in fifteen days.

But of all this and other his magnificence, we find little elſe recorded, than that (which indeed is moſt profitable for us to conſider) his over-valuing of his own greatneſs, abaſed him unto a condition inferior to the pooreſt of men. And not undeſervedly fell theſe judgments of God upon him. For whereas God had honoured him, not only with many Victories, and much happineſs in his own life, but with a diſcovery of things to come after him, yea and had approved the certainty of his dream, by the miraculous reducing of it into his memory, and interpretation thereof by *Daniel* the Prophet; he nevertheleſs became ſo forgetful of God, whoſe wonderful power he had ſeen and acknowledged, that he cauſed a golden Image to be ſet up and worſhipped; ordaining a cruel death as reward unto them that ſhould dare to diſobey his Kingly will and pleaſure, which was utterly repugnant to the Law of him that is *the King of Kings*. Hereof St. *Hierom* hath well noted; *Velox oblivio veritatis, ut qui dudum ſervum Dei quaſi Deum adoraverat, nunc ſtatuam ſibi fieri jubeat, ut ipſe quaſi Deus in Statua adoraretur: A haſty forgetfulneſs of the truth, that he who ſo lately had worſhipped* (Daniel) *the ſervant of God, as if he had been God himſelf, ſhould now command a Statua to be erected unto himſelf, wherein himſelf might be worſhipped as God.* From this impiety it pleaſed God to reclaim him, by the ſtrange and wonderful delivery of thoſe bleſſed Saints out of the fiery furnace; who being thrown into it bound, for refuſing to commit Idolatry, were aſſiſted by an Angel; preſerved from all harm of the fire; looſened from their bands; and finally called out with gracious words, and reſtored to their former honour by the King: who amazed at the miracle, made a decree tending to the honour of God, which by erection of his Image he had violated. Yet this devotion of *Nebuchadnezzar*, was not ſo rooted in him, that it could bring forth fruit anſwerable to his haſty zeal. Therefore was he forewarned by God in a dream of the terrible judgment hanging over his head, which *Daniel* expounding, adviſed him to *break off his ſin by righteouſneſs, and his iniquity by mercy towards the poor, that there might be an healing of his error*. Hereby it ſeems that injuſtice and cruelty were the faults for which he was threatned: but this threatning ſufficed not unto his information. For that ſo great a Monarch ſhould be driven from among men (according to the tenor of the dream and interpretation); yea, compelled to dwell with the beaſts of the field, and made to eat graſs as the Oxen, was a thing ſo incredible in mans judgment, that eaſily it might be thought an idle dream; and much more eaſily be forgotten at the years end. One whole years leiſure to repent, was given to this haughty Prince: which reſpite of the

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execution may ſeem to have bred in him a forgetfulneſs of Gods ſentence. For at the end of twelve months, walking in the royal Palace of *Babel*, he was ſo over-joyed and tranſported with a vain contemplation of his own ſeeming happineſs, that without all fear of Gods heavy judgment pronounced againſt him, he uttered thoſe lofty words before rehearſed, in vaunting of the Majeſtical works which he had reared, as well beſeeming his Majeſtical perſon. But his high ſpeeches were not fully ended, when a voice from Heaven, telling him that his Kingdom was departed from him, rehearſed over unto him the ſentence again, which was fulfilled upon him the very ſame hour.

That *Solomon*, and many other Princes, and great ones, have taken delight in their own buildings, it cannot any way be doubted; yet I do not remember that ever I have read of any, that were puniſhed for rejoycing in works of this kind (though it is hard in joy or any paſſion of the mind, to keep a juſt meaſure) excepting only this *Nebuchadnezzar*.

The like may be ſaid of *David*: for other (and ſome very godly) Kings have muſtred all their forces to the very laſt man; but few or none have been known to have been puniſhed as *David* was. Surely I not only hold it lawful to rejoyce in thoſe good things wherewith God hath bleſſed us; but a note of much unthankfulneſs to entertain them with a ſullen and unfeeling diſpoſition. Yet as all humane affections, wherein due reverence to God is wanting, are no better than obſcure clouds hindring the influence of that bleſſed Light, which clarifies the ſoul of man, and prediſpoſeth it unto the brightneſs of eternal felicity; ſo that inſolent joy, which man in the pride of his vain imagination conceiveth of his own worth, doth above all other paſſions blaſt our minds, as it were with lightning, and make us to reflect our thoughts upon our ſeeming inherent Greatneſs, forgetting the whilſt him, to whom we are indebted for our very Being. Wherefore theſe *Mala mentis gaudia*, *The evil joys of the mind* were not unaptly, by the Prince of *Latin* Poets, beſtowed in the entrance of Hell, and placed farther inward than ſorrows, cares, and fears, not far from the Iron Cabbins of the Furies. And certainly it is no unlikely token of vengeance near at hand, when theſe unreaſonable flaſhes of proud and vain joy, do rage in a mind, that ſhould have been humbled with a juſt repentance, and acknowledgment of ill deſerving.

This was verified upon *Nebuchadnezzar*, whoſe puniſhment was ſingular and unexampled. For he ran among beaſts in the fields and woods, where for ſeven years he lived, not only as a ſalvage man, but as a ſalvage beaſt; for a beaſt he thought himſelf, *ſecundum ſuam imaginationem*, as *Thomas* noteth, and therefore fed himſelf in the ſame manner, and with the ſame food that beaſts do: Not that he was changed in figure external, according to *Mediana*, inſomuch as he appeared a beaſt to other mens eyes, as St. *Hierom* in the life of *Hilarius* (how true God knows) ſpeaks of a Woman that appeared to all other mens ſight a Cow, but to *Hilarius* only a Woman; neither was he changed as *Iphigenia* the daughter of *Agamemnon* was ſaid to be, into a Hind; nor made a Monſter, as *Dorotheus* and *Epiphanius* dreamed: but according to St. *Hierom*'s expoſition of theſe words, *At the ſame time was my underſtanding reſtored unto me*, &c. *Quando dicit* (ſaith St. *Hierom*) *ſenſum ſibi redditum, oſtendit non formam ſe amiſiſſe, ſed mentem*; *When he ſaith that his ſenſe was reſtored unto him, he ſhewed that he had not loſt his humane ſhape, but his underſtanding*. Seven years expired, it pleaſed God to reſtore *Nabuchodonoſor*, both to his underſtanding, and his eſtate, for which he acknowledged and praiſed God all the reſt of his life, confeſſing his power, and everlaſting being; that he was the Lord of Heaven and Earth, and wrought without reſiſtance what he pleaſed in both; that his works were all truth, and his ways righteous. Which gave argument to many of the Fathers, and others, not to doubt of his ſalvation; namely St. *Auguſtine*, *Theodoret*, *Lyra*, *Carthuſianus*, and others. And for that place of *Iſaiah* the 14, out of which his perdition may be gathered, the aforenamed Authors apply the ſame to *Balthaſar*; becauſe *Iſaiah* both in the 13 and 14 *Chapt.* ſpeaketh of the King, and the deſtruction of *Babylon* jointly.

L. 2. de Reg. pri.

Mid. l. 2. de Reſta in Deum fide, c. 7.

Dor. in Synopſ. Ep. in vit. Dan.

Dan. 4. 32, 34

SECT. XII.

Of EVILMERODACH.

HAving already ſpoken what I could of the ſucceſſion and years of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s poſterity; the moſt that may be ſaid of him, is ſaid of *Evilmerodach*, which I will not here again rehearſe.

He loſt ſome part of that which his Father had gotten; and left his Kingdom burning in a War that conſumed it to aſhes. He loſt *Egypt* by rebellion of the people, in the nineteenth year of his reign, which was forty years after his Father had conquered it. But this agrees neither with the account of *Herodotus*, who allows to *Amaſis* four and forty years of reign; nor with that of *Diodorus*, who gives him five and fifty, ſaying, that he died in the third year of the threeſcore and third Olympiad, when *Cambyſes* did conquer *Egypt*. There were indeed but ſeven and thirty years, which paſſed between the ſecond year of the four and fiftieth Olympiad (which was the nineteenth of *Evilmerodach*, and the firſt of *Amaſis*) and the fifth of *Cambyſes* his reign, wherein he wan *Egypt*; of which ſeven and thirty years it is credibly held, that *Pſammiticus*, the Son of *Amaſis*, reigned three: ſo that *Amaſis* could be no longer King than four and thirty years. But ſeeing that theſe two *Greek* Hiſtorians have been abuſed by *Egyptian* Prieſts in the ſubſtance of that which was ſpoken of *Amaſis*, it is no marvel though they were alſo deceived in the length of his reign. This is the plain anſwer to this objection. For to ſay, either that the numbers were miſ-written, and four and forty ſet down inſtead of four and thirty; or that *Amaſis* did temporize a while with the *Aſſyrians*, and not bear himſelf as abſolute King of *Egypt*, until the nineteenth of *Evilmerodach* (at which time, and not before, it hath been proved out of *Ezekiel*, that *Egypt* became again a Kingdom) I hold it a ſuperfluous excuſe.

Whether theſe *Egyptian*-troubles did animate the King of the *Medes*, to deal with *Evilmerodach*, as with a Prince greater in fame and reputation, gotten by the decayed valour of his people, than in preſent forces, or whether (as I rather think) ſome foil received by the *Aſſyrian* invading *Media*, emboldned the *Egyptians* to rebel againſt him; I will neither undertake, nor ſeek to define. *Xenophon* tells, that the firſt ſervice of young *Cyrus* in War, was under *Aſtyages* King of the *Medes*, his Grandfather, in a proſperous fight againſt the *Aſſyrian* Prince,

Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. 1.

Prince, who did ſet upon him; at which time, *Cyrus* was fifteen or ſixtteen years old. If therefore *Cyrus* lived threeſcore and three years (as he is ſaid to have died well ſtricken in years) which is held to be the ordinary term of no ſhort life, then was this encounter in the third year of *Evilmerodach* his reign. Yet by the ſame reckoning it ſhould follow, that the War began more early between theſe Nations, foraſmuch as the manner of their fight in former times, with other circumſtances inſinuating as much, are found in the ſame place of *Xenophon*. And it may well be, that the death or deſtruction of *Nabuchodonoſor* gave courage unto thoſe that had felt him a troubleſome neighbour, to ſtand upon prouder terms with the *Aſſyrians*, than in his flouriſhing eſtate they durſt have uſed. Howſoever the quarrel began, we find that it ended not before the laſt ruin of the *Aſſyrian* Monarchy. For the *Babylonian*, being too proud to digeſt the loſſes which he received by the *Medes*, and their Allies the *Perſians*, drew unto his party the *Lydians*, and all the people of the leſſer *Aſia*, with gifts and ſtrong perſwaſions, hoping ſo to overwhelm his enemies with a ſtrong Invaſion, whom in vain he had fought to weary out with a lingring War.

Xenoph. Cyropæd. l.8.

This happened after the death of *Aſtyages*, who left the world in the nineteenth year of *Evilmerodach*, at which time *Amaſis* took poſſeſſion of *Egypt*. So that the *Aſſyrians* having his hands already full of buſineſs, which more earneſtly did affect him, ſeems thereby to have given the better means unto the *Egyptians* of new erecting their Kingdom, which by long diſtance of place, did ſundry times find occaſion to rebel in after-ages, and ſet up a King within it ſelf, againſt the far more mighty *Perſian*.

The iſſue of theſe great preparations made by *Evilmerodach* againſt the *Medes*, was ſuch as opened the way unto the fulfilling of thoſe Propheſies, which were many years before uttered againſt *Babel*, by *Iſaiah* and *Jeremy*.

For the *Aſſyrians* and their Confederates, who truſting in their numbers, thought to have buried the *Medes* and *Perſians* under their thick ſhowers of arrows and darts, were encountred with an Army of ſtout and well-trained men, weightily armed for cloſe fight, by whom they were beaten in open battel, wherein *Evilmerodach* was ſlain. So that great frame of Empire which *Nabuchodonoſor* had raiſed and upheld, being ſhaken and grievouſly crackt under his unfortunate Son, was left to be ſuſtained by his unworthy Nephew; a man more likely to have overthrown it, when it was greateſt and ſtrongeſt, than to repair it, when it was in way of falling.

SECT. XIII.

A private conjecture of the Author, ſerving to make good thoſe things which are cited out of Beroſus, *concerning the Succeſſors of* Evilmerodach, *without wrong to the truth. The quality, and death of* Balthaſar.

THough I have already (as it ſeems to me) ſufficiently proved that *Balthaſar* was the Son, and immediate Succeſſor to *Evilmerodach*, yet conſidering earneſtly the conjectures of thoſe Writers, which following *Beroſus*, inſert *Nigliſſar*, or *Nirigliſſoroor*, and his Son *Labaſſardach* between them; as alſo that which I find in *Herodotus*, of *Nitocris* a famous Queen of *Babylon*, who greatly adorned and fortified that City; I have thought it not ſuperfluous here in this place to ſhew by what means it was poſſible, that ſome error might have crept into the Hiſtory of thoſe times, and thereby have brought us to a needleſs trouble of ſearching out the truth, as it were by candle-light, in the uncertain fragments of loſt Authors, which we might have found by day-light, had we adhered only to the Scriptures. Firſt therefore I obſerve, that the time which *Beroſus* divides betwixt *Evilmerodach*, and the two next Kings, agrees with the years in which *Nebuchadnezzar* lived wild among brute beaſts in the open field: Secondly, that the ſuddenneſs of this accident, which came in one hour, could not but work much perturbation in that State, wherein doubtleſs the honour of ſo noble a Prince was highly regarded, his calamity pitied, and his reſtitution hoped; the prediction of *Daniel* finding reputation in that clauſe which promiſed his recovery, as being verified in that which had been more incredible. Now if we do in common reaſon judg, what courſe was like to be taken by the great Ones of the Kingdom, for ſetling the Government, whilſt the King was thus diſtracted, we ſhall find it moſt likely, that his Son and Heir did occupy the Royal Throne, with condition to reſtore it unto his Father, when God ſhould enable him to repoſſeſs it. In this his rule *Evilmerodach* being to ſupply the utter want of underſtanding in his Father, as Protectors do the unripeneſs of it in young, but reaſonable Kings, might eaſily either commit the inſolencies, or fall into the troubles, incident to ſuch an office. That he had in him very ſmall ability of Government, it appears by his ill maintaining the Empire, when he held it in his own right. That his Siſter *Nitocris* (if *Nitocris* were his Siſter) was a Woman of high ſpirit, it appears by that which *Herodotus* reports of her, ſaying, That ſhe was more cunning than *Semiramis*, as appeared in her magnificent and uſeful works about the River of *Euphrates*, and her fortification of *Babylon* againſt the *Medes*, who had gotten many Towns from the *Aſſyrians*, and amongſt them *Nineve*. Wherefore it were not unreaſonable to think, that ſuch a Woman, ſeeing how the Empire went to decay through her Brothers miſ-government, uſed practices to get the rule into her own hands, and afterwards, as a Mother, to leave it unto her ungracious Son. Other time than this, wherein *Nitocris* could have reigned, we do not find; but we find in *Beroſus* (as *Joſephus* hath cited him) that *Nigliſſar* who got the Kingdom from *Evilmerodach*, was his Siſters Husband; which argues this to have been the ſame woman. As for *Labaſſardach* the Son of *Nigliſſar*, if at the end of nine months reign he were for his leud conditions ſlain by the Nobility, as the ſame *Beroſus* reporteth; it ſeems that God prepared hereby the way for *Nebuchadnezzar*'s reſtitution (whoſe term of puniſhment was then expired) by raiſing ſuch trouble, as ſhould make him the more deſired, both of the Princes and the people. I will not here uſe many words to confute that which *Beroſus* hath further ſet down of *Evilmerodach*, telling us that he was ſlain by his Siſters Husband: For the plain words of the Scripture, naming the year wherein he gave liberty to *Jechonia*, do plainly teſtifie that he out-lived the three or four and fortieth year of his Fathers reign, which was the laſt of his life.

Herod. l.1.

This may ſuffice to ſhew, that they who are ſaid to have ſucceeded *Evilmerodach* in the King-

dom,

dom, might indeed have so done, though not when he held it in his own right. Of *Balthasar*, who was his Son and Heir, we find that he had such conditions as God permitted to be in a King for the ruin of the people. He was from his young years of a mischievous nature; having in his Fathers time slain a Noble young man that should have married his Sister, only for spight and envy to see him kill two wild beasts in hunting, at which himself having thrown his Javelin had missed them. Another great Lord he had gelded, because a Gentlewoman commending his beauty, said, It were a happy woman that should be his wife. Such barbarous villanies caused many which had loved his Father (as a good and gracious, though unfortunate Prince) to revolt from him unto the enemy as soon as he was King. Neither do I find that he performed any thing worthy of record, but as a coward and a fool he lost all; sitting still, and not once daring to give battel to them that daily took somewhat from him. Yet carelesly feasting when danger had hemmed him in on every side, and when death arrested him by the hands of those whom he had wronged in his Fathers life. So the end of him was base and miserable; for he died as a fool taken in unexcusable security; yet had not that happiness, such as it is, of a death free from apprehension of fear, but was terrified with a dreadful Vision; which had shewed his ruin not in many hours before, even whilst he was drinking in that Wine, which the swords of his insulting enemies drew out of him, together with his lateſt blood. It is therefore in this place enough to say of him, That after a dishonourable reign of seventeen years, he perished like a beast, and was slain as he deserved. The rest that concerneth him in question of his time, hath been spoken heretofore; in matter of his affairs, shall be handled among the acts of *Cyrus*, to whose story, that of *Balthasar* is but an appendix.

CHAP. II.

Of the Original and first greatness of the Persians.

SECT. I.

That the Medes *were the chief actors in the subversion of the* Babylonian *Empire.*

THe Line of *Belochus* being now extinguished in *Balthasar*, the Empire of *Babylon*, and of *Assyria*, was joined first to that of *Media*, which then was governed by *Cyaxares*, or *Darius Medus*; after whom *Cyrus* became Lord and Monarch, both of *Assyria*, and of *Media* it self.

Of the race of *Phul Belochus* there were ten Kings besides himself, and of *Arbaces* as many are found by *Metasthenes*. These two Provincial Governours having cut down the last branch of *Ninus* in *Sardanapalus*, divided between them the Eastern Empire. *Cyaxares* (whom the Scriptures call *Darius Medus*) the last of the race of *Arbaces*, dying about two years after that the Line of *Belochus* was ended in *Balthasar*; the Dominions as well of the Conqueror, as of the conquered, fell to a third Family, namely to *Cyrus* of the house of *Achæmenes*; the Princes of which blood reigning in *Persia*, had formerly been dependants on the *Medes*, and were of as little power at home, as of fame abroad in the world.

Of the Family of the *Achæmenes*, and Line of the *Persian* Kings, we shall hereafter find occasion in due place to intreat.

The Nation of the *Medes* descended from *Madai* the third Son of *Japhet*. That they had Kings soon after the Flood, *Lactantius* and *Diodorus* have found record; For *Lactantius* remembreth an ancient King of the *Medes* called *Hydaspes*; and *Diodore* speaketh of *Pharnus* with his seven Sons, slain by the *Assyrians* in the beginning of their Empire.

But of these who succeeded *Arbaces* the first, that freed his Nation from the *Assyrians*, I take the list and number from *Eusebius*, adding *Darius Medus*: of whom I have spoken in their proper places heretofore; and they are these:

Arbaces	Reigned	28 years.
Sorsamus		30 years.
Medidus		40 years.
Cardiceas		13 years.
Diocles		53 years.
Phraortes		24 years.
Cyaxares		32 years.
Astyages		38 years.
Darius Medus		

And though the *Greeks* ascribe the Conquest of *Babylon* to *Cyrus* alone, yet the Scriptures teach us, that *Darius* was not only King of *Media*, and had the *Persians* his followers; but that the Army victorious over *Balthasar*, was his; as the *Assyrian* and *Babylonian* Empire also was, during his own life. For we find in *Daniel*, that *Darius* of the *Medes* took the Kingdom, being threescore and two years old: And further, what Officers it pleased him to set over the Kingdom. And so was it prophesied by *Isaiah* long before: *Behold, I will stir up the Medes against them, &c.* And by *Jeremy*; *The Lord hath raised up the spirit of the King of the Medes: for his purpose is against Babel to destroy it*; and 28. ver. *Prepare against her the Nations, with the King of the Medes, the Dukes thereof, the Princes thereof, and all the land of his Dominion.* These Scriptures *Julius Africanus* doth well open, who taking authority from *Diodore*, *Castor*, *Thalus*, and others, delivereth, that *Babylon* was taken before *Cyrus* began to reign; which also agreeth with *Strabo*, where he saith, That as the *Medes* were subjugated by the *Persians*; so before that, both the *Babylonians* and *Assyrians* were mastered by the *Medes*. And therefore the reports of *Justin* and *Herodotus* are not to be received, who attribute the taking of *Babylon* to *Cyrus* alone.

Cap. 13. v. 17. 51. v. 11. & 28.

Lib. 16.

SECT.

SECT. II.

By what means the Empire was tranſlated from the Medes *to the* Perſians.

HOw the Kingdom of the *Medes* fell into the hands of *Cyrus*, it is a doubt not ſufficiently cleared by Hiſtorians; But rather their different relations of his beginnings have bred the former opinion of thoſe who give the Conqueſt of *Babel* to the *Perſians* only. For ſome there are who deny that *Aſtyages* had any other Succeſſor than *Cyrus*, his Grand-child by *Mandane*. Whereas *Cteſias* on the contrary ſide affirmeth, that *Cyrus* was no way deſcended from *Aſtyages* (whom he called *Aſtigas* or *Apania*) but only that having vanquiſhed him in battel, and confined him to *Bactria*, he married his Daughter *Amytis*. But I find the relations of *Cteſias* often cited, and ſeldom followed, and himſelf ſometimes very juſtly reproved of wilful untruth.

Viginier, a diligent and learned Hiſtorian of this age, produceth many probable reaſons that *Aſtyages* had no ſuch Son as *Cyaxares*, or *Darius Medus*; and to confirm this opinion the more, he citeth *Diodore*, *Juſtin*, *Strabo*, *Plato*, *Ariſtotle*, *Socrates*, and before them, *Caſtor*, *Thalus*, and *Phlegon*; who do not find any ſuch Succeſſor. Neither do *Tatianus*, *Theophilus Antiochenus*, *Julius*, *Africanus*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Juſtin Martyr*, *Lactantius*, *Euſebius*, St. *Hierom*, or St. *Auguſtin*, make report out of any faithful Author by them read, that hath given other Son or Succeſſor to *Aſtyages* than *Cyrus*.

Yet ſeeing that this manner of argument *ab authoritate negative*, doth never inforce conſent; we may be the bolder (all this great liſt of noble Writers by him alledged notwithſtanding) to affirm, that either *Aſtyages* himſelf muſt have been *Darius* of the *Medes*, which cannot agree with his place in the courſe of time; or elſe to give him ſome other ſucceſſor, according to *Joſephus* and *Xenophon*, the ſame whom *Daniel* calleth *Darius*. For it is manifeſt, and without diſpute, that the King of the *Medes* commanded in chief, and was abſolute Lord of that Conqueſt; *Cyrus* during his life, being no other than the Lieutenant of his Army, and ſubject to his authority; the ſtrength of both Nations, to wit, the *Medes* and *Perſians*, with other the Vaſſals of *Darius*, being joyned together to compound it.

Xen. l. 1. c. 19. Joſ. An. l. 10. c. 13. Xen. l. 8. Pæd.

But it is very certain, that the honour of that great victory over *Babylon* was wholly given to *Cyrus*, who was the inſtrument preordained and forenamed by God himſelf for this action; but for the delivery of his Church; a greater work not only in the eyes of God, than the ſubverſion of any State or Monarchy how powerful ſoever.

And it may well be thought, that the Soldiers employed in that ſervice did rather aſcribe the glory to him that was the beſt man of war, than to the *Median*, who was greateſt in riches and power. All which alſo falling upon *Cyrus* by ſucceſſion, and continuing in his poſterity, did much augment the fame of his vertue; which among prophane Hiſtorians over-grew altogether the honour due to *Cyaxares*, both becauſe he was old, and did nothing in perſon; as alſo becauſe he ſoon after quitted the world, and left all to *Cyrus*, who was poſſeſt of whatſoever belonged to *Darius*, before the fame of any ſuch King or Conqueror was carried far off.

And for the *Greek* Hiſtorians, they took all things from the relation of the *Perſians*, who gave to *Cyrus* all the praiſe of a moſt excellent Prince, making none his equal. Only *Daniel* in the firſt, fifth, and ſixth Chapters of his Prophecy, makes it plain, that himſelf not only lived a great Officer under King *Darius*, but that he continued in that eſtate to the firſt of *Cyrus*; which being the year of *Daniel*'s death, could not have been diſtinguiſhed from the reign of *Darius*, if they had begun together and reigned jointly: Neither can it be imagined that *Darius* held the Kingdom by *Cyrus* permiſſion, conſidering that *Cyrus* began after him.

SECT. III.

Xenophon's *relation of the War which the* Medes *and* Perſians *made with joint forces upon the* Aſſyrians *and others.*

THeſe Teſtimonies of the Scriptures, which need no other confirmation, are yet made more open to our underſtanding, by that which *Xenophon* hath written of theſe Wars: The cauſe whereof, according to his report, was this.

When the *Aſſyrian* had enlarged his Empire with Victories, and was become Lord of all *Syria*, and many other Countrys; he began to hope that if the *Medes* could be brought under his ſubjection, there ſhould not then be left any Nation adjoining, able to make head againſt him. For the King of the *Medes* was able to bring into the field threeſcore thouſand Foot, and ten thouſand Horſe; to which the forces of *Perſia* being joined, made an exceeding ſtrong Army.

The *Aſſyrian* conſidering the ſtrength of ſuch a Neighbour, invited *Cræſus* King of *Lydia*, a Prince very mighty both in men and treaſure, and with him other Lords of *Aſia* the leſs, to his aſſiſtance; alledging, that thoſe Eaſtern Nations were very powerful, and ſo firmly conjoined by league, and many alliances, that it would not be eaſie, no not poſſible, for any one Nation to reſiſt them. With theſe incitements, and ſtrengthned with great Preſents, he drew to himſelf ſo many adherents, as he compounded an Army of Two hundred thouſand Foot, and threeſcore thouſand Horſe; of which, ten thouſand Horſe, and forty thouſand Foot were led by *Cræſus*, who had great cauſe of enmity with the *Medes*, in regard of the War made by them againſt his Father *Alyattes*: But this great Army was by *Cyaxares* King of the *Medes*, and by *Cyrus* General of the *Perſian* forces, utterly broken: Upon which defeat the *Aſſyrian* King being alſo ſlain, ſo many of the *Aſſyrians* revolted, as *Babylon* it ſelf could not longer be aſſured without the ſuccours of Mercenaries, waged with great ſumms of Money out of *Aſia* the leſs, *Egypt*, and elſewhere. Which new gathered forces were alſo ſcattered by *Cyrus*, who following his advantage, poſſeſt himſelf of a great part of the leſſer *Aſia*; at which time it was, as I take it, that *Cræſus* himſelf was alſo made priſoner.

The attempt of *Babylon* following ſoon after, the Army lying before it being paid by *Darius*, whom *Xenophon* called *Cyaxares*, and led by *Cyrus* his Siſters Son, prevailed againſt *Balthaſar*, as in due time ſhall be ſet down.

Thoſe *Perſians* which followed *Cyrus*, and by him levied, are numbered thirty thouſand foot-men, of which a thouſand were armed Gentlemen, the

reſt

reſt of the common ſort were Archers, or ſuch as uſed the Dart or Sling: So far *Xenophon*.

Of whom in this argument, as it is true, that he deſcribed in *Cyrus* the pattern of a moſt Heroical Prince, with much Poetical addition: ſo it cannot be denied but that the bulk and groſs of his Narration was founded upon meer Hiſtorical truth.

Neither can it indeed be affirmed of any the like Writers, that in every ſpeech and circumſtance he hath preciſely tyed himſelf to the phraſe of the ſpeaker, or nature of the occaſion: but borrowed in each out of his own invention, appropriating the ſame to the times and perſons of whom he treated. Putting therefore apart the Moral and Politick diſcourſe, and examining but the Hiſtory of things done, it will eaſily appear, that *Xenophon* hath handled his undertaken ſubject in ſuch ſort, that by beautifying the face thereof, he hath not in any ſort corrupted the body.

SECT. IV.

The eſtate of the Medes *and* Perſians *in times foregoing this great War.*

FOr it is commonly agreed upon, that *Achæmenes*, the Son of *Perſes*, being Governour of *Perſia*, did aſſociate himſelf with *Arbaces*, who commanded in *Media*, in that rebellion againſt *Sardanapalus*, and that each of them after the victory obtained, held for himſelf the Dominion of thoſe Countrys which he had formerly ruled for the *Aſſyrians*; as alſo that they conveyed over the ſame honour and power to their poſterity: which in *Media* was not abſolutely Regal, but with ſome reſtraint limited, until ſuch time as *Deioces* took upon him the full authority and majeſty of a King. From the death of *Sardanapalus* to the reign of *Deioces*, are uſually accounted about an hundred and forty years; in the laſt ſixty whereof, there reigned in *Aſſyria* mighty Princes, namely, *Salmanaſſar* and his Succeſſors; whoſe great atchievements in *Syria* and elſewhere, witneſs, that the *Medes* and *Perſians* found it not for their advantage to undertake any offenſive War againſt thoſe victorious Kings: it being alſo probable, that the league continued as yet between theſe the ſucceſſors of *Belochus* and *Arbaces*, who had formerly ſhared the Empire.

Now from the beginning of *Deioces* to the firſt of *Aſtyages*, there paſt above ninety years; in which, if *Herodotus* have written truly, that *Phraortes* conquered *Perſia*, and how he and other Kings of *Media* by many Victories greatly enlarged their Dominions, and commanded many parts of *Aſia*, it had been but an unadviſed enterprize of the *Aſſyrians* and *Babylonians*, to have waſted themſelves againſt the *Syrians* and *Egyptians*, leaving ſo able and victorious a Nation on their backs. But that the *Medes* had done nothing upon the South parts of *Perſia*; and that the *Perſians* themſelves were not Maſters of *Suſiana* in *Nabuchodonoſor*'s time; it is manifeſt in *Daniel*, who was then Governour for the *Babylonian* in *Suſa*, or *Suſan*, the chief City thereof. It is true indeed, that the *Medians*, either under *Cyaxares*, or *Aſtyages*, or both, had quarrel with *Halyattes* the Father of *Crœſus*, which after ſome ſix years diſpute was compounded.

How the affairs of *Perſia* ſtood in ſo many ages, I do not find any memory. It ſeemeth that the roughneſs of the mountainous Country which they then poſſeſt, with the confederacy which they continued with the *Medes*, gave them more ſecurity than fame: For if their Kings, being the poſterity of *Achæmenes*, had done any memorable acts, the greatneſs which they afterward obtained, would not have ſuffered any forgetfulneſs thereof. But as we find all *Xenophon*'s reports, both of theſe Wars, and the ſtate of thoſe Countrys, to be very conſonant and agreeable to the relation of many other good Authors; ſo it appears, that the race of *Achæmenes* held the Principality of *Perſia* from Father to Son for many deſcents. And therefore we may better give credit to *Xenophon*, who affirmeth, That *Cambyſes* the Father of *Cyrus*, was King of *Perſia*; than to thoſe that make him a mean man, and ſay, that *Aſtyages* gave him his Daughter *Mandane* in Marriage, to the end that her Son (whoſe nativity he feared) might be diſabled from any great undertaking by his Fathers ignobility.

For what cauſe of grief could it be to *Aſtyages*, that the Son of his Daughter ſhould become Lord of the beſt part of *Aſia*? No, it was more likely, that upon ſuch a Prophecy his love to his Grandchild ſhould have increaſed, and his care been the greater to have married her to ſome Prince of ſtrength and eminent virtue.

Yea, the ſame *Herodotus*, who is the firſt Author, and as I think, the deviſer of the miſchief intended againſt *Cyrus* by his Grand-father, doth confeſs, That the line of the *Achæmenidæ* was ſo renowned, that the great King *Xerxes* in the height of his proſperity, did thence derive himſelf, and vaunt of it: which he would never have done, had they been ignoble, or had they been the vaſſals of any other King or Monarch.

For in this ſort *Xerxes* in the ſeventh of *Herodotus* deriveth himſelf:

Achæmenes.	*Teiſpeus.*	*Hyſtaſpes.*
Cambyſes.	*Ariaramines.*	*Darius.*
Cyrus.	*Arſamnes.*	*Xerxes.*

Of the *Achæmenidæ* there were two races: of the firſt was *Cyrus* the great, whoſe iſſue-male failed in his two Sons, *Cambyſes* and *Smerdis*. This royal Family is thus ſet down by the learned *Reineccius*.

Achæmenes, the Son of *Perſes*, firſt King of *Perſia*.
Darius.
Cyrus, the firſt of that name, had *Cambyſes*, and *Atoſſa*, who married to *Pharnaces*, King of *Cappadocia*, had *Artiſtona* and other Daughters.
Cambyſes had
Cyrus the Great: *Cyrus* had
Cambyſes, who ſucceeded him, and *Smerdis*, ſlain by his Brother *Cambyſes*.

Of the ſecond, were thoſe ſeven great Princes of *Perſia*, who having overthrown the uſurped Royalty of the *Magi*, choſe from among themſelves *Darius* the Son of *Hyſtaſpes*, King.

This Kingdom of *Perſia* was firſt known by the name of *Elam*, ſo called after *Elam* the Son of *Sem*; and the people therein inhabiting, *Elamitæ*; by *Elianus*, *Elymæ*; by *Joſephus*, *Elymi*.

Suidas derives this Nation ſometimes from *Aſſur*, ſometimes from *Magog*, of whom they were called *Maguſæi*; which *Maguſæi*, according to *Euſebius*, are not to be taken for the Nation in general, but for thoſe that were afterward called the *Magi*, or Wiſemen. So do the *Greeks*, among many other their ſayings of them, affirm, That the *Perſians* were anciently written *Artæi*, and that they called themſelves *Cephenes*. But that they were *Elamitæ*,

Euſeb. l. 6. c. 8. de Præ. Evang.

Gen. 10. Jer. 25. 29. Ezek. 32. Dan. 8. Esd. 4. 2 Mac. 9. 1 Mac. 6.

Moses and the Prophets, *Isaiah*, *Jeremy*, *Ezekiel*, *Daniel*, and *Esdras*, in many places confirm: Which also St. *Hierom* upon *Jeremy* the five and twentieth, upon *Daniel* the eighth, and also in his *Hebrew* questions, approveth, saying: *Elam a quo Elamitæ Principes Persidis*; Elam, *of whom were the* Elamites *Princes of* Persia.

And that City which the Author of the second Book of the *Maccabees* calleth *Persepolis*, is by the Author of the first called *Elamais*, but is now called *Siras*, being the same which *Antiochus*, for the great riches thereof, twice attempted, in vain, and to his great dishonour. And yet this City, now called *Siras*, was not the old *Persepolis*; for *Alexander*, at the request of *Thais* the Harlot, burnt it.

The first King of *Persia* to us known, if we follow the current of Authors, interpreting the fourteenth Chapter of *Genesis*, was *Chedorlaomer*, who lived with *Amrafel* or *Ninias*, and joined with him in the War against those *Arabians*, who was afterward extinguished by the forces of *Abraham*.

CHAP. III.

of CYRUS.

SECT. I.

of Cyrus *his Name, and first Actions.*

Strab. l. 15.

AS touching the Name of *Cyrus*, *Strabo* saith, That the same was taken from a River which watereth *Persia*; this great Prince having *Agradatus* for his proper Name: But the great *Cyrus* was the first of that Name. *Herodotus*, otherwise; and that *Cyrus* signifieth a Father in the *Persian* Tongue, and therefore so intituled by the people.

Plut. in vit. Artax.

It is true, that for his Justice and other excellent virtues, he was indeed called a Father: But that the Name of *Cyrus* had any such signification, I think it be mistaken.

Plutarch hath a third opinion, affirming, That *Cyrus* is as much to say as the Sun, in the same Language. Howsoever it be, yet the Prophet *Isaiah*, almost two hundred years before *Cyrus* was born, gives him that Name, *Thus saith the Lord unto Cyrus his Anointed, &c.*

Before the Conquest of *Babylon*, the Victories which *Cyrus* obtained, were many and great: among which the Conquest of *Lydia*, and other Provinces thereto subject, together with the taking of *Crœsus* himself, are not recounted by *Eusebius*, *Orosius*, and others, but placed among his latter atchievements: whose opinion for his difference of time is founded upon two reasons; namely, That of the *Median* there is no mention in the last War against *Crœsus*; and that the obtaining of *Sardis* is referred to the eight and fiftieth *Olympiad*; and the glorious Victory which *Cyrus* had over *Babylon*, to the five and fiftieth *Olympiad*.

The former of which might have been used (and was by the *Greeks*) to exclude the *Medes* from the honour of having won *Babylon* it self, which in due place I have answered. The latter seems to have reference to the second War which *Cyrus* made upon *Lydia*, when it rebelled; at which time he so established his former Conquest, as after that time these Nations never offered to revolt. Wherefore I like better in this particular to believe with *Herodotus*, whom the most of Chronologers follow, and find the enterprize of *Sardis* to precede that of *Babylon*.

SECT. II.

of Crœsus *the King of* Lydia, *who made War upon* Cyrus.

IHave in the last Book spoke somewhat of *Crœsus*, of his race and predecessors, as also of those Kings which governed *Lydia* in more ancient times: of which the first (to prophane Authors known) was *Lydus* the Son of *Atys*: which Family extinguished, the Kingdom was by an Oracle conferred upon *Argon*, descended from *Hercules*, whereof there were two and twenty Generations, *Candaules* being the last, who by shewing his fair Wife naked to *Gyges* his Favourite, he was by the same *Gyges* (thereto urged upon peril of his own life by the Queen) the next day slain. Which done, *Gyges* enjoyed both the Queen and the Kingdom of *Lydia*, and left the same to *Ary*s his Son, who was Father to *Sadyattes*, the Father of *Halyattes* (who thrust the *Cimmerians* out of *Asia*) and *Halyattes* begat *Crœsus*. Which five Kings of a third race, enjoyed that Kingdom an hundred and seventy years. *Halyattes* the Father of *Crœsus* was an undertaking Prince; and after he had continued a War against *Cyaxares* the *Median*, a Prince very powerful, and maintained it six years, a peace was concluded upon equal conditions between them. Her. l. 1. p. 3, 4, & 5.

Astyages the Son of *Cyaxares*, and Grand-father to *Cyrus*, thought himself greatly honoured by obtaining *Aryenes*, *Crœsus* Sister, whom he married.

But *Crœsus* so far enlarged his Dominions after his Fathers death, as he was nothing inferior in territory to any King or Monarch of that age: Of which, about that time there were four in effect of equal strength; to wit, the *Median*, the *Babylonian*, the *Egyptian*, and the *Lydian*: only *Nabuchodonosor*, after he had joined *Phœnicia*, *Palastina*, and *Egypt* to his Empire, had thenceforward no Competitor during his own life.

But *Crœsus*, notwithstanding the men and treasure spent in the quarrel of the *Babylonians*, he yet mastered *Æolis*, *Doris*, and *Ionia*, Provinces possest by the *Greeks* in *Asia* the less, adjoining to *Lydia*; gave Law to the *Phrygians*, *Bithinians*, *Carians*,

Carians, *Mysians*, *Paphlagonians*, and other Nations. And that he also inforc'd the *Ephesians* to acknowledg him, notwithstanding they compassed their City with *Diana*'s Girdle, *Herodotus* witnesseth. Moreover, *Athæneus* out of *Berosus* (which also confirmeth) makes report of a signal Victory which *Crœsus* obtained against the *Sacæans*, a Nation of the *Scythians*, in memory whereof the *Babylonians* his allies did yearly celebrate a Feast, which they called *Sacæa:* All which he performed in fourteen years.

Herod. l. 5. Athe. l. 14. c. 17.

And being now confident in the continuance of his good fortune, and envious of *Cyrus* fame, doubting also that his prosperous undertakings might in the end grow perilous to himself, he consulted with the Oracle of *Apollo* (whom he presented with marvellous rich gifts) what success he might hope for against *Cyrus*, if he undertook him: from whom he received this riddle; Crœsus *passing over the River* Halys, *shall dissolve a great Dominion*. For the Devil being doubtful of the success, payed him with merchandize of both sides alike, and might be inverted either way, to the ruin of *Persia*, or of his own *Lydia*.

SECT. III.

Crœsus *his Expedition against* Cyrus.

HEreupon *Crœsus* being resolved to stop the course of *Cyrus* fortunes, if he could: despised all the arguments used by *Sandanes* to the contrary: who desired him to fore-think, That he urged a Nation inhabiting a barren and mountainous Region; a people not covered with the soft silk of Worms, but with the hard skins of Beasts; not fed with such meat as they fancied, but content with what they found; drinkers of Water, not of Wine: and in a word, a Nation warlike, enduring, valiant and prosperous; over whom, if he became victorious, he could thereby enrich himself in nothing but fame, in which he already excelled: and if by them beaten, and subjected, so great would his loss appear of all things which the world hath in account, as the fame could neither hastily be told, nor readily conceived.

Notwithstanding this solid counsel, *Crœsus* having prepared a powerful Army, he led the same toward *Media:* but in his passage he was arrested at *Pterium*, a City of great strength in *Cappadocia*; which while he sought by all means to surprize or to force, *Cyrus* came on, and found the *Lydians* encamped before it. That each was inferior to other in strength or opinion, I do not find: for out of doubt, *Crœsus*, as he excelled any Prince of that age in riches and ability; so was he not under any in territory and fame that then lived.

But as *Cratippus* of *Mitylene* answered *Pompey* when he complained against the gods, because they favoured a disturber and usurper of the Commonweal against him who sought for the *Roman* liberty, That Kingdoms and Common-weals had their encrease and period from divine Ordinance: so at this time was the Winter of *Crœsus* prosperity at hand, the leaves of his flourishing fortune ready to fall, and that of *Cyrus* but in the flower and first spring. The God of all power, and not *Admetis* Herdman, *Apollo*, had given a date to the one, and a beginning of glory to the other.

When these two Armies were in view of each other, after the entertainment of divers skirmishes, the *Persians* and *Lydians* began to join in grois troops: supplys from both Kings thrust on upon the falling off, and advancement of either Nations: and as the *Persians* had somewhat the better of the day; so when the dark vail of night had hidden each Army from the others view, *Crœsus* doubting what success the rising Sun would bring with it, quitted the field to *Cyrus*, and with all speed possible retired; and taking the next way into *Lydia*, recovered *Sardis* his first City and Regal Seat, without any pursuit made by *Cyrus* to retard him. Where being arrived, and nothing suspecting *Cyrus* approach, or any other War for that Winter, he dismissed the Soldiers, and sent the Troops of his sundry Nations to their own Provinces, appointing them to re-assemble at the end of five months; acquainting his Commanders with his intents for the renewing of the War at the time appointed.

SECT. IV.

The Conquest of Lydia *by* Cyrus.

CYrus in the following morning finding the *Lydians* departed, put his Army in order to pursue them; yet not so hastily, and at their heels, as to be discovered. But having good intelligence of *Crœsus* his proceeding, he so measured his marches, as he presented not himself before *Sardis*, till such time as *Crœsus* had disposed his Army to their wintring garrisons; which being altogether unlooked for, and unfeared, he surrounded *Sardis* with his Army; Wherein *Crœsus* having no other Companies than his Citizens and Ordinary Guards, after fourteen days siege the same was entred by assault, and all executed that resisted. *Crœsus* having now neither Arms to fight, nor wings to fly, *Sardis* being on all parts strongly encompassed, thrust himself into the heap and miserable multitude of his vassals, and had undergone the common fortune of common persons vanquished, had not a son of his, who had been dumb all his life (by extremity of passion and fear enabled) cried out to the Soldiers to spare *Crœsus*. Who thereupon being taken and imprisoned, despoiled of all things but the expectation of death, he was forthwith tied in fetters, and set on the top of a great and high heap of wood, to be consumed to ashes thereon. To which when the fire was set and kindled, remembring the discourse which he had with the *Athenian* Law-giver, he thrice cried out on his name, *Solon, Solon, Solon:* and being demanded what he meant by that invocation, he first used silence; but urged again, he told them, That he had now found it true which *Solon* had long since told him, That many men in the race and courses of their lives might well be accounted fortunate; but no man could discern himself for happy indeed till his end.

In communi calamitate suam quisq; habet fortunam, Curt. *Memoriam metus perimit: timor, vocis est incitamentum. &c.* Solin. c. 7.

Of which answer *Cyrus* being speedily informed, remembring the changes of fortune, and his own mortality, he commanded his Ministers of Justice to withdraw the fire with all diligence, to save *Crœsus*, and to conduct him to his presence: Which done, *Cyrus* demanded of him, Who it was that had perswaded him, or what self-reason had conducted him to invade his Territory, and to make him of a Friend an Enemy? To whom he thus answered: It was thy prosperous, and my unprosperous destiny (the *Greecian* god flattering therewithal my ambition) that were the inventers and conducters of *Crœsus* War against *Cyrus*.

Homo qui in homine calamitoso miserior est, meminit sui, cass.

Cyrus being pierc'd with *Crœsus* answer, and bewailing his estate, though victorious over it, did not only spare his life, but entertained him ever after as a King, and his companion, shewing therein a true effect of mercy indeed, *Quæ non causam, sed fortunam spectat.*

And herein is the real difference discerned between that behaviour which we call *beneficium latronis*, and *gratiam Principis:* A thief sometime sparing the life of him which is in his power, but unjustly: A King that giveth breath, and a continuance of being, to him that was the cause and author of his own evil.

The report made by *Xenophon*, is, That *Cyrus* did friendly entertain *Crœsus* at the first sight, not mentioning that which *Herodotus* delivers, and is here already set down, that he should have been burnt alive. It may very well be, that *Xenophon* pourtraying (in *Cyrus*) an heroical Prince, thought an intent so cruel, fitter to be forgotten than rehearsed, as too much mis-beseeming a generous nature. And it is very likely, that neerness of alliance might withhold *Cyrus* (had he been otherwise vicious) from so cruel a purpose against his Grandmothers brother. Howsoever it was, the moral part of the story hath given much credit and reputation to the report of *Herodotus* (as to many the like it often doth) and made it pass for currant; though the trust reposed in *Crœsus* afterwards may seem to argue, that *Cyrus* did not use him inhumanely at the first.

For as *Herodotus* himself telleth us, when *Cyrus* past with his Army over *Araxes* into *Scythia*, he left *Crœsus* to accompany and advise his son *Cambyses*, Governour of the Empire, in his absence, with whom he lived all the time of *Cyrus*, and did afterward follow *Cambyses* into *Egypt*, where he hardly escaped his tyranous hand. What his end was, I do not find.

But in this time the races of three of the greatest Kings in that part of the World took end; to wit, of the *Babylonians*, *Medians*, and *Lydians*; in *Balthasar*, *Cyaxares*, and *Crœsus*.

SECT. V.

How Cyrus *won* Babylon.

After this *Lydian* War, ensued the great Conquest of *Babylon*, which gave unto *Cyrus* an Empire so large and mighty, that he was justly reputed the greatest Monarch then living upon earth. How long time the preparations for this great action took up, it is uncertain; only it seems, that ten whole years did pass between his taking those two Cities of *Sardis* and *Babylon*; which nevertheless I do not think to have been wholly occupied in provision for the *Assyrian* War, but rather to have been spent in setling the Estate which he had already purchased. And hereunto perhaps may be referred that which *Ctesias* hath in his fragments, of a War made by *Cyrus* upon the *Scythians*, though related as foregoing the Victory obtained against *Crœsus*. He telleth us, That *Cyrus* invaded *Scythia:* and being victorious over that Nation, took *Amorges* their King prisoner: but being in a second battel overthrown by the wife of *Amorges*, *Sparetha*, and therein taken, the one King was delivered for the other.

Likewise it may be thought that no small part of those troubles which arose in the lower *Asia*, grew soon after the departure of the victorious Army, before the Conquest was fully established.

For after *Cyrus* was returned out of *Asia* the less, many Nations conquered formerly by *Crœsus*, and now by *Cyrus*, revolted from him; against whom he employed *Pactias*, and then *Harpagus*, who first reduced the *Phocians* under their former obedience, and then the rest of the *Greeks* inhabiting *Asia* the less, as the *Ionians*, *Carians*, *Æolians*, and *Lycians*, who resolvedly (according to the strength they had) defended themselves. But in the attempt upon *Babylon* it self, it is not to be doubted, that *Cyrus* employed all his forces, having taken order before-hand, that nothing should be able to divert him, or to raise that siege, and make frustrate the work upon which he did set all his rest. And great reason there was, that he should bend all his care and strength unto the taking of that City, which beside the fame and reputation that it held, as being head of an Empire thereon depending, was so strongly fenced with a treble wall of great height, and surrounded with waters unfoordable, so plentifully victualled for many years, that the inhabitants were not only free from all doubt and fear of their estate, but despised and derided all purposes and power of their besiegers.

The only hope of the *Medes* and *Persians*, who despaired of carrying by assault a City so well fortified and man'd, was in cutting off all supplys of victuals and other necessaries: whereof though the Town was said to be stored sufficiently for more than twenty years, yet might it well be deemed, that in such a world of people as dwelt within those gates, one great want or other would soon appear, and vanquish the resolution of that unwarlike multitude. In expecting the success of this course, the Besiegers were likely to endure much travel, and all in vain, if they did not keep streight watch and strong guards upon all quarters.

This was hard to do, in regard of the vast circuit of those walls which they were to gird in, with numbers neither great enough, nor of men sufficiently assured unto their Commander: The consideration whereof ministred unto the *Babylonians* matter of good pastime, when they saw the *Lydians*, *Phrygians*, *Cappadocians*, and others, quartered about their Town to keep them in, who having been their ancient friends and allies, were more likely to join with them, if occasion were offered, than to use much diligence on the behalf of *Cyrus*; who had, as it were yesterday, laid upon their necks the galling yoke of servitude. Whilest the besieged were pleasing themselves in this deceitful and vain gladness, that is the ordinary forerunner of sudden calamity; *Cyrus*, whom the Ordinance of God made strong, constant, and inventive, devised by so many Channels and Trenches as were sufficient and capable of *Euphrates*, to draw the same from the walls of *Babylon*, thereby to make his approach the more facile and assured: which when by the labour of many hands he had performed, he stayed the time of his advantage for the execution: for he had left certain banks or heads uncut, between the main river which surrounded the City, and his own Trenches. *Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. 7.*

Now *Balthasar* finding neither any want or weakness within, nor any possibility of approach for his enemies without, prepared an exceeding sumptuous Feast, publick Plays, and other Pastimes; and thereto invited a thousand of his Princes or Nobility, besides his Wives, Curtizans, and others of that trade. This he did either to let the besiegers know, that his provisions were either sufficient, not only for all needful uses, but even for jollity and excess;

or

or because he hoped that his enemies, under the burthen of many distresses, were well near broken; or in honour of *Bell* his most reverenced Idol; or that it was his Birth or Coronation-day; or for many or all these respects. And he was not contented with such magnificence as no Prince else could equal; but (using *Daniel*'s words) *he lifted himself up against the Lord of heaven:* for he and his Princes, Wives and Concubines, made carousing cups of the vessels of Gold, in contempt of whom he praised his own Puppets, made of Silver and Gold, of Brass, Iron, Wood, and Stone; *Quanta fuit stultitia in vasibus aureis bibentes, ligneos & lapideos deos laudare? How great a foolishness was it* (saith St. *Hierom*) *drinking in golden Cups, to praise gods of Wood and Stone?* While *Balthasar* was in this sort triumphing, and his brains well filled with vapors, he beheld a hand, which by divine power wrote on the wall opposite unto him, certain words which he understood not: wherewith so great a fear and amazement seised
Dan. 5. 6. him, as the joints of his loyns were loosed, and his knees smote one against the other. Which passion, when he had in some part recovered, he cried out for his *Chaldæans*, Astrologians, and Southsayers, promising them great rewards, and the third place of honour in the Kingdom to him that could read and expound the writing: but it exceeded their Art. In this disturbance and astonishment, the Queen hearing what had past, and of the Kings amazement, after reverence done, used this speech: *There is a man in thy Kingdom, in whom is the spirit of the holy Gods: and in the days of thy Father, light, and understanding, and wisdom, like the wisdom of the Gods, was found in him, whom the King Nabuchodonosor thy Father, the King (I say) thy Father made chief of the Inchanters, Astrologians, Chaldæans, and Southsayers, because a more excellent spirit, and knowledg, and understanding, &c. were found in him, even in Daniel, &c. Now let Daniel be called, and he will declare the interpretation.*

Orig. & Theod. in Dan. Joseph. Ant. 10. This Queen *Josephus* takes for the Grand-mother, *Origen* and *Theodoret*, for the Mother of *Balthasar*; either of which may be true: for it appeareth that she was not any of the Kings Wives, because absent from the feast; and being past the age of dancing and banquetting, she came in upon the bruit of the miracle, and to comfort the King in his distraction. And whereas *Daniel* was forgotten and neglected by others both of younger years and times, this old Queen remembred well what he had done in the days of *Nabuchodonosor*, Grandfather to this *Balthasar*, and kept in mind both his Religion and divine gifts.

When *Daniel* was brought to the Kings presence, who acknowledged those excellent graces wherewith God had enriched him, he prayed him, together with promises of reward and honour, to read and interpret those words miraculously written; to whom *Daniel* made answer in a far different style from that he used towards his Grandfather: for the evil which he foretold *Nabuchodonosor*, he wished that the same might befall his enemies; but to this King (whose neglect of God, and vice, he hated) he answered in these words, *Keep thy rewards to thy self, and give thy gifts to another; yet will I read the writing unto the King, and shew him the interpretation.* Which before he had performed, he gave him first the cause of Gods just judgment against him, and the reason of this terrible sentence, whereof the King and all his
Dan. 5. 18, 19, 20. Wise men were utterly ignorant. Which being written at large in *Daniel*, hath this effect, That forgetting Gods goodness to his Father, whom all Nations feared and obeyed, and that for his pride and neglect of those benefits, as he deprived him of his estate and understanding; so upon the acknowledgment of Gods infinite power he restored him to both. This King notwithstanding, lifted himself up against the same God; and presuming both to abuse those Vessels dedicated to holy uses, and neglecting the Lord of all power, praised and worshipped the dead Idols of Gold, Silver, Brass, Iron, Stone, and Wood: and therefore those words, from the Oracle of a true God delivered, (to wit) *Mene, Tekel, Upharsin*, gave the King knowledg, that God hath numbred the time of his Kingdom, and finished it; that he was weighed in the ballance of Gods Justice, and found too light; and that his Empire was divided and given to the *Medes* and *Persians*.

The very evening or night of this day, wherein *Balthasar* feasted and perished, *Cyrus*, either by his espials, according to *Xenophon*; or inspired by God himself, whose Enfign he followed in this War, found the time and opportunity to invite him: and therefore while the Kings head, and the heads of his Nobility were no less filled with the vapors of Wine, than their hearts with the fear of Gods judgment, he caused all the banks and heads of his Trenches to be opened and cut down with that diligence, as by them he drew the great River of *Euphrates* dry for the present, by whose Channel running, his Army made their entrance, finding none to disturb them. All the Town lay buried (as the Poet saith) in sleep and wine: such as came in the *Persians* way, were put to the sword, unless they saved themselves by flight, as some did, who ran away crying, and filling the streets with an uncertain tumult.

Such *Assyrian* Lords as had revolted from *Balthasar*, and betaken themselves to the party of *Cyrus*, did now conduct a selected company to the Kings Palace; which having easily forced, they rushed into the Chamber where the King with his Princes were banquetting, slew both him and them without any mercy, who strugled in vain to keep those lives which God had newly threatned to take away. And now was the Prophecy of *Jeremy* fulfilled, and that of *Isaiah* two hundred years before this subversion; who in his 47 Chapter, and elsewhere, writeth this destruction so feelingly and lively, as if he had been present both at the terrible slaughter there committed, and had seen the great and unfeared change and calamity of this great Empire; yea, and had also heard the sorrows and bewailings of every surviving soul thereunto subject. His Prophecy of this place he beginneth in these words: *Come down, and sit in the dust, O Virgin Daughter of Babel: sit on the ground, there is no throne, &c.* And again, *Sit still, and get thee into darkness, O daughter of the Chaldæans; for thou shalt no more be called the Lady of Kingdoms.* For though it cannot be doubted, that God used *Nabuchodonosor* and the *Chaldæans*, to punish the Idolatry of the *Judæans*; yet *Isaiah* teacheth us in this place, That he did not yet forget that the execution of his judgments was mixt with a rigorous extremity. For (saith *Isaiah*) in the person of God, *I was wroth with my people, I have polluted mine inheritance, and given them into thine hand: thou didst shew them no mercy, but thou didst lay thy very heavy yoke upon the ancient. I will rise up against them, saith the Lord of Hosts, and will cut off from Babel the Name, and the Remnant, and the Son, and the Nephew.* And in the 13, *Every one that is found,*

Jer. 27. Isa. 47. Cap. 47. Isa. 14. To wit, Evilmerodach and Balthasar.

shall

shall be stricken thorough: whosoever joineth himself, shall fall by the sword, their children also shall be broken in pieces before their eyes, their houses spoiled, and their wives ravished. So as there is no Historian who was either present at this victory of *Cyrus*, or that received the report from others truly as it was, that could better leave the same to posterity after it happened, than *Isaiah* hath done in many places of his Prophecies, which were written two hundred years before any thing attempted.

The greatness and magnificence of *Babylon*, were it not by divers grave Authors set down, might seem altogether fabulous: for besides the reports of St. *Hierom*, *Solinus*, and *Orosius*, *Aristotle* in the third of his *Politicks*, the second Chapter, received
Diod. l. 3. the report for true, That one part of the City knew not that the rest was taken three days after. Which is not impossible, if the testimony of *Diodorus Siculus* may be taken; who finds the compass thereof at three hundred and threescore Stadia or Furlongs, which makes five and forty miles: the walls whereof had so great a breadth, that six Chariots might pass in front thereon. And of height, according to *Ctesias* and *Clitracus*, three hundred threescore and five foot, garnished with an hundred and fifty Towers. *Strabo* in the beginning of his sixteenth Book of Geography, gives it a greater circuit, adding five and twenty Furlongs more to the former compass, reckoning the same at three hundred fourscore and five Furlongs, which make eight and forty miles and one Furlong, but finds the wall far under that which *Diodore* reports: and so doth *Curtius* measure their thickness but at two and thirty foot, and their height at an hundred cubits, which is also very much; every cubit containing a foot and a half of the large measure: though to the whole circuit of the City he gives the same with *Siculus*, and eight Furlongs more. *Herodotus* finds a greater content than *Strabo* doth, namely, four hundred and fourscore furlongs circle; the thickness of the wall he measures at fifty cubits, and the height at two hundred of the same regal
Her. l. 1. cubit. For entrance, it had an hundred Gates of Brass, with Posts and Hooks to hang them on of the same metal: and therefore did the Prophet
Isa. 47.13. *Isaiah* rightly intitle *Babylon*, The Princess and Glory of Kingdoms.

But when *Cyrus* had won her, he stript her out of her Princely Robes, and made her a slave; dividing not only all her goodly houses, and her whole Territory, with all the riches therein contained, among his Soldiers; but bestowing the inhabitants themselves as bond-slaves upon those that had taken possession of their goods.

Touching the reign of *Cyrus*, and the time which he enjoyed in rest and pleasure, I can say no more of it, than that it is generally agreed by all Chronologers, to have lasted only seven years: in which time he made such Constitutions as differ little from the Ordinances of all wise Kings that are desirous to establish a Royal power to themselves and their posterity.

SECT. VI.

The End of Cyrus.

THe last War, and the end of this great King *Cyrus*, is diversly written. *Herodotus* and *Justin* deliver, That after the Conquest of *Asia* the less, *Cyrus* invaded the *Massagetes*, a very warlike Nation of the *Scythians*, governed by *Tomyris* their Queen: and that in an incounter between the *Persians* and these Northern *Nomades*, *Tomyris* lost her Army, and her Son *Spargapises* that commanded it: In revenge whereof, this Queen making new levies of men of War, and following the War against *Cyrus*, in a second battel beat the *Persian* Army, and taking *Cyrus* prisoner, cut off his head from his body, and cast the same into a bowl of blood, using these words; *Thou that hast all thy life time thirsted for blood, now drink thy fill, and satiate thy self.*

It should hereby seem, that *Cyrus* knowing the strength and multitude of those frozen Nations, was perswaded to abate their fury by some forcible invasion and depopulation, because in the time of *Cyaxares* Father to *Astyages*, those *Scythians* invaded *Media* and *Asia* the less, and held the same in a servile subjection eight and twenty years.

This War which *Metasthenes* calleth *Tomyrique*, lasted (saith he) six years, and took end at the end of *Cyrus*.

But in this particular I believe with *Viginier*, that this *Scythian* War was rather the same which *Cyrus* made against the *Sacians*, before the conquest of *Lydia*, according to *Ctesias* before cited, who calleth *Tomyris*, *Sparetha*; though he deliver the success of that War otherwise than *Herodotus* doth: The rather (saith *Viginier*) because *Strabo* in his eleventh Book reciteth, that *Cyrus* surprized the *Sacians* by the same stratagem by which *Justin* saith, he defeated the Son of *Tomyris*. And the same *Ctesias* also reporteth, That the last War which *Cyrus* made, was against *Amorrhæus* King of the *Derbicians*, a Nation (as the rest) of *Scythia*; whom though he overcame, yet he then received the wound of his death, which he suffered three days after.

Vig. prim. part. Bib.

Cte. l. 15. Hist. part.

Strabo also affirmeth, That he was buried in his own City of *Pasagardes*, which himself had built, and where his Epitaph was to be read in his time; which is said to have been this: *O vir, quicunque es, & undecunque advenis, neque enim te adventurum ignoravi: Ego sum* Cyrus *qui Persis imperium constitui, pusillum hoc terræ quo meum tegitur corpus mihi ne invideas; O thou man, whosoever thou art, or whencesoever thou comest; for I was not ignorant that thou shouldst come: I am* Cyrus *that founded the* Persian *Empire: do not envy unto me this little earth, with which my body is covered.*

Strab. l. 15.

This Tomb was opened by *Alexander*, as *Qu. Curtius* reporteth, either upon hope of treasure, supposed to have been buried with him, (or upon desire to honour his dead body with certain Ceremonies) in which there was found an old rotten Target, two *Scythian* Bows, and a Sword. The Coffin wherein his body lay, *Alexander* caused to be covered with his own garment, and a Crown of Gold to be set upon it. These things well considered, as they give credit to the reports of *Xenophon* and *Zonaras*, so they derogate much from *Herodotus*, who leaves his body in the hands of *Tomyris*.

Qu. Curt.

Xen. ped. 8.

Zon. l. 1. c. 20.

And surely had *Cyrus* lost the Army of *Persia* in *Scythia*, it is not likely that his Son would so soon have transported all his remaining forces into *Egypt*, so far off from that quarter; the *Scythian* Nation then victorious, and bordering *Media*: neither had *Cambyses* been able in such haste to have undertaken and performed so great a Conquest. Wherefore I rather believe *Xenophon*, saying, That *Cyrus* died aged, and in peace: and that finding in himself, that he could not long enjoy the world,

he

he called unto him his Nobility, with his two Sons, *Cambyſes* and *Smerdis*; or after *Xenophon*, *Tanaoxares*: and after a long Oration, wherein he aſſured himſelf, and taught others of the immortality of the Soul, and of the puniſhments and rewards following the good and ill deſerving of every man in this life; he exhorted his Sons by the ſtrongeſt arguments he had, to a perpetual concord and agreement. Many other things he uttered, which make it probable, that he received the knowledg of the true God from *Daniel*, when he governed *Suſa* in *Perſia*; and that *Cyrus* himſelf had read the Prophecy of *Iſaiah*, wherein he was expreſly named, and by God (for the delivery of his people) preordained. Which act of delivering the *Jews* from their Captivity, and of reſtoring the holy Temple and City of *Jeruſalem*, was in true conſideration the nobleſt work that ever *Cyrus* performed. For in other actions he was an inſtrument of Gods power, uſed for the chaſtiſing of many Nations, and the eſtabliſhing of a Government in thoſe parts of the world which was not long to continue. But herein he had the Grace to be an inſtrument of Gods goodneſs, and a willing advancer of his Kingdom upon Earth; which muſt laſt for ever, though heaven and earth ſhall periſh.

SECT. VII.

Of Cyrus *his Decree for building the Temple of God in* Jeruſalem.

HAving therefore ſpoken of his great Victories, mentioned by ſundry Hiſtorians, the glory of all which was a reward of this his ſervice done unto him that was Author of them and of all goodneſs: I hold it meet at length to ſpeak of the Decree made in the firſt of his Reign, being perhaps the firſt that ever he made after his poſſeſſion of the *Babylonian* Empire: That the captive *Jews* ſhould return again into their own Territory, and re-build the Houſe of God in *Jeruſalem*, having now endured and finiſhed the threeſcore and ten years Captivity, by the Prophets foretold. For the accompliſhing whereof, he gave order to his Treaſurers to furniſh them with all things neceſſary and wanting. He alſo reſtored unto them five thouſand four hundred threeſcore and nine Veſſels of Gold and Silver, whereof *Nabuchodonoſor* the Grandfather of *Balthaſar*, had formerly robbed the Temple.

The number of the *Jews* which returned out of *Chaldæa* under their Leader *Zorobabel*, the Son of *Salathiel*, and Nephew to King *Jeconias*, and *Jeſus* or *Joſua* the Son of *Joſadak*, were about fifty thouſand; where, as ſoon as they arrived, they built an Altar to the living God, and ſacrificed thereon, according to their own Law, and afterward bethought themſelves how to prepare materials for the rebuilding of the Temple.

1 Eſd. 2. 2 Eſd. 7. Phil. in bre. 1 Eſd. 3. 3. Eſd. 5. Eſd. 4. & 5. Joſeph. l. Ant. 11.

But no ſooner did the *Jews* begin to lay any one ſtone, than the *Samaritans* and other Idolatrous Nations adjoining, gave all the impediments they could. So did the Governours of thoſe Provinces under *Cyrus* altogether countenance the diſturbers, and in no ſort favoured the *Jews*, nor the labours nor purpoſes they had in hand. And not only thoſe which were but Provincial Lieutenants, and other officers of leſs place, but *Cambyſes* himſelf; who having the charge of the whole Empire, while *Cyrus* was buſied otherwiſe, countermanded the building begun. And whereas ſome Authors make doubt, that whatſoever *Cambyſes* did when himſelf had obtained the Empire, yet during the life of *Cyrus* there was no ſuch impediment or prohibition: they may herein reſolve themſelves out of *Eſdras*, That by the conſpiracies of the neighbouring Nations, the building was hindred all the time of King *Cyrus* life, *&c.* And therefore it is true, what the *Jews* themſelves affirm, as it is written in the ſecond of *John*, That the Temple was forty-ſix years in ſetting up, having received ſo many hinderances from the firſt foundation to the ſecond of *Darius*.

1 Eſd. 2. 16. 1 Eſd. 5. 33. 1 Eſd. 4. 5.

And if we ſeek the natural and politick courſes which moved *Cambyſes* to withſtand his Fathers Decree, as well while he governed under him, as when himſelf became ſole and Soveraign Monarch, we ſhall find them in that Epiſtle remembred by *Eſdras*, written by *Belemus*, *Mithridates*, and the reſt, Preſidents and Counſellors in *Phœnicia*, wherein they complain that the *Jews* were evermore rebellious and troublers of Kings; that their City being once built, they would then refuſe to pay tribute, and fall from the obedience of the Empire, as they had formerly done in the times of other Kings.

1 Eſd. 1. c. 4.

But that which for that preſent ſeemed the moſt forcible impediment was, that *Cambyſes* having in his reſolution to invade *Egypt*, and that it was a common opinion, That the *Jews* were deſcended of thoſe Nations, becauſe they iſſued thence under *Moſes*, when they conquered *Judæa*; their City being once repaired and fortified, they might return to their old vomit, and give the ſame diſturbance to *Cambyſes* Conqueſt, which they did to *Sennacherib*, *Nabuchodonoſor*, and other Kings of *Babylon*. For as it is written in *Ezekiel*, *Egypt was the confidence of the houſe of Iſrael*.

Ezek. c. 29.

But it is to be underſtood, as *Codoman* and others have obſerved, that *Artaxerxes*, to whom the Counſellors and Governours of *Phœnicia* complained againſt the *Jews*, did not precede but ſucceed *Darius Hyſtaſpes*, as in the ſixth and ſeventh Chapters of *Eſdras* it is made plain: and alſo that thoſe Governours (whoſe Epiſtle ſheweth as much) did not withſtand the building of the Temple, but the fortifying and encloſing of the City, as by the reaſons given in the ſaid Epiſtle, and by the Kings anſwer, it is evident.

Alſo in the ſixth of *Ezra*, the fourteenth verſe, the Kings are named in order as they governed, and *Artaxerxes* written after *Darius*; as, *And they built and finiſhed it* (to wit, the Temple) *by the appointment of the God of Iſrael, and by the commandment of Cyrus and Darius, and Artahſhaſte Kings of Perſia*. Laſtly, in the ſeventh of *Ezra* it is written, *Now after theſe things, in the reign of Artahſhaſte King of Perſia*: which was as much as to ſay, after the finiſhing of the Temple in *Darius* time. And therefore *Artaxerxes* in the ſecond of *Eſdras* is there named by anticipation, not in his own time and place.

And thus much concerning the rebuilding of the City and Temple of *Hieruſalem*. Which action, though proſpered by the hand of God, was very ſlowly purſued by the men whom it moſt concerned, but firſt ſet on foot by *Cyrus*. The other Ordinances of *Cyrus*, with his form and manner of Government are to be found in *Xenophon*. At his death he bequeathed the Empire unto his eldeſt ſon *Cambyſes*, appointing *Smerdis* or *Tanaoxares* his younger ſon to be *Satrapa*, or Lieutenant of *Media*, *Armenia*, and *Cuduſia*; and then died, after he had reigned (ſaith *Herodotus*) one and thirty years, or (according to *Juſtin*) but thirty.

SECT.

SECT. VIII.

Of Cyrus *his Issue: and whether* Atossa *were his Daughter, or (as some think) were the same with Queen* Hester.

Cyrus had issue two sons, *Cambyses* and *Smerdis*, with three daughters, *Atossa*, *Meroe*, and *Artystona*: *Ctesias* addeth to these, *Amytis*. *Atossa* and *Meroe* their brother *Cambyses* married; *Artystona*, *Darius Hystaspes* obtained; so did he *Atossa*, *Cambyses* being dead: who (as some Writers have supposed) inflamed both her Husbands, *Darius* and *Xerxes* after him, to invade *Greece*, to be avenged of the whole Nation for the cruel intent that *Aman* (whom the old Translation calleth a *Macedonian*) had against the *Jews*: though the opinion of *Josephus* be more probable, who finds *Aman* to be an *Amalekite*. But it is hard to be understood, how *Atossa* the daughter of *Cyrus* should have been *Esther*, whose History seems rather to appertain to the time of *Artaxerxes Longamanus*, than of *Darius* the son of *Hystaspes*, or of *Xerxes*. The desire of *Atossa* to have *Greece* brought under the yoke of *Persia*, was partly grounded upon the honour which thereby she thought her Husband might obtain, partly upon a feminine humour of getting many brave Dames, *Corinthians*, *Athenians*, and others of that Nation, to be her bond-women. Wherefore I cannot give assent to the opinion of *Codoman*, who upon the near sound of the two names, *Atossa* and *Hadassa*, (by the latter of which *Esther* was also called) makes them to have been one person. For though it be true that *Esther* concerning her Parentage, a while might be taken for a great Lady; yet *Codomans* inference is nothing probable, that she should therefore, and for the great affection which the King bare unto her, be thought the daughter of *Cyrus*. Certain it is, that *Esther* did at length discover her Kindred and Nation; whereby, if Histories could be kept free from this error, yet the people, and especially the Nobility, must needs have understood the truth: who nevertheless did so well know the Parentage of *Atossa*, that for her sake, as being daughter of *Cyrus*, her son *Xerxes* was preferred to the Kingdom before his elder brother, against whom also he could have pretended a very weak claim. But of these things more hereafter in fitter place.

CHAP. IV.

The Estate of things from the Death of Cyrus *to the Reign of* Darius.

SECT. I.

Of the Number and Names of the Persian *Kings.*

OF the Successors of *Cyrus*, and the continuance of the *Persian* Empire, there are many opinions; As that of *Metasthenes*, who hath numbred the *Persian* Kings, and their times as followeth.

Darius Medus, and *Cyrus* jointly	2	
Cyrus alone	22	
Priscus Artaxerxes	20	
Darius Longimanus	37	
Darius Nothus	19	years.
Artaxerxes Mnemon	55	
Artaxerxes Ochus	26	
Arses, or *Arsames*	4	
Darius, the last, conquered by *Alexander*	6	

To which *Philo* agreeth; which number of years added, make in all an hundred ninety and one. But in this Catalogue *Metasthenes* hath left out *Cambyses* and *Xerxes*, and names *Artaxerxes Assuerus*, for the immediate successor of *Cyrus*; in place (saith *Melancthon*) of *Darius* the Son of *Hystaspes*: for *Metasthenes*, as *Melancthon* conjectureth, doth not account *Cambyses* in the Catalogue, because his reign was confounded with that of *Cyrus*.

There is a second Opinion, though ridiculous, of *Sedar Olam*, who finds but four *Persian* Kings from the beginning to the end of that Empire.

Genebrard, *Schubert*, and *Beroaldus*, have also a differing account from the *Greeks*; whom nevertheless *Eusebius*, and most of the *Latins* follow, and so doth *Krentzheim*, who hath fully answered, and as I take it, refuted all the former Authors varying from that account. For in this sort do the *Greeks* marshal the *Persian* Kings with the times of their reigns. *Chro. Kren. fol. 135.*

Cyrus in all	30		*Melancthon* gives *Cyrus* but 29.
Cambyses with the *Magi*	8		
Darius Hystaspes	36		
Xerxes	21		*Melanct.* but 20.
Artaxerxes Longimanus	40	years.	
Darius Nothus	19		
Artaxerxes Mnemon	43		*Melanct.* but 40.
Artaxerxes Ochus	23		*Melanct.* 26.
Arsames	3		
Darius, the last	6		*Melanct.* 4.

Which numbers put together, make in all two hundred and thirty.

This account (as I have said) the most Chronologers, and the best learned approve. These *Persian* Princes, being all warranted by the authority of the Scriptures, as *Peucer* in his Historical Animadversions hath gathered the places; finding first *Cyrus* in the second of *Chronicles*, *ch.* 36. *vers.* 22, 23. *Ezra* 1. *ch.* 1. *vers.* 1. and often elsewhere.

Secondly, *Cambyses* in the eleventh of *Daniel*, who may indeed be well esteemed for one of those three Kings in the second verse named, and so the

* Marginal

Marginal Commentator upon the *Geneva*, understands that place; but under correction, mistakes the matter greatly, when he saith in the same note, that *Darius Hystaspes* was an enemy to the people of God, and stood against them: his great favour and liberality to the *Jews* being elsewhere proved.

Thirdly, *Darius Hystaspes* is found in *Ezra* the first, *c.4.v.5.* who in the sixth verse is also named *Ahasuerus*.

Fourthly, In the eleventh of *Daniel*, verse the second, *Xerxes* is plainly foretold and described, and the great War which he should make against the *Greeks*, by *Daniel* remembered.

Fifthly, *Artaxerxes Longimanus* in *Ezra* the fourth, verse seven, who is also called *Arthasastha*, *c.4.v.1. Ezra v.7.* and *chap.7.v.7.*

Sixthly, *Darius Nothus*, *Ezra cap.4.v.24.* and *cap.5.v.6. Nehem. cap.12.v.22.*

Seventhly, *Artaxerxes Mnemon* in *Nehem. cap.2. v.1.* who was father to *Artaxerxes Ochus*, and *Arsames*: for *Darius* the last, he was of another Family, the Line of *Cyrus* the Great ending in *Ochus*, who descended from *Xerxes* the son of *Atossa*, *Cyrus* his Daughter; and the issue male of *Cyrus* failing with his own Sons.

But to proceed, *Eusebius* with the *Latins* following the *Greeks*, apply the beginnings and ends of every *Persian* King, with their Acts, to some certain *Olympiad*; As the War of *Astyages* (*Cyrus* his maternal Grandfather) and *Alyattes* (*Crœsus* his Father) to the nine and fortieth *Olympiad*; The beginning of *Cyrus* reign, to the beginning of the five and fiftieth *Olympiad*; The taking of *Sardis* by *Cyrus* to the eight and fiftieth *Olympiad*; The Invasion of *Egypt* by *Cambyses* to the third year of the threescore and third *Olympiad*, and so of the rest. Which reference with good agreement between several forms of computation, add the more credit unto both.

Again, this Historical demonstration is confirmed by the Astronomical computation of *Ptolomy*, who refers the death of *Alexander* the Great, who died the twelf of *November*, in the beginning of the hundred and fortieth *Olympiad*, to the four hundred and four and twentieth year after *Nabonassar*. And the *Æra* of *Nabonassar* began on the six and twentieth of *February*: which conferred with the *Olympiad*, was in the ninth month of the first year of the eighth *Olympiad*; So that whether we follow the accounts of the *Olympiads*, as do the *Greek* Historians, or that of *Nabonassar* with *Ptolomy*, we shall find every memorable accident to fall out right with each computation.

Alm. l.3. cap.6.

For *Ptolomy* reckons the time answerable to two hundred and four and twenty *Julian* years, and an hundred and forty days from *Nabonassar* to the sixteenth of *July*, in the seventh year of *Cambyses*.

The *Greeks*, and namely, *Diodorus Siculus*, place the taking of *Egypt* by *Cambyses* in the second or third year of the threescore and third *Olympiad*; and the beginning of *Cambyses* seventh year, in the first of the threescore and fourth *Olympiad*; which first of the threescore and fourth *Olympiad*, runs along with part of the two and twentieth of *Nabonassar*. The like agreement is consequently found about the beginning and end of *Cyrus*.

Likewise the twentieth of *Darius*, who succeeded *Cambyses*, is according to *Ptolomy*, the two hundred and six and fortieth of *Nabonassar*, which (observing the differences of *Nabonassars Æra* and the *Olympiad*, *viz.* eight and twenty years) agrees with the third of the threescore and ninth *Olympiad*, wherein it is placed by the *Greeks*. In this *Josephus* agrees with the *Greeks* throughout, saving that he joineth *Darius Medus*, whom *Xenophon* calleth *Cyaxares*, with *Cyrus* in the destruction of *Babylon*; which is true, and not contrary to the *Greek* computation, but may very well stand with it.

Lastly, The disagreement and confused accompts of those that follow the other Catalogue of the *Persian* Kings formerly rehearsed, doth give the greater credit to this of the *Greeks*, which being constant in it self, accordeth also with the computation of other Historians, and Astronomers, and likewise with the holy Scriptures.

SECT. II.

Of Cambyses, *and the conquering of* Egypt *by him.*

WE will therefore, according to the truth, give the Empire of *Persia* to *Cambyses*, the Son of *Cyrus*, though degenerate in all things, saving the desire to increase the greatness of his Empire; whereof he was possest in his Fathers time, while *Cyrus* made War in the North. *Ctesias* with others give him a longer reign than agreeth with the *Græcian* accompt before received.

In the fifth year of his sole reign, and in the third year of the threescore and third *Olympiad*, according to *Diodore* and *Eusebius*, he invaded *Egypt*, and having overthrown the King thereof, *Psammeniticus*, he not only caused him to be slain, but also did put to death all his kindred and dependants, with the most of his Children.

Lib.2. c.2. *Her. l.2. pag.83,84, 89.*

Herodotus and *Ctesias* give for cause of this War (being no other indeed than the Ambition of *Cambyses*) that when he sent to *Amasis* King of *Egypt*, to have his Daughter in marriage, *Amasis* presented him with *Nitetis* the Daughter of *Apries* his Predecessor, which *Cambyses* disdained.

Howsoever it were, true it is, that *Cambyses* gathered an Army fit for such an enterprize, and caused the same to march. But before they entred *Egypt*, *Amasis* died, and left *Psammeniticus*, whom *Ctesias* called *Amyrteus*, his successor; who enjoyed *Egypt* after his Father (according to the best Copies of *Herodotus*) but six months, though other Chronologers give him six years.

But how long soever he held the Crown, in one battel he lost it, and was himself taken prisoner.

It is said that *Cambyses* following therein the example of *Cyrus*, did not only spare life to the conquered King, but that he also trusted him with the Government of *Egypt*; and that upon some revolt, or suspicion thereof, he caused him to be slaughtered. But the race of this King was not so extirpated, if we may believe *Herodotus* and *Thucydides*, but that he left a Son called *Inarus*, who caused the *Egyptians* to revolt both from *Xerxes* and *Artaxerxes*.

That *Psammeniticus* was at the first entreated gently by *Cambyses*, I hold it very improbable, if it be true which is also written of him, That he so much hated *Amasis* the King of *Egypt*, who died before his arrival, that he caused his body to be drawn out of the grave, and after divers indignities used, commanded the same to be burnt, contrary to the custom both of the *Egyptians* and *Persians*. For the *Egyptians* used to powder their dead bodies with salt, and other drugs, to the end the worms might not devour them. The * *Persians* durst not consume them with fire, which they esteemed as a God, and therefore feared to feed it with Carrion.

* Neither did the *Romans* ever consume their dead to ashes, till the time of *Sylla* Dictator, who caused his own to be

be devoured by that Element, fearing the Law called *Talionis*, or like for like, becauſe himſelf had untombed the carcaſe of *Caius Marius* after his death. *Her. l.3. Plin. l.6. c.54. Stra. & Juſt. l. 1. p. 87,88. Her. l.3. Sta. l. 7.*

SECT. III.

The reſt of Cambyſes *his Acts.*

After this Victory obtained in *Egypt*, *Cambyſes* ſent an Army into *Cyprus*, and conſtrained *Evilthon* King thereof to acknowledg him, who before held that Iſland of the *Egyptians*.

While *Cambyſes* yet buſied himſelf in *Egypt*, he ſo much deteſted the Idolatry of that Nation, as he cauſed the Images themſelves, with the Temples wherein they were worſhipped, to be torn down and defaced. This done, he directed a part of his Army into *Lybia*, to overturn the Temple of *Jupiter Ammon*; but the Devil in defence of his *Oratory*, raiſed ſuch a Tempeſt of Sand, wherewith the greateſt part of the Country is covered, as the *Perſians* were therewith choked and over-whelmed.

Notwithſtanding which miſadventure, *Herodotus* and *Seneca* report, that diſdaining to be reſiſted, he prepared the reſt of his Army, which himſelf meant to conduct into thoſe parts; but that finding a beginning of thoſe incommodities, which his firſt-ſent troops had tried, he changed his purpoſe. For though conquering Kings have power over men, yet the Elements do not obey them; according to that old *Engliſh* Proverb, *Go, ſaith the King; Stay, ſaith the Tide.*

After his return from the attempt of *Æthiopia*, he cauſed *Apis* the *Egyptian* Bull, worſhipped by that Nation as God, to be ſlain; a deed very commendable, had it proceeded from true zeal, and been executed as in ſervice of him that only is, and liveth. But ſoon afterwards, when in a dream it ſeemed unto him that *Smerdis* did ſit in the Royal Throne of *Perſia*, (which apparition was verified in *Smerdis* the *Magus*) he gave it in charge to his Favourite *Praxaſpes*, to murther *Smerdis* his Brother. And having married his own Siſters, contrary to the *Perſian* Laws, he committed a moſt cauſleſs and moſt deteſtable murder upon the one of them called *Meroe*, then by himſelf with child, becauſe ſhe bewailed the death of her Brother *Smerdis*. I find it written of this *Cambyſes*. That becauſe his Predeceſſors obſerved religiouſly the Ordinances of their Empire, he aſſembled his Judges, and enquired of them, Whether there were any Law among the *Perſians* that did permit the Brother to marry his own Siſter; it being his own intent ſo to do: The Judges (who had always either Laws or diſtinctions in ſtore to ſatisfie Kings and times) made anſwer, That there was not any thing written allowing any ſuch conjunction; but they notwithſtanding found it in their cuſtoms, that it was always left to the will of the *Perſian* Kings to do what beſt pleaſed themſelves; and ſo as *Nauclerus* terms it, *invenerunt occaſionem:* that is as much to ſay, The Judges found a ſhift to pleaſe the King, and to ſecure themſelves. And yet where it concerned not the Kings private ſatisfaction, he cauſed *Siſamnus* one of his Judges, and perchance one of thoſe which favoured his inceſtuous match, to be flayed alive, for an unjuſt judgment given, and the ſame his hide to be hung up over the judgment-ſeat. After which, beſtowing the Fathers Office on his Son, he willed him to remember that the ſame partiality deſerved the ſame puniſhment.

Her. p. 89, 90.

Among other his cruelties, that which he exerciſed againſt the Son of his beloved *Praxaſpes*, was very ſtrange and ungrateful. For when he deſired to be truly informed by him what the *Perſians* thought of his conditions? *Praxaſpes* anſwered, That his virtues were followed with abundant praiſe from all men; only it was by many obſerved, That he took more than uſual delight in the taſt of Wine: with which taxation inflamed, he uſed this replication: And are the *Perſians* double-tongued, who alſo tell me, that I have in all things excelled my Father *Cyrus*? Thou *Praxaſpes* ſhalt then witneſs, whether in this report they have done me right: for if at the firſt ſhot I pierce thy Sons heart with an Arrow, then is it falſe that hath been ſpoken; but if I miſs the mark, I am then pleaſed that the ſame be accounted true, and my ſubjects believed. This being ſpoken, he immediately directed an Arrow towards the innocent child, who falling down dead with the ſtroke, *Cambyſes* commanded his body to be opened, and his heart being broached on the Arrow, this monſtrous Tyrant greatly rejoicing, ſhewed it to the Father, with this ſaying inſtead of an Epitaph: *Now* Praxaſpes, *thou mayeſt reſolve thy ſelf, that I have not loſt my wits with wine, but the* Perſians *theirs, who make ſuch report.*

Many other barbarous cruelties he exerciſed, till at the laſt, according to the phraſe of our Law, he became *felon de ſoy*. For when he was informed, that *Patizites* and *Smerdis* the *Magi* (*Cedrenus* writeth them *Sphendanis* and *Cimerdius*) Miniſters of his Domeſtical affairs, taking advantage of the great reſemblance between *Smerdis* the Kings Brother, and *Smerdis* the *Magus*, poſſeſt themſelves of the Empire, he made all haſte towards *Perſia*; and in mounting haſtily on horſe back, his ſword diſſheathing, pierced his own thigh, wherewith deadly wounded, falling into an over-late and remedileſs repentance of the ſlaughter which he had executed upon his own Brother, he ſoon after gave up his wicked ghoſt, when he had reigned eight years, accounting therein thoſe ſeven months, in which the *Magi* governed while he was abſent.

In *Cambyſes* the Male-line of *Cyrus* failed. For he had no iſſue either by *Atoſſa* or *Meroe:* yet *Zonaras* out of *Hierom* gives him a Daughter called *Pantaptes*, and a Son called *Orontes*: who being drowned in the River *Ophites* by *Antioch*, the ſame was afterward in memory of the Princes death called *Orontes*. *Zon. Com. 2. p. 117.*

He built the City of *Babylon* in *Egypt*, in the place where *Latopolis* was formerly ſeated, and that of *Meroe* in the Iſland of *Nilus*, calling it by the name of his Siſter *Meroe*.

SECT. IV.

Of the Inter-regnum *between* Cambyſes *and* Darius.

Cyrus and his two Sons being now dead, and the Kingdom in the poſſeſſion of one of the *Magi*, the counterfeit of *Smerdis*; the Princes, or *Satrapa's*, or Provincial Governours of the Empire, (to wit, *Otanes*, *Intaphernes*, *Gobrias*, *Megabyſus*, *Aſphatines*, *Hidarnes*, and *Darius*, who were all deſcended from *Achæmenes* the firſt *Perſian* King) having diſcovered the fraud of this impoſture, joined their forces together, ſurprized and rooted out the Conſpirator with his Companions and Aſſiſtants. In which

which action (saith *Justin*) *Intaphernes* and *Asphatines* were slain: but *Herodotus* otherwise, that they were only wounded; for he avoweth, that all the seven Princes were present at the Election following.

For the Empire being now without a Governour, these Princes grew into a consultation how the same might be ordered from thenceforth. *Otanes* (one of the Seven) did not fancy any election of Kings, but that the Nobility and Cities should confederate, and by just Laws defend their Liberty in equality, giving divers reasons for his Opinion, being as it seemed, greatly terrified by the cruelties of *Cambyses*: As first, that it was not safe to give all power to any one, seeing greatness it self, even in good men, doth often infect the mind with many vices, and that liberty and freedom in all things is most apt to insult, and to commit all manner of wicked outrage. Again, that Tyrants do commmonly use the service of wicked men, and favour them most; they usurp upon the Laws of their Country; take other mens wives by force, and destroy whom they please without judgment.

Megabysus was of another Opinion, affirming, that the tyranny of a multitude was thrice more intolerable than that of One. For the multitude do all things without judgment, run into business and affairs with precipitation, like raging and overbearing floods.

He therefore thought it safest to make election of a few, and those of the best, wisest, and most vertuous; because it is ever found, that excellent Counsels are ever had from excellent men.

Darius gave the third judgment, who perswaded the creation of a King, because even among few diuturnity of concord is seldom found: and in great Empires it doth ever happen that the discord of many Rulers hath enforc'd the election of one Supream. It were therefore, saith *Darius*, far safer to observe the Laws of our Country, by which Kingly Government hath been ordained.

The other four Princes adhered to *Darius*, and agreed to continue the same Imperial Government by God established and made prosperous. And to avoid partiality it was accorded, That the morning following, these seven Princes should mount on Horseback, and on him the Kingdom should be conferred, whose Horse after the Sun-rising should first neigh, or bray. In the evening after this appointment was made, it is said, that *Darius* consulted with the Master of his Horse *Oebarus*, who in the Suburbs of the City, where the election was resolved of, caused the same Horse whereon in the morning *Darius* was mounted, to cover a Mare, who as soon as he came into the same place, was the first Horse that brayed. Whereupon the other six Princes descended from their Horses, and acknowledged *Darius* for their Lord and King. *Her.* 3. *p.* 100, 101.

Plato in the third of his Laws affirmeth, that in memory of the seven Princes, whereof *Darius* himself was one, that delivered the Empire from the usurpation of the *Magi*, he divided the whole into seven Governments; *Herodotus* saith, into twenty *Satrapies*.

CHAP. V.

Of Darius *the Son of* Hystaspes.

SECT. I.

of Darius *his Lineage.*

Darius was descended of the ancient *Persian* Kings, to wit, of the *Achæmenidæ*, of which *Cyrus* the Great was the Lineal successor. For in this sort *Herodotus* derives him as before;

Cyrus the first, who had
Teispius, who begat
Ariaramnes, who was father of
Arsamnes, the father of
Hystaspes, the father of
Darius, sirnamed *Celes*, the father of *Xerxes*. *Curt. l.* 4.

Hystaspes accompanied *Cyrus* the Great in the Wars against the *Scythians*: at which time *Cyrus* being made jealous of *Darius* by a dream of his own, caused him to be sent into *Persia*; others say, to be imprisoned, from whence by the death of *Cyrus* he was delivered, and made Governour of the *Persian Magi*. He afterward followed *Cambyses* into *Egypt*; he then joined with the rest of the Princes against the *Magi*, and either by the neighing of his horse, or as others affirm, by strong hand he obtained the Empire, which he the more assured to himself by taking two of *Cyrus* Daughters, and as many of his Neices for his wives. *Her. l.* 1. & 3.

Hystaspes, according to * *Herodotus*, had besides *Darius* these three Sons, who were great Commanders in the War which *Darius* made in *Asia* the less, *Thrace*, *Macedon*, and *Greece*; *Atarnes*, *Artaphernes*, and *Artabanus*, who dissuaded *Xerxes* from the second *Grecian* War. *Hystaspes* had also a Daughter married to *Gobrias* the Father of *Mardonius*, who commanded the Army of *Darius* in *Macedon*, and married the Daughter of *Darius*, *Artosostre* his Cousin-germain. * *Her. pag.* 137. *Pag.* 154. *Pag.* 130. *Pag.* 101. & 202. *Pag.* 180. 109. *Her. l.* 6. *p.* 180. *Pag.* 186. 190.

Reineccius gives to *Hystaspes* five Sons, *Darius*, who succeeded *Cambyses*, *Artabanus*, *Artaphernes*, *Otanes*, and *Atarnes*, with two Daughters. *P.* 179. *P.* 200. 204. & *p.* 213. 285, 286. *P.* 214. 254. *De Reg. Persar. fol.* 32.

SECT. II.

Of Darius *his Government, and suppressing the Rebellion of* Babylon.

Darius devised equal Laws whereby his Subjects might be governed, the same being formerly promised by *Cyrus*. He gave access to all his

his Subjects, and behaved himself so mildly to all men, that many Nations desired and offered themselves to become his Vassals: Only he laid divers payments and taxes on the people, which had not been accustomed in *Cyrus* time, to the value of fourteen thousand five hundred and threescore talents, saith *Herodotus*.

The War which *Cambyses* made afar off in *Egypt*, and the contention between the *Magi* and the Princes of *Persia* for the Empire, gave heart to the *Babylonians* to recover their liberty, and to shake off the *Persian* yoke; whereof *Darius* being advertised, he prepared an Army to recover that City and State revolted. But finding the same a difficult work, he used the service of *Zopyrus*, who for the love he bare *Darius*, did cut off his own Ears and Nose, and with other wounds yet fresh bleeding, he seemed to fly to the *Babylonians* for succour, to whom he accused the cruelty of *Darius*: who for having given him advice to give over the siege of their City, had in this sort dismembred and deformed him; whereupon the *Babylonians* gave him that credit, as they trusted him with the disposition and commandment of their greatest forces: which when *Zopyrus* had obtained, after some small colourable over-throws given to the *Persians* upon sallies, he delivered the City into *Darius* his hands, who had lyen before it twenty months. *Her. l. 3.*

SECT. III.

Of Darius *his favour to the* Jews *in building the Temple.*

IN the second year of *Darius*, he gave order that the building of the Temple at *Hierusalem* should go on, and commanded that the same should be finished at his own charge, and out of the revenues of the Crown. And whereas the Governours of *Ezra c. 6.* those Provinces which are situate between *Euphrates* and the *Phœnician*, and midland Sea (whom *Ezra* calleth the Captains beyond the River) had hindred the work in *Cambyses* his time, *Darius* gave commandment that they should not thenceforth come near unto *Jerusalem*, to give any impediment to the building, but that they should withdraw themselves, and get them far off till all were finished, and at an end. In the old *Latine* it is written, *Procul recedite ab illis*; *Withdraw your selves far from them*; In our *English*, *Be ye far from thence*, to wit, from the City and Temple now in building.

He also made a Decree which concerned his own Subjects, That whosoever should thenceforth hinder the setting up of the Temple of God, that his house should be torn down, and the disturber hanged on the Gallows made of the timber thereof. He also in the same Decree maketh invocation to God, *That hath caused his Name to dwell there* *Ezra 6.11.* *(to) destroy all Kings and people that put their hands to alter, and to destroy this house of God which is in Jerusalem, &c.* In four years after which Decree *Ezra 6.* (the *Jews* being really furnished with money, and all things necessary from *Darius*) the Temple was in all finished, to wit, in the beginning of the Spring, in the sixth year of *Darius Hystaspes*, and in the two and fortieth after their first return.

SECT. IV.

Of Darius *his Scythian War.*

AFter the recovery of *Babylon*, he invaded the *Scythians*, whose King *Justin* calleth *Lauthinus*; and saith, that *Darius* undertook this War against him, because he refused him his Daughter in marriage. The better to convoy his Army into *Scythia*, he built a bridg of small Vessels over the River *Ister* or *Danubius*, and gave the custody of the same in charge (among others of *Asia* the less) to the *Ionians* and *Æolians*, among whom was *Miltiades*, who perswaded the *Asian Græcians* to break down the bridg, to the end *Darius* might not return thereby, and if by any other way, then not without great difficulty; but the same was resisted by *Histiæus* Prince of *Milet*, a City of *Ionia*, which Nation being a *Colony* of the *Greeks*, *Diodorus* call- *Diod. l. 11.* eth Traytors to their Country, because they joined themselves to *Darius*. But the *Scythians* more elegantly termed them good slaves, for as much as they would not run away from their Master, but were more mindful of doing their duties, than of shaking off their bondage, when they were presented with as fair an occasion of liberty as could have been desired. For the great Army of *Darius* entring the desart Country called *Bessarabia*, found in it neither people to resist them, nor any sustenance to relieve them. For the *Scythians* were then, as are the *Chrim Tartars* their posterity, at this day all horsemen, using the Bow and Sword. They were not Ploughmen, but Grasiers, driving their Heards from one place to another, as opportunity of Pasture led them. Standing-Towns they had none, but used for Houses the Waggons wherein they carried their Wives and Children. These Waggons they place at every Station in very good order, making Streets and Lanes in the manner of a great Town, removable at their pleasure. Neither hath the Emperour himself, called now the great *Chrim*, any other City than such as *Agora* (as they name it) or Town of Carts. When as therefore *Darius* had wearied himself, and wasted his Provision in those desolate Regions, wherein he found neither ways to direct him, victuals to refresh him, nor any houses, fruitful trees, or living creatures, nor any thnigs at all, which either he himself might make use of, or by destroying it might grieve his enemies; he began to perceive his own folly, and the danger into which it had brought him. Yet setting a good face upon a bad game, he sent brave messages to the *Scythian*, bidding him to cease his flight, and either to make trial of his valour and fortune in plain battel: Or, if he acknowledged himself the weaker, then to yield by fair means, and become his Subject; giving him Earth and Water, which the *Persians* used to demand as a sign that all was yielded unto them. To this challenge the *Scythian* returned an *Hieroglyphical* answer; sending a *Bird*, a *Frog*, a *Mouse*, and five *Arrows*: which dumb shew *Darius* interpreting by his own wish, thought that he did yield all the Elements wherein those creatures live, and his weapons withal into his hands. But *Gobryas* one of the seven Princes, who had slain the *Magi*, construed their meaning aright, which was thus; *O ye* Persians, *get ye wings like Birds, or dive under the water, or creep into holes in the earth, for else ye shall not escape our arrows.* And this interpretation was soon verified by the *Scythians* themselves, who assailed the *Persian* Camp, drave the Horsemen into the Trenches, and vexed the Army *Her. l. 4. Just. l. 2.*

Army with continual Allarums day and night; were so fearless of this great Monarch, and so little regarded him, that within his hearing, and even in his sight, they did not forbear the pastime of coursing a Hare, which they had started by chance. By this boldness of theirs, *Darius* was so discouraged, that he forsook his Camp by night, making many fires, and leaving all that were sick and weak behind him, and so with all speed marched away towards the River *Ister*. He was pursued hardly by the *Scythians*, who mist him; yet arriving at the Bridg before him, perswaded the *Ionians* to depart, assuring them that the *Persian* King should never more be able to do them either good or harm. Which words had certainly been proved true, had not *Hystiaus* the *Milesian* prevailed with his people to attend the coming of *Darius*, whom the *Scythians* did likewise fail to meet, when they returned from *Ister* to seek him out.

SECT. V.

Some actions of the Persians *in* Europe, *after the* Scythian *War.*

Darius having thus escaped out of *Scythia*, determined the Invasion of *Thrace* and *Macedon*, in which War he employed *Megabasus*, who mastered the *Paonians*, and transplanted them, and possest *Perinthus*, *Chalcedon*, *Byzantium*, and other places being also soon after subjected, and added to the *Persian* Empire by *Otanes*, the son of *Sysamnes*, whom *Cambyses* had excoriated for false judgment. So were the Cities of * *Selybria*, and (a) *Cardia* likewise taken in from the *Persian*, who having now reduced under his obeisance the best part of *Thrace*, did send his Embassadors to *Amintas* King of *Macedon* adjoining, demanding of him by the Earth and Water the Soveraignty over that Kingdom. *Amintas* doubting his own strength, entertained the Embassadors with gentle words, and afterwards invited them to a solemn and magnificent feast; the *Persians* greatly desired that the *Macedonian* Ladies might be present: which being granted, the Embassadors who were well filled with Wine, and presumed upon their greatness, and many Victories, began to use such embracings, and other lascivous behaviour towards those Noble Ladies, as *Alexander* the Kings son, great Grandfather to *Alexander* the Great, disdaining the *Persians* barbarous presumption, besought his Father to withdraw himself from the assembly, continuing notwithstanding all honourable respect towards the Embassadors, whom withal he entreated that the Ladies might refresh themselves for a while; promising their speedy return. This being obtained, *Alexander* caused the like number of well-favoured young men to clothe themselves in the same garments, and to use the same attires which the Ladies had worn at the feast, giving them in charge, That when the *Persians* offered to abuse them, they should forthwith transpierce them with their long knives, of which they were provided for that purpose, which was accordingly performed. Charge was soon after given by *Darius* for a severe revenge of this murder: But *Alexander* somewhat before the death of *Amintas* gave his sister *Gygea* in marriage to *Bubaris*, a principal Commander of *Darius* forces on that side, who perswading her Husband how helpful the Alliance of *Macedon* would prove for the Invasion of *Attica* intended, so prevailed, as *Alexander* escaped that tempest, which threatned to fall upon him very suddenly; the War of *Asia* the less, called *Ionick*, falling out at the same time.

Her. l. 5.
* A maritimate City of *Thrace* to the South of *Constantinople.*
(a) *Cardia*, a City upon the *Chersonesus* of *Thrace*, afterward *Lysimachia.* *Pto. Pauf.*

SECT. VI.

The first occasion of the War which Darius *made upon* Greece, *with a rehearsal of the Government in* Athens, *whence the quarrel grew.*

NOw the better to understand the reason and motives of that great War, which followed soon after between the *Persians* and *Grecians*, it is necessary to make a short repetition of the state of *Athens*, which City endured the hardest and worst brunt of *Darius* invasion on that side the Sea, with admirable success. Neither do I hold it any impertinency to be large in unfolding every circumstance of so great a business as gave fire to those Wars, which never could be throughly quenched, until in the ruin of this great *Persian* Monarchy. *Persepolis* the Capital City of the Empire, was at the request of an *Athenian* Harlot consumed with a flame as dreadful as in the pride of their greatness the *Persians* had raised in *Athens*.

Now therefore, as out of the former books it may be gathered, how *Athens* and other parts of *Greece* were anciently governed, the same being already set down, though scatteringly, and in sevral times, among other the Contemporary occurrents of the Eastern Emperours, and the Kings of *Judea*; so I thought it very pertinent in this place to remember again the two last changes in the State of *Athens*. As for the *Lacedemonians*, they maintained still their ancient Polity under Kings, though these also after some fifteen descents were bridled by the *Ephori*.

Codrus King of the *Athenians*, in the former books remembred, who willingly died for the safety of his people, was therefore so honoured by them, as (thinking none worthy to succeed him) they changed their former Government from Monarchical, to Princes for term of life, of which *Medon* the Son of *Codrus* was the first, after whom they were called *Medontide*; and of these there were twelve Generations besides *Medon*, to wit,

Agestus.
Archippus, in whose times the *Greeks* transported themselves into *Ionia*, after *Troy* an hundred and fourscore years, according to *Eusebius*: which migration all other Chronologers (such as follow *Eusebius* herein excepted) find in the year after *Troy* fallen, one hundred and forty.
Thersippus.
Phorbas.
Mezades.
Diogenetus, in whose time *Lycurgus* gave Laws to the *Spartans.*
Pheredus.
Ariphron.
Theispius, in whose time the *Assyrian* Empire was overthrown by *Belochus* and *Arbaces.*
Agamnestor. *Paus. pag. 159.*
Æschylus, in whose time the *Ephori* (according to *Eusebius*) were erected in *Lacedemon.* *Dyonys. l. 3.*
Alcamenon, the last Prince for life, after whose death the *Athenians* elected *Decennial* Governours: the former Princes for life having continued in all three hundred and sixteen years. The first of those that Governed for ten years, or *Paus. p. 169.* *Paus. 170.* *Pag. 331.*

the

the first *Archon*, was
Charops, then
Æsymedes.
Elydicus.
Hippomines.
Leocrates.
Abſander.
Erixias was the laſt *Archon* of the *Decenniad*. Governours, which from continuing threeſcore and ten years, was then changed into *annual* Magiſtrates, Mayors, or Burg-maſters, of which *Theſeus* was the firſt, according to *Pauſanias*: others find *Leoſtratus*; and then
Anthoſtenes.
Archimedes.
Miltiades.
Damiſias.
Draco.
Megacles.
Solon, and others, who are the leſs to be regarded by reaſon of the yearly change.

This *Solon* being a man of excellent wiſdom, gave Laws to the *Athenians*, which were publiſhed, according to *Gellius*, in the three and thirtieth year of *Tarquinius Priſcus*, and were in after-ages derived unto the *Romans*, and by the *Decem-viri* (Magiſtrates in *Rome* created for that purpoſe) reduced into Twelve Tables, which were the ground of the *Roman* Laws. But theſe goodly ordinances of *Solon* were in his own days violated, and for a while almoſt quite extinguiſhed. For whereas they were framed unto the practice and maintenance of a popular Government; the State of *Athens* was very ſoon changed into a Monarchy by *Piſiſtratus* the ſon of *Hippocrates*: who finding the Citizens diſtracted into two factions, whereof *Megacles* and *Lycurgus*, two Citizens of Noble Families, were become the heads, took occaſion by their contention and inſolency to raiſe a third faction more powerful than the other two, and more plauſible, for that he ſeemed a Protector of the Citizens in general. Having by this means obtained love and credit, he wounded himſelf, and fained that by malice of his enemies he had like to have been ſlain for his love to the good Citizens; he procured a Guard for his defence, and with that band of men ſurpriſing the State-houſe, or Cittadel of *Athens*, he made himſelf Lord of the Town, *Hegeſiſtratus* being then Governour. But the Citizens who in every change of Government had ſought to remove themſelves further and further from the form of a Monarchy, could ſo ill brook this Uſurpation of *Piſiſtratus*, that he was driven for lack of help to fly the Town, as ſoon as *Megacles* and *Lycurgus* (joining their forces) attempted his expulſion. Yet as the building of his Tyranny, founded upon the diſſention of the Citizens, was ruined by their good agreement; ſo was it ſoon after well re-edified by the new breaking out of the old factions. For when *Megacles* found the power of *Lycurgus* to grow greater than his own, he did (as is the uſual practice of the weaker ſide) call in the common enemy *Piſiſtratus*, to whom he gave his Daughter in marriage; by which alliance the Family of the *Alcmæonidæ*, whereof *Megacles* was chief, became very powerful; yet ſo, that *Piſiſtratus* by their power was made Maſter both of them and all the reſt. But this agreement held not long; the *Alcmæonidæ*, and eſpecially *Megacles*, being incenſed againſt *Piſiſtratus* for his miſdemeanor towards his Wife. Wherefore they practiſed with the Soldiers of the Town, proceeding in their treaſon ſo ſecretly, and ſo far, that *Piſiſtratus* (upon the firſt diſcovery of their intent) perceived no other remedy for his affairs, than to withdraw himſelf to *Eretria*, where he remained eleven years. Which time being expired, having hired Soldiers out of many parts of *Greece*, he again recovered the Principality of *Athens*: after which third obtaining his eſtate, he governed *Athens* ſeventeen years, according to *Ariſtotle*, and reigned in all thirty and three years, ſaith *Elianus*, but as *Juſtin* hath it, four and thirty; accounting the time belike as well before, as after his ſeveral expulſions. *Herodotus* gives the Father and the Son ſix and thirty years; *Ariſtotle* five and thirty. But *Thucydides* affirmeth, that he died very old, leaving for his Succeſſors his two Sons, *Hippias* and *Hipparchus*, who governed the *Athenians* with ſuch moderation, as they rather ſeemed the lineal ſucceſſors of a natural Prince than of a Tyrant. But in the end, and ſome three years before *Hippias* was expelled out of *Athens*, his Brother *Hipparchus* was murdered by *Harmodius* and *Ariſtogiton*. The cauſe why, and the manner how performed, *Thucydides* hath written at large. And though *Hipparchus* was charged with unnatural luſt after *Harmodius*, yet *Plato* in his Dialogue, intituled *Hipparchus*, doth greatly magnifie him, affirming that he was a Prince of as many eminent virtues as that Age had any, altogether condemning the murderers and authors of that ſcandal. *Hippias* fearing that this enterprize upon his Brother had more and deeper roots than were apparent, firſt ſought to diſcover the further intents of *Harmodius* and *Ariſtogiton*, by a Harlot of theirs called *Lemnia*: who, becauſe ſhe would not reveal her Companions, did cut out her own tongue. Then did *Hippias*, the better to ſtrengthen himſelf, enter into a ſtrait amity with *Æantides*, Tyrant of the City *Lampſacus*, whom he knew to be greatly favoured by *Darius*, to whoſe Son *Hypoclus* he gave one of his Daughters in marriage. But ſome three years after the death of his Brother, doubting I know not what ſtrong practice againſt himſelf, he began to uſe the Citizens with great ſeverity, which neither *Piſiſtratus* the Father, nor *Hippias* himſelf had ever exerciſed during their uſurpation till this time. And therefore the *Athenians* fearing leſt that this diſeaſe might rather increaſe than diminiſh in *Hippias*, they ſtirred up *Cliſthines*, one of the nobleſt and beſt able of their City, to practiſe their delivery: who, calling to his aſſiſtance the baniſhed *Alcmæonidæ*, together with an Army of the *Lacedemonians* led by *Cleomenes* their King, ſo affrighted *Hippias*, as by his compoſition he gave over his eſtate, and the poſſeſſion of *Athens*, and from thence imbarking himſelf, took Land at * *Sigeum*, whence he went to *Lampſacus* in *Myſia* governed by *Æantides*, who preſented him to *Darius*. He was deprived of his eſtate, as *Herodotus* and *Thucydides* agree, twenty years before the battel of *Marathon*: all which time he continued partly with *Æantides*, at other times with *Artaphernes* Lieutenant for *Darius* in *Sardis*, the Metropolis of *Lydia*; perſwading and practiſing the enterprize upon *Athens*, which *Darius* in the end to his great diſhonour undertook, twenty years after *Hippias* had reſigned his eſtate.

Thus far I have digreſſed from *Darius*, to the end the Reader may conceive the better the cauſes and motives of this War: whereof the hope that *Hippias* had to be reſtored to *Athens* by the help of *Darius*, which made him ſolicite and perſwade the *Perſians* to conquer *Greece*, was one, but not the moſt urgent.

Her. l. 12. *Eretria* a City of *Eubœa*, by others called *Melane*, by *Stephanus* *Erotria*. *Pol. 5.* *Heraclid. apud Elian, pag. 262.* *Juſt. p. 28.* *Her. l. 6.* *Thucyd. l. 6. c. 10.*

Lampſacus a City of *Myſia* upon the *Helleſpont*. *Herod. l. 5.* *Thucyd. l. 6. c. 1.*

* *Sigeum*, a promontory oppoſite to the Iſle of *Tenedos*, which *Aviſt. in 5. Animal* calls *Idæ Promontorium*.

SECT.

SECT. VII.

Of the Ionian *Rebellion, which was the principal cauſe of the Wars enſuing between* Greece *and* Perſia.

ANother and a ſtrong motive to this expedition, was the *Ionick* War, breaking out in *Aſia* about the ſame time. The Colonies tranſported out of *Greece* into *Aſia*, which occupied the greateſt part of the Sea-coaſt, having enjoyed their liberty about 500 years, even from the *Ionick* migration, to the time of *Cræſus*, were by this *Lydian* King made Tributaries, and afterwards as parcel of his Dominions, were taken in by *Cyrus*, and left as hereditary Servants to the Crown of *Perſia*.

But as it is the cuſtom of Nations half conquered (witneſs *Ireland*) to rebell again upon every advantage and opportunity: ſo did the *Ionians*, and other *Græcians*, both in *Cyrus* his life, and after him, ſeek by all means poſſible to free themſelves.

At this time they found ſuch men ready to ſpurr them into Rebellion, as had by the *Perſian* been given unto them for bridles to hold them in ſubjection. Every one of thoſe Towns had a Lord to rule it, whom they (abhorring the Government of one man) called their Tyrants. Theſe Lords were very true to the *Perſian*, by whoſe only might they held the people in ſubjection. And this their dutiful affection they had well declared, when *Darius*, being in great extremity, they uſed all means to deliver him and his Army (that otherwiſe had been loſt) out of the *Scythians* hand. Of this great piece of ſervice *Hiſtiæus* the Tyrant of *Miletus* expected the chief thanks, as having been chief Author of their expecting *Darius*; when the reſt, either perſwaded by the *Scythians*, or carried away with their own deſires, were ready to have abandoned him. But it came ſo to paſs, that *Darius* being more fearful of the harm that *Hiſtiæ* (being powerful and crafty) might do to him in the future, than mindful of the good which he had already received at his hand, found means to carry him along to *Suſa*, where he detained him with all kind uſage of a friend, yet kept ſuch good eſpial upon him, as an enemy, he could not ſtart away. *Hiſtiæus* had ſubtilty enough to diſcover the Kings purpoſe, which ill agreed with his own deſires. For he thought it more pleaſant, and more honourable to rule as Prince in one fair City, having a ſmall Territory, than to ſit and feaſt at the great Kings Table, and hear the Counſels by which a large Empire was managed; being himſelf an idle beholder, and enjoying with much reſtraint of liberty, none other pleaſures than a private man might beſtow upon himſelf.

Wherefore he bethought himſelf of raiſing of ſome tumults in the lower *Aſia*, to pacifie which, if he might be ſent, as one that had great experience and authority in thoſe quarters, it would afterwards be in his power to ſtay at home, and either ſatisfie the King with excuſes, or deal as occaſion ſhall require. Reſolving upon this courſe, he ſent very ſecret inſtructions to *Ariſtagoras* his Kinſman, whom he had left his Deputy at *Miletus*, adviſing him to ſtir up ſome Rebellion. Theſe directions came ſeaſonably to *Ariſtagoras*, who having failed in an enterprize upon the Iſle of *Naxos*, through the falſe dealing of a *Perſian* his Aſſociate, ſtood in fear of diſgrace, if not of ſome further ill that might befall him, as one that had waſted the Kings treaſures to no good purpoſe.

Therefore he readily embraced the counſel: and the better to draw the whole Country of *Ionia* into the ſame courſe which he determined to run, he abandoned his tyranny, and did ſet *Miletus* at liberty. This plauſible beginning wan unto him the hearts of the *Mileſians*: and his proceeding with other *Ionian* Tyrants (of whom ſome he took and ſold as ſlaves to their Citizens, others he chaſed away) cauſed the whole Nation to be at his command. The *Perſian* Fleet, whereof he lately had been Admiral in the enterprize of *Naxos*, he had ſurprized in his firſt breaking out, together with the principal Officers and Captains; ſo that now he thought himſelf able to deal with the great Kings forces lying thereabout, either by Land or Sea. But likely it was that the power of all *Aſia* would ſhortly be upon his neck, and cruſh both him and his aſſiſtants to pieces, unleſs he were able to raiſe an Army that might hold the field, which the *Ionians* alone were inſufficient to perform. Therefore he took a journey to *Sparta*, where having aſſayed in vain with many arguments, and the offer of fifty Talents, to win to his party *Cleomenes* King of the *Lacedæmonians*; he went from thence to *Athens*, and with better ſucceſs beſought the people to lend him their aſſiſtance. The *Athenian* Ambaſſadors which had been ſent to the *Perſian* Kings Lieutenant in the lower *Aſia*, deſiring them not to give countenance to *Hippias*, now a baniſhed man, and lately their Tyrant, were a while before this returned with ill anſwers, having found very churliſh entertainment. So that the evil which they were to expect in all likelihood from the *Perſian*, made them willing to begin with him. To which purpoſe, their conſanguinity with the *Ionians*, and the perſwaſions of *Ariſtagoras*, drew them on apace, if perhaps his treaſure were not helping. Twenty ſhips the *Athenians* furniſhed for this Voyage; to which the *Eretrians* furniſhed five more, in regard of the ancient Kindneſs that had paſſed between the *Ionians* and them. With theſe and their own forces joined, the *Ionians* entred the River *Caiſtrus*, which falleth into the Sea by *Epheſus*: by which advantage they ſurprized *Sardis*, when no enemy was heard of or ſuſpected; inſomuch as *Artaphernes*, who ruled as Viceroy in thoſe parts, had no other hope of ſafety, than by retreating himſelf into the Caſtle, which the *Græcians* could not force: from whence he beheld the ſlaughter of the Citizens, and the City flaming,

The *Perſians* at length, mixt with the Burgers, began to encourage them to defence, and recovered the Market-place, ſtrengthened by the River *Pactolus*, which ran thorow it; and borrowing courage from deſperation, they both defended themſelves, and charged their enemies; who well adviſing themſelves, made all the haſte they could toward the Sea-ſide. But *Artaphernes* having gathered all the ſtrength he could, purſued the *Græcians*, and found them near *Epheſus*; where ſetting reſolvedly upon them, he ſlaughtered a great part of their Army, the reſt ſaving themſelves in *Epheſus*. In this fight, *Evalcides*, Captain of the *Eretrians* periſhed: but his fame and memory was by that excellent Poet *Simonides* preſerved. After this overthrow, the *Athenians* which were before ſent unto *Ariſtagoras*, and to the *Ionians*, could by no arguments of theirs, no not by their tears, be perſwaded to make any ſecond trial of their fortunes on that ſide the Sea.

Yet

Yet the burning of *Sardis* made a greater noise in the world, than the late good success which the *Persians* had in one or two skirmishes could raise. Wherefore the *Ionians* bravely proceeded, won a great part of *Caria*; and sending their Fleet into the *Hellespont*, got *Bizantium* and other Towns into their hands. Yea, the *Cyprians* lately subdued by *Cambyses*, began hereupon to take heart; and entring into confederacy with the *Ionians*, who were able to give them aid by Sea, rebelled against the *Persians*.

These news coming to the ear of *Darius*, filled him with great indignation, and with an extream hatred of the *Athenians*, upon whom he vowed to take sharp revenge. As for the *Ionians*, his contempt of them, and their knowledg of his power, made him to think, that they would not have dared to attempt such things, but by the instigation of those to whom the ignorance of his great might had afforded the courage to provoke him. This was the main ground of the War commenced by *Darius*, and pursued by *Xerxes* against *Athens*: To which the solicitation of *Hippias*, before remembred, gave only some form and assistance: the business when once it was thus far on foot, being like enough to have proceeded, though he had perished, ere it were advanced any further.

Some other occurrences in this *Ionian* commotion extended the quarrel of *Darius* against many of the Islanders, if not against the whole Nation of the *Greeks*; for all of them gave to his Rebels free harbour: the Islanders moreover did help to furnish out a Navy of three hundred and sixty Sail against him. These provocations did rather breed in him a desire to abate their pride, than any fear of harm that they were like to do him. For what they had done at *Sardis*, was but by surprize. In every fight they were beaten by the *Persians*, who had not yet lost the fruits of their discipline, wherein *Cyrus* had trained them, nor all their ancient Captains. In one Sea-fight by the Isle of *Cyprus*, the *Ionians* indeed had the upper-hand; but they were *Phœnicians*, *Egyptians*, and *Cilicians*, whom they vanquished: neither was that victory of any use to them; the *Cyprians* in whose aid they came, being utterly beaten by the *Persian* Army at Land, and reduced into their old subjection. So had the *Persians* likewise by open War and fair force overthrown the *Carians* in two battels, and reclaimed that Nation; as also they had recovered the Towns upon *Hellespont*, with some *Æolian* and *Ionian* Cities, when *Aristagoras* with his friends quitting *Miletus*, fled into *Thrace*, desirous to seat himself in *Amphipolis*, a Colony of the *Athenians*. But the *Edonians* on whose Territory be-like he landed, overthrew him, and cut his troops in pieces.

About the same time, *Histiæus*, the first mover of this insurrection, came down into those quarters; who having undertaken the performance of great matters to *Darius*, was glad to flye from his Lieutenants, by whom his double-dealing was detected.

But this Evasion preserved him not long. And after many vain attempts that he made, he was taken in fight by the *Persians*, and hastily beheaded, lest the King should pardon him upon remembrance of old good turns; as it seems that he would have done, by the Burial which he commanded to be given to his dead body that was crucified, and by his heavy taking of his death.

Histiæus had sought to put himself into *Miletus*; but the Citizens doubting his conditions, chose rather to keep him out, and make shift for themselves without his help. The strength of their City by Land, which had in old time withstood the *Lydian* Kings; and their good Fleet, which promised unto them the liberty of an open Sea, emboldened them to try the uttermost, when very few friends were left upon that Continent to take their part. But their Navy was broken as much by threatnings as by force; many of their companions and fellow-rebels forsaking them upon hope of pardon; and many being daunted with the causeless flight of those that should have assisted them. Neither was it long before the Town it self, being assaulted both by Land and Sea, was taken by force, the Citizens slain, their Wives and Children made slaves, and their goods a booty to the *Persians*, whom for six years space they had put to so much trouble.

SECT. VIII.

The War which Darius *made upon* Greece, *with the battel of* Marathon, *and* Darius *his death.*

THis War with good success finished by the *Persians*, and some attempts made on *Europe* side with variable success; *Darius* obstinate in the enterprise and conquest of *Greece* (though at first he pretended to make the War but against the *Athenians* and *Eritræans*, who jointly assisted the *Ionians* against him, and burnt *Sardis* in *Lydia*) did now by his Ambassadours, demand an acknowledgment from them all: among whom, some of them not so well resolved as the rest, submitted themselves; as the *Æginets*, and others. Against these, the *Athenians* being inflamed, (by the assistance of the *Lacedæmonians*) after divers encounters forced them to give pledges, and to relinquish the party of the *Persians*. *Cleomenes* led the *Lacedæmonians* in this War, and caused his companion King *Demantus* to be deposed: who thereupon fled to *Darius*, far the more confident of victory, by reason of these discords, alienations, and civil Wars among the *Greeks*. He therefore gave order to *Hippagorus* to prepare a Fleet of Ships, fit to transport his Army over the *Hellespont*: the same consisting of an hundred thousand foot, and ten thousand horse. The charge in chief of his Army he committed to *Datis*, accompanied and assisted by *Hippias*, the Son of *Pisistratus*, expelled out of *Athens* twenty years before, and by *Artaphernes* his Brother, Governour of *Sardis*, and the Sea-coast of *Asia* the less. These Commanders having their Companies brought down to the Sea-side, imbarked themselves in six hundred Gallies and other Vessels; and first of all attempted the Islands called *Cyclades*, which lay in the mid-way between *Asia* the less, and *Greece*. For (obtaining those places) the *Persians* had then nothing to hinder the transportation of their forces over the *Ægean* Sea; but on the contrary they might always both relieve themselves in the passage, and shroud themselves from all sudden tempests and outrage.

To this end, they first possest themselves of *Samos*; secondly, they attempted *Naxos*: which Island the Inhabitants despairing of their own forces, abandoned. So did the people of *Delos*, of which *Apollo* was native: which Island *Darius* did not only forbear to sack, but recalling the Inhabitants, he gave order to beautifie the places and Altars of Sacrifice to *Apollo* erected. And having recovered these and other Islands, the *Persians* directed their course

Her. l. 6. Whether this City or People were of *Peloponnesus* in *Ionia*, or of *Ægea*, between *Thessalia* and *Macedon*, I do not know; but those borderers and next the enemy, were more likely to compound than the rest far off. There is also a City called *Æginum*, not far from *Ægea*, Livy, 32, 33, &c.

courſe for *Eretria* in *Eubœa*: for that City (as already hath been ſhewed) had aſſiſted the *Ionians* at the taking and firing of *Sardis*. In this Iſland the *Perſians* took ground, and beſieged *Eretria* very ſtraitly, and after ſix days aſſault, partly by force, and in part by the treaſon of *Euphabus* and *Philagius*, they took it, ſackt it, and burnt it to the ground. Thus far the winds of proſperous fortune filled their ſails. From *Eubœa* the *Perſians* paſt their Army into *Attica*, conducted and guided by *Hippias*, late Prince of *Athens*, and marching towards it, they encamped at *Marathon*, in the way from the Sea, where they landed towards *Athens*.

The *Athenians* finding the time arrived wherein they were to diſpute with their own virtues againſt Fortune, and to caſt lots for their liberty, for their wives, their children, and their lives, put themſelves in the beſt order they could to make reſiſtance, and withal ſent away with ſpeed to the *Lacedæmonians* for ſuccour, imploying in that Negotiation one *Phidippides*; who paſſing through *Arcadia*, encountred in the way a familiar Devil, which he ſuppoſed to be *Pan*, who willed him to aſſure the *Athenians* of victory, promiſing that ſome one of the gods ſhould be preſent at the battel to aſſiſt them, and defend them againſt the multitude of their enemies. *Phidippides* at his return, ſeeing he could not bring with him any preſent ſuccours from *Sparta*, yet he thought it greatly availing to bring news from the gods, and promiſe of aſſiſtance from Heaven, which no doubt (though the device was ſomewhat likely to be his own, yet) it greatly encouraged the multitude and common people, who in all ages have been more ſtirred up with fond Prophecies, and other like ſuperſtitious fooleries, than by any juſt cauſe or ſolid reaſon.

The *Athenians* being now left to themſelves, with one thouſand only of the *Plateans* (who having been formerly defended by the *Athenians* againſt the *Thebans*, did in this extremity witneſs their thankfulneſs and grateful diſpoſition) began to diſpute, Whether it were moſt for their advantage to defend the walls of *Athens*, or to put themſelves into the field with ſuch forces as they had, the ſame conſiſting of ten thouſand *Athenians*, and one thouſand of the *Plateans*? In the end, and after great diverſity of opinions, *Miltiades*, who perſwaded the trial by battel, prevailed.

The Armies being now in view, and within a mile of each other, the *Athenians* diſpoſed themſelves into three troops: two wings or horns, as they term them; and the body of a battel. The *Perſians* when they perceived ſo ſmall a troop advancing towards them, thought the *Athenians* rather diſpoſſeſt of their underſtandings, than poſſeſt with the reſolution whereof they made ſhew. So invincible and reſiſtleſs the *Perſians* eſteemed their own numbers to be, and that ſmall troop of their enemies then in view, rather to be deſpiſed than to be fought withal: But in concluſion, the Victory being doubtfully ballanced for a while, ſometime the virtue of the *Græcians*, and ſometimes the number of the *Perſians* prevailed; the *Græcians* fighting for all that they had, the *Perſians* for that they needed not; theſe great forces of *Darius* were diſordered and put to rout; the *Athenians* following their Victory even to the Sea-ſhore; where the *Perſians*, ſo many of them as loſt not their wits with their courage, ſaved themſelves in their Ships.

The *Perſian* Army conſiſted of an hundred thouſand foot, and ten thouſand horſe; of which there were ſlain in the place ſix thouſand three hundred, and of the *Græcians* an hundred fourſcore and twelve. For howſoever it came to paſs, either by ſtrange Viſions, which were afterward called *Pannici terrores*, or by ſome other affright, it ſeemeth that the invading Army, after the firſt encounter, fought with their backs towards their enemy, and loſt that number, by *Herodotus* ſet down, in their diſorderly retreat, or rather in their flat running away. As for *Juſtins* report, That two hundred thouſand of the *Perſian* Army were ſlain, the ſame hath no appearance nor poſſibility of truth. In this fight *Hippias* the perſwader of the enterpriſe was ſlain, ſaith *Juſtin* and *Cicero*; but *Suidas* tells us, That he eſcaped, and died moſt miſerably in *Lemnos*. *Ad Att.*

The greateſt honour of this Victory was caſt upon *Miltiades*, who both perſwaded the trial by battel, and behaved himſelf therein anſwerably to the counſel which he gave. *Themiſtocles* had his firſt reputation in this fight, being but young and of the firſt beard. Thoſe of the *Græcians* of mark and commandment, that fell in the firſt encounter, were *Callimachus* and *Steſileus*. It is alſo ſaid, That *Cynegyrus* following the *Perſians* to their embarking, laid hands on one of their Gallies, to have held it from putting off the ſhore, and having his right hand cut off, he yet offered to arreſt it with his left; of which alſo being deprived, he took hold of it with his teeth. This Encounter happened in the firſt year of the threeſcore and twelfth *Olympiad*, about the time of the War made by *Coriolanus* againſt his fellow *Romans*: *Alexander* the Son of *Amyntas* being then King of *Macedon*, and *Phanippus* then Governour of *Athens*, according to *Plutarch*, or *Hybilides*, after *Halycarnaſſæus*. *In vita Ariſt.*

This great fray thus parted, and the *Perſians* returned back into the leſſer *Aſia*, *Miltiades* ſought and obtained an employment againſt the Iſlanders of *Paros*, one of the *Cyclades*; and paſſing over his Companies in threeſcore and ten Gallies, after ſix and twenty days aſſault he brake his thigh, in ſeeking to enter it by the Temple of *Ceres*, wherewith himſelf being made unable, and his Companies diſcouraged, he returned to *Athens*; where thoſe ungrateful Citizens forgetting all his ſervices paſt, and that of all other the moſt renowned at the battel of *Marathon*, did by the perſwaſion of *Xantippus* the father of *Pericles* (who envied his fame) caſt him into priſon, and ſet on him a fine of fifty Talents; where his weak and wounded body being not able to endure the one, nor his eſtate to pay the other, he after a few days ended his life.

Which envy of the better ſort to each other, with their private Factions, aſſiſted by the unthankful and witleſs people, brought them not many years after, from a victorious and famous Nation, to baſe ſubjection and ſlavery. *Miltiades* left behind him one ſon called *Cymon* begotten on *Hegeſipila*, daughter of *Olorus* King of *Thrace*, who (ſaith *Plutarch*) was neither inferiour to his Father in valour, nor to *Themiſtocles* in underſtanding, but exceeded them both in Juſtice and good Government.

Now *Darius* taking greater care how to recover his honour, than ſorrow for the loſs received in *Greece*, gave order for new levies of men, and all other warlike proviſions. But the *Egyptians* revolting from his obedience (a Kingdom of great ſtrength and revenue) greatly diſtracted his reſolution for the re-invaſion of *Greece*. The diſſention alſo among his Sons, of whom the younger being born after he was King, and by ſo great a mother as *Atoſſa*, diſdaining to give place to his elder bro-

ther, born before *Darius* obtained the Empire, greatly vexed him. And laſtly, Death, who hath no reſpect of any mans affairs, gave end to all his conſultations and enterpriſes, and joined him to the earth of his Anceſtors, about a year after the battel of *Marathon*, and after that he had reigned ſix and thirty years. He left behind him five ſons, namely, *Artabaſanes*, born before he obtained the Kingdom, *Xerxes* who ſucceeded him, *Achæmenes* Governour of *Egypt*, *Maſiſtes*, and *Anabignes*.

CHAP. VI.

of XERXES.

SECT. I.

The Preparations of Xerxes *againſt* Greece.

Xerxes received from his Father, as hereditary, a double War, one to be made againſt the *Egyptians*, which he finiſhed ſo ſpeedily, that there is nothing remaining in writing how the ſame was performed: the other againſt the *Græcians*, of which it is hard to judg, whether the preparations were more terrible, or the ſucceſs ridiculous. In the conſultation for the proſecution of this War, which was chiefly bent againſt the *Athenians*, the Princes of *Perſia* were divided in opinion. *Mardonius* who had formerly commanded in *Thrace* and *Macedon*, under *Darius*, and had alſo *Hyſtaſpes* for his Grandfather, as *Xerxes* had, and married *Xerxes* his Siſter *Artozoſtres*, perſwaded by many arguments the *European* War. But *Artabanus*, Brother to the late *Darius*, and Uncle to *Xerxes*, maintained the contrary counſel, laying before *Xerxes* the lamentable and ridiculous ſucceſs of the two late Invaſions, which *Darius* had made contrary to his counſel: The one in perſon upon the *Scythians*, the other by his Lieutenants upon the *Greeks*; in each of which *Darius* left to his Enemies both his Army and his Honour.

He therefore beſought *Xerxes* to be right well adviſed before he did too far imbark himſelf in this buſineſs. For whatſoever undertaking hath deliberate and ſound counſel for conductor, though the ſucceſs do not always anſwer the probability, yet hath Fortune nothing elſe thereof to vaunt, than the variableneſs of his own nature, which only the Divine Providence, and not any humane power, can conſtrain.

But ſo obſtinate was the reſolution of *Xerxes* in proſecution of his former intent, that *Artabanus*, whether terrified by Viſions (as it is written of him) or fearing the Kings hatred, which he made known to all thoſe that oppoſed his deſire to this War (changing opinion and counſel) aſſiſted the *Grecian* Expedition with all the power he had.

After the War of *Egypt* was ended, four years were conſumed in deſcribing and gathering an Army for this invaſion: which being compounded of all Nations ſubject to the *Perſian* Empire, conſiſted of ſeventeen hundred thouſand foot, and eighty thouſand Horſemen, beſides Chariots, Camels, and other Beaſts of Carriage, if we may believe *Herodotus*: for of this multitude, *Trogus* finds the number leſs by ſeven hundred thouſand footmen. *Her. l. 7.*

The Commanders of the ſeveral Nations were the Princes of the blood of *Perſia*, either by marriage in the Kings houſe, or otherwiſe; for to theſe were all commandments of this nature given, ſome few people excepted, who had of their own Leaders.

The charge of the whole Army was beſtowed on *Mardonius*, the Son of *Gobrias*, by a ſiſter of *Darius*, to whom were joined ſome others of *Xerxes* his neareſt kindred, as Generals over all; ſaving that the charge of ten thouſand ſelect *Perſians*, called the Immortal Regiment (becauſe if any one of the whole number died, or were ſlain, there was another preſently choſen in his ſtead) was given to *Hydarnes*; the eighty thouſand horſemen were led by the ſons of *Datis*, who commanded the late Army of *Darius* in *Greece*.

The Fleet of Gallies were 2200, and eight furniſhed by the *Phœnicians*, who had Commanders of their own Nation, and by the *Cypriots*, *Cilicians*, *Pamphylians*, *Lycians*, *Dorians*, *Carians*, *Ionians*, *Æolians*, and *Helleſpontines*; who were truſted with the furniſhing of their own Veſſels, though commanded by the Princes of *Perſia*, as by *Artabignes* the Son of *Darius*, and others. The reſt of the Veſſels for tranſportation were three thouſand. There were alſo certain Gallies furniſhed by *Artemeſia*, the daughter of *Lygdames*, Princeſs of *Halicarnaſſeus*, and the Iſlands adjoining, which her ſelf commanded. Thoſe Gallies by her prepared and furniſhed, exceeded all the reſt of the Fleet, excepting thoſe of *Zidon*, in which *Xerxes* himſelf was imbarked.

SECT. II.

Xerxes *Army entertained by* Pythius: *his cutting off Mount* Athos *from the Continent: his Bridg of Boats over the* Helleſpont: *and the diſcourſe between him and* Artabanus *upon the view of the Army.*

When this World of an Army was throughly furniſhed, he cauſed all the Nations of which it was compounded, to make their *Rendezvouz*, and repair at *Sardis* in *Lydia*. And when he had aſſembled to the number of ſeventeen hundred thouſand foot, as he entred the border of *Celænus* he was by one *Pythius* a *Lydian* entertained, who out of his Flocks and Herds of Cattel gave food to *Xerxes* and his whole Army. The feaſt ended,

ended, he alſo preſented him with two thouſand Talents of Silver, and in Gold four Millions, wanting ſeven thouſand of the *Perſian Darici*; which make ſo many of our Marks.

The King overcome with the exceeding liberality of *Pythius*, did not only refuſe his treaſure offered, but commanded that ſeven thouſand *Darici* ſhould be given him to make up his four Millions; of which ſo many thouſands were wanting when he made the Preſent. But ſoon after, when *Pythius* beſought him to ſpare one of his five ſons from his attendance into *Greece* (becauſe himſelf was old, and had none whom he could ſo well truſt as his own ſon), *Xerxes* moſt barbarouſly cauſed the young man, for whom his father ſought exemption, to be ſundered into two parts, commanding that the one half of his Carcaſs ſhould be layed on the right, and the other half on the left hand of the common way by which the Army marched.

Two things he commanded to be done before he came to the Sea-ſide: The one was a paſſage for Gallies to be cut behind Mount *Athos*, making the ſame (with the half Iſland or Headland whereon it ſtood) to be an entire Iſland; ſundring thereby from the Continent of *Thrace* five Cities, beſides the Mountain and the *Cherſoneſus*, or Neck of Land it ſelf: a work of more oſtentation than of uſe, and yet an enterprize of no great wonder, the Valley which held it to the Continent having but twelve furlongs (which make about a mile and a half) to cut through, and the ditch being broad enough only for two Gallies to paſs in front. The Cities ſo ſevered from the main, were *Dion*, *Olophyxus*, *Acrothoon*, *Thyſus*, and *Cleonæ*.

He alſo gave order, that a Bridg upon Boats ſhould be made over the *Helleſpont* between *Abidus* and *Seſtos*, the Sea there having a mile of breadth wanting an eighth part; which after the finiſhing, was by a Tempeſt torn aſunder and diſſevered: wherewith *Xerxes* being more enraged than diſcouraged, commanded thoſe to be ſlain that were maſters of the work, and cauſed ſix hundred threeſcore and fourteen Gallies to be coupled together, thereon to frame a new Bridg; which by the art and induſtry of the *Phœnicians*, was ſo well anchored to reſiſt both winds blowing into, and from the *Euxine* Sea, as the ſame being well boarded and railed, the whole Army of ſeventeen hundred thouſand Foot, and fourſcore thouſand Horſe, with all the Moyles and Carriages, paſt over it into *Europe* in ſeven days and ſeven nights, without intermiſſion. This tranſportation of Armies did *Cæſar* afterward uſe. And *Caligula*, that mad Emperour, in imitation of *Xerxes* his Bridg, did build the like.

The Bridg finiſhed, and the Army brought near to the Sea-ſide, *Xerxes* took a view of all his Troops, aſſembled in the Plains of *Abidus*, being carried up, and ſeated on a place over-topping the Land round about it, and the Sea adjoyning: and after he had gloried in his own happineſs, to behold and command ſo many Nations, and ſo powerful an Army and Fleet, he ſuddenly (notwithſtanding) burſt out into tears, moved with this contemplation, That in one hundred years there ſhould not any one ſurvive of that marvellous multitude: the cauſe of which ſudden change of paſſion when he uttered to *Artabanus* his Uncle, *Artabanus* ſpake to the King to this effect: That which is more lamentable than the diſſolution of this great Troop within that number of years by the King remembred, is, That the life it ſelf which we enjoy is yet more miſerable than the end thereof: for in thoſe few days given us in the world, there is no man among all theſe, or elſewhere, that ever found himſelf ſo accompanied with happineſs, but that he oftentimes pleaſed himſelf better with the deſire and hope of death, than of living; the incident calamities, diſeaſes, and ſorrows whereto mankind is ſubject, being ſo many and inevitable, that the ſhorteſt life doth oftentimes appear unto us over-long; to avoid all which, there is neither refuge nor reſt, but in deſired death alone.

With this melancholy diſcourſe, *Xerxes* being not much pleaſed, prayed *Artabanus* not to overcaſt thoſe joyes which they had now in purſuit, with ſad remembrances. And holding ſtill a doubtful conceit, that *Artabanus* utterly condemned the invaſion of *Greece*, againſt which he had formerly given many ſtrong reaſons, deſired him to deal freely with him, Whether he were returned to his firſt reſolution, that the enterprize of *Greece* could not be proſperous? or whether, according to the change of mind put into him by his late Viſion, he was confident of good ſucceſs? *Artabanus*, notwithſtanding that he aſſured himſelf of the Kings reſolution to go on, and dared not by any new arguments to batter the great purpoſe it ſelf, yet he told the King, That there were two things which marvellouſly affrighted him, and which the King ſhould find, as he feared, to be moſt adverſe, to wit, the Sea and the Land: The Sea, becauſe it had no where in that part of the World any Port capable of ſo great a Fleet; inſomuch, as if any tempeſt ſhould ariſe, all the Continent of *Greece* could hardly receive them, nor all the Havens thereof afford them any ſafety: and therefore when any ſuch ſhelter ſhall be wanting unto them, he prayed him to underſtand, that in ſuch a caſe of extremity men are left to the will and diſpoſition of Fortune, and not Fortune to the will and diſpoſition of men. The Land, beſides other incommodities, will be found by ſo much the more an enemy, by how much the unſatiate deſire of man to obtain more and more thereof, doth lead him forward: for were there no man found to give reſiſtance, yet the want of means to feed ſuch an Army, and the Famine which cannot be prevented, will without any other violence offered, diſmable and conſume it. By theſe Arguments *Artabanus* hoped to have diverted *Xerxes*, not daring perchance to utter what indeed he moſt feared, to wit, the overthrow of the Army it ſelf both by Sea and Land, which ſoon after followed. Theſe cautions were exceeding weighty, if *Xerxes* his obſtinacy had not miſpriſed them. For to invade by Sea upon a perilous Coaſt, being neither in poſſeſſion of any Port, nor ſuccoured by any party, may better fit a Prince preſuming on his fortune, than enriched with underſtanding. Such was the enterpriſe of *Philip* the ſecond upon *England* in the year 1588, who had belike never heard of this Counſel of *Artabanus* to *Xerxes*, or forgotten it.

Now concerning the ſecond point; It is very likely that *Xerxes* his Army, which could not have in it leſs than two millions of Souls, beſides his beaſts for ſervice, and carriage, ſhould after a few days ſuffer famine, and uſing *Machiavels* words, *Mourire ſans confeſſion*; *Die without a knife*. For it was impoſſible for *Greece*, being a ragged, ſtrait, and mountainous Country, to yield food (beſides what ſerved themſelves) for twenty hundred thouſand ſtrangers, whom they never meant to entertain but with the ſharpned points of their Weapons, deſtroying withal whatſoever they could not well incloſe and defend. Nay, if we may believe *Herodotus*, the Army of *Xerxes* being reviewed at

Thermopylæ, consisted of five millions, two hundred eighty three thousand, two hundred twenty men, besides Laundresses, Harlots, and Horses; and was therefore likely to endure a speedy famine.

The effect of *Xerxes* his answer was, That it was impossible to provide for all things; and that whosoever should enterprise any great matter, if he gave the hearing to all that could be objected of accidental inconveniences, he should never pursue the same farther than the dispute and consultation: which if his Predecessors, the *Persian* Kings, had done, they had never grown to that greatness, or possest so many Kingdoms and Nations as they now did; and therefore concluded, That great enterprises were never undertaken without great perils. Which resolution of *Xerxes* was not to be condemned, if any necessity had inforc'd him to that War. But seeing the many Nations newly conquered, which he already commanded, were more than could be constrained to obedience any longer than the powerful prosperity of the *Persians* endured, and that *Greece* was separated by the Sea from the rest of *Xerxes* his Dominions (of whose resolution his Father *Darius* had made a dear experience) the fruit of this War was answerable to the plantation, and the success and end agreeable to the weak counsel whereon it was grounded. Furthermore, those millions of men which he transported, and yet in his own judgment not sufficient (for he gathered in, marching on, all the strength of *Thrace* and *Macedon*) were an argument, that he rather hoped to fear the *Greeks* by the fame of his numbers, than that he had any confidence in their valour and resolution, whom he conducted. For it is wisely said of those uncountable multitudes: *Non vires habent, sed pondus; & impedimenta potius sunt, quam auxilium: They are great in bulk, but weak in forces, and rather a luggage than an aid.*

Besides, as it was impossible to marshall such a world of men in one Army; so the divers Nations, speaking divers languages, bred the same confusion among the *Persian* Commanders when they came to fight, as it did to the builders of *Babel* when they came to work. Whereas if *Xerxes* had of his five millions compounded ten Armies of fifty thousand chosen Soldiers in each, and sent them yearly into *Greece* well victualled and furnished, he had either prevailed by the sword, or forced them to forsake their territory, brought them into obedience by necessity and famine, which cannot be resisted. But while *Xerxes* resolved to cut down the banks of *Greece*, and to let in a sea of men upon them, he was deceived both of his own hopes, and in their hearts whom he employed, and beaten by the *Greeks* both by Land and Sea; yea, he himself, conducted by his fear, fled shamefully into *Asia*. A great part of his Army was buried in *Greece*; the remainder whereof, which wintred in *Thessaly*, and led by *Mardonius* who perswaded the enterprise, was in the summer following utterly defeated, and himself slain.

SECT. III.

Of the fights at Thermopylæ *and* Artemisium.

After such time as *Xerxes* had transported the Army over the *Hellespont*, and landed in *Thrace* (leaving the description of his passage along that Coast, and how the River of *Lissus* was drunk dry by his multitudes, and the Lake near to *Pissyrus* by his cattel, with other accidents in his marches towards *Greece*): I will speak of the encounters he had, and the shameful and incredible overthrows which he received. As first at *Thermopylæ*, a narrow passage of half an acre of ground, lying between the Mountains which did divide *Thessaly* from *Greece*, where sometime the *Phocians* had raised a wall with gates, which was then for the most part ruined. At this entrance *Leonidas* one of the Kings of *Sparta*, with three hundred *Lacedemonians*, assisted with one thousand *Tegeatæ* and *Mantineans*, one thousand *Arcadians*, and other *Peloponnesians*, to the number of three thousand one hundred in the whole; besides one thousand *Phocians*, four hundred *Thebans*, seven hundred *Thespians*, and all the forces (such as they were) of the bordering *Locrians*, defended the passage two whole days together against that huge Army of the *Persians*. The valour of the *Greeks* appeared so excellent in this defence, that in the first dayes fight *Xerxes* is said to have three times leaped out of his Throne, fearing the destruction of his Army by one handful of those men whom not long before he had utterly despised: and when the second days attempt upon the *Greeks* had proved vain, he was altogether ignorant how to proceed further; and so might have continued, had not a runnagate *Grecian* taught him a secret way, by which part of his Army might ascend the ledg of mountains, and set upon the backs of those who kept the Straits. But when the most valiant of the *Persian* Army had almost inclosed the small forces of the *Greeks*, then did *Leonidas* King of the *Lacedemonians*, with his three hundred and seven hundred *Thespians*, which were all that abode by him, refuse to quit the place which they had undertaken to make good, and with admirable courage not only resist that world of men which charged them on all sides; but issuing out of their strength, made so great a slaughter of their enemies, that they might well be called vanquishers, though all of them were slain upon the place. *Xerxes* having lost in this last fight, together with twenty thousand other Soldiers and Captains, two of his own brethren, began to doubt what inconvenience might befall him by the vertue of such as had not been present at these battels, with whom he knew that he shortly was to deal. Especially of the *Spartans* he stood in great fear, whose manhood had appeared singular in this trial, which caused him very carefully to enquire what numbers they could bring into the field. It is reported of *Dieneces* the *Spartan*, that when one thought to have terrified him by saying, That the flight of the *Persian* Arrows was so thick as would hide the Sun; he answered thus: It is very good news, for then shall we fight in the cool shade.

Such notable resolution having as freely been expressed in deeds, as was uttered in words, caused the *Persian* to stand in great doubt, when he heard that the City of *Sparta* could arm well-nigh eight thousand men of the like temper, and that the other *Lacedæmonians*, though inferior to those, were very valiant men. Wherefore he asked counsel of *Demaratus*, a banished King of the *Spartans*, who had always well advised and instructed him in the things of *Greece*, what course were fittest to be taken in his further proceedings. The opinion of *Demaratus* was, That all the Land-forces should assemble together to defend the *Isthmus*, that streight neck of ground which joineth *Peloponnesus* to the Continent. For which cause he advised, That three hundred ships well manned, should be sent

ſent unto the Coaſt of *Laconia*, to ſpoil the Countrey, and to hold the *Lacedæmonians* and their neighbours buſied at home, whilſt *Xerxes* at his leiſure having ſubdued the reſt, might afterward bring his whole power upon them, who remaining deſtitute of ſuccour, would be too weak alone to make reſiſtance. To this purpoſe alſo the ſame *Demaratus* further adviſed, That the ſaid Fleet of three hundred ſhips ſhould ſeize upon the Iſland then called *Cythera*, now *Cerigo*, which lying near to the Coaſt of *Laconia*, might ſerve as a fit place of Rendezvous upon all occaſions, either of their own defence, or endamaging the enemy: whereby that ancient ſpeech of *Chilon* the *Lacedæmonian* ſhould be verified, that it were better for his Countrymen to have that Iſle drowned in the Sea, than ſtand ſo inconveniently for them as it did. What effect this counſel might have taken, had it been followed, it is not eaſie to gueſs. But a contrary opinion of *Achæmenes* brother to King *Xerxes*, was preferred as the ſafer. For the *Perſian* Fleet had been ſorely vexed with a grievous tempeſt, which continued three whole days together, wherein were loſt upon the Coaſt of *Magneſia* four hundred ſhips of War, beſides other Veſſels innumerable, accordingly as *Artabanus* had foreſeen, that if any ſuch calamity ſhould overtake them, there would not be found any Harbor wide enough to give them ſuccour. Therefore *Achæmenes* perſwaded his Brother not to diſperſe his Fleet; for if (ſaid he) after the loſs of four hundred ſhips we ſhall ſend away other three hundred to ſeek adventures, then will the *Greeks* be ſtrong enough by Sea to encounter the reſt of the Navy, which holding all together, is invincible. To this counſel *Xerxes* yielded, hoping that his Land-Army and Fleet, ſhould each of them ſtand the other in good ſtead, whilſt both held one courſe, and lay not far aſunder. But herein he was far deceived; for about the ſame time that his Army had felt the valour of the *Greeks* by Land, his Navy likewiſe made a ſorrowful proof of their skill and courage at Sea. The *Grecians* Fleet lay at that time at *Artimeſium*, in the ſtraits of *Eubœa*, where the *Perſians* thinking to encompaſs them, ſent two hundred ſail about the Iſland to fall upon them behind, uſing a-like ſtratagem to that which their King did practiſe againſt *Leonidas*, in a caſe not unlike, but with far different ſucceſs. For that narrow channel of the Sea, which divideth *Eubœa* from the main, was in the ſame ſort held by a Navy of two hundred threeſcore and eleven ſail againſt the huge *Perſian* Armado, as the ſtraits of *Thermopylæ* had formerly been maintained by *Leonidas* till he was circumvented, as this Navy might have been, but was not. The departure of thoſe two hundred ſhips that were ſent about the Iſland, and the cauſe of their voyage was too well known in the *Perſian* Fleet, and ſoon enough diſcloſed to the *Greeks*, who ſetting ſail by night, met them with a counter-ſurprize, taking and ſinking thirty Veſſels, inforcing the reſt to take the Sea; where being over taken with foul weather, they were driven upon the Rocks, and caſt all away. Contrariwiſe, the Navy of the *Greeks* were increaſed by the arrival of fifty three *Athenian* ſhips, and one *Lemnian*, which came to their party in the laſt fight. As theſe new forces encouraged the one ſide, ſo the fear of *Xerxes* his diſpleaſure ſtirred up the other to redeem their loſs with ſome notable exploit. Wherefore ſetting aſide their unfortunate policy, they reſolved in plain fight to repair their honour, and caſting themſelves into the form of a Creſcent, thought ſo to incloſe the *Greeks*, who readily did preſent them battel at *Artemiſium*.

The fight endured from noon till night, and ended with equal loſs to both parts. For though more of the *Perſian* ſhips were ſunk and taken, yet the leſſer loſs fell altogether as heavy upon the *Greekiſh* Fleet, which being ſmall, could worſe bear it. Herein only the Barbarians may ſeem to have had the worſe, that they forſook the place of fight, leaving the wrack and ſpoils to the enemy, who nevertheleſs were fain to abandon preſently even the paſſage which they had undertaken to defend; both for that many of their ſhips were ſorely cruſht in the battel, and eſpecially becauſe they had received advertiſement of the death of *Leonidas* at *Thermopylæ*. Before they weighed Anchors, *Themiſtocles* General of the *Athenians*, engraved upon ſtone at the watering-place an exhortation to the *Ionians*, that either they ſhould revolt unto the *Greeks*, or ſtand neutral; which perſwaſion, he hoped, would either take ſome place with them, or at the leaſt make them ſuſpected by the *Perſians*.

SECT. IV.

The attempt of Xerxes *upon* Apollo's *Temple: and his taking of* Athens.

WHen *Xerxes* had paſt the ſtraits of *Thermopylæ*, he waſted the Country of the *Phocians*, and the regions adjoining: as for the Inhabitants, they choſe rather to fly, and reſerve themſelves to a day of battel, than to adventure their lives into his hands, upon hope of ſaving their wealth, by making proffer unto him of their ſervice. Part of his Army he ſent to ſpoil the Temple of *Delphi*, which was exceeding rich by means of many Offerings that had been made by divers Kings, and great perſonages; of all which riches it was thought that *Xerxes* had a better Inventory than of the goods left in his own Palace. To make relation of a great aſtoniſhment that fell upon the Companies which arrived at the Temple to have ſacked it, and of two Rocks that breaking from the Mount *Parnaſſus*, overwhelmed many of the Barbarians, it were peradventure ſomewhat ſuperſtitious. Yet *Herodotus*, who lived not long after, ſaith, That the broken Rocks remained even to his memory in the Temple of *Minerva*, whither they rouled in their fall. And ſurely this attempt of *Xerxes* was impious; for ſeeing he believed that *Apollo* was a god, he ſhould not have dared to entertain a covetous deſire of inriching himſelf by committing ſacrilege upon his Temple. Wherefore it may poſſibly be true, that licenſe to chaſtiſe his impiety, in ſuch manner as is reported, was granted unto the Devil, by that Holy One, who ſaith, *Will a man ſpoil his gods?* and elſewhere; *Hath any Nation changed their gods, which yet are no gods? Go to the Iſles of Kittim, and behold, and ſend to Kedar, and take diligent heed, and ſee whether there be any ſuch things.* Now this impiety of *Xerxes* was the more inexcuſable, for that the *Perſians* alledged the burning of *Cybele*'s Temple by the *Athenians*, when they ſet fire on the City of *Sardis* in *Aſia*, to be the ground and cauſe of the waſte which they made in burning of Cities and Temples in *Greece*. Whereas indeed, in the enterprize againſt *Delphos*, this vizor of holy and zealous revenge falling off, diſcovered the face of covetouſneſs ſo much the more ugly, by how much the more themſelves had profeſſed a deteſtation of the offence

Mal. 3 8.

Jer. 2 9,10

which

which the *Athenians* had committed in that kind by meer mischance.

The remainder of that which *Xerxes* did, may be expressed briefly thus: *He came to* Athens, *which finding forsaken, he took and burnt the Cittadel and Temple which was therein.* The Cittadel indeed was defended a while by some of more courage than wisdom, who literally interpreting *Apollo*'s Oracle, *That* Athens *should be safe in wooden walls*, had fortified that place with Boards and Palissadoes; too weak to hold out long, though by their desperate valour so well maintained at the first assault, that they might have yielded it upon tolerable conditions, had they not vainly relied upon the Prophecy: whereof (being somewhat obscure) it was wisely done of *Themistocles*, to make discretion the Interpreter, applying rather the words to the present need, than fashioning the business to words.

SECT. V.

How Themistocles *the* Athenian *drew the* Greeks *to fight at* Salamis.

THe *Athenians* had, before the coming of *Xerxes*, removed their Wives and Children into *Trœzene*, *Ægina*, and *Salamis*, not so highly prizing their Houses and Lands, as their freedom, and the common liberty of *Greece*. Nevertheless, this great zeal, which the *Athenians* did shew for the general good of their Country, was ill requited by the other *Greeks*, who with much labour were hardly intreated to stay for them at *Salamis*, whilst they removed their Wives and Children out of the City. But when the City of *Athens* was taken, it was presently resolved upon, that they should forsake the Isle of *Salamis*, and withdraw the Fleet to *Isthmus*: which neck of land they did purpose to fortifie against the *Persians*, and so to defend *Peloponnesus* by Land and Sea, leaving the rest of *Greece* as indefensible, to the fury of the enemy. So should the Islands of *Salamis* and *Ægina* have been abandoned, and the Families of the *Athenians* (which were there bestowed as in places of security) have been given over into mercileſs bondage. Against this resolution *Themistocles* Admiral of the *Athenian* Fleet, very strongly made opposition, but in vain. For the *Peloponnesians* were so possessed with fear of losing their own, which they would not hazard, that no perswasions could obtain of them to regard the estate of their distressed Friends and Allies. Many remonstrances *Themistocles* made unto them, to allure them to abide the enemy at *Salamis*: As first in private unto *Eurybiades* the *Lacedemonian*, Admiral of the whole Fleet; That the self-same fear which made them forsake those coasts of *Greece* upon which they then anchored, would afterward (if it found no check at the first) cause them also to dissever the Fleet, and every one of the Confederates to withdraw himself to the defence of his own City and Estate: Then to the Council of War, which *Eurybiades* upon this motion did call together (forbearing to object what want of courage might work in them hereafter;) he shewed, that the fight at *Isthmus* would be in an open Sea, whereas it was more expedient for them, having the fewer ships, to determine the matter in the streights; and that besides the safeguard of *Ægina*, *Megara*, and *Salamis*, they should by abiding where they then were, sufficiently defend *Isthmus*; which the Barbarians should not so much as once look upon, if the *Greeks* obtained victory by Sea; which they could not so well hope for elsewhere, as in that present place which gave him so good advantage. All this would not serve to retain the *Peloponnesians*, of whom one unworthy of memory, upbraided *Themistocles* with the loss of *Athens*, blaming *Eurybiades* for suffering one to speak in the Council that had no Country of his own to inhabit. A base and shameful objection it was, to lay as a reproach that loss, which being voluntarily sustained for the common good, was in true estimation by so much the more honourable, by how much it was the greater. But this indignity did exasperate *Themistocles*, and put into his mouth a reply so sharp, as availed more than all his former perswasions. He told them all plainly, That the *Athenians* wanted not a fairer City than any Nation of *Greece* could boast of; having well near two hundred good ships of War, the better part of the *Grecian* Fleet, with which it was easie for them to transport their Families and substance into any part of the World, and settle themselves in a more secure habitation, leaving those to shift as well as they might, who in their extremity had refused to stand by them. Here withal he mentioned a Town in *Italy* belonging of old to the state of *Athens*, of which Town he said an Oracle had foretold, That the *Athenians* in process of time should build it anew; and there (quoth he) will we plant our selves, leaving unto you a sorrowful remembrance of my words, and of your own unthankfulness. The *Peloponnesians* hearing thus much, began to enter into better consideration of the *Athenians*; whose affairs depended not as they well perceived, upon so weak terms, that they should be driven to crouch to others; but rather were such as might enforce the rest to yield to them, and condescend even to the uttermost of their own demands.

For the *Athenians* when they first embraced that Heroical resolution, of leaving their grounds and houses to fire and ruin, if necessity should enforce them so far for the preservation of their liberty, did employ the most of their private wealth, and all the common treasure, in building a great Navy. By these means they hoped (which accordingly fell out) that no such calamity should befall them by Land, as might not well be counterpoised by great advantages at Sea: Knowing well, that a strong Fleet would either procure victory at home, or a secure passage to any other Country. The other States of *Greece* held it sufficient, if building a few new ships, they did somewhat amend their Navy. Whereby it came to pass, that had they been vanquished, they could not have expected any other fortune than either present death, or perpetual slavery; neither could they hope to be victorious without the assistance of the *Athenians*, whose forces by Sea did equal all theirs together; the whole consisting of more than three hundred and fourscore bottoms. Wherefore these *Peloponnesians* beginning to suspect their own condition, which would have stood upon desperate points if the Fleet of *Athens* had forsaken them, were soon perswaded by the greater fear of such a bad event, to forget the lesser, which they had conceived of the *Persians*; and laying aside their insolent bravery, they yielded to that most profitable counsel of abiding at *Salamis*.

SECT.

SECT. VI.

How the Persians *consulted about giving battel: and how* Themistocles *by policy held the* Greeks *to their resolution; with the victory at* Salamis *thereupon ensuing.*

IN the mean season the *Persians* had entred into consultation, whether it were convenient to offer battel to the *Greeks*, or no. The rest of the Captains giving such advice as they thought would best please the King their Master, had soon agreed upon the fight; but *Artemisia* Queen of *Halicarnassæus*, who followed *Xerxes* to this War in person, was of contrary opinion: Her counsel was, that the King himself directly should march toward *Peloponnesus*, whereby it would come to pass, that the *Greek* Navy (unable otherwise to continue long at *Salamis* for want of provision) should presently be dissevered, and every one seeking to preserve his own City and Goods, they should being divided, prove unable to resist him, who had won so far upon them when they held together. And as the profit will be great in forbearing to give battel; so on the other side the danger will be more (said she) which we shall undergo, than any need requireth us to adventure upon; and the loss, in case it fall upon us, greater than the profit of the Victory which we desire. For if we compel the enemies to fly, it is more than they would have done, we sitting still: but if they as better Seamen than ours, put us to the worst, the journey to *Peloponnesus* is utterly dasht, and many that now declare for us, will soon revolt unto the *Greeks*. *Mardonius* whom *Xerxes* had sent for that purpose to the Fleet, related unto his Master the common consent of the other Captains, and withal this disagreeing opinion of *Artemisia*. The King well pleased with her advice, yet resolved upon following the more general, but far worse counsel of the rest; which would questionless have been the same which *Artemisia* gave, had not fear and flattery made all the Captains utter that, as out of their own judgment, which they thought to be most conformable to their Princes determination. So it was indeed, that *Xerxes* had entertained a vain perswasion of much good that his own presence upon the shore to behold the conflict, would work among the Soldiers. Therefore he encamped upon the Sea-side, pitching his own Tent on the Mount *Ægaleus*, which is opposite unto the Isle of *Salamis*, whence at ease he might safely view all which might happen in that action, having Scribes about him to write down the acts and behaviour of every Captain. The near approach of the Barbarians, together with the news of that timorous diligence which their Countrymen shewed in fortifying the *Isthmus*, and of a *Persian* Army, marching apace thither, did now again so terrifie and amaze the *Peloponnesians*, that no entreaty nor contestation would suffice to hold them together. For they thought it meer madness to fight for a Country already lost, when they rather should endeavour to save that which remained unconquered; propounding chiefly to themselves what misery would befall them, if losing the Victory, they should be driven into *Salamis*, there to be shut up, and besieged round in a poor desolate Island.

Hereupon they resolved forthwith to set sail for *Isthmus*; which had presently been done if the wisdom of *Themistocles* had not prevented it. For he perceiving what a violent fear had stopt up their ears against all good counsel, did practise another course, and forthwith labour to prevent the execution of this unwholsome decree; not suffering the very hour of performance to find him busie in wrangling altercation. As soon as the Council brake up, he dispatched secretly a trusty Gentleman to the *Persian* Captains, informing them truly of the intended flight, and exhorting them to send part of their Navy about the Island, which incompassing the *Greeks*, might prevent their escape; giving them withal false hope of his assistance. The *Persians* no sooner heard than believed these good news, vvell knovving that the Victory vvas their ovvn assured, if the *Athenian* Fleet joyned with them; which they might easily hope, considering what ability their Master had to recompence for so doing, both the Captains with rich rewards, and the people with restitution of their City, and Territories. By these means it fell out, that when the *Greeks* very early in the morning were about to weigh Anchor, they found themselves incloſed round with *Persians*, who had laboured hard all that night, sending many of their ships about the Isle of *Salamis*, to charge the enemy in rear, and landing many of their men in the Isle of *Psittalea*, which lyeth over against *Salamis*, to save such of their own, and kill such of the *Gracian* party, as by any misfortune should be cast upon the shore. Thus did meer necessity enforce the *Gracians* to undertake the battel in the streights of *Salamis*, where they obtained a memorable Victory, stemming the foremost of their enemies, and chasing the rest, who falling foul one upon another, could neither conveniently fight nor fly. I do not find any particular occurrences in this great battel to be much remarkable. Sure it is, that the Scribes of *Xerxes* had a wearisom task of writing down many disasters that befell the *Persian* Fleet, which ill acquitted it self that day, doing no one piece of service worthy the presence of their King, or the registring of his Notaries. As for the *Greeks*, they might well seem to have wrought out that Victory with equal courage, were it not that the principal honour of that day was ascribed to those of *Ægina*, and to the *Athenians*, of whom it is recorded, That when the Barbarians did fly towards *Phalerus*, where the Land-Army of *Xerxes* lay, the ships of *Ægina* having possest the Streights, did sink or take them, whilst the *Athenians* did valiantly give charge upon those that kept the Sea, and made any countenance of resisting.

SECT. VII.

Of things following after the battel of Salamis: *and of the flight of* Xerxes.

AFter this Victory, the *Greeks* intending by way of scrutiny to determine which of the Captains had best merited of them in all this great service; every Captain being ambitious of that honour, did in the first place write down his own name, but in the second place, as best deserving next unto himself, almost every Suffrage did concur upon *Themistocles*. Thus private affection yielded unto vertue, as soon as her own turn was served. The *Persian* King, as not amazed with this calamity, began to make new preparation for continuance of War; but in such fashion, that they which were best acquainted with his temper might easily discern

cern his faint-heart through his painted looks. Especially *Mardonius* Author of the War, began to caſt a wary eye upon his Maſter, fearing leſt his counſel ſhould be rewarded according to the event. Wherefore purpoſing rather to adventure his life in purſuit of the Victory, than to caſt it away by undergoing his Princes indignation, he adviſed the King to leave unto him three hundred thouſand men, with which forces he promiſed to reduce all *Greece* under the ſubjection of the *Perſian* Scepter. Herewithal he forgot not to ſooth *Xerxes* with many fair words, telling him, That the cowardiſe of thoſe *Egyptians*, *Phœnicians*, and *Cilicians*, with others of the like metal, nothing better than ſlaves, who had ſo ill behaved themſelves in the late Sea-ſervice, did not concern his honour, who had always been victorious, and had already ſubdued the better part of *Greece*, yea taken *Athens* it ſelf, againſt which the War was principally intended. Theſe words found very good acceptance in the Kings ear, who preſently betook himſelf to his journey homewards, making the more haſte, for that he underſtood, how the *Greeks* had a purpoſe to ſail to *Helleſpont*, and there to break down his bridg, and intercept his paſſage. True it was, that the *Greeks* had no ſuch intent, but rather wiſhed his haſty departure, knowing that he would leave his Army not ſo ſtrong as it ſhould have been had he in perſon remained with it. And for this cauſe did *Eurybiades* give counſel, that by no means they ſhould attempt the breaking of that Bridg, leſt neceſſity ſhould enforce the *Perſians* to take more courage, and rather to fight like men than die like beaſts. Wherefore *Themiſtocles* did, under pretence of friendſhip, ſend a falſe advertiſement unto this timerous Prince, adviſing him to convey himſelf into *Aſia* with all ſpeed, before his Bridg were diſſolved: which counſel *Xerxes* took very kindly, and haſtily followed, as before is ſhewed. Whether it were ſo that he found the Bridg whole, and thereby repaſſed into *Aſia*; or whether it were torn in ſunder by tempeſts, and he thereby driven to imbark himſelf in ſome obſcure veſſel, it is not greatly material; though the *Greeks* did moſt willingly imbrace the latter of theſe reports. Howſoever it were, this flight of his did well eaſe the Country, that was thereby disburdened of that huge throng of people, which as Locuſts had before overwhelmed it.

SECT. VIII.

The Negotiations between Mardonius *and the* Athenians, *as alſo between the* Athenians *and the* Lacedæmonians, *after the flight of* Xerxes.

Mardonius with his three hundred thouſand had withdrawn himſelf into *Theſſaly*, whence he ſent *Alexander* the ſon of *Amyntas* King of *Macedon*, as Embaſſador to the *Athenians*, with promiſe of large amends for all their loſſes received; and of extending their Territories as far as their own deſires; allowing them to retain their liberty and laws, if they would make peace with *Xerxes*, and aſſiſt him in that War.

The *Athenians* had now re-entred their City, but not as yet brought back their wives and children; foraſmuch as they well perceived that the place could not be ſecure till the Army of *Mardonius* was broken and defeated. Wherefore the *Lacedæmonians* underſtanding what fair conditions this Embaſſador would propound, were perplexed with very great fear, leſt he ſhould find good and ready acceptance. Hereupon, they likewiſe very ſpeedily diſpatch their Embaſſadors for *Athens*, who arriving before the *Macedonian* had audience, uſed the beſt of their perſwaſion to retain the *Athenians* firm. They alledged, that neither *Xerxes* nor *Darius* had any pretence of War againſt the reſt of *Greece*, but had only threatned the ſubverſion of *Athens*, till they and all their Confederates arming themſelves in defence of that City, were drawn into the quarrel, wherein the *Athenians* without much cruelty of injuſtice could not leave them. We know, ſaid they, that ye have endured great calamities, loſing the fruit of the grounds, and being driven to forſake the Town, the houſes thereof be ruined, and unfit for your habitation; in regard whereof, we undertake to maintain as our own, your wives and children amongſt us, as long as the War ſhall continue; hoping that ye who have always procured liberty to others, will not now go about to bring all *Greece* into ſlavery and bondage. As for the *Barbarians*, their promiſes are large, but their words and oaths are of no aſſurance. It was needleſs to uſe many arguments to the *Athenians*, who gave anſwer to *Alexander* in preſence of the *Spartan* Ambaſſadors, That whilſt the Sun continued his courſe, they would be enemies to *Xerxes*, regarding neither gold nor any riches, with which he might ſeek to make purchaſe of their liberty. Concerning the maintenance of their wives and children, it was a burden which they promiſed to ſuſtain themſelves; only deſiring the *Lacedæmonians*, that with all ſpeed they would cauſe their Army to march, foraſmuch as it was not likely that *Mardonius* would long ſit ſtill in *Theſſaly*, having once received ſuch a peremptory anſwer. In this their opinion of *Mardonius* his readineſs to invade *Attica*, they found themſelves nothing deceived. For he, as ſoon as *Alexander* had returned their obſtinate purpoſe of reſiſtance, did forthwith lead his Army towards them and their City: they having now the ſecond time quitted it, and conveyed themſelves into places of more ſecurity abroad in the Countrey, where they expected the arrival of their confederates. From *Athens* he ſent his Agents unto them, with inſtructions not only to perſwade them to acceptance of the conditions before to them propounded; but with great promiſes to allure the principal of them to his party. His hope was, that either the people, wearied with forſaking their houſes ſo often, would be deſirous to preſerve them from fire, and to have thoſe which were already laid waſte, re-edified at the Kings charges: or, if this affection took no place with them, but that needs they would rely upon their old confederates, whoſe ſuccours did very ſlowly advance forwards; yet perhaps the leaders might be won with great rewards, to draw them to this purpoſe; all which projects, if they ſhould fail, the deſtruction of *Athens* would be a good mean to pleaſe his Maſter King *Xerxes*, who muſt thereby needs underſtand, that *Mardonius* kept his ground, and feared not to confront the whole power of *Greece* in the ſtrongeſt part of their own Country. But his expectation was beguiled in all theſe. For the *Athenians* ſo little regarded his offers, that when one *Lycidas*, or (as *Demoſthenes* calls him) *Cyrcilus* adviſed the Senate to accept the conditions, and propounded them to the people; all the Senators, and as many as abiding without the Council-houſe, heard what he had ſaid, immediately

diately ſet upon him, and ſtoned him to death; not examining whether it were fear or money that had moved him to utter ſuch a vile ſentence. Yea, the Women of *Athens*, and in the Iſle of *Salamis*, hearing of his bad counſel, and bad end, aſſembling together, did enter his houſe there, and put his wife and children to the like execution. All this bravery notwithſtanding, when they perceived the ſlackneſs of the *Peloponneſians* in giving them aid, they were fain to betake themſelves to *Salamis* again, the old place of their ſecurity. Remaining there, and ſeeing little forwardneſs in thoſe whom it moſt concerned to aſſiſt them, they ſent very ſevere meſſages to *Sparta*, complaining of their ſlackneſs, and threatning withal to take ſuch courſe as might ſtand beſt with their own good, ſeeing that the common eſtate of all was ſo little regarded. Theſe meſſengers were at the firſt entertained with dilatory anſwers; which every day grew colder, when as the *Peloponneſian* Wall, builded athwart the *Iſthmus*, was almoſt finiſhed. But as the *Lacedæmonians* waxed careleſs and dull, ſo the *Athenians* hotly preſſed them to a quick reſolution, giving them plainly to underſtand, that if they ſhould hold on in thoſe dilatory courſes, it would not be long ere the City of *Athens* took a new courſe that ſhould little pleaſe them. All this while the *Perſian* Fleet lay upon the Coaſt of *Aſia*, not daring to draw nearer unto *Greece*, as being now too weak at Sea. Likewiſe the *Greekiſh* Navy contained it ſelf within the Harbours upon *Europe* ſide; both to do ſervice where need ſhould require at home, and withal to ſhun the danger which might have befallen any part of it, that (being diſtracted from the reſt) had ventured over-far. So mutual fear preſerved in quiet the Iſlands lying in the midſt of the *Ægean* Seas. But it was well and ſeaſonably obſerved by a Counſellor of *Sparta*, that the Wall upon *Iſthmus* would ſerve to little purpoſe for the defence of *Peloponneſus*, if once the *Athenians* gave ear to *Mardonius*: conſidering that many doors would be opened into that Demy-Iſland, as ſoon as the Enemy ſhould by winning the friendſhip of *Athens*, become the Maſter of the Seas about it. The *Lacedæmonians* upon this admonition making better peruſal of their own dangers, were very careful to give ſatisfaction to the *Athenian* Embaſſadors, who not brooking their delays, were upon point of taking leave, yea, as it ſeemed, of renouncing their alliance. Wherefore diſpatching away five thouſand *Spartans* in the evening, under conduct of *Pauſanias*, they gave audience the next day to the Embaſſadors, whoſe complaints they anſwered with vehement proteſtations of their readineſs; deeply ſwearing, that the Army of *Sparta* was already far upon the journey, and giving them leave to take up other five thouſand *Lacedæmonians*, out of the Region adjoining, to follow after them.

The *Athenians*, though diſtaſting ſuch want of gravity, in a matter ſo important, were nevertheleſs contented with the final concluſion; and levying the number appointed of *Lacedæmonian* Soldiers, made vvhat haſte they could to incamp in *Attica*. The other *Græcians* vvere nothing ſlack in ſending forth Companies, vvhoſe near approach cauſed *Mardonius* to forſake *Attica* as a rough Country, and therefore of much diſadvantage to Horſe, vvherein conſiſted the beſt of his povver. Before his departure he burnt the City of *Athens*, beating dovvn the Walls of it, and ruining all that had formerly eſcaped the fury of War.

SECT. IX.

The great battel of Platæa.

IT were too long a rehearſal to ſhew all that happened in many ſkirmiſhes between the *Greeks* and him, in the Country of *Bœotia*, which *Mardonius* had choſen to be the ſeat of that War. Much time was ſpent before the quarrel was decided by the trial of one main battel: for both parties did ſtand upon their guard, each expecting when the other ſhould aſſail them.

The Army of *Mardonius* contained about three hundred thouſand, which were by him choſen out of *Xerxes* his Army; to whom were adjoined the forces of *Thebes*, *Macedony*, *Theſſaly*, and other parts of *Greece*, that now ſiding with the *Perſian*, furniſhed his Camp with fifty thouſand men. Againſt theſe the *Lacedæmonians*, *Athenians*, and their Confederates had levied an Army of one hundred and ten thouſand, of which forty thouſand were weightily armed, the reſt were only aſſiſtants to theſe forty thouſand, being armed more ſleightly, as rather to make excurſions and give chaſe, than to ſuſtain any ſtrong charges.

Theſe two Armies having eleven days confronted one the other, without performing any memorable piece of ſervice; *Mardonius*, whoſe victuals began to fail, reſolved to begin the fray. The *Greeks* were promiſed Victory by an Oracle, if they fought in the Land of the *Athenians*, and in the plain of *Ceres* and *Proſerpina*, making prayers unto certain gods, Demi-gods, and Nymphs. But it was hard to find the certain place which the Oracle deſigned: For the plain of *Ceres* was indeed in the Territory of *Athens*; but there was alſo an old Temple of *Ceres* and *Proſerpina*, near unto the place where they lay at that time encamped; as likewiſe the memorials of thoſe Nymphs and Demi-gods, were in the ſame place upon Mount *Citharon*; and the ground ſerved well for footmen againſt horſe: only the Land belonged unto the *Plataans*, and not unto the *Athenians*.

Whilſt the *Greeks* were perplexed about the interpretation of this doubtful Oracle, the *Plataans* to make all clear, did freely beſtow their Land on that ſide the Town upon the *Athenians*.

This magnificence of the *Plataans* cauſed *Alexander* the Great, many ages after, to re-ediſie their City; which was ruined in the *Peloponneſian* Wars.

All things being ready for battel, the *Lacedæmonian* General thought it moſt meet, that the *Athenians* ſhould ſtand oppoſite that day to the *Medes* and *Perſians*, whom they had formerly vanquiſhed at *Marathon*; and that he with his *Spartans* ſhould entertain the *Thebans* and other *Greeks* which followed *Mardonius*, as better acquainted with their fight, and having beaten them oftentimes before. This being agreed upon, the *Athenians* changed place with the *Lacedæmonians*; which *Mardonius* underſtanding, (whether fearing the *Athenians*, of whoſe valour the *Medes* and *Perſians* had felt heavy proof, or deſiring to encounter the *Spartans*, as thinking them the braveſt Soldiers in *Greece*) he did alſo change the order of his Battel, and oppoſe himſelf to *Pauſanias*. All the *Greeks* might well perceive how the Enemies did ſhift his wings, and *Pauſanias* thereupon returned to his former Station; which *Mardonius* noting, did alſo the like. So one whole day was ſpent in changing to and fro. Some attempt the *Perſians* made that

day with their Archers on horſe-back, who did ſo moleſt the *Greeks* at their watering-place, that they were fain to enter into conſultation of retiring; becauſe they could not without much loſs to themſelves, and none to the enemy, lye near to that fountain which did ſerve all the Camp. Having therefore concluded among themſelves to diſ-lodge; and part of the Army being ſent away before day-light: *Mardonius* perceived their departure in the morning, and thereupon being incouraged by their flight, (which to him ſeemed to proceed out of meer cowardiſe) he charged them in the rear with great violence. It may well be recorded as a notable example of patient valour, That the *Lacedæmonians* being overtaken by the enemies horſe, and overwhelmed with great flights of Arrows, did quietly ſit ſtill, not making any reſiſtance or defence, till the Sacrifices for victory were happily ended, though many of them were hurt and ſlain, and ſome of eſpecial mark loſt, before any ſign of good ſucceſs appeared in the entrails.

But as ſoon as *Panſanias* had found in the Sacrifice thoſe tokens which the ſuperſtition of that Age and Countrey accounted fortunate, he gave the ſignal of battel; and thereupon the Soldiers, who till then did ſit upon the ground, as was their manner, aroſe all together, and with excellent courage received the charge of the *Barbarians*, that came thronging upon them without any fear of ſuch notable reſiſtance. The reſt of the *Greek* Army that was in march, being revoked by *Panſanias*, came in apace to ſuccour the *Lacedæmonians:* only that part of the Army which was led by the *Athenians*, could not arrive unto the place of the great battel, becauſe the *Thebans* and other *Greeks* confederated with the *Perſians*, gave them check by the way. Nevertheleſs, the *Spartans*, with other their Aſſiſtants, did ſo well acquit themſelves, that the *Perſians* were vanquiſhed, and *Mardonius* with many thouſands more ſlain in the field; the reſt fled into the Camp, which they had fortified with wooden walls, and there defended themſelves with ſuch courage as deſperate neceſſity inforced them unto; holding out the longer, becauſe the *Lacedæmonians* were not acquainted with the manner of aſſaulting Fortreſſes and Walls. In the mean time the *Athenians* having found ſtrong oppoſition of the *Thebans* and *Theſſalians*, did with much labour and courage obtain victory; which having not long purſued, they came to help the *Lacedæmonians*, whom they found warily buſied in aſſaulting the Camp with more valour than skill. Wherefore they themſelves undertook it, and in ſhort ſpace forced a paſſage thorow the Wall; at which breach firſt, and then on all ſides, the *Greeks* entred with ſuch fury, and juſt deſire of vengeance, that of three hundred thouſand, they are ſaid not to have left three thouſand alive, excepting thoſe who fled away with *Artabanus*, when as the *Perſian* Army firſt fell to rout.

If the execution were ſo great, as is reported, an eſpecial cauſe of it was the fooliſh retreat, or rather flight into the Camp. For, though it were ſo, that the place was well fortified, and the number of thoſe who caſt themſelves into it, greater than any of the Aſſailants; yet they being of ſeveral Nations and Languages, and having loſt their General, with other principal Commanders, it was impoſſible that they in ſuch a terror and aſtoniſhment, ſhould make good that piece of ground, lying in the heart of an Enemy-Countrey, againſt an Army of men far more valiant than themſelves, and enflamed with preſent victory. Therefore the ſame Wall which for a few hours had preſerved their lives, by holding out the enemy, did now impale them, and leave them to the ſlaughtering fury of unpitiful Victors. *Artabanus* fled into *Thrace*, telling the people of *Theſſaly*, and other Countries in his way, that he was ſent by *Mardonius* upon ſome piece of ſervice: For he well knew, that had they underſtood any thing of that great diſcomfiture, all places would have been hoſtile unto him, and ſought with his ruine to purchaſe favour of the vanquiſhers. Therefore making ſo large marches, that many of his Soldiers being feeble, were left behind and loſt, he came to *Bizantium*, whence he ſhipped his men over into *Aſia*. Such was the end of the vain-glorious Expedition undertaken by *Xerxes* againſt the *Greeks*, upon hope of Honour and Conqueſt, though ſorting otherwiſe, accordingly as *Artabanus* had foreſeen, and rather worſe; foraſmuch as it began the quarrel, which never ended before the ruin of the *Perſian* Empire was effected by that Nation of the *Greeks*, deſpiſed and ſought to have been brought into ſlavery. Hereby it may ſeem, that the Viſion appearing to *Xerxes*, was from God himſelf, who had formerly diſpoſed of thoſe things, ordaining the ſubverſion of the *Perſian* Monarchy by the *Greeks*, who thus provoked, entred into greater conſideration of their own ſtrength, and the weakneſs of their Enemies.

SECT. X.

The battel of Mycale; *with a ſtrange accident that fell out in the beginning: and examples of the like.*

THe ſame day on which the Battel was fought at *Platæa*, there was another Battel fought at *Mycale*, a Promontory, or Head-land in *Aſia*, where the *Perſian* Fleet rode.

Leutychides the *Spartan*, with *Xantippus* the *Athenian*, Admirals of the *Greek* Navy, at the requeſt of ſome Iſlanders and *Ionians*, did ſail into thoſe parts to deliver the *Samians*, and procure the *Ionians* to revolt from the *Perſian*. *Xerxes* himſelf at this time lay at *Sardis* a City in *Lydia*, not far from the Sea-ſide, having left threeſcore thouſand under the command of *Tigranes*, for defence of *Ionia* and the Sea-coaſt. Therefore when *Artayntes* and *Ithramitres* Admirals of the *Perſian* Fleet, underſtood that the *Greeks* bent their courſe towards them, they did forthwith draw their ſhips aground, fortifying with Paliſſadoes, and otherwiſe as much ground as was needful for the encamping of all their Land and Sea-forces. *Leutychides* at his arrival, perceiving that they meant to keep within their ſtrength, and reſolving to force them out of it, rowed with his Galley cloſe aboard the ſhore, and called upon the *Ionians* (who more for fear than good will, were encamped among the *Perſians*) exhorting them in the *Greek* Tongue to remember liberty, and uſe the fair occaſion which they now had to recover it. Herein he did imitate *Themiſtocles*, who had done the like at *Eubœa*, truſting that either theſe perſwaſions would prevail, or if the *Perſians* did happen to underſtand them, that it would breed ſome jealouſie in them, cauſing them to fight in fear of their own companions. It need not ſeem ſtrange, that this very ſame ſtratagem, which little or nothing availed *Themiſtocles*, did now very happily ſucceed. For *Xerxes* being in his full ſtrength, it was a matter of much difficulty to perſwade

perſwade thoſe Inhabitants of *Aſia* to revolt; who now in his declining eſtate, gave a willing ear to the ſweet ſound of liberty. The *Perſians* likewiſe, who in their former bravery little regarded, and leſs feared any treaſon to be contrived by their ſubjects, were now ſo wary, that from the *Samians* which were amongſt them, they took away their arms; the *Mileſians* whom they did ſuſpect, but would not ſeem to miſtruſt, they placed far from them, as it were for defence of the ſtreight paſſages of *Mycale*; pretending that theſe *Mileſians* did beſt of all others know thoſe places. But theſe devices little availed them. For the *Samians* perceiving that they were held as Traytors, took courage in the heat of the fight, and laying hold upon ſuch weapons as came to hand, aſſailed the *Perſians* manfully within the Camp; which examples the *Ionians* preſently followed, being very glad to have found ſome that durſt begin. It is ſaid, that while the *Greeks* were yet in a march toward the Enemies Camp, a rumour ſuddenly ran in the Army, that *Mardonius* was overthrown in *Greece*, which (though perhaps it was given out by the Captains to encourage the Soldiers) was very true. For the Battel of *Platæa* was fought in the morning, and this of *Mycale* in the evening of the ſame day.

The like report of that great Battel, wherein *Paulus Æmilius* overthrew *Perſeus* the laſt King of *Macedon*, was brought to *Rome* in four days, as *Livy* with others do record. And *Plutarch* hath many other examples of this kind. As that of the Battel by the River *Sagra* in *Italy*, which was heard of the ſame day in *Peloponneſus*: That of the Battel againſt the *Tarquinians* and the *Latins*, preſently noiſed at *Rome*: And (which is moſt remarkable) the victory obtained againſt *Lucius Antonius* who was Rebel to *Domitian* the Emperour. This *Lucius Antonius* being Lieutenant of the higher *Germany*, had corrupted his Army with gifts and promiſes, drawing the barbarous people to follow him, with great hope to make himſelf Emperour; which news much troubling the City of *Rome*, with fear of a dangerous War, it was ſuddenly reported that *Antonius* was ſlain, and his Army defeated.

Hereupon many did offer ſacrifice to the gods, and ſhew all manner of publick joy, as in ſuch caſes was accuſtomed. But when better inquiry was made, and the Author of theſe tydings could not be found, the Emmperour *Domitian* betook himſelf to his journey againſt the Rebel; and being now with his Army in march, he received advertiſement by Poſt of the Victory obtained, and the death of *Antonius*: whereupon remembring the rumour noiſed before in *Rome* of the ſelf-ſame Victory, he found that the report and victory were born upon one day, though twenty thouſand furlongs (which make above five and twenty hundred miles) aſunder. It is truly ſaid of *Plutarch*, that this laſt example gives credit unto many the like. And indeed it were very ſtrange if among ſo many rumors begotten by forgery or miſtakings, and foſtered by credulous imagination, there ſhould not be found (as happens in dreams among many thouſand vain and frivolous) a few preciſely true. Howbeit we may find, that God himſelf doth ſometimes uſe to terrifie thoſe who preſume upon their own ſtrength, by theſe light means of tumultuous noiſes: as he raiſed the ſiege of *Samaria*, by cauſing a ſound of Horſes and Chariots to affright the *Aramites*; and as he threatned *Senacherib*, ſaying, *Behold I will* Iſa. 37. 7. *ſend a blaſt upon him, and he ſhall hear a noiſe, and return to his own Land.* Wherefore it may well have been true, that God was pleaſed by ſuch means as this to animate the *Greeks*; who (as *Herodotus* notes) went towards the Enemies with heavy hearts, being in great fear leſt their own adventure ſhould by no means fall out well; conſidering in what danger they had left their own Country of *Greece* which was ready to be ſubdued by *Mardonius*, whileſt they went wandring to ſeek out Enemies afar off, upon the coaſt of *Aſia*. But the fame of the Battel fought at *Platæa* being noiſed among them, every man deſired that his own valour in the preſent fight might be ſome help to work out the full deliverance of *Greece*. In this alacrity of ſpirit they divided themſelves into two Battalions, whereof the *Athenians* led the one, by the way of the Plain, directly towards the Enemies Camp; the *Lacedæmonians* conducted the other, by the Mountains and ſtreight paſſages, to win the higher ground. The *Athenians* did firſt ſet upon the Camp (e're the *Lacedæmonians* could arrive on the other part) and being deſirous to get all the honour of the day to themſelves, did ſo forcibly aſſault it, that they brake way thorow the Paliſſadoes and Gabions, and made themſelves Maſters of the place, ſlaying all that could not ſave themſelves by fligh. In this fight the *Samians* did good ſervice, as is formerly mentioned.

But the *Mileſians* who upon the like jealouſie, were placed by the *Perſians* on the tops of *Mycale*, to defend the paſſages, did now (as if they had been ſent of purpoſe to keep them from running away) put as many to the ſword as fell into their hands, letting none eſcape, except very few that fled through by-paths. The *Lacedemonians* that day did little ſervice, for the buſineſs was diſpatched e're they came in: Only they broke ſuch companies as retired in whole troops; making them flie diſperſed in very much diſorder, whereby the *Mileſians* were enabled to do the greater execution upon them. This was the laſt fight of that huge Army levied againſt *Greece*, which was now utterly broken, and had no means left to make offenſive War.

SECT. XI.

Of the barbarous qualities of Xerxes *: with a tranſition from the* Perſian *affairs to matters of* Greece, *which from this time grew more worthy of regard.*

Xerxes lay at *Sardis*, not far from the place of this Battel; but little mind had he to revenge either this, or other his great loſſes, being wholly given over to the love of his Brothers Wife: with whom he could not prevail by intreaty, nor would obtain his deſire by force. Becauſe he reſpected much his Brother her Husband, he thought it beſt to make a match between his own Son *Darius*, and the Daughter of this Woman; hoping by that means to find occaſion of ſuch familiarity as might work out his deſire. But whether it were ſo, that the chaſtity of the Mother did ſtill reject him, or the beauty of the Daughter allure him, he ſoon after fell in love with his own Sons Wife, being a vicious Prince, and as ill able to govern himſelf in peace, as to guide his Army in War. This young Lady having once deſired the King to give her the Garment which he then wore, being wrought by his own Wife, cauſed the Queen thereby to perceive her Husbands converſation with her, which ſhe imputed not ſo much to the beauty of her

Daughter-in-lavv, as to the cunning of the Mother, againſt vvhom thereupon ſhe conceived extream hatred. Therefore at a Royal Feaſt, vvherein the cuſtom vvas, that the King ſhould grant their requeſt, ſhe craved that the Wife of *Maſiſtes*, her Husbands Brother, the young Ladies Mother, might be given into her diſpoſition. The barbarous King vvho might either have reformed the abuſe of ſuch a cuſtom, or have deluded the importunate cruelty of his Wife, by threatning her ſelf vvith the like, to vvhatſoever ſhe ſhould inflict upon the innocent Lady, granted the requeſt; and ſending for his Brother, perſvvaded him to put avvay the Wife vvhich he had, and take one of his Daughters in her ſtead. Hereby it ſeems that he underſtood hovv villainouſly that poor Lady ſhould be intreated, vvhom he knevv to be virtuous, and vvhom himſelf had loved. *Maſiſtes* refuſed to put her avvay; alledging his ovvn love, her deſerving, and their common children, one of vvhich vvas married to the Kings Son, as reaſons important to move him to keep her. But in moſt vvicked manner *Xerxes* reviled him, ſaying, That he novv ſhould neither keep the Wife vvhich he had, nor have his Daughter vvhom he had promiſed unto him. *Maſiſtes* vvas much grieved vvith theſe vvords, but much more, vvhen returned home he found his Wife moſt butcherly mangled by the Queen *Ameſtris* vvho had cauſed her Noſe, Lips, Ears, and Tongue to be cut off; and her Breaſts in like manner, which were caſt unto Dogs. *Maſiſtes* enraged with this villany, took his way with his children and ſome friends towards *Bactria*, of which Province he was Governour, intending to rebell and avenge himſelf: But *Xerxes* underſtanding his purpoſe, cauſed an Army to be levied, which cut him off by the way, putting him and all his company to the ſword. Such was the Tyrannical condition of the *Perſian* Government; and ſuch are generally the effects of Luxury, when it is joined with abſolute power.

Yet of *Xerxes* it is noted, that he was a Prince of much vertue. And therefore *Alexander* the Great finding an Image of his overthrown, and lying upon the ground, ſaid, That he doubted whether in regard of his virtue he ſhould again erect it; or for the miſchief done by him to *Greece*, ſhould let it lye. But ſurely, whatſoever his other good qualities were, he was fooliſh, and was a coward, and conſequently mercileſs.

Therefore we may firmly believe, that the virtue of *Cyrus* was very great, upon which the foundation of the *Perſian* Empire was ſo ſurely laid, that all the wickedneſs and vanities of *Xerxes* and other worſe Princes could not overthrow it, until it was broken by a virtue almoſt equal to that which did eſtabliſh it. In Wars againſt the *Egyptians* the fortune of *Xerxes* did continue as at the firſt it had been, very good; but againſt the general eſtate of *Greece*, neither he or any of his poſterity did ever make offenſive War but received many loſſes in *Aſia*, to which the laſt at *Mycale* ſerved but as an introduction; teaching the *Greeks*, and eſpecially the *Athenians*, that the *Perſian* was no better Soldier at his own doors than in a foreign Country: whereof good trial was made forthwith, and much better proof as ſoon as the affairs of *Athens* were quietly ſetled and aſſured.

From this time forward I will therefore purſue the Hiſtory of *Greece*, taking in the matters of *Perſia*, as alſo the eſtate of other Countrys, collaterally, when the order of time ſhall preſent them. True it is, that the *Perſian* eſtate continued in her greatneſs many ages following, in ſuch wiſe that the known parts of the world had no other Kingdom repreſenting the Majeſty of a great Empire.

But this greatneſs depended only upon the riches and power that had formerly been acquired, yielding few actions or none that were worthy of remembrance, excepting ſome Tragedies of the Court, and examples of that exceſſive Luxury wherewith both it and all, or the moſt of Empires that ever were, have been enervated, made unwieldy, and (as it were) fattened for the hungry ſwords of poor and hardy Enemies. Hereby it came to paſs that *Xerxes* and his ſucceſſors were fain to defend their Crowns with money and baſe policies; very ſeldom or never (unleſs it were with great advantage) daring to adventure the trial of plain battel with that little Nation of *Greece*; which would ſoon have ruined the foundations laid by *Cyrus*, had not private malice and jealouſie urged every City to envy the height of her neighbours Walls, and thereby diverted the ſwords of the *Greeks* into their own bowels, which after the departure of *Xerxes* began very well, and might better have continued to hew out the way of Conqueſt on the ſide of *Aſia*.

CHAP. VII.

Of things that paſſed in Greece *from the end of the* Perſian *War, to the beginning of the* Peloponneſian.

SECT. I.

How Athens *was rebuilt and fortified.*

After that the *Medes* and *Perſians* had received their laſt blow, and were utterly beaten at *Mycale: Leutychides* who then commanded the *Græcian* Army, leaving the purſuit of the War to the *Athenians*, aſſiſted by the revolted *Iones*, returned with the *Lacedæmonians* and other *Peloponneſians* to *Sparta*, and other places, out of which they had been levied. The *Athenians* in the mean while beſieged *Seſtos*, a City on the ſtrait of the *Helleſpont*, between which and *Abydus Xerxes* had lately faſtened his Bridg of Boats: where the Inhabitants deſperate of ſuccor, did

did not long dispute the defence thereof, but quitted it to the *Greeks*, who entertained themselves the Winter following on that side the *Hellespont*. In the Spring they drew homeward, and having left their wives and children since the invasion of *Attica*, and the abandoning of *Athens* in divers Islands, and at *Trœzen*; they now found them out, and returned with them to their own places.

And though the most part of all their houses in *Athens* were burnt and broken down, and the walls of the City overturned; yet they resolved first on their common defence, and to fortifie their City, before they cared to cover themselves, their wives and children, with any private buildings. Whereof the *Lacedemonians* being advertised, and misliking the fortifying of *Athens*, both in respect that their own City of *Sparta* was unwalled, as also because the *Athenians* were grown more powerful by Sea than either themselves or any other State of *Greece*, they dispatched messengers to the *Athenians* to disswade them; not acknowledging any private mislike or jealousie, but pretending, that if the *Persians* should return to invade *Greece* a third time, the *Athenians* being in no better state to defend themselves than heretofore, the same would serve to receive their enemies, and to be made a seat for the War, as *Thebes* had lately been. To this the *Athenians* promised to give them satisfaction by their own Embassadours very speedily. But being resolved to go on with their works, by the advice of *Themistocles* they held the *Lacedemonians* in hope of the contrary, till they had raised their walls to that height, as they cared not for their mislikes, nor doubted their disturbance; and therefore (to gain time) they dispatched *Themistocles* towards *Lacedemon*, giving him for excuse, that he could not deliver the *Athenians* resolutions, till the arrival of his fellow-Commissioners, who were of purpose retarded. But after a while, the *Lacedæmonians* expectation being converted into jealousie (for by the arrival of divers persons out of *Attica*, they were told for certain, That the walls of *Athens* were speedily grown up beyond expectation), *Themistocles* prayed them not to believe reports and vain rumors, but that they would be pleased to send some of their own trusty Citizens to *Athens*, from whose relation they might resolve themselves, and determine accordingly. Which request being granted, and Commissioners sent, *Themistocles* dispatched one of his own, by whom he advised the *Athenians*, first to entertain the *Lacedæmonians* with some such discourse as might retain them a few days; and in conclusion to hold them among them, till himself and the other *Athenian* Embassadours then at *Sparta*, had their liberty also to return. Which done, and being also assured by his associates, and *Aristides*, that *Athens* was already defensible on all parts, *Themistocles* demanding audience, made the *Lacedæmonians* know, That it was true that the Walls of *Athens* were now raised to that height, as the *Athenians* doubted not the defence of their City; praying the *Lacedemonians* to believe, That whensoever it pleased them to treat with the *Athenians*, they would know them for such as right well understood what appertained to a Commonweal, and their own safety, without direction and advice from any other: That they had in the War of *Xerxes* abandoned their City, and committed themselves to the wooden Walls of their Ships, from the resolutions of their own counsels and courage, and not thereto taught or perswaded by others: and finally, in all that perilous War against the *Persians*, they found their own judgments, and the execution thereof, in nothing inferiour or less fortunate than that of any other Nation, State, or Commonweal among the *Greeks*. And therefore concluded, that they determined to be Masters and Judges of their own affairs; and thought it good reason, That either all the Cities confederated within *Greece*, should be left open, or else that the Walls of *Athens* should be finished and maintained.

The *Lacedæmonians* finding the time unfit for quarrel, dissembled their mislike, both of the fortifying of *Athens*, and of the division; and so suffered the *Athenians* to depart, and received back from them their own Embassadors.

The Walls of *Athens* finished, they also fortified the Port *Pyræus*, by which they might under covert imbark themselves upon all occasions.

SECT. II.

The beginning of the Athenian *greatness, and prosperous War made by that State upon the* Persian.

THE *Athenians* having setled things in good order at home, prepared thirty Gallies for the pursuit of the War against the *Persians*; to which the *Lacedæmonians* added other twenty: and with this Fleet, strengthned by the rest of the Cities of *Greece* confederated, they set sail for *Cyprus*, under the conduct of *Pausanias* the *Lacedemonian*; where, after their landing, having possest themselves of many principal places, they imbarked the Army again, and took land in *Thrace*, recovering from the *Persians* by force the City of *Bizantium*, now *Constantinople*: from whence *Pausanias*, behavlng himself more like a Tyrant than a Captain, especially towards the *Ionians* lately revolted from *Xerxes*, was called back by the Council of *Lacedæmon*, and not only accused of many insolent behaviours, but of Intelligence with the *Medes*, and Treason against his Countrey. In his stead they employed *Dorces*, who either gave the same cause of offence; or else the *Athenians*, who affected the first commandment in that War, practised the Soldiers to complain; though indeed the wise and vertuous behaviour of *Aristides*, General of the *Athenian* Forces, a man of rare and incomparable sincerity, had been able to make a good Commander seem ill in comparison of himself; and therefore was much more available in rendring those detested whose vices afforded little matter of excuse. Howsoever it were, the *Lacedæmonians* being no less wearied of the War than the *Athenians* were eager to pursue it, the one obtained their ease, and the other the execution and honour which they desired: for all the *Greeks* (those of *Peloponnesus* excepted) willingly subjected themselves to the commandment of the *Athenians*, which was both the beginning of their greatness in that present age, and of their ruin in the next succeeding. For the charge of the War being now committed unto them, they began to rate the confederated Cities; they appointed Receivers and Treasurers, and began to levy money according to their discretion, for the maintenance of the general defence of *Greece*, and for the recovering of those places on *Europe* side in *Asia* the less, and the Islands from the *Persians*. This tribute (the first that was ever paid by the *Greeks*) amounted to four hundred

and

and threeſcore Talents, which was raiſed eaſily by the honeſt care of that juſt man *Ariſtides*, to whoſe diſcretion all the Confederates referred themſelves, and no one man found occaſion to complain of him. But as the vertue of *Ariſtides*, and other worthy Citizens, brought unto the *Athenians* great commodity; ſo the deſire which they conceived of encreaſing their commodity corrupted their vertue, and robbing them of the general love which had made them powerful, abandoned their City to the defence of her Treaſure, which with her in the next age periſhed. For it was not long ere theſe four hundred and threeſcore Talents were raiſed to ſix hundred; nor long after that, ere their covetous tyranny had converted their followers into ſlaves, and extorted from them yearly thirteen hundred Talents. The Iſle of *Delos* was at the firſt appointed for the Treaſure-houſe wherein theſe ſums were laid up, and where at the general Aſſembly the Captains of thoſe forces ſent by the Confederates, were for form ſake called to conſultation. But the *Athenians* who were ſtronger by Sea than all *Greece* beſides, had lockt up the common Treaſure in an Iſland under their own protection, from whence they might tranſport it at their pleaſure, as afterward they did.

The general Commander in this War was *Cimon* the ſon of *Miltiades*, who firſt took *Eionia* upon the River *Strimon*; then the Iſle of *Sciros* inhabited by the *Dolopes*: they maſtered the *Cariſtii*, and brought into ſervitude the *Naxii*, contrary to the form of the Confederacy: So did the other the inhabitants of *Greece*, if at any time they failed of their contribution, or diſobeyed their commandments; taking upon them, and uſurping a kind of ſoveraign authority over the reſt: which they exerciſed the more aſſuredly, becauſe they were now become Lords of the Sea, and could not be reſiſted. For many of the confederated Cities and Nations, weary of the War in their own perſons, and given up altogether to their eaſe, made choice rather to pay their parts in money, than either in men of War, or in Ships; leaving the proviſion of both to the *Athenians*. Hereby the one grew weak in all their Sea-defences, and in the exerciſe of the Wars; the other greatly ſtrengthened their Navy and their experiences, being always armed and imployed in honourable ſervices, at the coſt of thoſe who having lifted them into their Saddles, were now enforced to become their footmen. Yet was the Tribute-money levied upon theſe their confederates, employed ſo well by the *Athenians* at the firſt (as ill proceedings are often founded upon good beginnings) that no great cauſe of repining was given. For they rigged out a great Fleet of Gallies, very well manned, wherewith *Cimon* the Admiral ſcouring the *Aſiatick* Seas, took in the City of *Phaſelis*; which having formerly pretended neutrality, and refuſed to relieve, or any way aſſiſt the *Greeks*, were enforced to pay ten Talents for a fine, and ſo to become followers of the *Athenians*, paying yearly contribution.

From thence he ſet ſail for the River *Eurymedon* in *Pamphylia*, where the *Perſian* Fleet rode, being of ſix hundred ſail, or (according to the moſt ſparing report) three hundred and fifty, and having a great Land-Army encamped upon the ſhore; all which forces having been provided for advancing the Kings affairs in *Greece*, were utterly defeated in one day, and two hundred ſhips taken by the *Athenians*; the reſt being broken to pieces or ſunk, ere ever they had ſwom in the *Greekiſh* Seas. *Cimon* having in one day obtained two great Victories, the one by Sea, and the other by Land, was very ſoon preſented with a third. For fourſcore ſail of *Phœnicians* (who were the beſt of all Sea-men, under the *Perſian* command) thinking to have joined themſelves with the Fleet before deſtroyed, arrived upon the ſame Coaſt, ignorant of what had paſſed, and feared nothing leſs than what enſued. Upon the firſt notice of their approach, *Cimon* weighed anchor, and meeting them at an head-land called *Hydra*, did ſo amaze them, that they only ſought to run themſelves on ground; by which mean preſerving few of their men, they loſt all their ſhips. Theſe loſſes did ſo break the courage of the *Perſian*, that omitting all hope of prevailing upon *Greece*, he condeſcended to whatſoever Articles it pleaſed the *Athenians* to propound, granting liberty unto all the *Greeks* inhabiting *Aſia*; and further Covenanting, That none of his ſhips of War ſhould ſail to the Weſtward of the Iſles called *Cyaneæ* and *Chelidonia*.

This was the moſt honourable peace that ever the *Greeks* made; neither did they in effect after this time make any War that redounded to the profit or glory of the whole Nation, till ſuch time as under *Alexander* they overthrew the Empire of *Perſia*; in which War few, or perhaps none of them had any place of great command, but ſerved altogether under the *Macedonians*.

SECT. III.

The death of Xerxes *by the Treaſon of* Artabanus.

BEſides theſe loſſes which could not eaſily have been repaired, the troubles of the Empire were at this time ſuch as gave juſt cauſe to the *Perſian* of ſecking peace upon any terms not altogether intollerable. For *Artabanus* the Uncle of *Xerxes*, perceiving that the King his Maſter did eaſily take ſmall occaſions to ſhed the blood of ſuch as in kindred or place were near unto him, began to repoſe leſs hope of ſafety in remaining faithful, than of obtaining the Soveraignty by deſtroying a Prince that was ſo hated for his cruelty and deſpiſed for his cowardiſe and misfortunes. Having conceived this Treaſon he found means to execute it by *Mithridates* an Eunuch, in ſuch cloſe manner, that (as if he himſelf had been innocent) he accuſed *Darius* the Son of *Xerxes*, and cauſed him to ſuffer death as a Parricide. Whether it be true, that by this great wickedneſs he got the Kingdom, and held it ſeven months; or whether intending the like evil to *Artaxerxes* the ſon of *Xerxes*, he was by him prevented and ſurprized, were hard to affirm any certainty. But all Writers agree upon this, That taken he was, and with his whole family put to death by extream torments; according to the ſentence, whereof the truth is more ancient than the Verſe:

Raro antecedentem ſceleſtum
Deſeruit pede pœna claudo.

Seldom the villain, though much haſte he make,
Lame-footed Vengeance fails to overtake.

SECT.

SECT. IV.

The Baniſhment of Themiſtocles: *his flight to* Artaxerxes *newly reigning in* Perſia; *and his death.*

ARtaxerxes being eſtabliſhed in his Kingdom, and having ſo compounded with the *Athenians* as the preſent neceſſity of his affairs required, began to conceive new hopes of better fortune againſt the *Greeks*, than he or his Predeceſſors had ever hitherto found. For the people of *Athens*, when the *Perſians* were chaſed out of *Greece*, did ſo highly value their own merit in that ſervice, that they not only thought it fit for themſelves to become the Commanders over many Towns and Iſlands of the *Greeks*, but even within their own walls, they would admit none other form of Government than meerly *Democratical*. Herein they were ſo inſolent, that no integrity nor good deſert was able to preſerve the eſtate of any ſuch as had born great office longer than by flattering the raſcal multitude, he was contented to frame all his words and deeds to their good liking.

This their intolerable demeanour much offended *Themiſtocles*; who though in former times he had layed the foundations of his greatneſs upon popularity, yet now preſuming upon his good ſervices done to the State, he thought that with great reaſon they might grant him the liberty to check their inordinate proceedings. But contrariwiſe, they were ſo highly offended with his often rehearſing the benefits which they had received from him, that they laid upon him the puniſhment of *Oſtraciſm*, whereby he was baniſhed for ten years, as a man over-burthenſome to the Commonwealth.

Before the time of his return was half expired, a new accuſation was brought againſt him by the *Lacedemonians*, who charged him of conſulting with *Pauſanias* about betraying the whole Country of *Greece* unto *Xerxes*. Hereupon *Themiſtocles* finding no place of ſecurity againſt the malice of two ſuch mighty Cities, was driven after many troubleſom flights, and dangerous removings, to adventure himſelf into *Perſia*, where he found *Artaxerxes* newly ſetled, and was by him very honourably entertained. But the great hope which *Artaxerxes* had conceived of advancing his affairs by the counſel and aſſiſtance of *Themiſtocles*, proved altogether fruitleſs. For when the *Athenians* in favour of *Inarus* the *Lybian*, (who infeſted *Egypt*, cauſing it to rebell againſt the *Perſian*) had ſent a Fleet to Sea, landing an Army in *Egypt*, and ſcowred thoſe Eaſtern Seas, to the great hinderance of *Artaxerxes*, and (for ought that I can underſtand) to the manifeſt breach of that peace, which to their great honour they had concluded with *Xerxes*; then did the King ſend his Letters to *Themiſtocles*, requiring him to make good the hopes which he had given, of aſſuring the *Perſian* eſtate againſt the *Greeks*.

But whether *Themiſtocles* perceived much unlikelineſs of good ſucceſs, in leading a great Army of daſtardly *Perſians* againſt the warlike people of *Greece*; or elſe (as in favour of his vertue it is more commonly reported) the love of his Country would not permit him to ſeek honour by the ruin of it; ſure it is, that being appointed by *Artaxerxes* to undertake the conduct of great forces againſt the *Athenians*, he decided the great conflict between thankfulneſs to his well-deſerving Prince, and natural affection to his own ill-deſerving people by finiſhing his life with a cup of poyſon.

SECT. V.

How the Athenians *breaking the peace which to their great honour they had made with the* Perſian, *were ſhamefully beaten in* Egypt.

THen was *Artaxerxes* driven to uſe the ſervice of his own Captains in the *Egyptian* War, wherein it appeared well, That a juſt cauſe is a good defence againſt a ſtrong enemy. An *Athenian* Fleet of two hundred ſail ſtrong, was ſent forth under *Cimon*, to take in the Iſle of *Cyprus*: which conqueſt ſeemed eaſie both to make and to maintain; the *Perſian* being utterly broken at Sea, and thereby unable to relieve the Iſland. Now although it were ſo, that a peace had been concluded, which was likely to have been kept ſincerely by the *Perſian*, who had made ſo good proof of the *Gracian* valour, that he was nothing deſirous to build any Ships of War (without which the *Greeks* could receive no harm from him) whereof if any one ſhould be found ſailing towards *Greece*, the peace was immediately broken; and if not his whole eſtate, yet all the Sea-coaſt (no ſmall part of his Dominions) expoſed to the waſte of an enemy too far overmatching him. Yet whether the *Athenians* were in doubt, leſt the league which in his own worſer fortunes he had made with them, he would break in theirs; and therefore ſought to get ſuch aſſurance into their hands, as might utterly diſable him from attempting ought againſt them; or whether the increaſe of their revenues and power, by adding that rich and great Iſland to their Empire, cauſed them to meaſure honour by profit; they thought it the wiſeſt way to take whileſt they might whatſoever they were able to get and hold, and he unable to defend.

The Iſle of *Cyprus* lying in the bottom of the ſtreights between *Cilicia*, *Syria*, and *Egypt*, is very fitly ſeated for any Prince or State that being mighty at Sea, doth either ſeek to enrich himſelf by trade with thoſe Countrys, or to infeſt one or more of them when they are his enemies. And this being the purpoſe of the *Athenians*, their Ambition which had already devoured in conceit this Iſland, was on the ſudden well-nigh choaked with a greater morſel, to ſnatch at which they let *Cyprus* alone, which they might eaſily have ſwallowed and digeſted. For *Inarus* King of the *Lybians* confining *Egypt*, having found how greatly the Country was exhauſted by the late Wars, and how weakly defended by very ſlender *Perſian* Garriſons, conceived rightly, that if ſuch ſmall forces as the *Satrapa*, or *Viceroy*, could make on the ſudden of his own Guards, or levy out of the ordinary Garriſons, were by him defeated, the naturals of the Country not long ſince oppreſſed by *Cambyſes*, and after a revolt lately ſubdued by *Xerxes*, would ſoon break faith with him, who had no other title to that Kingdom than a good ſword. Further, he perſwaded himſelf that the people unable to defend themſelves againſt the *Perſian* without his aſſiſtance, would eaſily be drawn to accept him the author of their deliverance, for King. Neither did this hope deceive him. For having taken and cruelly ſlain *Achemanes* the *Viceroy*, divers Cities forthwith declared themſelves for him, and proclaiming him King, ſhewed the moſt of their endeavour for proſecution of the War. But he conſidering his own weakneſs, and that the means of the *Egyptians* his adherents

adherents were not answerable to their desires, perceived well that to resist the power of *Artaxerxes*, far greater forces than his and theirs were to be procured at what price soever he obtained them. Therefore hearing of the great *Athenian* Fleet, and knowing well the vertue of the Soldiers therein imbarked; he invited the Commanders to share with him the Kingdom of *Egypt* as a far greater reward of their adventure, than such an addition as that of *Cyprus* could be to their estate. Whether he or they (if things had wholly sorted according to their expectation) would have been contented with an equal share, and not have fallen out in the partition, were perhaps a divination unnecessary. He was possessed of the peoples love, they were of most power. But the issue of those affairs was such as left them nothing to communicate but misfortunes, which they shared somewhat equally.

Yet had the beginning of their enterprize very good and hopeful success: For they entred the Land as far as to *Memphis* the principal City; and of the City it self they took two parts: to the third part which was called the white Wall, they laid such hard siege, that neither those forces of the *Persians* which then were in *Egypt* were strong enough to remove them; neither could *Artaxerxes* well advise what means to use for the recovery of that which was lost, or for the preservation of the remainder. The best of his hope was, by setting the *Lacedæmonians* upon *Athens*, to enforce the *Athenians* to look homewards to their own defence. This was the first time that the *Persian* sought to procure the assistance of the *Greeks* one against the other, by stirring them up with Gold to the entertainment of private quarrels, for the good of their common enemy. To this purpose he sent *Megabazus* to *Sparta* with much Treasure; who after great expence finding that the *Lacedæmonians* were nothing forward in employing their whole force against the *Athenians*, whom in many conflicts of great importance they had found to be their matches, notwithstanding the absence of their Army in *Egypt*; he thought it his wisest way to employ the rest of his money and means to their relief who had now the space of six years defended his masters right in *Egypt*. Therefore he hastily dispatched another of his name, the son of *Zopyrus*, who arriving in *Egypt*, was first encountred by the revolted people; over whom he obtained victory, which made him master of the Country, whilst the *Athenians* lay busied about *Memphis* the great City.

Prosopites an Island between the Rivers of *Taly* and *Pharmuticus*, two of the outlets of *Nilus* towards *Alexandria*.

It cannot be doubted that long abode in a strange air, and want of supply, had much enfeebled the *Athenians*: sure it is that when *Megabazus* having reduced the Country to obedience, attempted the City it self, whether his former success had amended the courage of the *Persians*, or want of necessaries made the *Athenians* inferior to themselves, he chased them out of *Memphis*, and pursued them so near as they were forced to fortifie themselves in the Isle of *Prosopites*, where *Megabazus* after eighteen months siege, turning away one part of the River by divers Trenches, assaulted the *Athenians* without impediment of waters, took their Gallies, and put all to the sword, save a few that saved themselves by flight into *Lybia*: the same entertainment had fifty other Gallies, which they sent to the succour of the first two hundred. For those *Athenians* having heard nothing that their Fleet and Army was consumed, entred by the branch of *Nilus*, which is called *Mendesium*, and fell unawares among the *Phœnician* Gallies, and the *Persian* Army; so as the *Persians* recovered all *Egypt*, but that part held by *Amyrteus*; and *Inarus* the King of *Lybia* being by them taken and hanged. This was the end of the *Athenians* six years War in *Egypt*, and the reward of their vanity and indiscretion to undertake many enterprizes at once.

Mendesius is an Island in the mouth of *Nilus*, between the outlet called *Bustriticos*, and *Diolcos*: But the branch of *Nilus*, called *Mendesium*, runneth into the sea by the City *Panæphysis*.

SECT. VI.

Of other Wars made by the Athenians *for the most part with good success, about the same time.*

NOtwithstanding these overthrows in *Egypt*, yet the *Athenians* in their home-Wars waded through many difficulties, and held the reputation of their forces against the *Lacedæmonians*, *Corinthians*, and others, rather to their advantage than otherwise. For as they were beaten near unto *Halia*, by the *Corinthians* and *Epidaurians*; so they obtained two great victories soon after, the one over the *Peloponnesians* near unto *Cecryphalia*; the other over the *Æginets* near unto *Ægina*, where they sunk and carried away threescore and ten Gallies of their enemies. Furthermore, they landed their forces on the sudden, and besieged *Ægina*, from whence they could not be moved, notwithstanding that the *Corinthians*, to divert them, invaded *Megara*; where, after a great fight with equal loss, the *Corinthians*, when they returned again to set up their *Trophie* as Victors in the former battel, were utterly broken and slaughtered by the *Athenian* Garrisons and *Megarians*, to their great loss and dishonour.

Again, as the *Athenians* were discomfited near to *Tangra*, by the *Lacedæmonians*, who returned from the succour of the *Dorians* against the *Phocians* (at which time the *Thessalian* Horse-men turned from their Allies the *Athenians*, and fought against them); so about threescore days after, the *Athenians* entred *Bœotia* under the conduct of *Myronides*, where beating that Nation, they wan *Phocis* on the gulf of *Oeteus*, and evened the Walls of *Tenagra* to the ground. Finally, they enforced *Ægina* to render upon most base conditions, as to beat down the Walls of their City, and to give them hostages for Tribute; the siege whereof they had continued, notwithstanding all their other brabbles and attempts elsewhere. Besides these victories, they sackt and spoiled many places upon the Sea-coast of *Peloponnesus*, belonging to the *Lacedæmonians*; wan upon the *Corinthians*, and overthrew the *Sicyonians* that came to their succour. These were the undertakings of the *Athenians* and their Allies, during the time of those six years that a part of their forces made War in *Egypt*. In the end whereof, they attempted *Thessaly*, perswaded thereunto by *Orestes*, but were resisted by the King *Pharsalus*, who had chased *Orestes* out of his Dominions. They also landed in *Sicyonia*, and had victory over those that resisted; after which they made truce with the *Peloponnesians* for five years, and sent *Cimon* into *Cyprus* with two hundred ships; but they were again allured by *Amyrteus*, one of the race of their former Kings, who held the Marish and Woody parts of *Egypt* from the *Persians*, to whom they sent sixty of their ships. The rest of their Army failing in their enterprise at *Cyprus*, and their fortunate and victorious Leader *Cimon* dying there, as they coasted the Island,

encoun-

encountred a Fleet of the *Phœnicians* and *Cilicians*, over both which Nations they returned victorious into *Greece:* as also those returned safe which were sent into *Egypt*.

SECT. VII.

Of Artaxerxes Longimanus: *that he was* Ahashuerosh *the Husband of Queen* Hester.

THese *Egyptian* Troubles being ended, the reign of *Artaxerxes* continued peaceable; whereof the length is by some restrained unto twenty years; but the more and better Authors give him forty, some allow unto him four and forty. He was a Prince of much humanity, and noted for many examples of gentleness. His favour was exceeding great to the *Jews*, as appeareth by the Histories of *Esdras* and *Nehemias*, which fell in his time.

To prove that this was the King who gave countenance and aid to that great work of building the Temple, it were a needless travel; considering that all the late Divines have taken very much pains to shew, that those two Prophets were licensed by him, and succoured in that building, in such sort as appears in their writings.

This was likewise that King *Ahashuerosh* who married *Hester*. Whereof if it be needful to give proof, it may suffice, that *Ahashuerosh* lived in *Susa*, reigning from *India* to *Æthiopia*, and therefore must have been a *Persian*; That he lived in peace, as appears by the circumstances of the History, and used the counsel of the seven Princes, the authority of which Princes began under *Darius* the son of *Hystaspes*; wherefore he could be neither *Cyrus* nor *Cambyses*.

The continual Wars which exercised King *Darius* the son of *Hystaspes*, together with the certainty of his marriages with sundry Wives, from none of whom he was divorced, but left his first Wife *Atossa* the daughter of *Cyrus* alive in great honour, she being mother to *Xerxes* the succeeding King, do manifestly prove that *Hester* was not his. Whereunto is added by *Philo* the *Jew*, That at the perswasion of *Mardocheus*, *Jojachim* the High Priest the son of *Jesua*, caused the feast of *Purim* to be instituted in memory of that deliverance. Now the time of *Jojachim* was in the reign of *Artaxerxes* at the coming of *Esdras* and *Nehemias*: *Jesua* his father dying about the end of *Darius*.

The same continuance of Wars with other his furious and tragical loves wherewith *Xerxes* did consume such little time as he had free from War, are enough to prove that the story of *Hester* pertained not unto the time of *Xerxes*, who lived but one and twenty years, whereas the two and thirtieth of *Ahasuerus* or *Artasastha* is expressed by *Nehemias*. Again, it is well known that *Xerxes* in the seventh year of his reign (wherein this marriage must have been celebrated) came not near to *Susa*. Of the Princes that succeeded *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, to prove that none of them could be *Ahashuerosh*, it is enough to say, that *Mardocheus* having been carried from *Hierusalem* captive, with *Jechonia*, by *Nabuchadnezzar*, was unlikely to have lived until their times.

But of this *Artaxerxes* it is true, that he lived in *Susa*, reigned from *India* to *Æthiopia*, lived in peace, was contemporary with *Jojachim* the high Priest, and further he had happily by his Lieutenants reclaimed the rebellious *Egyptians* in that seventh year of his reign; which good fortune might well give occasion to such a Royal Feast as is described in the beginning of *Hester*. This is the sum of the arguments brought to prove the age of *Hesters* story by the learned and diligent *Krentzhemius* who adds the authorities of *Josephus* affirming the same, and of *Philo* giving to *Mardocheus* eighteen years more than *Isaac* the *Patriarch* lived, namely one hundred fourscore and eighteen years in all, which expire in the five and thirtieth year of this *Artaxerxes*, if we suppose him to have been carried away captive, being a Boy of ten years old.

SECT. VIII.

Of the troubles in Greece, *foregoing the* Peloponnesian *War.*

BUt it is fit that we now return to the affairs of the *Greeks*, who from this time forward, more vehemently prosecuting their Civil Wars, suffered the *Persians* for many ages to rest in peace, this *Egyptian* Expedition being come to nought. Soon after this the *Lacedæmonians* undertook the War called *Sacred*, recovered the Temple and Isle of *Delphos*, and delivered both to the Inhabitants; but the *Athenians* regained the same, and gave it in charge to the *Phocians*. In the mean while the banished *Bœotians* re-entred their own Land, and mastered two of their own Towns possest by the *Athenians*, which they soon recovered again from them; but in their return towards *Athens* the *Bœotians*, *Eubœans*, and *Locrians* (Nations oppress by the *Athenians*) set upon them with such resolution, as the *Athenians* were in that fight all slain or taken, whereby the *Bœotians* recovered their former liberty, restoring to the *Athenians* their prisoners. The Islanders of *Eubœa* took such courage upon this, that they revolted wholly from the *Athenians*, whom when *Pericles* intended to reconquer, he was advertised that the *Megarians* (who first left the *Lacedæmonians* and submitted themselves to *Athens*) being now weary of their yoke, had slain the *Athenian* Garrisons, and joined themselves with the *Corinthians*, *Sycionians*, and *Epidaurians*. These news hastened *Pericles* homeward with all possible speed; but ere he could recover *Attica*, the *Peloponnesians* led by *Plistoanax* the son of *Pausanias*, had invaded it, pillaged and burnt many parts thereof, after whose return *Pericles* went on with his first intent, and recovered *Eubœa*. Finally, the *Athenians* began to treat of peace with the *Peloponnesians*, and yielded to deliver up all the places which they held in the Country of *Peloponnesus*: and this truce was made for thirty years.

After six of these years were expired, the *Athenians* (favouring the *Mylesians* against the *Samians*) invaded *Samos* by *Pericles*; and after many repulses, and some great losses, both by Sea and Land, the Citizens were forced to yield up themselves upon most lamentable conditions: Namely, to deliver up all their ships, to break down their own Walls, to pay the charge of the War, and to restore whatsoever had been taken by themselves, or by their practice from the *Athenians*. In the neck of which followed that long and cruel *Peloponnesian* War, whereof I have gathered this Brief following: the same contention taking beginning fifty years after the flight of *Xerxes* out of *Greece*. But,

becauſe there was no City thereof, which either in the beginning of this War, or in the continuance of it, was not drawn into the quarrel; I hold it convenient now at the firſt to ſhew briefly the eſtate of the Country at that time, and eſpecially the condition of thoſe two great Cities *Athens* and *Sparta*, upon which all the reſt had moſt dependance.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Peloponneſian *War.*

SECT. I.

Upon what terms the two principal Cities of Greece, Athens *and* Sparta, *ſtood at the beginning of the* Peloponneſian *War.*

Greece was never united under the Government of any one Prince or Eſtate until *Philip* of *Macedon*, and after him *Alexander*, brought them rather to Union and League againſt the *Perſians*, whereof they were Captains, than into any abſolutee ſubjection. For every Eſtate held their own, and were governed by Laws far different, and by their own Magiſtrates, notwithſtanding the power of the *Macedonians*, to whom they did yield obedience no otherwiſe than as to ſuch who were (perforce) their Leaders in the *Perſian* War (deemed the general quarrel of *Greece*) and took the profit and honour of the victory to their own uſe and increaſe of greatneſs. But the Kings which afterwards reigned in *Macedonia* did ſo far enlarge their authority, that all *Greece* was by them brought under ſuch obedience, as differed little from ſervitude; very few excepted who could hardly ſometimes with arms, and ſometimes with gifts preſerve their liberty: of whom the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians* were chief; which two people deſerved beſt the plague of Tyranny, having firſt given occaſion thereunto by their great ambition, which wearied and weakned all the Country by perpetual War. For until theſe two Cities of *Athens* and *Sparta* diſtracted all *Greece*, drawing every State into the quarrel on the one or other ſide, and ſo gave beginning to the *Peloponneſian* War (the effects whereof in true eſtimation ceaſed not before the time that *Philip* had overmaſtered all, foraſmuch as every concluſion of one War afforded henceforth matter of ſome new diſtraction of the whole Country) the Wars commenced between one City of *Greece* and another, were neither great nor of long continuance. All controverſies were ſoon decided, either by the authority of the *Amphictiones*, who were the general Councel of *Greece*, or by the power of the *Lacedæmonians*, whoſe aid was commonly held as good as the aſſurance of victory.

Theſe *Lacedæmonians* had lived about four hundred years under one form of Government when the *Peloponneſian* War began. Their education was only to practiſe feats of Arms; wherein they ſo excelled, that a very few of them were thought equal to very great numbers of any other people. They were poor, and cared not much for wealth; every one had an equal portion of the common field, which ſufficed to maintain him in ſuch manner as they uſed. For bravery they had none, and curious building or apparel they regarded not. Their diet was ſimple, their feaſts and ordinary meals being in common Halls, where all fared alike. They uſed Money of Iron, whereof they could not be covetous, nor great hoarders. Briefly, they lived *Utopian*-like, ſave that they uſed no other occupation than War, placing all their felicity in the glory of their valour. Hereby it came to paſs, that in all enterprizes whereof they were partakers, the leading and high command was granted to them, and all *Greece* followed their conduct. But the *Athenians* were in all points contrary to this. For they ſought wealth, and meaſured the honours of their victories by the profit; they uſed mercenary Soldiers in their Wars, and exacted great tribute of their Subjects, which were for the moſt part Iſlanders compelled to obey them, becauſe the *Athenian* Fleet was great.

As in form of policy and in courſe of life, ſo in conditions natural, the difference between theſe two people was very much. The *Athenians* were eager and violent, ſudden in their concluſions, and as haſty in the execution. The *Lacedemonians* very ſlow in their deliberations, full of gravity, but very reſolute, and ſuch as would in cold blood perform what the *Athenians* did uſually in flagrant. Whereby it came to paſs, that the *Lacedemonians* had all the Eſtates of *Greece* depending upon them, as on men firm and aſſured, that ſought honour and not riches; whereas the *Athenians* were followed by ſuch as obeyed them perforce, being held in ſtreight ſubjection. But the Signiory of the *Athenians* was nothing large, until ſuch time as the *Perſian Xerxes* had invaded *Greece*, pretending only a quarrel to *Athens*: For then the Citizens perceiving well that the Town of *Athens* could not be defended againſt his great Army of ſeventeen hundred thouſand men, beſtowed all their wealth upon a Navy, and (aſſiſted by the other *Gracians*) overthrew the Fleet of *Xerxes*, whoſe Land-forces were ſoon after diſcomfited by them and the *Greeks*, who all ſerved under conduct of the *Spartans*. After theſe victories, the *Athenians* being now very mighty in Fleet, reduced all the Iſlands of the *Greekiſh* Seas under their obedience; impoſing upon them a hard tribute, for maintenance (as they pretended) of War againſt the *Perſian*; though indeed they imployed their forces chiefly to the conqueſt of ſuch Iſlands and Haven-Towns of their Countrymen as ſtood out againſt them. All which was eaſily ſuffered by the *Lacedemonians*, who were Inlanders, and men that delighted not in Expeditions

to

to be made far from home. But afterwards perceiving the power of the *Athenians* to grow great, they held them in much jealousie, and were very apt to quarrel with them; but much more willing to breed contention between them and other Estates. Wherefore at such time as the *Thebans* would have oppressed the *Plataans*, when they of *Platæa* repaired to *Sparta* for succour, they found there no other aid than this advice, That they should seek help at *Athens*. Hereby it was thought that the *Athenians* should be intangled in a long and tedious War with their neighbours of *Thebes*. But it proved otherwise; for their force was now so great, that all such occasions did only serve to encrease their honour and puissance.

SECT. II.

How Sparta *and* Athens *entred into War.*

NEvertheless many Estates of *Greece* were very ill-affected to *Athens*, because that City grew very insolent upon sudden prosperity, and maintaining the weaker Towns against the stronger, incroached apace upon their Neighbours, taking their dependants from them. Especially the *Corinthians* were much enraged, because the people of the Island *Corcyra* their Colony which had rebelled against them, and given them a great overthrow by Sea, was by the *Athenians* (who desired to increase their Fleet by adjoining that of *Corcyra* unto it) taken into protection, and the *Corinthians* thereby defeated of that revenge which else they would have taken. Now howsoever it were so that these dealings of the *Athenians* were not directly against the conditions of peace agreed upon among the *Greeks*, yet were the complaints made at *Sparta* so vehement, that (though with much ado) they concluded to redress by War the injuries done to their Allies.

First therefore, seeking Religious pretences, they required the *Athenians* to expiate certain offences committed against the gods; whereto having for answer, That they themselves should expiate other the like offences committed in *Sparta*, they began to deal plainly, and required that the people of some Towns oppressed by the State of *Athens* should be set at liberty; and that a Decree made against those of *Megara*, whereby they were forbidden to enter any Port of the *Athenians*, should be reversed. This last point they so earnestly prest, that if they might obtain it, they promised to absist from their purpose of making War.

This they desired not as a matter of any great importance (for it was a trifle); but only that by seeming to have obtained somewhat, they might preserve their reputation without entring into a War, which threatned them with greater difficulties apparent, than they were very willing to undergo.

But the *Athenians* would yield to nothing; for it was their whole desire that all *Greece* should take notice how far they were from fear of any other City. Hereupon they prepared on both sides very strongly, all that was needful to the War; wherein the *Lacedæmonians* were superiour both in number and quality, being assisted by most of the Cities in *Greece*, and having the general favour as men that pretended to set at liberty such as were oppressed: but the *Athenians* did as far exceed them in all provisions of money, shipping, engines, and absolute power of command among their Subjects; which they held, and afterward found of greater use in such need than the willing readiness of friends, who soon grow weary, and are not easily assembled.

SECT. III.

The beginning of the Peloponnesian *War.*

THe first and second years Expedition was very grievous to the City of *Athens*. For the Fields were wasted, the Trees cut down, the Country people driven to fly, with Wives, Children, and Cattel into the Town; whereby a most furious Pestilence grew in the City, such as before they had never felt nor heard of. Hereunto was added the revolt of the *Mytilenians* in the Isle of *Lesbos*, and the siege of *Platæa* their confederated City, which they durst not adventure to raise, besides some small overthrows received. The *Lacedæmonians* assembling as great forces as they could raise out of *Peloponnesus*, did in the beginning of Summer enter the Country of *Attica*, and therein abide until victuals began to fail, wasting and destroying all things round about. The Governours of the *Athenians* would not suffer the people to issue into the field against them; for they knew the valour of their enemies: but used to send a Fleet into *Peloponnesus*, which wasted as fast all the Sea-coast of their enemies, whilest they were making War in *Attica*. So the *Peloponnesians* being the stronger by Land, wan the Town of *Platæa* which wanted rescue; the *Athenians* likewise being more mighty by Sea, did subdue *Mytilene* which had rebelled, but could not be succoured from *Sparta*. By these proceedings in that War the *Lacedæmonians* began to perceive how unfit they were to deal with such enemies. For after that *Attica* was throughly wasted, it lay not greatly in their power to do any offence equal to such harm as they themselves might and did receive. The Confederates began to set forward very slowly in their Expeditions into *Attica*; perceiving well that *Athens* was plentifully relieved with all necessaries, which came by the Sea from the Islands that were subject unto that Estate; and therefore these Invaders took but small pleasure in beholding the Walls of that mighty City, or in wasting a forsaken field, which was to them a pattern of the calamities with which their own Territory was the whilst afflicted. Wherefore they began to set their care to build a strong Navy, wherein they had little good success, being easily vanquished by the *Athenians*, who both had more and better ships, and were so skilful in Sea-fights, that a few Vessels of theirs durst undertake a great number of the *Peloponnesians*.

SECT. IV.

Of the great loss which the Spartans *received at* Pylus.

AMong other losses which the *Spartans* had felt by Sea, they received at *Pylus* a very sore blow, that compelled them to sue for peace. A Fleet of *Athenian* ships bound for *Corcyra*, wasting in that passage (as their manner was) the Coast of *Laconia*, and all the half-Isle of *Peloponnesus*, was

by contrary winds detained at *Pylus*, which is a ragged Promontory joining to the Main by a ſtrange neck of Land. Before it there lies a ſmall barren Iſland of leſs than two miles compaſs, and within that a Creek, which is a good harbour for ſhips, the force of weather being born off by the head-land and Iſle. This Promontory the *Athenians* fortified as well as in haſte they might; and what was wanting in their artificial fortification, was ſupplied by the natural ſtrength and ſite of the place. By holding this piece of ground and haven, they in reaſon expected many advantages againſt their enemies. For the Country adjoining was inhabited by the *Meſſenians*, who in ancient times had held very ſtrong and cruel War with *Sparta*; and (though quite ſubdued) they were held in ſtreight ſubjection; yet was not the old hatred ſo extinguiſhed, that by the near neighbourhood and aſſiſtance of the *Athenians* it might not be revived. Furthermore it was thought that many ill-willers to the *Lacedæmonians*, and as many of their bond-ſlaves as could eſcape from them, would repair to *Pylus*, and from thence make daily incurſions into *Laconia*, which was not far off: Or, if other hopes failed, yet would the benefit of this Haven, lying almoſt in the mid-way between them and *Corcyra*, make them able to ſurround all *Peloponneſus*, and waſte it at their pleaſure. The news of theſe doings at *Pylus* drew the *Peloponneſians* thither in all haſte out of *Attica*, which they had entred a few days before with their whole Army: but now they brought not only their Land-forces, but all their Navy to recover this piece, which how bad a neighbour it might prove in time, they well foreſaw, little fearing the grievous loſs at hand, which they there in few days received. For when they in vain made a general aſſault on all ſides, both by Sea and Land, finding that ſmall Garriſon which the *Athenians* had left, very reſolute in the defence; they occupied the haven, placing four hundred and twenty choice men, all of them Citizens of *Sparta*, in the Iſland before mentioned, at each end whereof is a channel that leads into the Port; but ſo narrow, that only two ſhips in front could enter between the Iſle and *Pylus*; likewiſe but ſeven or eight ſhips could enter at once by the further channel between the Iſland and the Main. Having thus taken order to ſhut up this new Town by Sea, they ſent part of their Fleet to fetch wood, and other ſtuff, wherewith to fortifie round about, and block up the piece on all ſides. But in the mean ſeaſon the *Athenian* Fleet hearing of their danger that were left at *Pylus*, returned thither, and with great courage entring the Haven, did break and ſink many of their enemies veſſels; took five, and ſo inforced the reſidue to run themſelves aground.

Now was the Town ſecure, and the *Spartans* abiding in the Iſland as good as loſt. Wherefore the Magiſtrates were ſent from *Sparta* to the Camp (as was their cuſtom in great dangers) to adviſe what were beſt for the publick ſafety; who when they did perceive that there was no other way to reſcue their Citizens out of the Iſle, than by compoſition with their enemies, they agreed to entreat with the *Athenians* about peace, taking truce in the mean while with the Captains at *Pylus*. The conditions of the Truce were, That the *Lacedæmonians* ſhould deliver up all the ſhips which were in the Coaſt, and that they ſhould attempt nothing againſt the Town, nor the *Athenians* againſt the Camp: That a certain quantity of Bread, Wine, Fleſh, ſhould be daily carried into the Iſle, but that no ſhips ſhould paſs into the Iſland ſecretly: That the *Athenians* ſhould carry the *Lacedæmonian* Embaſſadors to *Athens*, there to treat of peace, and ſhould bring them back, at whoſe return the Truce ſhould end; which if in the mean time it were broken in any one point, ſhould be held utterly void in all: That when the Truce was expired, the *Athenians* ſhould reſtore the *Peloponneſian* ſhips in as good caſe as they received them. The Embaſſadors coming to *Athens*, were of opinion, That as they themſelves had begun the War, ſo might they end it when they pleaſed. Wherefore they told the *Athenians* how great an honour it was that the *Lacedæmonians* did ſue to them for peace, adviſing them to make an end of War, whilſt with ſuch reputation they might. But they found all contrary to their expectation: For inſtead of concluding upon even terms, or deſiring of meet recompence for loſs ſuſtained, the *Athenians* demanded certain Cities to be reſtored to them, which had been taken from them by the *Lacedæmonians* long before this War began; refuſing likewiſe to continue the treaty of peace, unleſs the *Spartans* which were in the Iſle, were firſt rendred unto them as priſoners. Thus were the Embaſſadors returned without effect; at which time the Truce being ended, it was deſired from the *Athenian* Captains, that they ſhould according to their Covenant reſtore the ſhips which had been put into their hands. Whereto anſwer was made, that the condition of the Truce was, That if any one Article were broken, all ſhould be held void; now (ſaid the *Athenians*) ye have aſſaulted our Garriſons, and thereby are we acquitted of our promiſe to reſtore the ſhips. This and the like frivolous allegations which they made, were but meer ſhifts; yet profit ſo far overweighed honour, that better anſwer none could be got. Then were the *Lacedæmonians* driven to uſe many hard means for conveyance of victuals into the Iſle; which finally was taken by force, and the men that were in it carried priſoners to *Athens*, where it was decreed, That when the *Peloponneſians* next invaded *Attica*, theſe Priſoners ſhould all be ſlain. Whether fearing the death of theſe men, or with-held by the troubles, which (according to the *Athenians* hope) fell upon them, the *Lacedæmonians* were ſo far from waſting *Attica*, that they ſuffered their own Country to be continually over-run, both by the *Athenians*, who landed on all parts of their Coaſt, and by thoſe which iſſued out of *Pylus*; which became the Rendezvous of all that were ill-affected unto them.

SECT. V.

How the Lacedæmonians *hardly, and to their great diſadvantage obtained a Peace that was not well kept.*

THerefore they endeavoured greatly to obtain peace; which the *Athenians* would not hearken unto. For they were ſo puffed up with continuance of good ſucceſs, that having ſent a few bands of men into *Sicily* to hold up a faction there, and make what profit they might of the *Sicilians* quarrels; when afterward they heard that the differences in that Iſle were taken away, and their bands returned without either gain or loſs, they baniſhed the Captains, as if it had been meerly through their default that the Iſle of *Sicily* was not conquered; which (beſides the longer diſtance) was in power to offend others, or defend it ſelf, no whit inferi-

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our unto *Peloponneſus*. Yet was this their over-weening much abated ſhortly after by ſome diſaſters received, eſpecially in *Thrace*, where in a battel which they loſt at *Amphipolis*, *Cleon* and *Braſidas*, Generals of the *Athenian* and *Lacedæmonian* forces, were both ſlain; which two had moſt been adverſaries to the peace. As the *Athenians* by their loſſes were taught moderation, ſo the *Lacedæmonians*, who not only felt the like wounds, but through the great Navy which they had received at *Pylus*, were fain to proceed lamely in the War againſt ſuch as through commodity of their good fleet, had all advantage that could be found in expedition, were fervently deſirous to conclude the buſineſs ere Fortune by any new favour ſhould revive the inſolence which was at this time well mortified in their Enemies. Neither was it only a conſideration of their preſent eſtate, that urged them to bring the treaty of peace to a good and ſpeedy effect; but other dangers hanging over their heads, and ready to fall on them, which unleſs they compounded with the *Athenians*, they knew not how to avoid. The eſtate of *Argos* which had ancient enmity with them, was now after a Truce of thirty years well-nigh expired, ready to take the benefit of their preſent troubles by joining with thoſe who alone found them work enough. *Argos* was a rich and ſtrong City, which though inferiour to *Sparta* in valour, yet was not ſo unwarlike, nor held ſuch ill correſpondence with the neighbouring Eſtates, that the *Lacedæmonians* could ever far prevail upon it, when they had little elſe to do.

This was a thing that in the beginning of this War had not been regarded. For it was then thought that by waſting the Territory of *Athens* with ſword and fire, the quarrel ſhould eaſily and in ſhort time have been ended, whereby not only the *Athenians* ſhould have been brought to good order, but the *Corinthians* and others, for whoſe ſake the War was undertaken, have been ſo firmly knit to the *Lacedæmonians*, that they ſhould for love of them have abandoned the *Argives* to their own fortunes. But now the vanity of thoſe hopes appeared, in that the *Athenians* abounding in ready money, and means to raiſe more, were able to ſecure themſelves by a ſtrong Fleet, from any great harm that the *Peloponneſians*, wanting wherewith to maintain a Navy, could do unto them; yea, as Maſters of the Sea to weary them out, as in effect already they had done. As for the Confederates of *Sparta* they could now endure neither War nor peace; their daily travels, and many loſſes had ſo wearied and incenſed them. Wherefore the *Lacedæmonians* were glad to uſe the occaſion which the inclination of their enemies did then afford, of making a final peace, which with much ado they procured, as ſeemed equal and eaſie; but was indeed impoſſible to be performed, and therefore all their travel was little effectual.

The reſtitution of Priſoners and places taken being agreed upon, it fell out by lot that the *Lacedæmonians* ſhould reſtore firſt. Theſe had won more Towns upon the Continent from the *Athenians*, than the *Athenians* had from them; but what they had won, they had not won abſolutely: For they had reſtored ſome Towns to ſuch of their Allies, from whom the State of *Athens* had taken them; ſome, and thoſe the moſt, they had ſet at liberty (as reaſon required) which had opened their gates unto them as to their friends and deliverers, and not compelled them to break in as enemies. Now concerning the Towns which were not in their own hands, but had been rendred unto their Confederates, the *Spartans* found means to give ſome ſatisfaction by permitting the *Athenians* to retain others which they had gotten in the War; as for the reſt, they promiſed more than afterwards they could perform. The Cities which they had taken into protection, could not endure to hear of being abandoned, neither would they by any means yield themſelves into the hands of their old Lords the *Athenians*, whom they had offended by revolting, notwithſtanding whatſoever Articles were drawn and concluded for their ſecurity and betterance in time to come. This dull performance of conditions on the ſide of the *Spartans*, made the *Athenians* become as backward in doing thoſe things which on their part were required; ſo that reſtoring only the priſoners which they had, they deferred the reſt until ſuch time as they might receive the full ſatisfaction, according to the agreement. But before ſuch time as theſe difficulties brake out into matter of open quarrel, the *Lacedæmonians* entred into a more ſtraight allyance with the *Athenians*, making a league offenſive and defenſive with them. Hereunto they were moved by the backwardneſs of the *Argives*, who being (as they thought) likely to have ſued for peace at their hands, as ſoon as things were once compounded between *Athens* and *Sparta*, did ſhew themſelves plainly unwilling to give ear to any ſuch motion. Thinking therefore, that by cutting from *Argos* all hope of *Athenian* ſuccour, they ſhould make ſure work, the *Spartans* regarded not the affections of other States, whom they had either bound unto them by well-deſerving in the late War, or found ſo troubleſome, that their enmity (if perhaps they durſt let it appear) was little worſe than friendſhip. It bred great jealouſies in all the Cities of *Greece*, to perceive ſuch a conjunction between two ſo powerful Signiories: eſpecially one clauſe threatning every one, that was any thing apt to fear, with a ſecret intent that might be harboured in their proud conceits of ſubduing the whole Country, and taking each what they could lay hold on. For beſides the other Articles, it was agreed, That they might by mutual conſent add new conditions, or alter the old at their own pleaſures. This impreſſion wrought ſo ſtrongly in the *Corinthians*, *Thebans*, and other ancient Confederates of *Sparta*, that the hate which they had born to the *Athenians* their profeſſed enemies, was violently thrown upon the *Lacedæmonians* their unjuſt friends: whereby it came to paſs, that they who lately had born chief ſway in *Greece*, might have been abandoned to the diſcretion of their enemies, as already in effect they were, had the enemies wiſely uſed the advantage.

SECT. VI.

Of the Negotiations and practices held between many States of Greece, *by occaſion of the Peace that was concluded.*

THe admiration wherein all *Greece* held the valour of *Sparta* as unreſiſtable, and able to make way through all impediments, had been ſo exceſſive, that when by ſome ſiniſter accidents that City was compelled to take and ſeek peace upon terms not ſounding very honourable, this common opinion was not only abated, but (as happens uſually in things extream) was changed into much contempt. For it was never thought that any *Lacedæmonian*

monian would have endured to lay down his weapons, and yield himſelf priſoner, nor that any misfortune ſhould have been ſo great as ſhould have drawn that City to relieve it ſelf otherwiſe than by force of Arms. But when once it had appeared that many of their Citizens, among whom were ſome of eſpecial mark, being overlaid by enemies in the Iſland before *Pylus*, had rather choſen to live in captivity than to die in fight; and that *Pylus* it ſelf ſticking as a thorn in the foot of *Laconia*, had bred ſuch anguiſh in that Eſtate as utterly wearying the accuſtomed *Spartan* reſolution, had made it ſit down and ſeek to refreſh it ſelf by diſhonourable eaſe: then did not only the *Corinthians* and *Thebans* begin to conceive baſely of thoſe men which were vertuous though unfortunate; but other leſs Cities joining with theſe in the ſame opinion, did caſt their eyes upon the rich and great City of *Argos*, of whoſe ability to do much, they conceived a ſtrong belief, becauſe of long time it had done nothing. Such is the baſe condition which through fooliſh envy is become almoſt natural in the greater part of mankind. We curiouſly ſearch into their vices, in whom had they kept ſome diſtance, we ſhould have diſcerned only the vertues; and comparing injuriouſly our beſt parts with their worſt, are juſtly plagued with a falſe opinion of that good in ſtrangers which we know to be wanting in our ſelves.

The firſt that publiſh'd their diſlike of *Sparta*, were the *Corinthians*, at whoſe vehement entreaty (though moved rather by envy at the greatneſs of *Athens* daily encreaſing) the *Lacedæmonians* had entred into the preſent War. But theſe *Corinthians* did only murmur at the peace, alledging as grievances that ſome Towns of theirs were left in the *Athenians* hands. The *Mantenæans* who during the time of War, had procured ſome part of the *Arcadians* to become their followers, and forſake their dependency upon the State of *Sparta*, did more freely and readily diſcover themſelves; fear of revenge to come, working more effectually than indignation at things already paſt. The *Argives* feeling the gale of proſperous fortune that began to fill their ſails, prepared themſelves to take as much of it as they could ſtand under; giving for that purpoſe unto twelve of their Citizens a full and abſolute commiſſion to make alliance between them and any free Cities of *Greece* (*Athens* and *Sparta* excepted) without any further trouble of propounding every particular buſineſs to the multitude. When the gates of *Argos* were ſet thus open to all comers; the *Mantinæans* began to lead the way, and many Cities of *Peloponneſus* following them, entred into this new Confederacy; ſome incited by private reſpects, others thinking it the wiſeſt way to do as the moſt did. What inconveniency might ariſe unto them by theſe courſes, the *Lacedæmonians* eaſily diſcerned; and therefore ſent Embaſſadors to ſtop the matter at *Corinth*, where they well perceived that the miſchief had been hatched. Theſe Embaſſadors found in the *Corinthians* a very rough diſpoſition, with a gravity expreſſing the opinion which they had conceived of their preſent advantage over *Sparta*. They had cauſed all Cities which had not entred yet into alliance with *Argos*, to ſend their Agents to them, in whoſe preſence they gave audience to the *Lacedæmonians*; the purport of whoſe Embaſſy was this: That the *Corinthians* without breach of their Oath could not forſake the alliance which they had long ſince made with *Sparta*; and that Reaſon did as well bind them to hold themſelves contented with the peace lately made, as Religion enforced them to continue in their ancient Confederacy; foraſmuch as it had been agreed between the *Spartans* and their Aſſociates, that the conſent of the greater part (which had yielded unto peace with *Athens*) ſhould bind the leſſer number to perform what was concluded, if no divine impediment withſtood them. Hereunto the *Corinthians* made anſwer, That the *Spartans* had firſt begun to do them open wrong in concluding the War wherein they had loſt many places without proviſion of reſtitution; and that the very clauſe alledged by the Embaſſadors did acquit them from any neceſſity of ſubſcribing to the late Peace, foraſmuch as they had ſworn unto thoſe people whom they perſwaded to rebel againſt *Athens*, that they would never abandon them, nor willingly ſuffer them to fall again into the tyrannous hands of the *Athenians*. Wherefore they held themſelves bound both in Reaſon and Religion to uſe all means of upholding thoſe whom by common conſent they had taken into protection; for that an Oath was no leſs to be accounted a Divine impediment, than were peſtilence, tempeſt, or any the like accident, hindring the performance of things undertaken. As for the alliance with *Argos*, they ſaid, That they would do as they ſhould find cauſe. Having diſmiſſed the Embaſſadors with this anſwer, they made haſte to join themſelves with *Argos*, and cauſed other States to do the like; ſo that *Sparta* and *Athens* were in a manner left to themſelves, the *Thebans* and *Megarians* being alſo upon the point to have entred into this new Confederacy. But as the affections were divers which cauſed this haſty confluence of ſudden friends to *Argos*, it ſo likewiſe came to paſs that the friendſhip it ſelf, ſuch as it was, had much diverſity both of ſincerity and of continuance. For ſome there were, that hated or feared the *Lacedæmonians*, as the *Mantineans* and *Eleans*; theſe did firmly betake themſelves to the *Argives*, in whom they knew the ſame affection to be inveterate: others did only hate the peace concluded; and theſe would rather have followed the *Spartans* than the *Argives* in War, yet rather the *Argives* in War than the *Lacedæmonians* in peace. Of this number were the *Corinthians*, who knowing that the *Thebans* were affected like unto themſelves, dealt with them to enter into the ſociety of the *Argives* as they had done: but the different forms of Government uſed in *Thebes* and *Argos*, cauſed the *Thebans* to hold rather with *Sparta*, that was ruled by the principal men, than to incur the danger of innovation, by joining with ſuch as committed the whole rule to the multitude.

This buſineſs having ill ſucceeded, the *Corinthians* began to bethink themſelves of their own danger, who had not ſo much as any Truce with *Athens*, and yet were unprepared for War. They ſought therefore to come to ſome temporary agreement with the *Athenians*, and hardly obtained it. For the *Athenians* who had dealt with all *Greece* at one time, did not greatly care to come to any appointment with one City, that had ſhewed againſt them, more ſtomach than force; but gave them to underſtand, that they might be ſafe enough from them if they would claim the benefit of that alliance which *Athens* had lately made with *Sparta* and her dependants; yet finally they granted unto theſe *Corinthians* (which were loth to acknowledg themſelves dependantt of *Sparta*) the Truce that they deſired; but into private Confederacy they would not admit them, being an article of the league between them and the *Spartans*, That the one ſhould not make peace nor war without the other.

Herein,

Herein, as in many other paſſages, may clearly be ſeen the great advantage which abſolute Lords have, as well in peace as in war, over ſuch as are ſerved by Voluntaries. We ſhall hardly find any Signiory that hath been ſo conſtantly followed as *Sparta* was by ſo many States, and ſome of them little inferiour to it ſelf, being all as free: whereas contrariwiſe, the *Athenians* had lately, and by compulſive means gotten their Dominion, wherein they demeaned themſelves as Tyrants. But in performance of conditions agreed upon, the *Athenians* were able to make their words good, by excluding any State out of their Confederacy, and giving up ſuch places as were agreed upon: of which the *Lacedæmonians* could do neither the one nor the other. For ſuch Towns as their old Allies had gotten by their means in the late War, could not be reſtored without their conſent which had them in preſent poſſeſſion; and particularly the Town of *Panacte* which the *Thebans* held, could by no means be obtained from them by the *Lacedæmonians* (who earneſtly deſired it, that by reſtitution thereof unto the *Athenians* as earneſtly demanding it, themſelves might recover *Pylus*) unleſs that they would agree to make a private alliance with *Thebes*; which thereupon they were conſtrained to do, though knowing it to be contrary to the laſt agreement between them and *Athens*.

The *Lacedæmonians* having broken one article of the league made between them and the *Athenians*, that by ſo doing they might enable themſelves to the performance of another, were ſhamefully diſappointed of their hopes by the *Thebans*, who did not give up the Town of *Panacte*, till firſt they had utterly demoliſhed it, and made it of no worth to the *Athenians*. This was fought to have been excuſed by the *Lacedæmonian* Embaſſadors, who coming to *Athens* (whither they had ſent home all priſoners that had been detained at *Thebes*) hoping with gentle words to ſalve the matter; ſaying, That from henceforth no enemy of *Athens* ſhould neſtle in *Panacte*, for it was deſtroyed. But theſe Embaſſadors had not to deal with tame fools. For the *Athenians* told them in plain terms, That of three principal conditions agreed upon in their late League, they had not performed any one; but uſed ſuch baſe concluſions as ſtood not with their honour: having made private alliance with the *Thebans*; having deſtroyed a Town that they ſhould have reſtored; and not having forced their dependants by War, to make good the Covenants of the late concluded peace. Hereupon they diſmiſſed the Embaſſadors with rough words, meaning with as rough deeds to anger thoſe that ſent them.

There were at that time both in *Athens* and *Sparta*, many that were ill-contented with the peace: among whom were the *Ephori*, choſen for that year in *Sparta*; and *Alcibiades*, a powerful young Gentleman in *Athens*. But the *Ephori*, though deſiring to renew the War, yet wiſhed that firſt they might get from the *Athenians* as much as was to be rendred to them by Covenant, eſpecially *Pylus* that had ſo ſorely troubled them. *Alcibiades*, whoſe Nobility, riches and favour with the people, made him deſire War, as the mean whereby himſelf might procure ſome honourable employment; uſed all means to ſet the quarrel on foot, whilſt the *Athenians* had yet both advantage enough, as not having rendred ought ſave their priſoners, and pretence enough to uſe that advantage of breaking the peace, by reaſon that the *Lacedæmonians* (though indeed againſt their wills) had broken all Covenants with them. Now the State of *Athens* had fully determined to retain *Pylus*, and to perform nothing that the *Lacedæmonians* ſhould, and might require, until they had firſt, without any longer halting, fulfilled all Articles whereto they were bound, even to the utmoſt point. This was enough to make them ſweat, who having already done the moſt that they could, had as yet got nothing in recompence, except the delivery of their Citizens which were priſoners. But *Alcibiades* wiſhing a ſpeedy beginning of open War, ſent privily to the *Argives*, and gave them to underſtand how fitly the time ſerved for them to aſſociate themſelves with *Athens*, which was enough to give them ſecurity againſt all enemies.

The *Argives* upon the firſt confluence of many Eſtates unto their ſociety, had embraced great hopes of working wonders, as if they ſhould have had the conduct of all *Greece* againſt the *Athenians*, robbing *Sparta* of that honour, as having ill uſed it, and thereby leaving their old enemies in caſe of much contempt and diſability. But theſe ſudden apprehenſions of vain joy, were ſuddenly changed into as vain fear; which ill agreed with the great opinion that had lately been conceived of *Argos*. For when the *Thebans* had refuſed their alliance; when the *Corinthians* had ſought ſecurity from *Athens*; and when a falſe rumour was noiſed abroad, *Athens*, *Thebes*, and *Sparta*, were come to a full agreement upon all points of differences; than began the *Argives* to let fall their creſts, and ſue for peace unto the *Lacedæmonians*, who needing it as much as they, or more, yet held their gravity, and were not over-haſty to accept it. At this time, and in this perturbation, the meſſage of *Alcibiades* came very welcome to the *Argives*, which were not now conſulting how to become the chief of all others, but how to ſave themſelves. Wherefore they ſent away preſently to *Athens* their own Embaſſadors, accompanied with the *Mantineans* and *Eleans*, to make a League offenſive and defenſive between their Eſtates and the *Athenians*.

Of this buſineſs the *Lacedæmonians* knew not what to think: for well they ſaw, that ſuch a combination tended to their great hurt, and therefore were deſirous to prevent it; but to keep the love of the *Athenians*, the new *Ephori* thought that more was already done than ſtood with their honour or profit; others held it the wiſeſt way, having done ſo much, not to ſtick upon a little more, but rather by giving full ſatisfaction to retain the friendſhip of that State, which was more to be valued than all the reſt of *Greece*. This reſolution prevailing, they ſent away ſuch of their Citizens as were beſt affected to the peace, who coming to *Athens* with full commiſſion to make an end of all Controverſies, did earneſtly labour in the Council-houſe, to make the truth of things appear; ſaying, That their Confederacy with the *Thebans* had tended to none other end than the recovery of *Panacte*: concerning which Town, or any other buſineſs, that it much grieved the *Lacedæmonians* to ſee things fall out in ſuch wiſe as might give to the *Athenians* cauſe of diſpleaſure; but that all ſhould be done which in reaſon might be required for making matters even between them; to which purpoſe they ſhewed that themſelves had abſolute commiſſion. Wherefore they deſired that *Pylus* might be reſtored to them, and eſpecially for the preſent; that the Negotiation with the *Argives* might be called aſide. Favourable audience was given to this propoſition, the rather becauſe they which promiſed amends, had power to make their words good. But all this fair likelihood of good agreement was

daſht

daſht on the ſudden, by the practice of *Alcibiades*, who ſecrecly dealing with the *Lacedæmonian* Embaſſadors, perſwaded them well of his friendſhip towards their City, and adviſed them to take all care that their abſolute power to conclude what they pleaſed in the name of *Sparta*, might not be known to the Commonalty of *Athens*, leſt the inſolent multitude ſhould thereupon grow peremptory and yield to nothing, unleſs they could draw them to unreaſonable conditions. The Embaſſadors believed him, and faſhioned their tale in the aſſembly of the people as he had adviſed them. Hereupon the ſame *Alcibiades* taking preſently the advantage which their double dealing afforded, inveighed openly againſt them, as men of no ſincerity; that were come to *Athens* for no other purpoſe, than to hinder the people from ſtrengthening themſelves with friends, meaning to draw the *Argives* and their Adherents to their own alliance, as (contrary to their own Oath) already they had the *Thebans*. The people of *Athens*, whom a pleaſing errand would very hardly have ſatisfied, or brought into a good opinion of the *Lacedæmonians*, (whoſe honeſt meanings had ſo ill been ſeconded with good performance) were now ſo much incenſed with the double dealing of the Embaſſadors, and the ſtrong perſwaſions of *Alcibiades*, that little wanted of concluding the League with *Argos*. Yet for the preſent ſo far did *Nicias* an honourable Citizen, and great friend to the peace, prevail with them, that the buſineſs was put off, until he himſelf with other Embaſſadors might fetch a better anſwer from *Sparta*.

It may alſo ſeem a great wonder, how ſo poor a trick of *Alcibiades* was able to carry a matter of ſo great importance, when the *Spartan* Embaſſadors might have caſt the load upon his own ſhoulders, by diſcovering the truth: But the gravity which was uſually found in the *Lacedæmonians*, hindred them (perhaps) from playing their game handſomely againſt ſo nimble a wit; and they might well have been thought untruſty men, had they profeſſed themſelves ſuch as would ſay and unſay for their moſt advantage.

Nicias and his Companions had a ſowre meſſage to deliver at *Sparta*, being peremptorily to require performance of all conditions, and among the reſt, That the *Lacedæmonians* ſhould take the pains to rebuild *Panacte*, and ſhould immediately renounce their Alliance made with the *Thebans*; letting them underſtand, that otherwiſe the *Athenians*, without further delay, would enter into Confederacy with the *Argives*, and their adherents. The *Ephori* at *Sparta* had no mind to forſake the *Thebans*, aſſured friends to their State; but wrought ſo hard, that the anger of the *Athenians* was ſuffered to break out what way it could, which to mitigate, they would do no more than only (at the requeſt of *Nicias* their honourable friend, who would not ſeem to have effected nothing) ſwear anew to keep the Articles of the league between them and *Athens*. Immediately therefore upon return of the Embaſſadors, a new League was made between the *Athenians*, *Argives*, *Mantineans*, and *Eleans*, with very ample proviſion for holding the ſame common friends and enemies; wherein, though the *Lacedæmonians* were paſſed over with ſilence, yet was it manifeſt that the whole intent of this Confederacy did bend it ſelf chiefly againſt them, as in ſhort while after was proved by effect.

At this time the *Lacedæmonians* were in ill caſe, who having reſtored all that they could unto the *Athenians*, and procured others to do the like, had themſelves recovered nothing of their own (priſoners excepted), for default of reſtoring all that they ſhould. But that which did moſt of all diſable them, was the loſs of reputation, which they had not more impaired in the late War by misfortunes, than in ſundry paſſages between them and the *Athenians*: to procure and keep whoſe Amity, they had left ſundry of their own friends to ſhift for themſelves. Contrariwiſe, the *Athenians* by the treaty of peace had recovered the moſt part of that which they loſt in War; all their gettings they had retained; and were ſtrengthened by the acceſs of new Confederates.

SECT. VII.

How the Peace between Athens *and* Sparta *was ill kept, though not openly broken.*

IT was not long ere the *Argives* and their fellows had found buſineſs wherewith to ſet the *Athenians* on work, and make uſe of this conjunction. For preſuming upon the ſtrength of their ſide, they began to meddle with the *Epidaurians*, whom it concerned the State of *Sparta* to defend. So many acts of hoſtility were committed, wherein *Athens* and *Sparta* did (as principals) infeſt each the other, but came in collaterally, as to the aid of their ſeveral friends.

By theſe occaſions the *Corinthians*, *Bœotians*, *Phocians*, *Locrians*, and other people of *Greece* began anew to range themſelves under the *Lacedæmonians*, and follow their Enſigns. One victory which the *Lacedæmonians* obtained by their meer valor in a ſet Battel near to *Mantinæa*, againſt the *Argive* ſide, helped well to repair their decayed reputation, though otherwiſe it yielded them no great profit. The civil diſſention ariſing ſhortly after within *Argos* it ſelf, between the principal Citizens, and the Commons, had almoſt thrown down the whole frame of the new combination. For the chief Citizens getting the upper hand, made a league with *Sparta*, wherein they proceeded ſo far, as to renounce the Amity of the *Athenians* in expreſs words, and forced the *Mantinæans* to the like. But in ſhort ſpace of time the multitude prevailing, reverſed all this, and having chaſed away their ambitious Nobility, applied themſelves to the *Athenians* as cloſely as before.

Beſides theſe uproars in *Peloponneſus*, many aſſays were made to raiſe up troubles in all parts of *Greece*, and likewiſe in *Macedon* to the *Athenians*; whoſe forces and readineſs for execution prevented ſome things, revenged other, and requited all with ſome proſperous attempts. Finally, the *Athenians* wanting matter of quarrel, and the *Lacedæmonians* growing weary, they began to be quiet; retaining ſtill that enmity in their hearts, which they had ſufficiently diſcovered in effects, though not yet breaking out into terms of open War.

SECT. VIII.

The Athenians *ſending two Fleets to ſack* Syracuſe, *are put to flight, and utterly diſcomfited.*

DUring this intermiſſion of open War, the *Athenians* re-entertained their hopes of ſubduing *Sicil*; whither they ſent a Fleet ſo mighty, as never

ver was ſet forth by *Greece* in any Age before or after.

This Fleet was very well manned, and furniſhed with all neceſſaries to ſo great an expedition. All which came to nought; partly by the factions in *Athens*, whence *Alcibiades*, Author of that Voyage, and one of the Generals of their Fleet, was driven to baniſh himſelf, for fear of ſuch judgment as elſe he was like to have undergone among the incenſed people; partly by the invaſion which the *Lacedæmonians* made upon *Attica*, whilſt the forces of that State were ſo far from home. Hereunto was added the aid of the King of *Perſia*, who ſupplied the *Peloponneſians* with money.

Neither was the ſucceſs of things in *Sicilia* ſuch, as without help from *Athens*, could give any likelihood of a good end in that War. For although in the beginning, the enterprize had ſo well ſucceeded, that they beſieged *Syracuſe*, the chief City of all the Iſland, and one of the faireſt Towns which the *Greeks* inhabited, obtaining the better in ſundry Battels by Land and Sea; yet when the Town was relieved with ſtrong aid from *Peloponneſus*, it came to paſs that the *Athenians* were put to the worſe on all ſides, in ſuch wiſe, that their Fleet was ſhut up into the Haven of *Syracuſe*, and could not iſſue out.

As the *Athenian* affairs went very ill in *Sicil*, ſo did they at home ſtand upon their terms; for that the *Lacedæmonians*, who had been formerly accuſtomed to make weariſome yearly journeys into *Attica*, which having pillaged and forraged, they returned home; did now by counſel of *Alcibiades* (who ſeeking revenge upon his own Citizens, was fled unto them) fortifie the Town of *Decelea*, which was near to *Athens*, whence they ceaſed not with daily incurſions to harry all the Country round about, and ſometimes give alarm unto the City it ſelf. In theſe extremities the perverſe obſtinacy of the *Athenians* was very ſtrange; who leaving at their backs, and at their own doors, an enemy litttle leſs mighty than themſelves, did yet ſend forth another Fleet into *Sicil*, to invade a people no leſs puiſſant, which had never offended them.

It often happens, that a proſperous event, makes fooliſh counſel ſeem wiſer than it was; which came to paſs many times among the *Athenians*, whoſe vain Conceits *Pallas* was ſaid to turn to the beſt. But where unſound advice finding bad proof, is obſtinately purſued, neither *Pallas* nor *Fortune* can be juſtly blamed for a miſerable iſſue. This ſecond Fleet of the *Athenians*, which better might have ſerved to convey home the former that was defeated, after ſome attempts made to ſmall purpoſe againſt the *Syracuſans*, was finally (together with the other part of the Navy, which was there before) quite vanquiſhed, and barr'd up into the Haven of *Syracuſe*, whereby the Camp of the *Athenians*, utterly deprived of all benefit by Sea, either for ſuccour or departure, was driven to break up, and fly away by Land; in which flight they were overtaken, routed, and quite overthrown, in ſuch wiſe that ſcarce any man eſcaped.

This miſchief well deſerved, fell upon the *Athenians*, who had wickedly condemned into exile *Sophocles* and *Pthiodorus* Generals, formerly ſent into that Iſle, pretending that they had taken money for making peace in *Sicil*, whereas indeed there was not any means or poſſibility to have made War. Hereby it came to paſs, that *Nicias* who had the chief command in this unhappy enterprize, did rather chuſe to hazard the ruin of his Country by the loſs of that Army, wherein conſiſted little leſs than all the power of *Athens*; than to adventure his own eſtate, his life, and his honour, upon the tongues of ſhameleſs accuſers, and the ſentence of Judges before his trial reſolved to condemn him, by retiring from *Syracuſe*, when wiſdom and neceſſity required it. *For* (ſaid he) *they ſhall give ſentence upon us, who know not the reaſon of our doings, nor would give ear to any that would ſpeak in our behalf, but altogether hearken to ſuſpicions and vain rumours that ſhall be brought againſt us: yea theſe our ſoldiers, who now are ſo deſirous to return in ſafety, will in our danger be well contented to frame their tales to the pleaſure of the lewd and inſolent multitude.*

This reſolution of *Nicias*, though it cannot be commended (for it is the part of an honeſt and valiant man to do what reaſon willeth, not what opinion expecteth; and to meaſure honour or diſhonour by the aſſurance of his well-informed conſcience, rather than by the malicious report and cenſure of others) yet it may be excuſed; ſince he had before his eyes the injuſtice of his people, and had well underſtood that a wicked ſentence is infinitely worſe than a wicked fact, as being held a preſident and pattern whereby oppreſſion beginning upon one, is extended as warrantable upon all. Therefore his fear of wrongful condemnation was ſuch as a conſtant man could not eaſily have overmaſtered; but when afterwards the Army, having no other expectation of ſafety than the faint hope of a ſecret flight, he was ſo terrified with an Eclypſe of the Moon, happening when they were about to diſlodg, that he would not conſent to have the Camp break up till ſeven and twenty days were paſt. His timerouſneſs was even as fooliſh and ridiculous, as the iſſue of it was lamentable. For he ſhould not have thought that the powers of the Heavens, and the courſe of Nature would be as unjuſt as his *Athenians*; or might portend leſs evil to the ſlothful, than to ſuch as did their beſt. Neither do I think that any Aſtrologers can alledg this Ecclypſe, as either a cauſe or prognoſtication of that Armies deſtruction, otherwiſe than as the folly of men did, by application, turn it to their own confuſion. Had *C. Caſſius* the *Roman*, he who ſlew *Julius Cæſar*, imitated this ſuperſtition of *Nicias*, he had ſurely found the ſame fortune in a caſe very like. But when, he retiring, the broken remainder of *Craſſus* his Army, defeated by the *Parthian* Archers, was adviſed, upon ſuch an accident as this, to continue where he then was, till the *Sun* were paſt the ſign of *Scorpio*; he made anſwer, That he ſtood not in ſuch fear of *Scorpio* as of *Sagittarius*. So adventuring rather to abide the frowning of the Heavens, than the nearer danger of Enemies upon Earth, he made ſuch a ſafe and honourable retreat, as did both ſhew his noble reſolution, and give a fair example to that good rule,

——*Sapiens Dominabitur aſtris.*

Thus we ſee that God, who ordinarily works by a concatenation of means, deprives the Governours of underſtanding, when he intends evil to the Multitude; and that the wickedneſs of unjuſt men is the ready mean to weaken the virtue of thoſe who might have done them good.

SECT. IX.

Of the troubles whereinto the State of Athens *fell, after the great loſs of the Fleet and Army in* Sicilia.

THe loſs of this Army was the ruin of the *Athenian* Dominion, and may be well accounted a very little leſs calamity to that Eſtate, than was the ſubverſion of the Walls, when the City about ſeven years after was taken by *Lyſander*. For now began the ſubjects of the *Athenian* Eſtate to rebel: of whom, ſome they reduced under their obedience, others held out; ſome for fear of greater inconvenience were ſet at liberty, promiſing only to be their good friends, as formerly they had been their Subjects; others having a kind of liberty offered by the *Athenians*, were not therewith contented, but obtained a true and perfect liberty by force. Among theſe troubles it fell out very unſeaſonably, that the principal men of *Athens*, being wearied with the peoples inſolency, took upon them to change the form of that Eſtate, and bring the Government into the hands of a few. To which purpoſe, conſpiring with the Captains which were abroad, they cauſed them to ſet up the form of an Ariſtocracy in the Towns of their Confederates; and in the mean time, ſome that were moſt likely to withſtand this Innovation, being ſlain at *Athens*, the Commonalty were ſo diſmaid, that none durſt ſpeak againſt the Conſpirators, whoſe number they knew not, but every man was afraid of his neighbour, leſt he ſhould be a member of the league. In this general fear the Majeſty of *Athens* was uſurped by four hundred men, who obſerving in ſhew the ancient form of proceeding, did cauſe all matters to be propounded unto the people, and concluded upon by the greater part of voices: but the things propounded were only ſuch as were firſt allowed in private among themſelves; neither had the Commonalty any other liberty, than only to approve and give conſent: for whoſoever preſumed any further, was quickly diſpatched out of the way, and no enquiry made of the murther. By theſe means were many Decrees made, all tending to the eſtabliſhment of this new authority, which nevertheleſs endured not long: For the Fleet and Army which then was in the Iſle of *Samos*, did altogether deteſt theſe dealings of the four hundred Uſurpers, and held them as Enemies; whereupon they revoked *Alcibiades* out of Baniſhment, and by his aſſiſtance procured that the ſupplies which the *Perſian* King had promiſed to the *Lacedæmonians*, were by *Tiſſaphernes* his Lieutenant made unprofitable, through the ſlow and bad performance. *Alcibiades* had at the firſt been very well entertained in *Sparta*, whilſt his ſervice done unto that State was not grown to be the object of envy. But when it appeared that in Counſel and good performance he ſo far excelled all the *Lacedæmonians*, that all their good ſucceſs was aſcribed to his wit and valour, then were all the principal Citizens weary of his virtue; eſpecially *Agis* one of their Kings, whoſe Wife had ſo far yielded her ſelf to the love of this *Athenian*, that among her inward friends ſhe could not forbear to call her young child by his name. Hereupon order was taken, that *Alcibiades* ſhould be killed out of the way. But he diſcovering the *Spartan* treachery, conveyed himſelf unto *Tiſſaphernes*, whom he ſo bewitched with his great beauty, ſweet converſation, and ſound wit, that he ſoon became the Maſter of that barbarous Viceroys affections, who had free power to diſpoſe the great Kings Treaſures and Forces in thoſe parts. Then began he to adviſe *Tiſſaphernes*, not ſo far forth to aſſiſt the *Lacedæmonians*, that they ſhould quite overthrow the State of *Athens*, but rather to help the weaker ſide, and let them one conſume another, vvhereby all ſhould fall at length into the hands of the *Perſian*. By this counſel he made vvay to other practices, vvherein by ſtrength of his reputation (as the only favourite of ſo great a Potentate) he played his ovvn game, procuring his reſtitution. At length his Baniſhment being repealed by the Army, but not by the Citizens (who then were oppreſſed by the four hundred) he laboured greatly to reconcile the Soldiers to the Governours; or at leaſt to divert their heat another way, and turn it upon the common Enemy. Some of the four hundred approved his motion, as being weary of the tyranny whereof they were partakers, partly becauſe they ſaw it could not long endure, and partly for that themſelves, being leſs regarded by the reſt of their companions, than ſtood with their good liking, ſought to acquit themſelves of it as honeſtly as they might. But the moſt of that Faction laboured to obtain peace of the *Lacedæmonians*, deſiring chiefly to maintain both their own authority, and the greatneſs of their City, if they might: but if this could not be, they did rather wiſh to preſerve their own power, or ſafety at leaſt, than the good Eſtate of the Commonwealth. Therefore they made ſundry overtures of peace to the *Lacedæmonians*, deſiring to compound in as good terms as they might, and affirming that they were fitter to be truſted than the wavering multitude; eſpecially conſidering that the City of *Sparta* was governed by an Ariſtocracy, to which form they had now reduced *Athens*. All theſe paſſages between the four hundred (or the moſt and chief of them) and the *Lacedæmonians*, were kept as ſecret as might be. For the City of *Athens*, hoping without any great cauſe to repair their loſſes, was not inclined to make compoſition; from which upon juſter ground the Enemy was much more averſe, truſting well that the diſcord of the *Athenians* (not unknown abroad) might yield ſome fair opportunity to the deſtruction of it ſelf, which in effect (though not then preſently) came to paſs. And upon this hope King *Agis* did ſometimes bring his forces from *Decelea* to *Athens*, where doing no good, he received ſome ſmall loſſes. Likewiſe the Navy of *Peloponneſus* made ſhew of attempting the City, but ſeeing no likelihood of ſucceſs, they bent their courſe from thence to other places, where they obtained Victories, which in the better fortune of the *Athenians* might more lightly have been regarded, than in this their decayed eſtate. Yet it ſeems, without any diſparagement to their wiſdom, they ſhould rather have forborn to preſent unto the City, or to the Countrys near adjoining, any terror of the War. For the diſſention within the walls might ſoon have done more good than could be received from the Fleet or Army without, which indeed gave occaſion to ſet the Citizens at unity, though it laſted not very long. The four hundred by means of theſe troubles, were fain to reſign their authority, which they could not now hold, when the people, having taken arms to repell foreign Enemies, would not lay them down, till they had freed themſelves from ſuch as oppreſſed the State at home. Yet was not this alteration of Government a full reſtitution of the ſovereign command unto the people,

or

or whole body of the City, but only to five thousand; which company the four hundred (when their authority began) had pretended to take unto them as assistants: herein seeming to do little wrong or none to the Commonalty, who seldom assembled in greater number. But now when the highest power was come indeed into the hands of so many, it was soon agreed, that *Alcibiades* and his companions should be recalled from exile, and that the Army at *Samos* should be requested to undertake the Government: which was forthwith reformed according to the Soldiers desire.

SECT. X.

How Alcibiades *won many important victories for the* Athenians; *was recalled from exile; made their General, and again deposed.*

THis establishment of things in the City, was accompanied with some good success in the Wars. For the *Lacedæmonians* were about the same time overthrown at Sea in a great battel by the *Athenian* Fleet, which had remained at *Samos*, to which *Alcibiades* afterwards joining such forces as he could raise, obtained many Victories. Before the Town of *Abydus*, his arrival with eighteen ships, gave the honour of a great Battel to the *Athenians*; he overthrew and utterly destroyed the Fleet of the *Lacedæmonians* commanded by *Mindarus*; took the Towns of *Cyzicus* and *Perinthus*, made the *Selymbrians* ransome their City, and fortified *Chrysopolis*. Hereupon Letters were sent to *Sparta*, which the *Athenians* intercepting, found to contain the distress of the Army in these few words: *All is lost*; Mindarus *is slain*; *the Soldiers want victuals*; *we know not what to do.*

Shortly after this, *Alcibiades* overthrew the *Lacedæmonians* in fight by Land at *Chalcedon*, took *Selymbria*, besieged and won *Byzantium*, now called *Constantinople*, which even in those days was a goodly, rich, and very strong City. Hereupon he returned home with very great welcome, and was made High Admiral of all the Navy.

But this his honour continued not long, for it was taken from him, and he driven to banish himself again, only because his Lieutenant contrary to the express command of *Alcibiades*, fighting with the enemies in his absence, had lost a great part of the Fleet.

The second Banishment of *Alcibiades* was to the *Athenians* more harmful than the first; and the loss which thereupon they received, was (though more heavy to them, yet) less to be pitied of others, than that which ensued upon his former exile. For whereas at the first, he had sought revenge upon his own City; now as inured to adversity he rather pitied their fury, who in time of such danger had cast out him that should have repaired their weak estate, than sought by procuring or beholding the calamity of his people, to comfort himself after injury received. Before they who were instituted in the place of *Alcibiades*, arrived at the Fleet, he presented Battel to *Lysander* the *Lacedæmonian* Admiral, who was not so confident upon his former Victory, as to undertake *Alcibiades* himself, bringing ships more in number (notwithstanding the former loss of fifteen) than his enemies had, and better ordered than they had been under his Lieutenant. But when the Decree of the people was published in the Navy, then did *Alcibiades* withdraw himself to a Town upon the *Hellespont*, called *Bizanthe*, where he had built a Castle.

SECT. XI.

The Battel of Arginusæ, *and condemnation of the victorious* Athenian *Captains by the People.*

AFter this time the *Athenians* receiving many losses and discomfitures, were driven to fly into the Haven of *Mytelene*, where they were straitly besieged both by Land and Sea. For the raising of this siege necessity inforced them to man all their Vessels, and to put the uttermost of their forces into the hazard of one Battel. This Battel was fought at *Arginusæ*, where *Callicratidas* Admiral of the *Lacedæmonians*, losing the honour of the day, preserved his own reputation by dying valiantly in the fight. It might well have been expected that the ten Captains, who jointly had command in chief over the *Athenian* Fleet, should for that good days service, and so happy a Victory, have received great honour of their Citizens. But contrariwise, they were forthwith called home and accused, as if wilfully they had suffered many of the Citizens, whose ships were broken and sunk, to be cast away, when by appointing some Vessels to take them up, they might have saved them from being drowned. Hereto the Captains readily made a very just answer, That they pursuing the Victory, had left part of the Fleet under sufficient men, to save those that were wrackt; which if it were not well accomplished, it was because a tempest arising about the end of the fight, had hindred the performance of that, and other their intendments. This excuse availed not. For a leud fellow was brought forth, who said, That he himself escaping in a Meal-tub, had been intreated by those who were in peril of drowning, to desire of the people revenge of their deaths upon the Captains. It was very strange that upon such an accusation maintained with so slender evidence, men that had well deserved of their Country should be overthrown. But their enemies had so incensed the rascal multitude, that no man durst absolve them, save only *Socrates* the wise and virtuous Philosopher, whose voice in this judgment was not regarded. Six of them were put to death, of whom one had hardly escaped drowning, and was with much ado relieved by other Vessels in the storm: but the Captains which were absent escaped; for when the fury of the people was over-past, this judgment was reversed, and the accusers called into question for having deceived and perverted the Citizens. Thus the *Athenians* went about to free themselves from the infamy of injustice, but the Divine Justice was not asleep, nor would be so deluded.

SECT. XII.

The Battel at Ægos-Potamos, *wherein the whole State of* Athens *was ruined; with the end of the* Peloponnesian *War.*

THe *Peloponnesian* Fleet under *Lysander*, the year next following, having scoured the *Ægean* Seas, enter *Hellespont*, where (landing Soldi-

ers) it beſieged and took the Town of *Lampſacus*. Hereupon all the Navy of *Athens*, being an hundred and fourſcore ſail, made thither in haſte: but finding *Lampſacus* taken before their coming, they put in at *Seſtos*, where having refreſhed themſelves, they ſailed to the River called *Ægos-Potamos*, which is (as we might name it) *Goats-Brook*, or the River of the *Goat*, being on the Continent oppoſite to *Lampſacus*: and there they caſt Anchors, not one whole league off from *Lyſander*, who rode at *Lampſacus* in the Harbor. The next day after their arrival, they preſented fight unto the *Peloponneſians*, who refuſed it, whereupon the *Athenians* returned again to *Ægos-Potamos*; and thus they continued five days, braving every day the Enemy, and returning to their own Harbor when it drew towards Evening.

The Caſtle of *Alcibiades* was not far from the Navy, and his power in thoſe places was ſuch as might have greatly availed his Country-men, if they could have made uſe of it. For he had waged Mercenaries, and making War in his own name upon ſome people of the *Thracians*, had gathered much wealth, and obtained much reputation among them. He perceiving the diſorderly courſe of the *Athenian* Commanders, repaired unto them, and ſhewed what great inconvenience might grow, if they did not ſoon foreſee and prevent it. For they lay in a rode ſubject to every weather; neither near enough to any Town where they might furniſh themſelves with neceſſaries, nor ſo far off as had been more expedient. *Seſtos* was the next Market-Town; thither both Soldiers and Mariners reſorted, flocking away from the Navy every day, as ſoon as they were returned from braving the Enemy. Therefore *Alcibiades* willed them either to lye at *Seſtos*, which was not far off, or at leaſt to conſider how near their Enemy was, whoſe fear proceeded rather from obedience to their General, than from any cowardiſe. This admonition was ſo far deſpiſed, that ſome of the Commanders willed him to meddle with his own matters, and to remember that his authority was out of date. Had it not been for theſe opprobrious words, he could (as he told his familiars) have compelled the *Lacedæmonians* either to fight upon unequal terms, or utterly to quit their Fleet. And like enough it was that he might ſo have done by tranſporting the light-armed *Thracians*, his Confederates, and others his followers, over the Streights, who aſſaulting the *Peloponneſians* by Land, would either have compelled them to put to Sea, or elſe to leave their ſhips to the mercy of the *Athenians*. But finding their acceptance of his good counſel no better than hath been rehearſed, he left them to their fortune; which how evil it would be, he he did prognoſticate.

Lyſander all this while defending himſelf by the advantage of his Haven, was not careleſs in looking into the demeanour of the *Athenians*. When they departed, his manner was, to ſend forth ſome of his ſwifteſt Veſſels after them, who obſerving their doings, related unto him what they had ſeen. Therefore underſtanding in what careleſs faſhion they roomed up and down the Country; he kept all his men aboard after their departure: and the fifth day gave eſpecial charge to his Scouts, that when they perceived the *Athenians* diſimbarking, as their cuſtom was, and walking towards *Seſtos*, they ſhould forthwith return, and hang up a brazen ſhield in the Prow, as a token for him to weigh Anchor.

The Scouts performed their charge, and *Lyſander* being in a readineſs, made all ſpeed that ſtrength of Oars could give, to *Ægos-Potamos*, where he found very few of his enemies aboard their ſhips, nor many near them, and all in great confuſion upon the news of his approach.

Inſomuch that the greateſt induſtry which the *Athenians* then ſhewed, was in the eſcape of eight or nine ſhips, which knowing how much that loſs imported, gave over *Athens* as deſperate, and made a long flight into the Iſle of *Cyprus*; all the reſt were taken, and ſuch of the Soldiers as came into the reſcue, cut in pieces. Thus was the War which had laſted ſeven and twenty years, with variable ſucceſs, concluded in one hour, and the glory of *Athens* in ſuch wiſe eclipſed, that ſhe never afterward ſhone in her perfect light.

Immediately upon this Victory *Lyſander* having taken ſuch Towns as readily did yield upon the firſt fame of his exploit, ſet ſail for *Athens*, and joining his forces with thoſe of *Agis* and *Pauſanias* Kings of *Sparta*, ſummoned the City; which finding too ſtubborn to yield, and too ſtrong to be won on the ſudden, he put forth again to Sea, and rather by terror than violence, compelled all the Iſlands, and ſuch Towns of the *Ionians* as had formerly held of the *Athenians*, to ſubmit themſelves to *Sparta*; he did thereby cut off all proviſion of victuals, and other neceſſaries from the City, and inforced the people by meer Famine to yield to theſe conditions: That the long Walls leading from the Town to the Port, ſhould be thrown down; That all Cities ſubject to their Eſtate, ſhould be ſet at liberty: That the *Athenians* ſhould be Maſters only of their own Territories, and the fields adjoining to their Town; And that they ſhould keep no more than twelve ſhips; That they ſhould hold as Friends or Enemies, the ſame whom the *Lacedæmonians* did, and follow the *Lacedæmonians* as Leaders in the Wars.

Theſe Articles being agreed upon, the Walls were thrown down with great rejoycing of thoſe who had born diſpleaſure to *Athens*; and not without ſome conſultation of deſtroying the City, and laying waſte the land about it. Which advice, although it was not entertained, yet were thirty Governours, or rather cruel Tyrants, appointed over the people, who recompenced their former inſolency and injuſtice over their Captains, by oppreſſing them with all baſe and intolerable ſlavery.

The only ſmall hope then remaining to the *Athenians* was, that *Alcibiades* might perhaps repair what their ovvn folly had ruined. But the Thirty Tyrants perceiving this, advertiſed the *Lacedæmonians* thereof, vvho contrived, and (as novv domineering in every quarter) ſoon effected his ſudden death.

Such end had the *Peloponneſian* War. After vvhich the *Lacedæmonians* abuſing the reputation and great povver vvhich therein they had obtained, grevv very odious to *Greece*, and by combination of many Cities againſt them, vvere diſpoſſeſſed of their high authority, even in that very age in which they had ſubdued *Athens*. The greateſt foil that they took, was of the *Thebans* led by *Epaminondas*, under whom *Philip* of *Macedon* Father to *Alexander* the Great, had the beſt of his Education. By theſe *Thebans* the City of *Sparta* (beſides other great loſſes received) was ſundry times in danger of being taken. But theſe haughty attempts of the *Thebans* came finally to nothing; for the ſeveral Eſtates and Signiories of *Greece*, were grown ſo jealous one of anothers greatneſs, that the *Lacedæmonians*, *Athenians*, *Argives*, and *Thebans*,

Thebans, which were the mightiest, associating themselves with the weaker party, did so counterpoize the stronger, that no one City could extend the limits of her jurisdiction so far as might make her terrible to her neighbours. And thus all parts of the Country remained rather evenly ballanced, than well agreeing, till such time as *Philip*, and after him *Alexander*, Kings of *Macedon*, (whose forefathers had been dependants and followers, yea almost meer Vassals to the Estates of *Athens* and *Sparta*) found means by making use of their factions, to bring them all into servitude, from which they never could be free, till the *Romans* presenting them with a shew of liberty, did themselves indeed become their Masters.

CHAP. IX.

Of matters concurring with the Peloponnesian *War, or shortly following it.*

SECT. I.

How the affairs of Persia *stood in those times.*

During the times of this *Peloponnesian* War, and those other less Expeditions foregoing it, *Artaxerxes Longimanus* having peaceably enjoyed a long reign over the *Persians*, left it by his death either to *Darius*, who was called *Darius Nothus*, or the Bastard, whom the *Greek* Historians (lightly passing over *Xerxes* the second, and *Sogdianus*, as Usurpers, and for their short reign little to be regarded) place next unto them, or to *Xerxes* the second; who and his Brother *Sogdianus* after him (seeming to have been the Sons of *Hester*) held the Kingdom but one year between them, the younger succeeding his elder Brother. It is not my purpose (as I have said before) to pursue the History of the *Persians* from henceforth, by rehearsal of all the particulars, otherwise than as they shall be incident to the affairs of *Greece*. It may therefore suffice to say, That *Xerxes* the second being a vicious Prince, did perish after a month or two, if not by surfeit, then by the treachery of his riotous Brother *Sogdianus*. Likewise of *Sogdianus* it is found, that being as ill as his Brother, and more cruel, he slew unjustly *Bagoraxus* a principal Eunuch, and would have done as much to his Brother *Darius* the Bastard, had not he foreseen it, and by raising a stronger Army than this hated King *Sogdianus* could levy, seized at once upon the King and Kingdom. *Darius* having slain his Brother, held the Empire nineteen years. *Amyrtæus* of *Sais* an *Egyptian*, rebelled against him, and having partly slain, partly chased out of the Land the *Persian* Garisons, allied himself so firmly with the *Greeks*, that by their aid he maintained the Kingdom, and delivered it over to his posterity, who (notwithstanding the fury of their Civil Wars) maintained it against the *Persian* all the days of this *Darius*, and of his Son *Artaxerxes Mnemon*. Likewise *Amorges* a subject of his own, and of the Royal blood, being Lieutenant of *Caria*, rebelled against him; confederating himself with the *Athenians*. But the great calamity before spoken of, which fell upon the *Athenians* in *Sicil*, having put new life into the *Spartans*, and given courage to the Islanders and others, subject to the State of *Athens*, to shake off the yoke of their long continued bondage; It fell out well for *Darius* that the *Lacedæmonians* being destitute of money, wherewith to defray the charge of a great Navy, without which it was impossible to advance the War against the State of *Athens*, that remained powerful by Sea, were driven to crave his assistance, which he granted unto them, first upon what conditions best pleased himself, though afterwards the Articles of the league between him and them, were set down in more precise terms; wherein it was concluded, That he and they should make War jointly upon the *Athenians*, and upon all that should rebel from either of them, and (which was highly to the Kings honour and profit) that all the Cities of *Asia* which had formerly been his, or his Predecessors, should return to his obedience. By this Treaty, and the War ensuing (of which I have already spoken) he recovered all that his Grandfather and Father had lost in *Asia*. Likewise by assistance of the *Lacedæmonians* he got *Amorges* alive into his hands, who was taken in the City of *Jasus*; the *Athenians* wanting either force or courage to succour him. Nevertheless *Egypt* still held out against him; the cause whereof cannot be the employment of the *Persian* forces on the parts of *Greece*: for he abounded in men, of whom he had enough for all occasions, but they wanted manhood, which caused him to fight with Gold; which effected for him by Soldiers of other Nations, and his natural enemies, what the valour of his own Subjects was insufficient to perform. *Darius* had in marriage *Paryfatis* his own Sister, who bare unto him (besides other Children) *Artaxerxes* called *Mnemon*, that is to say, the Mindful, or the Rememberer, who succeeded him in the Kingdom; and *Cyrus* the younger, a Prince of singular virtue, and accounted by all that knew him, the most excellent man that ever *Persia* bred after *Cyrus* the great. But the old King *Darius*, intending to leave unto his eldest Son *Artaxerxes* the inheritance of the great Empire, did cast a jealous eye upon the doings of young *Cyrus*, who being Lieutenant of the lower *Asia*, took more upon him than befitted a Subject: for which cause his Father sent for him, with intent to have taken some very sharp course with him, had not his own death prevented the coming of his younger Son, and placed the elder in his Throne. Of the War between these Brethren, and summarily of *Artaxerxes*, we shall have occasion to speak somewhat in more convenient place.

SECT.

SECT. II.

How the Thirty Tyrants got their Dominion in Athens.

I Hold it in this place very convenient to ſhew the proceedings of the *Greeks*, after the ſubverſion of the Walls of *Athens*, which gave end to that War called the *Peloponneſian* War, but could not free the unhappy Country of *Greece* from civil broils. The thirty Governours, commonly called the thirty Tyrants of *Athens*, were choſen at the firſt by the people to compile a body of their Law, and make a collection of ſuch ancient Statutes as were meet to be put in practice: the condition of the City ſtanding as it did in that ſo ſudden alteration. To this charge was annexed the Supream Authority, either as a recompence of their labours, or becauſe the neceſſity of the times did ſo require it, wherein the Law being uncertain, it was fit that ſuch men ſhould give judgment in particular cauſes, to whoſe judgment the Laws themſelves, by which the City was to be ordered, were become ſubject. But theſe Thirty having ſo great power in their hands, were more careful to hold it, than to deſerve it by faithful execution of that which was committed to them in truſt.

Therefore apprehending ſuch troubleſome fellows as were odious to the City, though not puniſhable therefore by Law; they condemned them to death; which proceeding was by all men highly approved, who conſidered their leud conditions, but did not withal bethink themſelves how eaſie a thing it would be unto theſe thirty men to take away the lives of Innocents, by calling them perturbers of the peace, or what elſe they liſted, when condemnation without true trial and proof had been once well allowed. Having thus plauſibly entred into a wicked courſe of Government, they thought it beſt to fortifie themſelves with a ſure guard, ere they brake out into thoſe diſorders, which they muſt needs commit for the eſtabliſhing of their authority. Wherefore diſpatching two of their own company to *Sparta*, they informed the *Lacedæmonians*, that it was the full intent of the Thirty to keep the City free from all rebellious motions: to which purpoſe it behoved them to cut off ſuch as were ſeditious; and therefore deſired the *Lacedæmonians* to ſend them a Gariſon, which they promiſed at their own coſt to maintain. This motion was well approved, and a Guard ſent, the Captain of which was ſo well entertain'd by the Thirty, that none of their miſdeeds could want his high commendations at *Sparta*. Hereupon the Tyrants began to take heart, and looking no more after baſe and deteſted perſons, invaded the principal men of the City, ſending armed men from houſe to houſe, who drew out ſuch as were of great reputation, and likely or able to make any head againſt this wicked form of Government: whereby there was ſuch effuſion of blood, as to *Theramenes* (one of the Thirty) ſeemed very horrible, and unable to eſcape vengeance. His diſlike of their proceedings being openly diſcovered, cauſed his fellows to bethink themſelves, and provide for their own ſecurity, and his deſtruction, leſt he ſhould make himſelf a Captain of the diſcontented (which were almoſt the whole City) and redeem his own peace with their ruin. Wherefore they ſelected three thouſand of the Citizens, whom they thought meeteſt, and gave unto them ſome part of the publick Authority, the reſt they diſarmed; and having thus increaſed their own ſtrength, and weakned their oppoſites, they began afreſh to ſhed the blood, not only of their private enemies, but of ſuch whoſe money, or goods, might inrich them, and enable them for the payment of their Guard. And to this purpoſe they concluded, that every one of them ſhould name one man, upon whoſe goods he ſhould ſeize, putting the owner to death. But when *Theramenes* uttered his deteſtation of ſo wicked intent, then did *Critias*, who of all the Thirty was moſt tyrannical, accuſe him to the Council, as a treacherous man, and (whereas one main privileg of the three thouſand was, that none of them ſhould ſuffer death at the appointment of the Thirty, but have the accuſtomed trial) he took upon him to ſtrike out of that number the name of *Theramenes*, and ſo reduced him under the trial and ſentence of that order. It was well alledged by *Theramenes* that his name was not more eaſie to be blotted out of the Catalogue, than any other mans; upon which conſideration, he adviſed them all to conceive no otherwiſe of his caſe than as of their own, who were liable to the ſame form of proceeding: but every man chuſing rather to preſerve his own life by ſilence, than preſently to draw upon himſelf the danger, which as yet concerned him little, and perhaps would never come near him; the Tyrants interpreting ſilence as conſent, condemned him forthwith, and compelled him to drink poyſon.

SECT. III.

The Conſpiracy againſt the thirty Tyrants, and their depoſing.

After the death of *Theramenes*, the Thirty began to uſe ſuch out-rage as excelled their former villanies. For having three thouſand (as they thought) firm unto them, they robbed all others without fear or ſhame, deſpoiling them of lands and goods, and cauſed them to fly into baniſhment, for ſafeguard of their lives. This flight of the Citizens procured their liberty, and the general good of the City. For the baniſhed Citizens who were fled to *Thebes*, entred into conſultation, and reſolved to hazard their lives in ſetting free the City of *Athens*. The very thought of ſuch a practice had been treaſon at home, which had no other danger abroad, than might be found in the execution. Seventy men or thereabout, were the firſt undertakers, who with their Captain *Thraſybulus* took *Phyla*, a place of ſtrength in the Territory of *Athens*. No ſooner did the Thirty hear of their exploit, than ſeek means to prevent further danger; aſſembling the three thouſand, and their *Lacedæmonian* Guard, with which force they attempted *Phyla*, but were with ſome loſs of their men repelled. Finding the place too ſtrong to be taken by aſſault, they intended to beſiege it; which purpoſe came to nought by means of ſnow that fell, and other ſtormy weather, againſt which they had not made proviſion. Retiring therefore to the City, which above all they were to make good, they left the moſt of their Guard, and two companies of Horſe, to weary out them which lay in *Phyla*, with a flying ſiege. But it was not long ere the followers of *Thraſybulus* were encreaſed from ſeventy to ſeven hundred, which adventured to give charge upon thoſe Guards, of whom they cut off

above an hundred and twenty. These small but prosperous beginnings, added more to the number of those in *Phyla*, who now with a thousand men got entrance into *Piræus*, the suburb of *Athens*, lying on the Port. Before their coming, the Thirty had resolved to fortifie the Town of *Eleusine* to their own use, whereinto they might make an easie retrait, and save themselves from any sudden peril. It may well seem strange, that whereas their barbarous manner of Government had brought them into such danger, they were so far from seeking to obtain mens good will, that contrariwise to assure themselves of *Eleusine*, they got all of the place who could bear arms into their hands by a train, and wickedly (though under form of Justice) murthered them all. But *Sceleribus tutum per scelera est iter*, the mischiefs which they had already done were such, as left them no hope of going backward, nor any other apparent likelihood of safety, than by extending their cruelty unto all, seeing few or none were left, whom they could trust. When *Thrasybulus* and his fellows, who as yet were termed conspirators, had taken the *Piræus*, then were the three thousand armed again by the Tyrants, and brought to assault it; but in this enterprize *Thrasybulus* had the better, and repelled his enemies, of whom though there were slain to the number of seventy only, yet the Victory seemed the greater, because *Critias*, and one other of the Thirty, perished in that fight. The death of *Critias*, and the stout defence of *Piræus*, together with some exhortations used by *Thrasybulus* to the Citizens, wrought such effect, that the Thirty were deposed. Nevertheless there were so many of the three thousand, who having communicated with the Thirty in their misdeeds, feared to be called to a sharp account, that no peace, nor quiet form of Government could be established. For Embassadors were sent to *Sparta*, who craving aid against *Thrasybulus* and his follower, had favourable audience, and a power sent to their assistance, both by land and sea, under the conduct of *Lysander*, and his Brother; whom *Pausanias* the *Spartan* King did follow, raising an Army of the Cities confederate with the *Lacedæmonians*. And here appeared first the jealousie, wherein some people held the State of *Sparta*. The *Bœotians* and *Corinthians*, who in the late Wars had been the most bitter enemies to *Athens*, refused to follow *Pausanias* in this expedition; alledging that it stood not with their oaths, to make War against that people, who had not hitherto broken any one article of the League: but fearing indeed lest the *Lacedæmonians* should annex the Territory of *Athens* to their own Demains. It is not to be doubted, that *Pausanias* took this answer in good part. For it was not his purpose to destroy those against whom he went, but only to cross the proceedings of *Lysander*, whom he envied. Therefore having in some small skirmishes against them of *Thrasybulus* his party, made a shew of War, he finally wrought such means that all things were compounded quietly: the thirty men, and such others as were like to give cause of tumults, being sent to *Sparta*. The remainder of that Tyrannical faction, having withdrawn themselves to *Eleusine*, were shortly after found to attempt some innovation; whereupon the whole City rising against them, took their Captains, as they were coming to Parley, and slew them: which done, to avoid further inconvenience, a law was made, that all injuries past should be forgotten, and no man called into question for wrongs committed. By which order, wisely made, and carefully observed, the City returned to her former quietness.

CHAP. X.

Of the Expedition of Cyrus *the younger.*

SECT. I.

The grounds of Cyrus *his attempt against his brother.*

THE matters of *Greece* standing upon such terms, that no one Estate durst oppose it self against that of *Lacedæmon*; young *Cyrus*, Brother to *Artaxerxes* King of *Persia*, having in his Fathers life-time very carefully prosecuted the War against *Athens*, did send his messengers to *Sparta*, requesting that their love might appear no less to him, than that which he had shewed towards them in their dangerous War against the *Athenians*. To this request, being general, the *Lacedæmonians* gave a suitable answer; commanding the Admiral to perform unto *Cyrus* all service that he should require of him. If *Cyrus* had plainly discovered himself, and the *Lacedæmonians* bent their whole power to his assistance, very like it is, that either the Kingdom of *Persia* should have been the recompence of his deserts; or that, he perishing in battel, as after he did, the subversion of that Empire had forthwith ensued. But it pleased God rather to shew unto the *Greeks* the ways, which under the *Macedonian* Ensigns, the victorious foot-steps of their posterity should measure; and opening unto them the riches, and withal the weakness of the *Persian*, to kindle in them both desire and hope of that Conquest, which he reserved to another generation; than to give into their hands that mighty Kingdom, whose hour was not yet come. The love which *Paryſatis* the Queen-mother of *Persia* bare unto *Cyrus* her younger son, being seconded by the earnest favour of the people, and ready desires of many principal men, had moved this young Prince in his Fathers old age, to aspire after the Succession. But being sent for by his Father (as hath before been shewed) whose meaning was to curb this ambitious Youth; he found his elder brother *Artaxerxes* established so surely by the old Kings favour, that it were not safe to attempt any means of displanting him, by whose

whose disfavour himself might easily lose the place of a Viceroy, which he held in *Asia* the less, and hardly be able to maintain his own life. The nearest neighbour to *Cyrus* of all the Kings Deputies in the lower *Asia*, was *Tissaphernes*, a man compounded of cowardise, treachery, craft, and all vices which accustomably branch out of these. This man accompanied *Cyrus* to his Father, using by the way all fair shews of friendship as to a Prince for whom it might well be thought that Queen *Parysatis* had obtained the inheritance of that mighty Empire. And it was very true, that *Parysatis* had used the best of her endeavour to that purpose, alledging that (which in former ages had been much available to *Xerxes*, in the like disceptation with his elder brother) *Artaxerxes* was born whilst his Father was a private man, but *Cyrus*, when he was crowned King. All which not sufficing; when the most that could be obtained for *Cyrus* was the pardon of some presumptuous demeanor, and confirmation of his place in *Lydia*, and the parts adjoining: then did this *Tissaphernes* discover his nature, and accuse his friend *Cyrus* to the new King *Artaxerxes*, of a dangerous Treason intended against his person. Upon this accusation, whether true or false, very easily believed, *Cyrus* was arrested, and by the most vehement intreaty of his Mother very hardly delivered, and sent back into his own Province.

SECT. II.

The preparation of Cyrus, *and his first entry into the War.*

THE form of Government which the *Persian* Lieutenants used in their several Provinces, was in many points almost Regal. For they made war and peace, as they thought it meet, not only for the Kings behoof, but for their own reputation; usually indeed with the Kings enemies, yet sometimes one with another: which was the more easily tolerated, because their own heads were held only at the Kings pleasure, which caused them to frame all their doings to his will, whatsoever it were, or they could conjecture it to be. *Cyrus* therefore being setled in *Lydia*, began to consider with himself the interest that he had in the Kingdom; the small assurance of his Brothers love, held only by his Mothers intercession; the disgrace endured by his late imprisonment; and the means which he had by love of his own people, and that good neighbourhood of the *Lacedæmonians*, whom he had bound unto him, to obtain the Crown for himself. Neither was it expedient that he should long sit idle, as waiting till occasion should present it self: but rather enterprise somewhat whilst yet his Mother lived, who could procure a good interpretation to all his actions, if they were no worse than only questionable. Hereupon he first began to quarrel with *Tissaphernes*, and seized upon many Towns of his Jurisdiction, annexing them to his own Province, which displeased not *Artaxerxes* at all, who (besides that he was of condition somewhat simple) being truly paid by *Cyrus* the accustomable Tributes out of those places, was well contented to see his Brothers hot spirit exercised in private quarrels. But *Tissaphernes* whose base conditions were hated, and cowardise despised, although he durst not adventure to take arms against *Cyrus*, yet perceiving that the *Milesians* were about to give up themselves into the hands of that young Prince, as many other Towns of the *Ionians* had done, thought by terror to preserve his reputation, and keep the Town in his own hands. Wherefore he slew many, and many he banished, who flying to *Cyrus*, were gently entertained, as bringing fair occasion to take arms, which was no small part of his desire. In levying Soldiers he used great policy; for he took not only the men of his own Province, or of the Countrys adjoining, whose lives were ready at his will; but secretly he furnished some *Grecian* Captains with money, who being very good men of War, entertained Soldiers therewith, some of them warring in *Thrace*, others in *Thessaly*, others elsewhere in *Greece*; but all of them ready to cross the Seas, at the first call of *Cyrus*, till which time they had secret instructions to prolong their several Wars, that the Soldiers might be held in continual exercise, and ready in arms upon the sudden. *Cyrus* having sent a power of men to besiege *Miletus*, forthwith summoned these bands of the *Greeks*, who very readily came over to his assistance, being thirteen thousand very firm Soldiers, and able to make head (which is almost incredible) against the whole power of *Artaxerxes*. With this Army, and that which he had levied before, he could very easily have forced *Miletus*, and chased away *Tissaphernes* out of *Asia* the less: but his purpose was not so to lose time in small matters, that was to be imployed in the accomplishment of higher designs. Pretending therefore that the *Pisidians*, a people of *Asia* the less, not subject to the *Persian*, had invaded his Territory; he raised the siege of *Miletus*, and with all speed marched Eastward, leaving *Tissaphernes* much amazed, who had no leisure to rejoice that *Cyrus* had left him to himself, when he considered that so great an Army, and so strong, was never levied against the Rovers of *Pisidia*, but rather against the great King his Master. For which cause taking a band of five hundred horse, he posted away to carry tidings to the Court of this great preparation.

SECT. III.

How Cyrus *took his journey into the higher* Asia, *and came up to his brother.*

THE Tumult which his coming brought, was very great, and great the exclamations of the Queen *Statira* against *Parysatis*, the Queen-Mother, whom she called the Author and occasioner of the War. But whilst the King in great fear was arming the high Countrys in his defence, the danger hasted upon him very fast. For *Cyrus* made great marches, having his number much increased by the repair of his Countrymen, though most strengthened by the access of seven hundred *Greeks*, and of other four hundred of the same Nation, who revolted unto him from the King. How terrible the *Greeks* were to the *Barbarians*, he found by trial in a Muster, which (to please the Queen of *Cicilia*, who had brought him aid) he made in *Phrygia*; where the *Greeks* by his direction making offer of a charge upon the rest of his Army, which contained a hundred thousand men, the whole Camp (not perceiving that this was but a bravery) fled amain, the victuallers and baggagers forsaking their Cabins, and running all away for very fear. This was to *Cyrus* a joyful spectacle, who knew very well that his Brother was followed by men of the same

ſame temper, and the more unlikely to make reſiſtance; becauſe they were preſt to the War againſt their will and diſpoſitions, whereas his Army was drawn along by meer affection and good will. Nevertheleſs he found it a very hard matter to perſwade the *Greeks* to paſs the River of *Euphrates*. For the very length of the way which they had trodden, wearied them with the conceit of the tedious return. Therefore he was driven, being yet in *Cicilia*, to ſeek excuſes, telling them, that *Abrocomas*, one of the Kings principal Captains, and his own great enemy, lay by the River, againſt whom he requeſted them to aſſiſt him. By ſuch devices, and exceſſive promiſe of reward, he brought them to *Euphrates*; where ſome of the *Greeks* conſidering, That whoſo paſſed the River firſt, ſhould have the moſt thanks, and might ſafely return if the reſt ſhould refuſe to follow them; they entred the Foords, whereby all were finally perſwaded to do as ſome had begun: and being allured by great hopes, they reſolved to ſeek out *Artaxerxes* whereſoever he was to be found. The King in the mean time having raiſed an Army of nine hundred thouſand men, was not ſo confident upon this huge multitude, as to adventure them in trial of a plain battel. *Abrocomas*, who with three hundred thouſand men, had undertaken to make good the Streights of *Syria*, which were very narrow, and fortified with a ſtrong wall, and other defences of nature and art, which made the place to ſeem impregnable, had quitted the paſſage, and retired himſelf toward the Kings forces, not daring to look *Cyrus* in the face; who deſpairing to find any way by land, had procured the *Lacedæmonian* Fleet, by the benefit whereof to have tranſported his Army. I do not find that this cowardiſe of *Abrocomas*, or his Soldiers, who arrived not at the Camp till five days were paſt after the battel, received either puniſhment, or diſgrace; for they toward whom he withdrew himſelf, were all made of the ſame metal.

Therefore *Artaxerxes* was upon the point of retiring to the uttermoſt bounds of his Kingdom, until by *Teribazus*, one of his Captains, he was perſwaded not to abandon ſo many goodly Provinces to the enemy, who would thereby have gathered addition of ſtrength, and (which in the ſharp diſputtaion of Title to a Kingdom is moſt available) would have grown ſuperiour in reputation. By ſuch advice, the King reſolved upon meeting with his Brother, who now began to be ſecure, being fully perſwaded that *Artaxerxes* would never dare to abide him in the field. For the King having caſt up a Trench of almoſt forty miles in length, about thirty foot broad, and eighteen foot deep, intended there to have encamped: but his courage failing him, he abandoned that place, thinking nothing ſo ſafe as to be far diſtant from his enemies.

SECT. VI.

The Battel between Cyrus *and* Artaxerxes.

THe Army of *Cyrus* having overcome many difficulties of evil ways, and ſcarcity of victuals, was much incouraged by perceiving this great fear of *Artaxerxes*; and being paſt this Trench, marched careleſly in great diſorder, having beſtowed their Arms in Carts, and upon Beaſts of carriage; when on the ſudden one of their Van-currors brought news of the Kings approach. Hereupon with great tumult they armed themſelves, and had ranged their Battels in good order upon the ſide of the River *Euphrates*, where they waited for the coming of their enemies, whom they ſaw not till it was afternoon. But when they ſaw the cloud of duſt raiſed by the feet of that huge multitude, which the King drew after him, and perceived by their near approach how well they were marſhalled, coming on very orderly in ſilence; whereas it had been expected, that ruſhing violently with loud clamors, they ſhould have ſpent all their force upon the firſt brunt; and when it appeared that the fronts of the two Armies were ſo unequal in diſtent, being all embattelled in one body and ſquare, that *Cyrus* taking his place (as was the *Perſian* manner) in the midſt of his own, did not with the corner, and utmoſt point thereof, reach to the half breadth of *Artaxerxes* his battel, who carried a front proportionable to his number, exceeding nine times that of *Cyrus*: then did the *Greeks* begin to diſtruſt their own manhood, which was not accuſtomed to make proof of it ſelf upon ſuch exceſſive odds. It was almoſt incredible, that ſo great an Army ſhould be ſo eaſily chaſed. Nevertheleſs it quickly appeared, that theſe *Perſians* having learned (contrary to their cuſtom) to give charge upon their enemies with ſilence, had not learned (for it was contrary to their nature) to receive a ſtrong charge with courage. Upon the very firſt offer of an on-ſet, made by the *Greeks*, all that beaſtly rabble of cowards fled amain, without abiding the ſtroke, or ſtaying till they were within reach of a dart. The Chariots armed with hooks and ſithes (whereof *Artaxerxes* had two hundred, and *Cyrus* not twenty) did ſmall hurt that day, becauſe the drivers of them leaping down, fled away on foot. This baſe demeanour of his enemies gave ſo much confidenee to *Cyrus* and his Followers, that ſuch as were about him forthwith adored him as King. And certainly, the Title had been aſſured unto him that day, had not he ſought how to declare himſelf worthy of it, ere yet he had obtained it. For perceiving that *Artaxerxes*, who found that part of the field which lay before him void, was about to encompaſs the *Greeks*, and to ſet upon them in the rear, he advanced with ſix hundred Horſe, and gave ſo valiant a charge upon a ſquadron of ſix thouſand, which lay before the King, that he brake it, ſlaying the Captain thereof *Artagerſes* with his own hands, and putting all the reſt to flight. Hereupon his whole company of ſix hundred, very few excepted, began to follow the chaſe, leaving *Cyrus* too ill attended; who perceiving where the King ſtood in troop, uncertain whether to fight, or leave the field, could not contain himſelf, but ſaid, *I ſee the man*: and preſently with a ſmall handful of men about him, ran upon his Brother, whom he ſtroke through the Curace, and wounded in the breaſt. Having given this ſtroke, which was his laſt, he received immediately the fatal blow, which gave period at once to his ambition and life, being wounded under the eye with a Dart, thrown by a baſe fellow; wherewith aſtoniſhed, he fell dead from his horſe, or ſo hurt, that it was unpoſſible to have recovered him, though all which were with him, did their beſt for his ſafety; not caring afterwards for their own lives, when once they perceived that *Cyrus* their Maſter was ſlain. *Artaxerxes* cauſed the head and right hand of his Brother to be forthwith ſtricken off, and ſhewed to his people, who now purſuing them, fled apace, calling upon the name of *Cyrus*, and deſiring him to pardon them. But when this great accident had breathed new courage into the Kings troops, and utterly diſmaid ſuch *Perſian*

Captains as were now even in their own eyes no better than rebels; it was not long ere the Camp of *Cyrus* was taken, being quite abandoned; from whence *Artaxerxes* making all speed, arrived quickly at the quarter of the *Greeks*, which was about three miles from the place where *Cyrus* fell. There he met with *Tissaphernes*, who having made way through the Battel of the *Greeks*, was ready now to join with his Master in spoiling their Tents. Had not the news which *Artaxerxes* brought with him of his Brothers death been sufficient to countervail all disasters received, the exploit of *Tissaphernes* in breaking through the *Greeks*, would have yielded little comfort. For *Tissaphernes* had not slain any one man of the *Greeks*; but contrariwise, when he came upon them, they opening their Battel, drave him with great slaughter through them, in such wise, that he rather escaped as out of an hard passage, than forced his way through the squadron of the *Greeks*. Hereof the King being informed by him, and that the *Greeks*, as Masters of the field, gave chase to all that came in their sight; they ranged their Companies into good order, and followed after these *Greeks*, intending to set upon them in the rear. But these good Soldiers perceiving the Kings approach, turned their faces, and made head against him; who not intending to seek honour with danger of his life, wheeled about and fled, being pursued unto a certain Village that lay under a hill, on the top whereof he made a stand, rather in a bravery, than with purpose to attempt upon these bold fellows any further. For he knew well, that his brothers death had secured his estate, whom he would seem to have slain with his own hand, thinking that fact alone sufficient to give reputation to his valour; and this reputation he thought that he might now preserve well enough, shewing a manly look half a mile off. On the top of this Hill therefore he advanced his Standard, a golden Eagle displaid on the top of a Spear. This Ensign might have encouraged his people, had not some of the *Greeks* espied it, who not meaning that he should abide so near them, with all their power marched toward him. The King discovering their approach, fled upon the spur; so that none remained in the place of battel, save only the *Greeks*, who had lost that day not one man, nor taken any other harm, than that one of them was hurt with an arrow. Much they wondred that they heard no news of *Cyrus*; but thinking that he was pursuing the Army, they thought it was fittest for them, having that day done enough, to return to their Quarter, and take their Supper, to which they had good appetite, because the expectation of the Kings coming had given them no leisure to dine.

SECT. V.

The hard estate of the Greeks *after the fight; and how* Artaxerxes *in vain sought to have made them yield unto him.*

IT was now about the setting of the Sun, and they bringing home dark night with them, found their Camp spoiled, little or nothing being left that might serve for food: so that wanting victuals to satisfie their hunger, they refreshed their weary bodies with sleep. In the mean season *Artaxerxes* returning to his Camp, which he entred by Torch-light, could not enjoy the pleasure of his good fortune entire, because he perceived that the baseness of his people, and weakness of his Empire, was now plainly discovered to the *Greeks*: which gave him assurance, that if any of these who had beheld the shameful demeanor of his Army, should live to carry tidings home, it would not be long ere with greater forces they disputed with him for his whole Signory. Wherefore he resolved to try all means whereby he might bring them to destruction, and not let one escape to carry tidings of that which he had seen: to which purpose he sent them a brave message the next morning; charging them to deliver up their Arms, and come to his Gates, to await there upon his Mercy. It seems that he was in good hope to have found their high courages broken, upon report of his Brothers death: but he was greatly deceived in that thought. For the *Greeks* being advertised that morning from *Arieus*, a principal Commander under *Cyrus*, that his Master being slain, he had retired himself to the place of their last encamping, about eight miles from thence, whence intending to return into *Ionia*, his meaning was to dislodg the next day, awaiting for them so long if they would join with him, but resolving to stay no longer: they sent answer back to *Arieus*, that having beaten the King out of the field, and finding none that durst resist them, they would place *Arieus* himself in the Kings Throne, if he would join with them, and pursue the Victory. Before they received any reply to this answer, the Messengers of *Artaxerxes* arrived at the Camp, whose errand seemed to the Captains very insolent: One told them, that it was not for the Vanquishers to yield their Weapons; another, that he would die ere he yielded to such a motion: a third asked, Whether the King, as having the Victory, required their Weapons; if so, why did he not fetch them? or, whether he desired them in a way of friendship; for then would they first know, with what courtesie he meant to requite their kindness. To this question *Phalinus* a *Grecian*, waiting upon *Tissaphernes*, answered, That the King having slain *Cyrus*, knew no man that could pretend any Title to his Kingdom, in the midst whereof he held them fast enclosed with great Rivers, being able to bring against them such numbers of men, as they wanted strength to kill if they would hold up their throats; for which cause he accounted them his prisoners. These words to them who knew themselves to be free, were nothing pleasant. Therefore one told *Phalinus*, That having nothing left but their Arms and Valour, whilest they kept their Arms, their Valour would be serviceable; but should they yield them, it was to be doubted, that their bodies would not long remain their own. Hereat *Phalinus* laughed, saying, This young man did seem a Philosopher, and made a pretty speech, but that his deep speculation shewed his wits to be very shallow, if he thought with his Arms and Valour to prevail against the great King. It seems that *Phalinus* being a Courtier, and imployed in a business of importance, thought himself too profound a Statesman, to be checkt in his Embassage by a bookish discourser. But his wisdom herein failed him. For whatsoever he himself was (of whom no more is known, than that he brought an unhonest message to his own Countrymen, perswading them basely to surrender their Weapons and Lives to the merciless *Barbarians*) this young Scholar by him despised, was that great *Xenophon* who when all the principal Commanders were surprized by treachery of the *Persians*, being a private Gentleman, and having never seen the Wars before, undertook the conduct of the Army, which he brought safe into *Greece*, freeing it from all those, and from greater dangers

dangers than *Phalinus* could propound. Some there were who promiſed to be faithful to the King, as they had been to *Cyrus*, offering their ſervice in *Egypt*, where they thought *Artaxerxes* might have uſe of them. But the final anſwer was, That without Weapons they could neither do the King good as Friends, nor defend themſelves from him as Enemies. Hereupon *Phalinus* delivered the Kings further pleaſure, which was to grant them Truce, whilſt they abode where they then were, denouncing War if they ſtirred thence; Whereunto he required their anſwer. *Clearchus* the General told him, They liked it. How (ſaith *Phalinus*) muſt I underſtand you? As chooſing peace if we ſtay, or otherwiſe War, ſaith *Clearchus*. But whether War or peace, quoth this politick Embaſſador? To whom *Clearchus* (not willing to acquaint him with their purpoſe), Let our doings tell you; and ſo diſmiſſed him no wiſer than he came. All that day the *Greeks* were fain to feed upon their Horſes, Aſſes, and other Beaſts, which they roſted with Arrows, Darts, and wooden Targets, thrown avvay by the Enemies.

SECT. VI.

How the Greeks *began to return homewards.*

AT night they took their vvay tovvards *Arieus*, to vvhom they came at midnight; being forſaken by four hundred foot, and forty horſe, all *Thracians*, who fled over to the King; by whom, how they were entertained, I do not find. Like enough it is that they were cut in pieces, for had they been kindly uſed, it may well be thought that ſome of them ſhould have accompanied *Tiſſaphernes*, and ſerved as Stales to draw in the reſt. *Arieus* being of too baſe a temper and birth, to think upon ſeeking the Kingdom for himſelf, with ſuch aſſiſtance as might have given it unto *Cyrus*, was very well pleaſed to make Covenant with them for mutual aſſiſtance unto the laſt: Whereunto both parts having ſworn, he adviſed them to take another way homeward, which ſhould be ſomewhat longer, yet ſafer and fitter to relieve them with victuals, than that by which they came. The next day, having made a weariſome march, and tired the Soldiers, they found the Kings Army which had coaſted them, lodged in certain Villages, where they purpoſed themſelves to have encamped: towards which *Clearchus* made directly, becauſe he would not ſeem by declining them, to ſhew fear, or weakneſs. That the Kings men were contented to remove, and give place to their betters, it cannot be ſtrange to any that hath conſidered their former behaviour; Nor ſtrange, that the *Grecians*, being weary and hungry, and lying among enemies in an unknown Country, ſhould be very fearful: but it is almoſt paſt belief, that the noiſe which was heard of theſe poor men, calling one to another tumultuouſly, as the preſent condition inforced them to do, ſhould make the *Perſians* fly out of their Camp, and ſo affright the great King, that inſtead of demanding their Arms, he ſhould crave peace of them. The next day very early came meſſengers from *Artaxerxes*, deſiring free acceſs for Embaſſadors, to entreat of peace. Were it not that ſuch particulars do beſt open the quality of the perſons, by whom things were managed, I ſhould hold it fitter, to run over the general paſſages of thoſe times, than to dwell among circumſtances. But ſurely it is a point very remarkable, That when *Clearchus* had willed the Meſſengers to bid the King prepare for Battel, becauſe the *Greeks* (as he ſaid) wanting whereupon to dine, could not endure to hear of Truce till their bellies were full; *Artaxerxes* diſſembling the indignity, was contented ſweetly to ſwallow down this pill, ſending them guides, who conducted them to a place where was plenty of victuals to relieve them.

SECT. VII.

How Tiſſaphernes *under colour of peace, betrayed all the Captains of the* Greeks.

HItherto the *Greeks*, relying upon their own virtue, had rather advanced their affairs, than brought themſelves into any ſtreights or terms of diſadvantage. But now came unto them the ſubtil Fox *Tiſſaphernes*, who circumventing the Chief Commanders by fine ſleights, did miſchievouſly entrap them, to the extream danger of the Army. He told them that his Province, lying near unto *Greece*, had cauſed him greatly to deſire, that their deliverance might be wrought by his procurement; knowing well that in time to come, both they, and their Countrymen at home, would not be unthankful for ſuch a benefit. Herewithal he forgot not to rehearſe the great ſervice that he had done to his Maſter, being the firſt that advertiſed him of *Cyrus* his intent, and having not only brought him a good ſtrength of men, but in the day of battel ſhewed his face to the *Greeks*, when all others turned their backs: that he, together with the King, did enter their Camp, and gave chaſe to the *Barbarians* that ſtood on the part of *Cyrus*. All this (quoth he) did I alledg to the King, entreating that he would give me leave to conduct you ſafe into *Greece*; in which ſute I have good hope to ſpeed, if you will ſend a mild anſwer to him, who hath willed me to ask you, For what cauſe ye have born Arms againſt me? The Captains hearing this, were contented to give gentle words, which *Tiſſaphernes* relating to the King, procured (though very hardly, as he ſaid) that peace ſhould be granted: the conditions whereof were; That they ſhould paſs freely through all the Kings Dominions, paying for that they took, and committing no ſpoil: yet that it ſhould be lawful for them to take victuals by force, in any place that refuſed to afford them an open Market Hereupon both parties having ſworn, the League was concluded; and *Tiſſaphernes*, returning to the King to take leave, and end all buſineſs, came unto them again after twenty days, and then they ſet forward. This interim of twenty days, which *Tiſſaphernes* did ſpend at the Court, miniſtred great occaſion of miſtruſt to his new Confederates. For beſides his long abſence, which alone ſufficed to breed doubt, the Brethren, the Kindred of *Arieus*, repairing daily to him, and other *Perſians* to his Soldiers, did vvork him and them ſo vvith aſſurance of pardon, and other allurements, that he daily grevv more ſtrange to the *Greeks* than formerly he had been. This cauſed many to adviſe *Clearchus*, rather to paſs forvvard as vvell as he might, than to relye upon Covenants, and ſit ſtill vvhilſt the King layed ſnares to entrap them. But he on the contrary perſvvaded them, to reſt contented vvhilſt they vvere vvell, and not to caſt themſelves again into thoſe difficulties, out of vvhich they vvere

newly freed by the late Treaty; reciting with their own wants, and the Kings means, but especially the Oaths mutually given and taken, wherewith he saw no reason why the enemy should have clogged himself if he meant mischief, having power enough to do them harm by a fair and open War.

Tissaphernes was a very honourable man (if honour may be valued by greatness and place in Court) which caused his Oath to be the more esteemed; forasmuch as no inforcement, or base respect, was like to have drawn it from him. But his falshood was such, both in substance and in success, as may fitly expound that saying, which proceeded from the fountain of Truth, *I hate a rich man a lyar*. A lye may find excuse when it grows out of fear: for that passion hath his original from weakness. But when Power, which is a *Character* of the *Almighty*, shall be made the supporter of untruth, the falshood is most abominable; for the offender, like proud *Lucifer*, advancing his own strength against the Divine Justice, doth commit that sin with an high hand, which commonly produceth lamentable effects, and is followed with sure vengeance. It was not long ere *Tissaphernes* found means to destroy all the Captains, whom he subtilly got into his power by a train; making the General *Clearchus* himself the mean to draw in all the rest. The business was contrived thus: Having travelled some days together, in such wise that the *Persians* did not encamp with the *Greeks*, who were vey jealous of the great familiarity appearing between *Tissaphernes* and *Arians*; *Clearchus* thought it convenient to root out of *Tissaphernes* his brains all causes of distrust, whereof many had grown in that short time. To which purpose obtaining private conference with him, he rehearsed the Oath of Confederacy, which had past between them, shewing how religiously he would keep it; and repeating the benefits which the *Greeks* did receive by the help of *Tissaphernes*, he promised that their love should appear to him not unfruitful, if he would make use of their service against the *Mysians*, or *Pisidians*, who were accustomed to infest his Provinces; or against the *Egyptians*, who were then Rebels to the great King. For which cause he desired him, that whereas all divine and humane respects had linked them together, he would not give place to any close accusation or suspicion, whereby might grow sudden inconvenience to either of them, upon no just ground. The faithless *Persian* was very much delighted with this speech, which ministred fair occasion to the execution of his purpose. Therefore he told *Clearchus*, that all this was by him wisely considered, wishing him further to call to mind how many ways he could have used to bring them to confusion; without peril to himself; especially by burning the Country, through which they were to pass, whereby they must needs have perished by meer famine. For which cause he said, that it had been great folly, to seek by perjury, odious to God and Man, the destruction of such as were already in his hands. But the truth was, that his own love to them had moved him to work their safety, not only for those ends which *Clearchus* had recounted, of pleasures that might redound to himself, and the King, by their assistance; but for that he might by their friendship hope to obtain what *Cyrus* had mist. Finally, he invited the credulous Gentleman to Supper, and sent him away so well assured of his good will, that he promised to bring all the Captains with him to the same place, where in presence of them all, *Tissaphernes* likewise promised to tell openly which of them had by secret information sought to raise dissention between them. *Clearchus* himself being thus deceived, with great importunity drew all the chief Commanders, and many of the inferiour Leaders to repair with him to the Camp of *Tissaphernes*, whither followed them about two hundred of the common Soldiers, as it had been to some common Fair. But being there arrived, *Clearchus* with other the five principal Colonels, were called into the Tent, the rest staying without, where they had not waited long ere a sign was given, upon which they within were apprehended, and the residue slain. Forthwith certain bands of *Persian* Horsemen scoured the field, killing as many *Greeks* as they met, and riding up to the very Camp of the *Gracians*, who wondred much at the tumult, whereof they knew not the cause, till one escaping sorely wounded, informed them of all that had been done. Hereupon the *Greeks* took Arms in haste, thinking that the enemy would forthwith have assailed their Camp. Anon they might perceive the Embassadors of *Tissaphernes*, among whom were his own Brother, and *Arieus* followed with three hundred Horse, who called for the principal men in the Army, saying, That they brought a message from the King, which *Arieus* delivered to this effect: That *Clearchus* having broken his faith, and the League made, was justly rewarded with death; that *Mnemon* and *Proxenus*, two other of the five Colonels, for detecting his treachery, were highly honoured; and finally, that the King required them to surrender their arms which were due to him, as having belonged unto his servant *Cyrus*. When some altercation had followed upon this message, *Xenophon* told the Embassadors, That if *Clearchus* had in such sort offended, it was well that he was in such sort punished: but he willed them to send back *Mnemon* and *Proxenus*, whom they had so greatly honoured, that by them, as by common friends to both Nations, the *Greeks* might be advised how to answer the *Persian*. Hereunto the Embassadors knew not how to frame any reply, and therefore departed without speaking one word more. *Clearchus* and the other four were sent to *Artaxerxes*, by whose commandment their heads were stricken off. I hold it not amiss to prevent the order of time, annexing to this perfidiousness of *Tissaphernes*, the reward which he afterward received. He saw his Province wasted by the *Greeks*, against whom receiving from his Master convenient aid of men and money, he did so ill manage his affairs, that neither subtilty, nor perjury (to which he failed not to have recourse) availed him; finally, the King was jealous of his cunning head, and sent a new Lieutenant into those parts, who took it from his shoulders. Such was the recompence of his treachery, which made him so mistrusted at home, that the service which he could not do, he was thought upon private ends to neglect; and so hated abroad, that he knew not which way to fly from the stroke, all the world being shut against him. But now let us return to the prosperity wherein he triumphed with great cause, having betrayed braver men than himself, and intending to bring the like mischief upon the whole Army.

SECT.

SECT. VIII.

How Xenophon *heartned the* Greeks, *and in deſpight of* Tiſſaphernes *went off ſafely.*

GReat was the heavineſs of the Soldiers, being now left deſtitute of Leaders, and no leſs their fear of the evil hanging over their heads, which they knew not well how to avoid. Among the reſt, *Xenophon*, whoſe learning ſupplied his want of experience, finding the deep ſadneſs of the whole Army, to be ſuch as hindred them from taking any courſe of preventing the danger at hand, began to adviſe the under-officers of *Proxenus* his Companies, whoſe familiar friend he had been, to bethink themſelves of ſome mean, whereby their ſafety might be wrought, and the Soldiers encouraged: ſetting before their eyes whatſoever might ſerve for to give them hope, and above all, perſwading them in no wiſe to yield to the mercy of their barbarous enemies.

Hereupon they deſired him to take upon him the charge of that Regiment; and ſo together with him, the ſame night calling up ſuch as were remaining of any account, they made choice of the fitteſt men to ſucceed in the places of thoſe who were ſlain, or taken. This being done, and order ſet down for disburdening the Army of all ſuperfluous impediments, they eaſily comforted themſelves for the loſs of *Tiſſaphernes* his aſſiſtance, hoping to take victuals by force better cheap than he had been wont to ſell them; To which purpoſe they intended to take up their lodging two or three miles further, among ſome plentiful Villages, and ſo to proceed, marching towards the heads of thoſe great Rivers, which lay in their way, and to paſs them where they were foordable. Many attempts were made upon them by *Tiſſaphernes*, whom they, ſerving all on foot, were not able to requite for the harm which they received by the *Perſian* Archers, who ſhot at a farther diſtance than the *Greeks* could reach. For this cauſe did *Xenophon* provide ſlings, wherewith he overreached the enemy; and finding ſome Horſes fit for ſervice, that were employed among the carriages, he ſet men upon them; training likewiſe his Archers to ſhoot compaſs, who had been accuſtomed to the point-blank. By theſe means did he bear off the *Perſians*, who aſſailed him; and ſometimes gave them chaſe with that band of fifty Horſe, which being well backt with a firm body of footmen, and ſeconded with troops of the light-armed ſhot and ſlingers, compelled the enemy to lye aloof. *Tiſſaphernes* not daring to come to handy-gripes with theſe reſolute men, did poſſeſs the tops of mountains, and places of advantage, by which they were to paſs. But finally, when their valour made way through all ſuch difficulties, he betook himſelf to that courſe, which was indeed the ſureſt, of burning the Country. With great ſorrow did the *Greeks* behold the Villages on fire, and thereby all hope of victuals cut off. Some adviſed to defend the Country, as granted by the enemy himſelf to be theirs; others to make more fires, if ſo perhaps the *Perſians* might be aſhamed to do that which was the deſire of ſuch as made paſſage in hoſtile manner; but theſe were faint comforts. The beſt counſel was, that being near unto the *Carduchi*, a people enemy to the *Perſian*, they ſhould enter into their Country, paſſing over ſome high mountains which lay between them. This courſe they followed, which could not have availed them, if *Tiſſaphernes* had begun ſooner to cut off their victuals, rather than to ſeek to force, or circumvent them by his fine wit.

SECT. IX.

The difficulties which the Greek *Army found in paſſing thorow the Land of the* Carduchi.

ENtring upon the Land of the *Carduchi*, they were encountred with many difficulties of ways, but much more afflicted by the fierce Inhabitants, who accuſtomed by force to defend themſelves againſt the huge Armies of the *Perſian*, were no way inferiour to the *Greeks* in daring, but only in the art of War. They were very light of foot, skilful Archers, and uſed the Sling well; which weapons in that mountainous Country were of much uſe againſt theſe poor travellers, afflicting them in ſeven days which they ſpent in that paſſage, far more than all the power of the Great King had done. Between the Territory of theſe *Carduchi*, and the parts of *Armenia* confining them, ran *Centrites* a great River, upon which the *Greeks* refreſhed themſelves one day, rejoicing that they had ſo well eſcaped theſe dangers, and hoping that the remainder would prove eaſie. But the next morning they ſaw certain troops of Horſe, that lay to forbid their paſſage. Theſe were levied by the Kings Deputies in thoſe parts; *Tiſſaphernes* and his Companies having taken their way towards *Ionia*. The River was broad and deep, ſo that it was not poſſible for ſuch as would enter it, to make reſiſtance againſt thoſe which kept the oppoſite banks. To increaſe theſe dangers, the *Carduchi* following upon them, lay on the ſide of a Mountain, within leſs than a mile of the water. But it was their good hap to diſcover a Foord, by which the greater number of them paſſing over, did eaſily chaſe away the ſubjects of the *Perſian*, and then ſending back the moſt expedite men, gave ſuccour to the Rearward, againſt which the *Carduchi* being ſlightly armed, could not on plain ground make reſiſtance hand to hand. Theſe *Carduchi* ſeem to have inhabited the Mountains of *Niphates*, which are not far from the Springs of *Tygris*, though *Ptolomy* place them far more to the Eaſt upon the River of *Cyrus* in *Media*; wherein he differs much from *Xenophon*, whoſe relation being grounded upon his own knowledg, doth beſt in this caſe deſerve credit. Of the River *Centrites* (as of many other Rivers, Towns and Places mentioned by *Xenophon*) I will not labour to make a conjecture, which may endure the ſeverity of a *Critick*. For *Ptolomy*, and the whole Nation of *Geographers*, add ſmall light to this Expedition: only of this laſt, I think it the ſame which falleth into *Tygris*, not much above *Artaſigarta*, ſpringing out of *Niphates*, and running by the Town of *Sardeva* in *Gordene*, a Province of *Armenia* the Great, wherein the *Greeks* having paſſed *Centrites*, did arrive.

SECT. X.

How Teribasus *Governour of* Armenia, *seeking to entrap the Greeks with terms of feigned peace, was disappointed, and shamefully beaten.*

THE Army finding in *Armenia* good provision, marched without any disturbance about fifty or threescore miles to the heads of the River *Tygris*, and passing over them, travelled as far further without resistance, till they were encountred by *Terizabus*, at the River *Teleboa*, which *Xenophon* commends as a goodly water, though small, but *Ptolemy* and others omit it. *Teribazus* governed that Countrey for the *Persian*, and was in great favour with *Artaxerxes*, whose Court may seem to have been a School, where the Art of falshood was taught as wisdom. He desired peace of the *Greeks*, which was made upon this condition, That they should take what they pleased, but not burn down the Towns and Villages in their way. As soon as he had made this league, he levied an Army, and besetting the streights of certain Mountains which they were to pass, hoped well to make such benefit of their security, as might give him the commendation of being no less craftily dishoneſt than *Tissaphernes*. Yet his cunning failed of success. For a great Snow fell, which caused the *Greeks* to make many fires, and scatter themselves abroad in the Villages. *Teribazus* also made many fires, and some of his men wandred about seeking relief. By the fires he was discovered, and by a Soldier of his that was taken prisoner, the whole plot was revealed. Hereupon the *Greeks*, taking this captive with them for a guide, sought him out, and coming upon his Camp, did so affright him, that before the whole Army could arrive there, the shout which was raised by the Van-currors, chased him away. They took his Pavillion, wherein (besides many slaves, that were Artificers of voluptuousnes) very rich furniture was left by the treacherous coward, who returned no more to challenge it. From hence the Army went Northward, and passing *Euphrates* not far below the springs thereof, travelled with much difficulty through deep snow, being followed aloof by the Enemy, who durst not approach them, but did cut off such as they found straggling behind. The inhabitants of the Countrey through which they marched, had their wintering-houses under ground, wherein was found great plenty of Victuals, and of Cattel, which likewise did winter in the same Cellars with the Owners. Having refreshed themselves in those parts, and taken sufficient ease after the miserable journey, which had consumed many of them with extream cold; they departed, leading with them many bond-slaves, and taking away (besides other Horses and Cattel) some Colts that were bred up for the great King.

SECT. XI.

The passage of the Army to Trabyzond, *thorow the Countries bordering upon the River of* Phasis, *and other obscure Nations.*

SO without impediment they came to the River *Phasis*, near whereunto the people called *Phasiani*, *Tacchi*, and *Chalybes*, were seated. These Nations joined together, and occupying the tops of a ledg of Mountains which the *Greeks* were to pass, made countenance of war: but some companies being sent by night to seize upon a place of equal height to that whereon the enemies lay, making good the piece of ground which they had taken, secured the ascent of the rest; which caused these people to flye, every one retiring to the defence of his own. The first upon whose Countrey the *Greeks* did enter, were the *Tacchi*, who conveying all their provision of victuals into strong holds, brought the Army into much want, until with hard labour one place was forced, wherein great store of Cattel were taken; the people to avoid captivity, threw themselves head-long down the rocks, the very women throwing down first their own children, and then casting themselves upon them. Here was taken a great booty of cattel, which served to feed them, travelling through the Land of *Chalybes*, of whom they got nothing but strokes. The *Chalybes* were a very stout Nation, well armed at all points, and exceeding fierce. They encountred the *Greeks* hand to hand, killing as many as they took prisoners, and cutting off their heads, which they carried away, singing and dancing, to the great grief of their companions living, who were glad when after seven days journey they escaped from those continual skirmishes wherewith they had been vexed by these Barbarians. Hence travelling through a good Corn-countrey inhabited by an obscure Nation called the *Scythini*, they came to a rich Town, the Lord whereof, and of the Region adjoining, used them friendly, and promised to guide them to a Mountain, whence they might discover the *Euxine* Sea. From *Gymnius* (which was the name of his Town) he led them through the Territory of his Enemies, desiring them to waste it with sword and fire. After five days march, they came to a Mountain called *Teches*, being (as I think) a part of the Mountains called *Moschici*, whence their Guide shewed them the Sea, towards which they bent their course; and passing friendly through the Region of the *Macrones* (with whom, by means of an Interpreter found among themselves, who, born in that place, had been sold into *Greece*, they made a good peace) they arrived in the Land of *Cholchos*, wherein stands the City of * *Trabyzond*, called then *Trapezus*, a Colony of the *Greeks*. The *Colchi* entertaining them with hostility, were requited with the like; for the Army having now good leisure to repose themselves among their friends the *Trapezuntians*, did spoil the Countrey thirty days together, forbearing only the borderers upon *Trabizond*, at the Citizens request.

* *Trabizond*, a Colony of the *Greeks* situate in the bottom of the *Euxine* Sea.

SECT. XII.

How the Army began at Trabizond *to provide a Fleet wherewith to return home by Sea: how they came into the Territory of* Synope, *& there prosecuted the same purpose.*

HAving now found an Haven-Town, the Soldiers were desirous to take shipping, and change their tedious Land-journeys into an easie Navigation. To which purpose *Cherisophus* a *Lacedemonian*, one of the principal Commanders, promised by means of *Anaxibus* the *Lacedemonian* Admiral, who was his friend, that he would provide Vessels to embark

embark them. Having thus concluded, they likewise took order for the staying of such ships as should pass that way, meaning to use them for their Navigation. Lest all this provision should be found insufficient for the transportation of the whole Army, *Xenophon* perswaded the Cities adjoining to clear the ways, and make an easie passage for them by Land; whereunto the Soldiers were utterly unwilling to give ear, being desirous to return by Sea; but the Country, fearing what inconvenience might grow by their long stay, did readily condescend to *Xenophons* request. Two ships they borrowed of the *Trapezuntians*, which they manned and sent to Sea: the one of them sailed directly into *Greece*, forsaking their Companions, who had put them in trust to bring Ships into the Port of *Trabizond*: the other took Merchants and passengers, whose goods were safely kept for the owners, but the Vessels were stayed to increase the Fleet. After long abode, when Victuals began to fail, by reason that all the Land of the *Colchi*, near unto the Camp, was already quite wasted, they were fain to embark their sick men, with the women, children, and such of the baggage as might best be spared, in those few Ships which they had already provided. The rest of the Army took their way by land to *Cerasus*, a *Greek* Town, where the Fleet likewise arrived. Here the Army being mustered, was found to consist of Eight thousand and six hundred men. From hence they passed through the Country of the (*a*) *Mosynaci*, who were divided into factions. The stronger party despising their friendship, caused them to join them with the weaker, whom they left Masters of all.

a *Mosynaci* a Nation of *Pontus Cappadocius.*

The next place of their abode was (*b*) *Cotyora*, a *Greek* Town likewise, and a Colony of the *Sinopians*, as *Trapezus* and *Cerasus* were; but the entertainment which here they found was very churlish, having neither an open Market afforded to them, nor the sick men that were among them admitted into any house. Hereupon the Soldiers entred the Town by force, and (committing no outrage) bestowed those which were sick in convenient lodging, taking into their own hands the custody of the Gates. Provision for the Army they made by strong hand, partly out of the Territory of the *Paphlagonians*, partly out of the Lands belonging to the Town. These news were unwelcome to (*c*) *Sinope*, whence Embassadors were sent to the Camp, who complaining of these dealings, and threatning to join with the *Paphlagonians*, if redress could not otherwise be had, were roundly answered by *Xenophon*, That meer necessity had enforced the Army to teach those of *Cotyora* good manners in so bad a method: letting them know, that he feared not to deal with them and the *Paphlagonian* at once; though perhaps the *Paphlagonian* would be glad to take *Sinope* it self; to which, if cause were given, they would lend assistance. Upon this answer the Embassadors grew better advised, promising all friendship that the State of *Sinope* could shew, and commanding the Town of *Cotyora* to relieve the Soldiers as well as they might. Further, they promised to assist them with Shipping, letting them understand how difficult the passage by Land would prove, in regard of the many and great Rivers, as *Thermodon*, *Iris*, *Halys*, and *Parthenius*, which crossed their way. This good counsel, and the fair promises accompanying it, were kindly accepted by the Army, which well perceived, that the City of *Sinope* would spare for no cost, to be freed from such a neighbourhood. It was therefore decreed that they would pass the rest of the way by Sea; provided, that if there should want such number of Vessels as might serve to imbark every one of them; then would they not put from the shore:

b *Cotyora* a Port-Town in the same Region.

c *Sinope* a Port-Town in *Leucosyria*, a Colony of the *Milesian.*

SECT. XIII.

Of Dissention which arose in the Army, and how it was embarked.

HItherto the danger of Enemies, and miseries of weather and wants, had kept the company in firm unity; which now began to dissolve and to thaw, by the neighbouring air of *Greece*, warming their heads with private respects to their several ends and purposes. Whilst they, who were sent as Agents from the Camp, remained at *Sinope*, *Xenophon* considering the strength and valour of his men, and the opportunity of the coast whereon they lay, thought it would be an honourable work to build a City in those parts, which were soon like to prove great and wealthy, in regard both of their own puissance, and of the great repair of the *Greeks* into that quarter. For this cause he made sacrifice, according to the superstition of his time and Country, divining of his success by the entrails of beasts. The Soothsayer whom he imployed, had received a great reward of *Cyrus*, for conjecturing aright, that *Artaxerxes* would not give battel in ten days: he therefore having preserved his money carefully, was desirous to be soon at home, that he might freely enjoy his gettings. By him the purpose of *Xenophon* was divulged, which was interpreted according to the diversity of mens opinions; some approving the motion, but the greater part rejecting it. They of *Sinope* and *Heraclea*, being informed of this consultation, were sore afraid, lest the poverty of the Soldiers, who had not wherewith to maintain themselves at home, should give success to the project. Which to prevent, they promised to supply the Army with a sufficient Fleet, and likewise offered money to some of the Captains, who thereupon undertook to give the Soldiers pay, if they would presently set sail for *Greece*. One of these Captains being a banished man, desired them to follow him into *Troas*; another offered to lead them into *Cherronesus*. *Xenophon*, who desired only the common good, was pleased greatly with these Propositions, and professed openly that he would have them to set forward, and hold together in any case, punishing him as a Traytor that should forsake the Army, before such time as they were arrived at their journeys end. *Silanus* the Soothsayer, who had uttered *Xenophons* purpose, was hereby stayed from out-running his fellows, and driven to abide with his wealth among poor men, longer than stood with his good liking. Also the other Captains were much troubled and afraid, when they perceived that Ships were prepared sufficient for their Navigation; but that the money promised to them, and by them to the Soldiers, came not. For the people of *Sinope* and *Heraclea*, knowing that the Army was now resolved for the Voyage, and that *Xenophon* whom they feared, had perswaded them to this resolution, thought it the wisest way to furnish them with a Navy, whilst they were in good readiness to depart, but to keep the money to themselves. The Captains therefore, who being disappointed by these Towns, found themselves in great danger of their men, whom they had deceived

ved with fair hopes, repented much of their fair offers, and signifying as much to *Xenophon*, prayed him to make proposition to the Army, of taking the Ships, and sailing to *Phasis*, where they might seize upon Lands, and plant themselves in such wise as should stand best with their good liking. But finding him cold in the business, they began to work the principal of their own followers, hoping by them to draw in all the rest. These news becoming publick, bred a suspition of *Xenophon*, as if he had won the rest of the Captains to his purpose, and meant now to carry the Army quite another way from their own home. Wherefore assembling the Companies, he gave them satisfaction, and withal complained of some disorders, which he caused them to redress. A general inquisition was likewise made of offences committed since the death of *Cyrus*; which being punished, all things were in quiet. Shortly after came Embassadors from *Corylas*, Lord of the *Paphlagonians*, who sending presents, desired peace of the *Greeks*: the Embassadors were friendly entertained, and peace concluded, which needed not to have been sought, for that the *Greeks* having now their Fleet in a readiness, did soon weigh Anchors, and set sail for *Harmene* the Port of *Synope*, whither *Cherisophus* came, bringing with him a few Gallies from the Admiral *Anaxibus*, who promised to give the Army pay as soon as they came into the parts of *Greece*.

SECT. XIV.

Another great dissention and distraction of the Army. How the Mutiners were beaten by the Barbarians, *and rescued by* Xenophon.

THE nearer that they approached to *Greece*, the greater was their desire to make provision for themselves, that they might not return home empty-handed. Wherefore trusting well that if the charge of the Army were absolutely committed to one sufficient man, he might the more conveniently procure the good of them all, they determined to make *Xenophon* sole Commander of all; in whose favour as well the Captains as the common Soldiers were very earnest and violent. But he, either fearing to displease the *Lacedæmonians*, who were jealous of him already (being incensed by that fugitive who forsook the Army at *Trabizond*, flying with one of their two Ships) or moved by some tokens appearing to him in the intrails that threatned ill success to his Government, procured with vehement contention, that this honour was laid upon *Cherisophus* a *Lacedæmonian*. It seems that *Xenophon*, considering the vexation incident to the conduct of a Voluntary Army, wanting pay, did wisely in yielding to such tokens as forbad him to accept it: especially knowing so well their desire, which was, by right or by wrong, to get wealth whersoever it might be found, without all regard of friend or foe. *Cherisophus* had been General but six or seven days when he was deposed; for having been unwilling to rob the Town of *Heraclea*, which had sent Presents to the Camp, and been very beneficial unto them in lending Ships for their transportation. Two days they had sailed by the coast of *Asia*, when being past those great Rivers, which would have given impediment to their journy by Land, they touched at *Heraclea*, where consulting how to take their way onwards, whether by Land or Sea, one seditious man began to put them in mind of seeking to get somewhat for themselves; telling them that all their provision would be spent in three days; and that being now come out of the Enemies Country, victuals and other necessaries could not be had without money; for which cause he gave advice to send messengers into the Town of *Heraclea*, giving the Citizens to understand what their wants were, and demanding of them three thousand pieces of money, called *Cyzicens*; which sum amounteth, to two thousand and five hundred pound sterling, or thereabout. This motion was greatly applauded, and the sum raised to ten thousand *Cyzicens* at least; which to require, they thought *Cherisophus*, as being General, the fittest man; others had more desire to send *Xenophon*, but in vain, for they both refused it, and renounced the action as dishoneſt. Lest therefore either of these should fail in managing the business which agreed not with his disposition, others of more impudency and less discretion were sent; who in such wise delivered their insolent message, that the Citizens taking time to deliberate upon their request, brought what they could out of the fields into the Town, and shutting the Gates, did forthwith man the Walls. When the Soldiers perceived themselves to be disappointed of their ravenous purpose, they fell to mutiny, saying, That their Leaders had betrayed them: and being for the most part of them *Arcadians* and *Achæans*, they forsook immediately *Cherisophus* and *Xenophon*, chusing new Leaders out of their own number. Above four thousand and five hundred they were, all heavily armed; who electing ten Captains, sailed into the Port of *Calphas*, which is in the midway between *Heraclea* and *Byzantium*, with purpose to assail the *Bythinians* on the sudden. With *Cherisophus* there abode two thousand and one hundred, of whom one thousand and four hundred were armed weightily: *Xenophon* had two thousand foot, three hundred whereof were lightly armed, and forty horse; which small band had done good service already, and could not have been spared now. *Cherisophus* had agreed with *Cleander* Governour of *Byzantium*, to meet him at the mouth of the River *Calphas*, whither *Cleander* promised to bring some Gallies to convey him over into *Greece*; for which cause he took his way thither by Land, leaving to *Xenophon* such Shipping as he had; who passing some part of the way by Sea, landed upon the confines of *Heraclea*, and *Thrasia Asiatica*, intending to make a cut through the midland Country to the *Propont*. The Mutiners who had landed at *Calphas* by night, with purpose to take spoils in *Bythinia*, divided themselves into ten Companies, every Captain leading his own Regiment into some Village five or six miles from the Sea; in the greater Towns were two Regiments quartered: and so was that part of the Country surprized on the sudden, and sacked all at one time. The place of Rendezvous was an high piece of Ground, where some of them arrived, finding no disturbance; others not without much trouble and danger: two Companies were broken and defeated, only eight men escaped, the rest were all put to the sword. For the *Thracians* which had slipt at first out of the Soldiers hands, did raise the Country; and finding the *Greeks* loaden with booty, took the advantage of their disorder, cutting in pieces those two Regiments: which done, they attempted the rest, encompassing the hill whereon they encamped. One great advantage the *Thracians* had, that being

being all light armed, they could at pleasure make retreat from these *Arcadians* and *Achæans*, who wanting the assistance of horse, and having neither Archers nor Slingers among them, were driven to stand meerly upon their defence, bearing off with great danger and many wounds received, the Darts and Arrows of the *Barbarians*, till finally they were driven from their watering place, and enforced to crave parely. Whatsoever the Articles of composition were, the *Thracians* yielded to all; but pledges for assurance they would give none, without which the *Greeks* well knew, that all promises of such people, especially so incensed, were nothing worth. In the mean time *Xenophon* holding his way quietly through the Inland-Region, did enquire of some Travellers, whether they knew ought of any *Grecian* Army, passing along those parts: and receiving by them true information of the desperate case into which these Gallants had foolishly thrown themselves, he marched directly towards the place where they lay, taking with him for guides, them who gave him the intelligence. His horsemen he sent before to discover, and to scour the ways; the light armed footmen took the hill-tops on either hand, all of them setting fire on whatsoever they found combustible: whereby the whole Country seemed to be on a light flame, to the great terror of the enemies, who thought that some huge Army had approached. That night he encamped on a hill, within five miles of the *Arcadians*, encreasing still the numbers of his fires, which he caused hastily to be quenched soon after Supper. The enemies perceiving this, thought certainly that he would have fallen upon them in the dark, which caused them in all haste to dislodg. Early in the next morning *Xenophon* coming thither in very good order, to have given battel, found that his device to affright the *Thracians*, had taken full effect; but he marvelled that the *Greeks* were also departed, concerning whom he learned by enquiry, that they removed at break of day, and perceived by signs that they had taken the way to the Port of *Calphas*, in which journey he overtook them. They embraced him and his with great joy: confessing that they themselves had thought the same which the enemies did, looking that he should have come by night; wherein finding themselves deceived, they were afraid lest he had forsaken them, and therefore hastened away to overtake him, and join with him. So they arrived at the Haven of *Calphas*, where it was decreed, That whosoever from thenceforth made any motion to disjoin the Army, should suffer death.

SECT. XV.

Of divers pieces of service done by Xenophon; *and how the Army returned into* Greece. *The occasions of the War between the* Lacedæmonians *and the* Persians.

THE Haven of *Calphas* lay under a goodly Head-land, that was very strong, and abounding with all kind of Grain and Fruits, except Olives. There was also Timber for building and shipping, and a very convenient Sea for a great City. All which commodities that might have allured the Soldiers to stay there, and to plant, caused them to haste away, fearing lest *Xenophon* should find some device to have setled himself and them in that place. For the greater part of them had good means to live at home; neither did they so much for hope of gain follow *Cyrus* in that War, as in regard of his Honour, and the love which they bare unto him: the poorer sort were such as left their Parents, Wives and Children, to whom (though failing of the riches which they had hoped to purchase) they were now desirous to return. But whether it were so, that *Xenophon* found advantage by their own superstition, to make them stay, which they greatly suspected; or whether the signs appearing in the intrails, did indeed forbid their departure; so long they were inforced to abide in the place till victuals failed: neither would the Captains lead them forth to forage the Country until the Sacrifices should promise good success. *Cherisophus* was dead of an Ague, and his ships were gone, being returned to the *Heracleans*, of whom they were borrowed. His followers were joined to the rest of the Army, which the greater it was, the more provision it needed, and the sooner felt want. For which cause, he that was chosen Colonel into the place of *Cherisophus*, would needs adventure to gratifie the Soldiers with the spoil of some Villages that stood near at hand; in which enterprize he found ill success, the whole Country lying in wait to intrap him, and an Army of Horse being set by *Pharnabazus* the *Satrapa*, or Viceroy of *Phrygia*, to the assistance of these *Bythinian Thracians*; which troops falling upon the *Greeks* that were scattered abroad in seeking booty, slew five hundred of them, and chased the rest to a certain Mountain thereby. The news of this overthrow coming to *Xenophon*, he led forth a part of the Army to the rescue of those that survived, and brought them safe to the Camp; upon which the *Bythinians* made an offer that night, and breaking a *Corps du guarde*, slew some, pursuing the rest to the very Tents. This new courage of the enemy, together with the present condition of the Army, so disheartned and unfurnished of necessaries, caused the *Greeks* to remove their Camp to a place of more strength; which having intrenched, and committed to the defence of such as were least able to endure travel, *Xenophon* with the firmest and best able men went forth, both to bury those which were lately slain, and to abate the pride of the *Thracians*, and their assistants. In this journey his demeanor was very honourable. For having given burial to the dead, the enemy was discovered, lying on the tops of the hills adjoining, to whom (notwithstanding that the way was very rough and troublesome, so that some thought it a matter of too great danger, to leave at their backs a Wood scarce passable) he marched directly, telling his men plainly, That he had rather follow the enemy with half the number, than turn his back to them with twice as many; and letting them further know, that if they did not charge the *Barbarians*, he would not fail with the greater resolution to pursue them; from whom if they could safely retire to the Camp, yet what should they do there, wanting victuals to sustain them in the place, and ships to carry them away? Wherefore he willed them rather to fight well that day, having eaten their Dinners, than another day fasting; and not to regard the uneasie return, which might serve to stay Cowards from running away, but to wish unto the Enemy a fair and easie way, by which he might fly from them. These perswasions were followed with so valiant execution, that both *Persians* and *Bythinians* being chased out of the field, abandoned the Country forthwith, removing their Families, and leaving all that could

not ſuddenly be conveighed away, to the diſcretion of the *Greeks*, who had good leiſure, gathered the Harveſt of theſe bad Neighbours fields. This was the laſt fight which they had on the ſide of *Aſia*. For they were not only ſuffered quietly to enjoy the ſpoil of the Country, but when the opinion grew common in thoſe parts, that it was the intent of *Xenophon* to plant a Colony on the Port of *Calpas*, Embaſſadors were ſent from the Neighbour people, to deſire friendſhip, and make offer of their beſt aſſiſtance. But the Soldiers had no mind to ſtay. Wherefore entring further into *Bythinia*, they took a great booty, which they carried away unto *Chryſopolis*, a City near unto *Chalcedon*, where they ſold it. *Pharnabazus*, Lieutenant in *Phrygia* to *Artaxerxes*, did greatly fear, leſt their long ſtay in that Country might breed in them a deſire to viſit his Province, where they might have found great wealth, and little power to guard it. Therefore he ſent to the *Lacedæmonian* Admiral, intreating him with much inſtance and large promiſes to waft them over into *Europe*; to whom *Anaxibius* the Admiral condeſcending, promiſed to give the Soldiers pay, as ſoon as they arrived at *Byzantium*. So were they carried out of *Aſia* at the intreaty of the *Perſian*, who in the height of his pride had thought them ſo ſurely impriſoned with mighty Rivers, that he not only denied to permit their quiet departure, but willed them to ſurrender their Arms into his hands, and ſo to yield their lives to his diſcretion. How diſcourteouſly they were intreated by *Anaxibius*, and how to requite his injurious dealings, they ſeized upon *Byzantium*, which by *Xenophons* perſwaſion they forbare to ſack, I hold it ſuperfluous to relate. For the reſidue of their doings appertain little to the general courſe of things. But this expedition, as in all ages it was glorious, ſo did it both diſcover the ſecrets of *Aſia*, and ſtir up the *Greeks* to think upon greater enterprizes than ever their forefathers had undertaken. Likewiſe it was the only remarkable action which the time afforded. For the *Roman* Wars did hitherto extend no further than to the next neighbouring Towns of *Italy*; and in *Greece* all things were quiet; the *Lacedæmonians* ruling inſolently, but without diſturbance. True it is, that the ſeeds of the War ſhortly following, which the *Lacedæmonians* made upon *Artaxerxes*, were already ſown, before theſe Companies returned out of the high Countrys of *Aſia*. For the Towns of *Ionia* which had ſided with young *Cyrus* againſt *Tiſſaphernes*, if not againſt the Great King, prepared to rebel; which they thought ſafer, than to fall into the hands of *Tiſſaphernes*, who was now appointed Lieutenant, both of his old Province, and of all that had belonged to *Cyrus*. Wherefore the *Ionians* beſought the *Lacedæmonians* to ſend them aid, whereby to recover their liberty; and obtained their requeſt. For a power was ſent over, under conduct of *Thimbro* a *Spartan*, who beſtowed his men in ſuch Towns as had already revolted, to ſecure the Cities, and their Fields, but not to make any offenſive War.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Affairs of Greece, *whilſt they were managed by the* Lacedæmonians.

SECT. I.

How the Lacedæmonians *took courage by example of* Xenophons *Army, to make War upon* Artaxerxes.

IT ſeems that the *Lacedæmonians* did well perceive in how ill part *Artaxerxes* took their favour ſhewed unto his Brother, and yet were timorous in beginning an open War againſt him, thinking it ſufficient to take all care that no advantage might ſlip, which could ſerve to ſtrengthen their Eſtate, by finding the *Perſian* work beyond the Sea. But when *Xenophons* Army had revealed the baſeneſs of thoſe effeminate *Aſiatiques*, and rehearſed the many Victories which they themſelves had gotten, upon terms of extream diſadvantage; then was all *Greece* filled with deſire of undertaking upon this huge unweildy Empire, thinking it no hard matter for the joint-forces of that whole Nation to hew out the way to *Suſa*, whereof one handful had opened the paſſage to *Babylon*; and further, finding no power that was able to give them reſiſtance, in all that long journey of four and thirty thouſand two hundred and fifty five furlongs, ſpent in going and returning, which make of *Engliſh* miles about four thouſand two hundred fourſcore and one, a very painful march of one year and three months. Nevertheleſs the Civil diſtraction wherewith *Greece* was miſerably torn, and eſpecially that hot fire of the *Theban* War, which kindled with *Perſian* Gold, brake forth ſuddenly into a great flame, drew back out of *Aſia* the power of the *Lacedæmonians*, to the defence of their own Eſtate; leaving it queſtionable, whether *Ageſilaus* having both the ſame, and far greater forces, could have wrought proportionable effects. Sure it is, that in the whole ſpace of two years, which he ſpent in *Aſia*, his deeds procured more commendation of magnanimity and fair behaviour, than of ſtout courage, and great or profitable atchievements. For how highly ſoever it pleaſed *Xenophon*, who was his friend, and follower in this, and in other Wars, to extol his virtue; his exploits being only a few incurſions into the Countrys lying near the Sea, carrying no proportion to *Xenophons* own journey, which I know not whether any Age hath parallel'd: the famous retreat of *Conon* the *Briton*, with ſix thouſand men from *Aqualeia*, to his own Country, through all the breadth of *Italy*, and length of *France*, in deſpight of the Emperour *Theodoſius*, being rather like it, than equal. But of

Ageſilaus

Ageſilaus and his Wars in *Aſia* and *Greece*, we ſhall ſpeak more in due place.

SECT. II.

The proſperous beginnings of the War in Aſia.

THimbro receiving *Xenophons* men, began to take in Towns, and to entertain all ſuch as were willing to revolt from the *Perſian*, who were many, and ſome of them ſuch as had been highly beholding to the King; who ſeem to have had no other cauſe of diſcontent, than that they were to live under the Government of *Tiſſaphernes*, whom all others did as vehemently hate, as the King his Maſter did love him. The managing of the War begun by *Thimro*, was for his oppreſſions taken out of his hands, and committed to *Dercyllidas* a *Spartan*, who behaved himſelf as a good man of War, and a wiſe Commander. For whereas the Rule of the low Countries of *Aſia* was divided between *Pharnabazus* and *Tiſſaphernes*, who did ill agree, *Pharnabazus* being the Worthier man, but the other by his Princes favour the greater, and having the chief command in thoſe Wars againſt the *Greeks*; *Dercyllidas*, who did bear a private hatred to *Pharnabazus* (knowing well that *Tiſſaphernes* was of a miſchievous nature, and would not be ſorry to ſee his Corrival throughly beaten, though to the Kings loſs) made an appointment with *Tiſſaphernes*, and forthwith entred *Æolis*, which was under the juriſdiction of *Pharnabazus*, which Province in few days he brought into his own power.

That Country of *Æolis* had about the ſame time ſuffered a violent alteration, which gave eaſie ſucceſs to the attempts of *Dercyllidas*. *Zenis* a *Dardanian*, had been Deputy to *Pharnabazus* in thoſe parts; after whoſe death his Wife *Mania* procured his Office, wherein ſhe behaved her ſelf ſo well, that ſhe not only was beloved of the people under her Government, but enlarged her Territory, by the conqueſt of certain Towns adjoining; and ſundry times gave aſſiſtance to *Pharnabazus* in his Wars againſt the *Myſians* and *Perſians*. For ſhe had in pay ſome Companies of *Greeks*, whoſe valour by her good uſage, did her great ſervice. But ſomewhat before the arrival of *Dercyllidas* in thoſe parts, a Son in law of hers called *Midias*, whom ſhe truſted and loved much, being blinded with ambition, found means to ſtifle her, and kill her Son of ſeventeen years old; which done, he ſeized upon two of her principal Towns, wherein her Treaſure lay, hoping to have been admitted into poſſeſſion of her whole Eſtate. Being denied entrance by her Soldiers that lay in Gariſon, he ſent Meſſengers with Preſents to *Pharnabazus*, deſiring him to make him Governour in the place of *Mania*. His Preſents were not only rejected by *Pharnabazus*, but revenge of his foul Treaſon threatned, whereby the wicked villain was driven into terms of almoſt utter deſperation. In the mean time came *Dercyllidas*, to whom the Towns of *Mania* that held againſt *Midias*, did quickly open their gates. One only Town ſtood out four days (againſt the will of the Citizens, who were covetous of liberty) the Governour ſtriving in vain to have kept it to the uſe of *Pharnabazus*. Now remained only two Cities, *Gergethe* and *Scepſis*, which the Traytor held; who fearing all men, as being loved of none, ſent Embaſſadors to *Dercyllidas*, deſiring leave to ſpeak with him, and pledges for his ſecurity: upon the delivery of which, he iſſued out of *Scepſis*, and coming into the Camp, made offer to join with the *Greeks* upon ſuch conditions as might ſeem reaſonable. But he was plainly told by *Dercyllidas*, that other condition there was none, than to ſet the Citizens freely at liberty. And preſently upon theſe words they marched toward *Scepſis*. When *Midias* perceived that it was in vain to ſtrive againſt the Army, and the Townſmen, who were all of one mind; he quietly went along with *Dercyllidas*, who remaining but a few hours in the City, did a ſacrifice to *Minerva*, and then leading away the Gariſon of *Midias*, he left the City free, and departed toward *Gergethe*. *Midias* did not forſake his company, but followed him, earneſtly entreating that he might be ſuffered to retain *Gergethe*: but coming to the Gates, he was bidden to command his Soldiers that they ſhould be opened; for (quoth *Dercyllidas*) I muſt here likewiſe do a ſacrifice to *Minerva*. The Traytor not daring to make denial, cauſed his Mercenaries to open the Gates, whereby *Dercyllidas*, taking poſſeſſion of the place, tendred pay to the Gariſon, who did not refuſe to ſerve under his Enſigns. This done, all the goods of *Mania* were ſeized upon, as belonging to one that had been ſubject to *Pharnabazus*, who was enemy to the *Greeks*: and ſo the murderous Wretch was ſent away naked, not knowing in what part of the World he might find any place to hide his deteſted head. *Dercyllidas* having in eight days taken nine Cities, purpoſed for the eaſe of his Confederates to winter in *Bythinia*, to which end he took Truce with *Pharnabazus*, who had not any deſire of War. That Winter, and the Summer enſuing, the Truce being continued, held; in which time, beſides the waſting of *Bythinia*, the neck of land joining *Cherronea* to the Main, was fortified, being four or five miles in breadth; by which means eleven Towns, with much good Land belonging to them, were freed from the incurſions of the wild *Thracians*, and made fit and able to victual the Camp. Likewiſe the City of *Atarne* was taken, which was of great ſtrength, and very well ſtored with proviſion. After this, *Dercyllidas* had command from *Sparta* to divert the War into *Caria*, where was the ſeat of *Tiſſaphernes*; for that hereby it was thought not uneaſie to recover all the Towns of *Ionia*; *Pharax* the Admiral of the Fleet (which was a yearly office) being appointed to join with him. Though it was manifeſt that *Tiſſaphernes* had neglected *Pharnabazus* in time of neceſſity; yet was he not in his own danger requited with the like. For *Pharnabazus* having reſpect to the Kings ſervice, came to aſſiſt his private enemy *Tiſſaphernes*, and ſo paſſing into *Caria*, they thruſt Gariſons into all places of ſtrength; which done, they marched towards *Ionia*, hoping to find the Towns ill manned for reſiſtance. As theſe *Perſians* were deſirous to keep the War from their own doors, ſo was *Dercyllidas* willing to free his Confederates the *Ionians* from the ſpoil and danger of the War, by transferring it into *Caria*. For which cauſe he paſſed the River of *Meander*; and not looking to have been ſo ſoon encountred, marched careleſly through the Country: when on the very ſudden the whole Army of *Tiſſaphernes* and *Pharnabazus* was diſcovered, conſiſting of *Perſians*, *Carians*, and ſome Mercenary *Greeks*, who were all marſhalled in very good order to preſent battel. The odds was too apparent, both in numbers of men, and in readineſs, as alſo in advantage of ground: for the *Perſians* had a great multitude of Horſe, the *Greeks* very few and feeble, being to fight in an open plain. Therefore all the *Ionians*, together with the Iſlanders and others, of ſuch places as bordered upon the Kings Dominions, did either

betake themſelves to preſent flight; or abiding a while for ſhame, did plainly diſcover by their looks, that they meant not to be more bold than wiſe. Only *Dercyllidas* with his *Peloponneſians*, regarding their Honour, prepared to endure the fight, which muſt needs have brought them to deſtruction, if the counſel of *Pharnabazus* had been followed; who perceiving the opportunity of ſo great a victory, was not willing to let it ſlip. But *Tiſſaphernes*, who naturally was a coward, ſeeing that countenance of reſiſtance was made, began to conſider, what ſtrange defence the Soldiers of *Xenophon* had ſhewed; and thinking that all the *Greeks* were of the like reſolution, held it the wiſeſt way to crave parley; the concluſion of which was, That a Truce ſhould be made, to laſt until *Tiſſaphernes* might receive anſwer from the King, and *Dercyllidas* from *Sparta*, concerning the demands propounded in the Treaty; which were on the one part, That all the *Greeks* in *Aſia* might enjoy their own liberty and laws; but contrariwiſe on the other ſide, That the *Lacedæmonians* ſhould depart *Aſia*, and leave the Towns to the Kings pleaſure. This Treaty was of none effect; only it ſerved to free the *Greeks* from the preſent danger, and to gain time unto *Tiſſaphernes*, who deſired to avoid the War by procraſtination, which he durſt not adventure to finiſh by trial of a Battel.

SECT. III.

How the Lacedæmonians *took revenge upon the* Eleans *for old diſpleaſures. The diſcontents of the* Corinthians *and* Thebans *conceived againſt the State of* Sparta.

IN the mean ſeaſon the *Lacedæmonians*, who found none able to withſtand them in *Greece*, began to call the *Eleans* to account for ſome diſgraces received by them during the late Wars, when leiſure was wanting to the requital of ſuch petty injuries. Theſe *Eleans* being Preſidents of the *Olympian* Games, had ſet a fine upon the City of *Sparta*; for Non-payment of which, they forbad them to come to the ſolemnity; and publickly whipt one of them that was of note, for preſuming to contend againſt their Decree. Likewiſe they hindred *Agis* King of *Sparta* from doing ſacrifice to *Jupiter*; and in all points uſed great contempt toward the *Spartans*, who now had no buſineſs that could hinder them from taking revenge: and therefore ſent a peremptory meſſage to the *Eleans*, commanding them to ſet at liberty the Cities which they held in ſubjection. This was the uſual pretence which they made the ground of all their Wars: though little they cared for the liberty of ſuch Towns which they cauſed afterwards to become followers, and little better than meer Vaſſals of the *Lacedæmonians*. In their late Wars with *Athens*, the ſtrong oppoſition which they found, cauſed this goodly Title of Liberty to work very ſlowly: but having now to do with a State of great ſpirit, and ſmall force, it gave preſent ſucceſs to their deſires. Two years together they ſent an Army into the Country of the *Eleans*; the firſt year an Earthquake (held in thoſe times a prodigious ſign, and which did always forbid the proſecution of any enterprize in hand) cauſed them to retire: the ſecond year all the Towns of the *Eleans* did haſtily revolt, and the City it ſelf was driven to ſubmiſſion; conſenting both to ſuffer their old ſubjects freely to enjoy their liberty, and to have her own Walls thrown down. Only the Preſidentſhip of the *Olympian* Games was left unto them, which it was not to be doubted that they would in time coming uſe modeſtly, finding themſelves to ſtand at the mercy of *Sparta*. In this Expedition all the *Greeks* were aſſiſtant to the *Lacedæmonians*, excepting the *Corinthians* and *Bœotians*, whoſe aid having been of as much importance in the late *Peloponneſian* War, as the force of *Sparta* it ſelf, they could not ſmother their diſlike of their unequal diviſion following the victory; which gave to *Sparta* the command of all *Greece*; to *Thebes* and *Corinth* only ſecurity againſt *Athens*, but ſuch a ſecurity as was worſe than the danger. For when the equal greatneſs of two mighty Eſtates did counterpoiſe each the other, it was in the power of theſe Neutral Commonweals to adhere to either, as the condition of their affairs required; but when to revenge injuries, they had by mortal hatred proſecuted the War to extremity, leaving the one City naked of power and friends, the other mightily increaſed in both; it was then (if not neceſſary to obey the greatneſs which themſelves had made, yet) fooliſh and dangerous to provoke it. Nevertheleſs, it was not the purpoſe of the *Spartans*, to take occaſion of any quarrel, which they could not finiſh at pleaſure, till ſuch time as they had by victory or compoſition made ſome good end with the *Perſian*, toward whom they bent all their care and forces.

SECT. IV.

The paſſage of Ageſilaus *into* Aſia. *His War with* Tiſſaphernes. *How* Tiſſaphernes *was put to death; and the War diverted into another Province, through perſwaſion and gifts of* Tithrauſtes *his ſucceſſor. How careleſs the* Perſian *Lieutenants were of the Kings good.*

A*Geſilaus* newly made King of *Sparta*, was deſirous to have the honour of the Victory, which not without cauſe he expected upon thoſe of *Aſia*; and therefore procuring a great Army to join with that of *Dercyllidas*, he took his way in great pomp to *Aulis* in *Bœotia*, a Haven lying oppoſite to the Iſland of *Eubœa*; in which place *Agamemnon* (leading the power of all *Greece* to the War againſt *Troy* many Ages before) had imbarked his men. In imitation of *Agamemnon*, he meant alſo to do ſacrifice in *Aulis*; which the *Thebans*, Lords of that Country, would not permit, but ſaying, that the performance of ſuch Ceremonies in that place, belonged unto their Officers; they were ſo unable to conceal their malice, that ſending ſome Companies of horſe, they threw down his ſacrifice from the Altar. It was not then convenient time for *Ageſilaus* to entangle himſelf and his Country in a new War; therefore waiting better opportunity of revenge, he quietly ſwallowed the contumely, and followed his main intendment. Having landed his men at *Epheſus*, he was entertained by *Tiſſaphernes* with a Treaty of peace, wherein *Ageſilaus* peremptorily requiring that the *Perſian* ſhould reſtore to liberty all the *Greek* Tovvns in *Aſia*, vvas promiſed that the King, being firſt informed of his demand, ſhould ſend anſvver to his good liking, if he vvould in the mean vvhile make Truce. Truce vvas therefore made, vvhich *Tiſſaphernes* had ſought, only to vvin time of making proviſion for the War, and getting ſupply of men and money from *Artaxerxes*, vvhilſt *Ageſilaus* vvas buſie in ſetling the Eſtates of his confederate Cities on that

ſide

ſide of the Sea. The end of this long vacation from War, was at the coming down of theſe Forces which *Artaxerxes* had ſent: at what time *Ageſilaus* received a plain meſſage from *Tiſſaphernes*, That either he muſt forthwith depart out of *Aſia*, or make good his abode by ſtrong hand. *Ageſilaus* returning word, that he was glad to hear that his enemies had by perjury deſerved vengeance from heaven, prepared to invade them; and ſending word to all the Towns which lay between him and *Caria*, that they ſhould provide victuals and other neceſſaries for his Army, did eaſily make *Tiſſaphernes* believe, that his intent was to invade that Province wherein *Tiſſaphernes* dwelt, and which was unfit for Horſe, in which part of his Forces the *Perſian* had moſt confidence. Therefore *Tiſſaphernes* beſtowing all his Companies of foot in *Caria*, entred with his Horſe into the Plains of *Mæander*, hoping thereby to ſtop the paſſage of a heavy foot-army, not ſuffering them to paſs into that Country which was fitteſt for their ſervice. But the *Greeks* left him waiting there in vain, and marched directly into *Phrygia*, where they took great ſpoil without reſiſtance, till ſuch time as the Horſemen of *Pharnabazus* met him, who in a ſmall skirmiſh having the better of the *Greeks*, were the occaſion that *Ageſilaus* returned to *Epheſus*. Although in this laſt fight only twelve men were loſt, yet *Ageſilaus* perceiving by that trial how hard it would be to prevail, and hold the maſtery of the field, without a greater ſtrength of Horſe, took all poſſible care to increaſe that part of his forces. By which means having enabled himſelf whilſt Winter laſted, he entred upon the Country of *Tiſſaphernes*, as ſoon as the ſeaſon of the year would permit, and not only took a great booty, but finding the Horſemen of *Tiſſaphernes* in the plain of *Mæander*, without aſſiſtance of their Infantry, he gave them battel, and had a great Victory, taking their Camp, in which he found great riches. The blame of this loſs fell heavy upon *Tiſſaphernes*, who either upon cowardiſe had abſented himſelf from the battel, or following ſome other buſineſs, was then at *Sardis*. For which cauſe his Maſter having him in diſtruſt, and thinking that peace might be the ſooner had, which he much deſired, if the man ſo odious to the whole Nation of the *Greeks*, were taken out of the way; he ſent into thoſe parts *Tithrauſtes* a *Perſian*, to cut off the head of *Tiſſaphernes*, and ſucceed him in the Government. Such was the end of this baſe and cowardly Politician, who little caring to offend Heaven, when by perjury he could advance his purpoſes on Earth, failed at the laſt, through too much overweening of his own wiſdom, even in that part of cunning wherein he thought himſelf moſt perfect; for ſuppoſing that by his great skill in ſubtil negotiation he ſhould one way or other circumvent the *Greeks*, and make them weary of *Aſia*; he did not ſeek to finiſh the War, and according to his Maſters wiſh, bring all things ſpeedily to quiet, but rather to temporize, till he might find ſome opportunity of making ſuch end as might beſt ſtand with the Kings honour and his own. Wherein it ſeems that he much miſtook his Princes diſpoſition, who though he had highly rewarded him for the aid which he did bring in his time of danger, yet would he much more gladly have taken it, if he could have found ſuch means whereby the danger it ſelf might have been avoided: as not loving to have War, whilſt by any conditions (honourable or not) he might obtain peace. And this appeared well by the courſe which *Tithrauſtes* took at his firſt poſſeſſion of the low Countrys. For he ſent Embaſſadors to *Ageſilaus*, in very friendly ſort letting him know, that the man who had been author of the War, was now taken out of the way; and that it was the Kings pleaſure to let the *Greeks* enjoy their own laws and liberty, upon condition, that they ſhould pay him the tribute accuſtomed, and the Army be forthwith diſmiſſed. The anſwer to this propoſition was by *Ageſilaus* referred to the Council of *Sparta*; in the mean ſeaſon he was content to transfer the War into the Province of *Pharnabazus*, at the requeſt of *Tithrauſtes*, who bought his departure with thirty Talents.

This was a ſtrange manner of War, both on the offenſive, and the defenſive part. For *Ageſilaus* having entertained great hopes of vanquiſhing the great King, was contented to forbear his ſeveral Provinces, at the entreaty of the Lieutenants: and thoſe Lieutenants being employed by the King to maintain his Eſtates againſt all enemies (wherein if they failed, they knew that their heads might eaſily be taken from their ſhoulders) were little offended at any loſs that fell on their next neighbour Princes, which were ſubject likewiſe to the ſame Crown of *Perſia*, ſo long as their own Government could be preſerved from waſte and danger. The cauſe of this diſorder on the *Perſian* ſide, I can aſcribe to nothing ſo deſervedly as to the corrupted eſtate of the Court, wherein Eunuchs, Concubines, and miniſters of pleaſure, were able by partial conſtruction, to countenance or diſgrace the actions of ſuch as had the managing of things abroad; and to that fooliſh manner of the Kings (which was ſo uſual, that it might be called a rule) to reward or puniſh the Provincial Governour, according to the benefit or loſs which the Country given in charge unto each of them received, during the time of his Rule. Whereby it came to paſs, that as every one was deſirous to make his own Territory yield a large increaſe to the Kings treaſure, ſo no man was careful to aſſiſt his borderers, if loſs or danger might thereby grow to himſelf and his; but ſate ſtill as an idle beholder, when perhaps by joining their forces, it had not been uneaſie to recompence the ſpoil of one Country, by conquering another, or defending a third from greater miſeries.

SECT. V.

The War and Treaty between Ageſilaus *and* Pharnabazus.

Ageſilaus having thus compounded with *Tithrauſtes*, entred *Phrygia*, burning and waſting the Country without reſiſtance. He took the Palace of *Pharnabazus*, and by his Lieutenant drave him out of the Camp. Theſe actions, together with his honourable behaviour, which added much to their luſtre, were more glorious than profitable. For he did not win Cities and places of ſtrength, which might have encreaſed his power, and given aſſurance to the reſt of his proceedings: but purchaſed fame and high reputation, by which he drew unto him ſome that were diſcontented and ſtood upon bad terms with the great King; whom he loſt again as eaſily, by means of ſome ſlight injury done to them by his under Captains. *Pharnabazus* did not encloſe himſelf in any Town, for fear of being beſieged, but kept the field; lying as near as he could ſafely, to the enemies, with whom it was not his purpoſe to fight, but to make ſome good end by compoſition, which he found not uneaſie to do. For the pleaſures by him formerly done to the State of *Sparta*, in the times of their moſt neceſſity, had been ſo great, that when he (obtaining parley) did ſet before their eyes his

his bounty towards them, and his love, (which had been such, that besides many other hazards of his person, he had for the rescue of their Fleet, when it was driven to run ashore at *Abydus*, adventured to ride into the Seas as far as he could find any ground, and fight on Horseback against the *Athenians*) together with his faith which had never been violated in word or deed: they knew not how to excuse their ingratitude, otherwise then by telling him, That having War with his Master, they were inforced against their will to offend him. *Agesilaus* did make a fair offer to him, that if he would revolt from the King to them, they would maintain him against the *Persian*, and establish him free Prince of the Country wherein he was at that time only Deputy to *Artaxerxes*. But *Pharnabazus* told him plainly, That if the King his Master did put him in trust to make War against them, he would not fail to do the best that he could as their enemy; if the charge were taken out of his hand, and he commanded to obey another, he would then shift side, and betake himself to their alliance. The issue of this parley was, That the Army should no longer abide in *Phrygia*, nor again return into it, whilest employment could be found elsewhere. The excuse made by *Agesilaus*, and the withdrawing of his forces out of those parts, were not sufficient to appease *Pharnabazus*, whom he had not invaded for want of more necessary business elsewhere; but because his Country would yield great booty, and for the hire of thirty Talents. By this means the *Lacedæmonians* changed an honourable Friend into a hot Enemy, who afterwards requited their unthankfulness with full revenge.

SECT. VI.

The great commotions raised in Greece *by the* Thebans *and others, that were hired with Gold from the* Persian.

IN the mean while *Tithrauſtes* perceiving that *Agesilaus* meant nothing less than to return into *Greece*, and let *Artaxerxes* rest quietly in *Asia*, took a wise course, whereby the City of *Sparta* was not only driven to look to her own, and give over her great hopes of subverting the Empire; but was beaten out of all that had been gotten by many late Victories, and saw her Dominion restrained unto the narrow bounds of her own Territory. He sent into *Greece* fifty Talents of Silver to be imployed in raising War against the *Lacedæmonians*; which Treasure was by the subtil practice of him that was put in trust with it, in such wise dispersed among the principal men of the *Thebans*, *Argives*, and *Corinthians*, that all those Estates having formerly born secret hate to that of *Sparta*, were now desirous of nothing so much as of open War. And lest this great heat of the incensed multitude should for want of present exercise, begin to faint and vanish away in idle words, occasion was found out to thrust the *Lacedæmonians* into Arms, that they themselves might seem Authors of the quarrel. Some land there was in the tenure of the *Locrians*, to which the *Thebans* had in former time laid claim; but the *Phocians* either having the better title, or finding the greater favour, had it adjudged unto them, and received yearly money for it. This money the *Locrians* were either hired or perswaded to pay now to the *Thebans* who readily accepted it. The *Phocians* not meaning so to lose their Rent, made a distress by strong hand, recovering a great deal more than their own; which the *Thebans* (as in protection of their new Tenants) requited with an invasion made upon *Phocis*, wasting that Country in the manner of open War. Such were the beginnings of professed hostility between *Thebes* and *Sparta*, and the first breaking out of their close enmity, that had long time, though hardly, been concealed. For when the *Phocian* Embassadors came to *Sparta*, complaining of the violence done by the *Thebans*, and requesting succour, they had very favourable audience, and ready consent to their suit, it being the manner of the *Lacedæmonians* to defer the acknowledgment of injuries received, until occasion of revenge were offer'd, and then to discover their indignation in cold blood. At this time they had very good opportunity to work their own wills, having no other War to disturb them in *Greece*, and hearing out of *Asia* no news that could offend or trouble them. Wherefore they sent *Lysander* to raise all the Countries about *Phocis*, and with such forces as he could levy, to attend the coming of *Pausanias* King of *Sparta*, (for *Sparta*, as hath been shewed before, had two Kings) who should follow him with the strength of *Peloponnesus*. *Lysander* did as he was appointed, and being of great reputation in those parts, he drew the *Orchomenians* to revolt from *Thebes*. *Pausanias* likewise raised all *Peloponnesus*, except the *Corinthians* (who refused to assist him in that enterprise) meaning to join with *Lysander*, and make a speedy end of the War. The consideration of so great a danger, approaching so swiftly, caused the *Thebans* to seek what help they could abroad, forasmuch as their own strength was far too little to make resistance against such mighty preparations. It was not unknown to them, that many followers of the *Lacedæmonians* were otherwise affected in heart, than they durst utter in countenance; but the good wishes of such people were little available, considering that the most which could be expected from them, was, that they should do as little hurt as they could: by which manner of tergiversation, the *Corinthians* did at that present cast themselves into the displeasure of the *Spartans*, to the no great benefit of *Thebes*. Wherefore it was thought the safest course to procure the assistance of some Estate that might presently declare it self on their side, which would cause many others to follow the example, and make their party strong. To this end they sent Embassadors to *Athens*, excusing old offences, as either not committed by publick allowance, or done in time of the general War, and recompenced with friendship lately shewn in their refusal of assisting *Pausanias*, when he came in behalf of the thirty Tyrants against the good Citizens of *Athens*. In regard of which, and for their own Honour sake, they requested them of aid in the present War, offering to do the best that they could for the restoring of *Athens* to her former estate and dignity. *Thrasybulus* and his Friends, who persecuted by the Thirty, had been well entertained at *Thebes*, procured now the City to make a large requital of the courtesie which they had received. For it was decreed, That the State of *Athens* should not only refuse to aid the *Lacedæmonians* in this War, but that it should assist the *Thebans*, and engage it self in their cause. Whilst *Pausanias* lay still waiting the arrival of his Confederates; *Lysander* being desirous to do somewhat that might advance the business in hand, came to *Haliartus*, where, though *Pausanias* did not meet him, as had been appointed, yet he attempted the Town, and was slain in fight by the *Thebans*, who came hastily to the rescue. As this victory did incourage the *Thebans*, so the coming of *Pausanias* with his

his great Army did again amaze them, with presentation of extream danger; but their spirits were soon revived by the strong succour which was brought from *Athens*, in consideration of which, and of the late battel, *Pausanias* durst not hazard a new fight with them, but receiving the bodies of those that were slain by composition, departed out of their Territory; for which, either cowardise or indiscretion, he was at his return to *Sparta* condemned as a Traytor, and driven to flie unto *Tegea*, where he ended his days in banishment.

SECT. VII.

How Agesilaus *was called out of* Asia *to help his Country. A Victory of the* Spartans. Conon *the* Athenian *assisted by* Pharnabazus, *overcomes the* Lacedæmonian *Fleet; recovers the mastery of the Seas, and rebuilds the walls of* Athens.

THis good success, and the Confederacy made with *Athens*, gave such reputation to the *Thebans*, that the *Argives*, *Corinthians*, *Eubœans*, *Locrians*, and *Acarnanes*, did forthwith side with them, and raising a strong Army, determined to give battel to the *Lacedæmonians* as near as they might, to their own doors; considering that the force of *Sparta* it self was not great, but grew more and more by the adjunction of their Confederates. The Magistrates of *Sparta* perceiving the danger, sent for *Agesilaus*, who readily obeyed them, and promising his friends in *Asia* to return speedily to their assistance, passed the streights of *Hellespont* into *Europe*. In the mean time the Cities of the new League had given battel to the *Lacedæmonians*, and the remainder of their Associates; but with ill success. For when the right wing of each part had gotten the better hand, the *Argives* and *Thebans* returning from the chase in some disorder, were broken and defeated by the *Lacedæmonians*, who meeting them in good order, won from them the Honour which they had gotten by forcing the left wing of the *Lacedæmonians*, and made the victory of that day entirely their own. The reporters of this battel meeting *Agesilaus* at *Amphipolis*, were by him sent over into *Asia*, wherein it is not likely that they brought much comfort unto his friend, who had since his departure seen the *Spartan* Fleet beaten, and *Lysander* the Admiral slain. The same man, whose endeavour had brought the *Athenians* into order by advancing the Sea-forces of the *Lacedæmonians* with money, and all manner of supplies, was now the occasion that the power of *Athens* grew strong at Sea, when the City was despoiled of her old reputation, and scarcely able to maintain an Army by Land for her defence. *Pharnabazus* considering how much it imported the King his Master, to have the *Greeks* divided into such factions as might utterly disable them from undertaking abroad, thought it the safest way for himself, during these broils, to take such order, that he should not need any more to seek peace by intreaty and commemoration of old benefits, at their hands, who unprovoked, had sold his love for thirty Talents. To which purpose he furnished *Conon* the *Athenian* with eight Ships, who had escaped when the Fleet of *Athens* was surprized by *Lysander* at *Ægos-Potamos*; giving him the command of a great Navy, wherewith he requited the loss received at *Ægos Potamos*, by repaying the *Lacedæmonians* with the like destruction of their Fleet at *Cnidus*. After this Victory, *Conon* sailed to *Athens*, bringing with him, partly as the liberality of *Pharnabazus*, partly as the fruit of his Victory, so strong a Navy, and so much Gold, as encouraged the *Athenians* to rebuild their Walls, and think more hopefully upon recovering the Seigniory which they had lost.

SECT. VIII.

Of sundry small Victories gotten on each part. The Lacedæmonians *lose all in* Asia; *the* Athenians *recover some part of their old Dominion.*

NEvertheless the *Lacedæmonians* by many Victories at Land, maintained for some years the honour of their Estate, endangered very greatly by this loss at Sea. For *Agesilaus* obtained the better with his horsemen from the *Thessalians*, who were accounted the best riders in *Greece*. He wasted *Bœotia*, and fought a great Battel at *Coronea* against the *Thebans* and their Allies, whom he overthrew; and by his Marshal *Gylis* foraged the Country of *Locris*: which done, he returned home.

The gain of these Victories was not great, and the reputation of them was, by many losses, much defaced. For the *Thebans* did in the battel of *Coronea* vanquish the *Orchomenians*, who stood opposite unto them, and retired unbroken to Mount *Helicon*, opening way perforce when *Agesilaus* charged them in the return from the pursuit. Likewise *Gylis* was slain with a great part of his Army by the *Locrians*; and some other exploits by the *Lacedæmonians* performed against the *Corinthians*, were repayed with equal damage received in the parts adjoining; many Towns being easily taken, and as easily recovered. The variety of which enterfeats was such, that the *Thebans* themselves were drawn by the loss of the Haven of *Corinth*, to sue for peace, but could not get audience, till such time as the news came of a great Victory obtained by *Iphicrates*, General of the *Athenian* forces at *Lechæum*; whereupon the *Theban* Embassadors being sent for, and willed to do their message, required only in scorn to have a safe conduct given them, that they might enter into *Corinth*. From this time forward the War was made for a while only by incursions, wherein the *Achæans*, Confederates of *Sparta*, felt much loss, their whole State being endangered by the *Acarnanians*; who held with the contrary side, until *Agesilaus* repayed these invaders with equal, or greater calamities brought upon their own Lands, which did so afflict the *Acarnanins*, that they were driven to sue for peace. But the affairs at Sea were of most consequence, upon which the success of all depended. For when the Towns of *Asia* perceived that the *Lacedæmonians* were not only intangled in a hard War at home, but almost disabled to pass the Seas, having lost their Fleet at *Cnidus*; they soon gave ear to *Pharnabazus*, who promised to allow that they should use their own laws, if they would expel the *Spartan* Governours. Only the City of *Abydus* did stand firm, wherein *Dercyllidas* lay, who did his best to contain all the Towns about *Hellespont*, in the Alliance of the *Lacedæmonians*; which he could not do, because the *Athenian* Fleet under *Thrasibulus*, took in *Bizantium*, *Chalcedon*, and other places thereabout, reducing the Isle of *Lesbos* to their ancient acknowledgment of *Athens*.

SECT.

SECT. IX.

The baſe conditions offered unto the Perſian *by the* Lacedæmonian. *Of ſundry fights and other paſſages in the War. The Peace of* Antalcidas.

ABout this time the *Spartans* began to perceive how uneaſie a thing it would be to maintain the War againſt men as good as themſelves, aſſiſted with the treaſures of *Perſia*: wherefore they craved peace of *Artaxerxes*, moſt baſely offering not only to renounce the *Greeks* inhabiting *Aſia*, and to leave them to the Kings diſpoſition; but withal to ſet the Iſlanders, and every Town in *Greece*, as well the little as the great, at full and abſolute liberty, whereby they ſaid that all their principal Eſtates of their Country would be ſo weakened, that no one, nor all of them ſhould be able to ſtir againſt the great King. And ſure it was, that the power of the Country being ſo broken and rent into many ſmall pieces, could neither have diſquieted the *Perſian* by an offenſive War, nor have made any good defence againſt him, but would have left it eaſie for him in continuance of time to have taken the Cities one after another, till he had made himſelf Maſter of all. The *Spartans* were not ignorant of this, but were ſo carried with envy, that perceiving how the dominion of the Seas was like to return to *Athens*, they choſe rather to give all from themſelves and others, and make all alike weak, than to permit that any of their own Nation ſhould grow ſtronger than themſelves, who ſo lately had commanded all. Yet this great offer was not at the firſt accepted; both in regard that the other Eſtates of *Greece*, who had in the Kings behalf joined together againſt the *Lacedæmonians*, did by their ſeveral Embaſſadors oppoſe themſelves unto it; and for that it was thought ſafeſt for *Artaxerxes* rather to weaken the *Lacedæmonians* yet more, than by interpoſing himſelf to bring friends and foes on the ſudden to an equality. Eſpecially *Struthas*, whom *Artaxerxes* had ſent as his *Lieutenant* into the low Countrys, did ſeek to repay the harm done by *Ageſilaus* in thoſe parts: which his intent appearing plain, and all hope of the peace being thereby cut off, *Thimbro* was ſent into *Aſia* to make War upon *Struthas*; and others were appointed to other places: whereby the War being ſcattered about, all the Iſles and Towns on the firm land, grew almoſt to the manner of Pyracy, and Robbery, affording many skirmiſhes, but few great actions worthy of remembrance. *Thimbro* was ſlain by *Struthas*, and in his place *Diphridas* was ſent, who demeaned himſelf more warily. *Dercyllidas* was removed from his charge at *Abydus*, becauſe he had not impeached *Thraſybulus* in his enterprizes about *Helleſpont*; *Anaxibius* who ſucceeded him, was ſurprized and ſlain in a skirmiſh by *Iphicrates* the *Athenian*. *Thraſybulus* departing from *Lesbos* toward *Rhodes*, was ſlain by the way at *Aſpendus*. The City of *Rhodes* had long before joined with the *Lacedæmonians*, who erected there (as was their manner) an *Ariſtocracy*, or the Government of a few of the principal Citizens; whereas contrariwiſe the *Athenians* were accuſtomed to put the Soveraignty into the hands of the people, each of them ſeeking to aſſure themſelves by erecting in the Town of their Confederates a Government like unto their own: which doing (where more eſpecial cauſe did not hinder) cauſed the Nobility to favour *Sparta*, and the Commons to incline to *Athens*. The people of *Ægina* roved upon the Coaſt of *Attica*, which cauſed the *Athenians* to land an Army in *Ægina*, and beſiege their Town: but this ſiege being raiſed by the aſſiſtance of the *Lacedæmonian* Fleet, the Iſlanders began anew to moleſt *Attica*, which cauſed the *Athenians* to man their Ships again, that returned beaten, having loſt four of thirteen. The loſs of theſe Ships was ſoon recompenced by a Victory which *Chabrias* the *Athenian* General had in *Ægina*, whereupon the Iſlanders were fain to keep home, and leave to the *Athenians* the Seas free. It may well ſeem ſtrange that the City of *Athens*, having but newly raiſed her Walls, having not by any fortunate and important Battel ſecured her Eſtate from dangers by land; but only depending upon the aſſiſtance of ſuch Confederates as carried unto different ends, had often diſcovered themſelves irreſolute in the common cauſe, would ſend a Fleet and an Army to *Cyprus*, in defence of *Evagoras*, when the Maſtery of the Seas was ſo ill aſſured, that an Iſland in the eye of *Pyræus*, had ability to vex the Coaſt of *Attica*. But as the overweening of that City did cauſe it uſually to embrace more than it could compaſs; ſo the inſolency and ſhameleſs injuſtice of the people, had now bred in the chief Commanders a deſire to keep themſelves far out of ſight, and to ſeek employments at ſuch diſtance as might ſecure them from the eyes of the envious, and from publick judgments, out of which few or none eſcaped. For which cauſe *Timotheus* did paſs away much part of his time in the Iſle of *Lesbos*; *Iphicrates* in *Thrace*; and *Chabrias* now did carry away into *Cyprus* a greater force than his Country could well have ſpared: with which he returned not when the buſineſs in *Cyprus* came to an end, but ſought new adventures in *Egypt*; whereby aroſe neither thanks to himſelf, nor profit to his City, though honour both to him and it. The *Athenians* being thus careleſs of things at hand, had a notable blow given unto them, ſhortly after that *Chabrias* was gone to *Cyprus*, even within their own Haven. For *Telutias* a *Lacedæmonian* being made Governour of *Ægina*, conceived a ſtrong hope of ſurprizing the Navy of *Athens* as it lay in *Piræus*; thinking aright, that it was a harder matter to encounter with ten Ships prepared for the fight, than with twenty lying in harbour, whoſe Mariners were aſleep in their Cabbins, or drinking in Taverns. Wherefore he ſailed by night into the mouth of the Port, which entring at the break of day, he found (according to his expectation) moſt of the men on ſhore, and few or none left aboard to make reſiſtance: by which means he took many Ships laden with Merchandizes, many fiſhermen, paſſengers, and other Veſſels, alſo three or four Gallies; having ſunk or broken, and made unſerviceable, as many of the reſt as the time would ſuffer. About this time *Pharnabazus* the Lieutenant of *Phrygia*, had one of the Kings Daughters given to him in Marriage, with whom he lived about the Court; and many Officers that favoured the *Lacedæmonians*, were placed in the lower *Aſia*; by whoſe aſſiſtance the Fleet of *Sparta* grew victorious about *Helleſpont*; in ſuch wiſe, that perhaps they ſhould not have needed the peace, which they themſelves procured by *Antalcidas* from the great King; the conditions whereof were ſuch as are mentioned before, giving freedom to all the Cities of *Greece*, and dividing the Country into as many ſeveral States as were petty Boroughs in it. Thus *Artaxerxes* having bought his own peace with money, did likewiſe by his money become Arbitrator and decider of Controverſies between the *Greeks*, diſpoſing of their buſineſs in ſuch wiſe, as ſtood beſt with his own good. The tenor of *Artaxerxes* his Decree was, That all

Aſia

Asia and *Cyprus* should be his own; the Isles of *Lemnos*, *Imbrus*, and *Scirus*, be subject to *Athens*; all other *Greek* Towns, as well the little as the great, be set at liberty; and that whosoever should refuse this peace, upon them the approvers of it should make War, the King assisting them by Land and Sea, with men, and ships, and treasure. The *Athenians* were so discouraged by their losses at Sea; the *Lacedæmonians* by revolt of their Confederates, and the necessity of maintaining many Garisons, for which they wanted money; and other States by the miseries of the War, whereof they saw no end; that all (excepting the *Thebans*) did consent unto these Articles. This was called the peace of *Antalcidas*: whereof the *Lacedæmonians* taking upon themselves the execution, did not only compell the *Argives* to depart out of *Corinth*, (which under pretence of defending, they held by Garisons, lately thrust into it, not as Patrons, but as Lords), and the *Thebans* to leave *Bœotia* free, of which Province *Thebes* had always held the Government, the *Thebans* themselves being also comprehended under the name of the *Bœotians*; but caused the *Mantineans* to throw down their own City, and to dwell in Villages: alledging that they had formerly been accustomed so to do, though purposing indeed to chastise them, as having been ill-affected to *Sparta* in the late War. By these courses the *Lacedæmonians* did hope that all the small Towns in *Greece* would, when occasion should require it, willingly follow them in their Wars, as Authors of their Liberty; and that the great Cities having lost all their dependants, would be unable to make opposition.

SECT. X.

The War which the Lacedæmonians *made upon* Olynthus. *They take* Thebes *by Treason, and* Olynthus *by Famine.*

WHilst these Wars, which ended without either victory or profit, consumed the riches and power of *Greece*, the City of *Olynthus* in *Thrace* was grown so mighty, that she did not only command her neighbour-Towns, but was also become terrible to places far removed, and to *Sparta* it self. Great part of *Macedonia*, together with *Pella*, the principal City of that Kingdom, was taken by the *Olynthians*, who following the usual pretence of the *Lacedæmonians*, to set at liberty the places over which King *Amyntas* did tyrannize, had almost now driven him out of his Dominions, and taken all to themselves. The Citizens of *Acanthus*, and of *Apollonia*, being neerest unto the danger of those incroaching neighbours, acquainted the *Lacedæmonians* with their fear, affirming that this Dominion of the *Olynthians* would be too strong for all *Greece*, if continuance of time should give it reputation, which only it wanted: wherefore they requested assistance, but in such terms as did sound of compulsion, protesting that either they must War upon *Olynthus*, or become subject unto her, and fight in her defence. Hereupon was made a hasty levy of men, two thousand being sent presently away, with promise to be seconded by a greater Army. Whilst these two thousand gave such beginning to the War, as agreed with their small number, the body of the Army following them, surprized the Cittadel of *Thebes*, which was betrayed into the hand of *Phœbidas* the *Lacedæmonian*, by some of the Magistrates, who sought to strengthen their faction by the slavery of their Country. The *Thebans* were ill affected to *Sparta*, but had not in any point violated the peace lately made between them; which caused the *Lacedæmonians* to doubt, whether this act of *Phœbidas* were more worthy of reward or of punishment. In conclusion, profit so far overweighed honesty, that the deed was approved, many principal Citizens of *Thebes* condemned to death, many driven into banishment, and the Traitors rewarded with the Government of the City: by whose authority, and the force of the Garison, the *Thebans* were compelled to serve the *Lacedæmonians* in all, and more than all that they could require. This access of power having strengthened the *Lacedæmonians*, caused them to entertain the greater forces about *Olynthus*, (which notwithstanding the loss of one great Battel, and some other disasters) they compelled at length by famine to render it self unto their obedience.

SECT. XI.

How the Thebans *recovered their liberty, driving out the* Lacedæmonian *Garison.*

AFter this *Olynthian* War, which endured almost three years, it seemed that no Estate in *Greece* was able to make head against that of *Sparta*: but it was not long ere the *Thebans* found a means to shake off their yoak, and gave both example and means to others to do the like. One of the banisht men found by conference with a Scribe of the *Theban* Magistrates, coming to *Athens*, that the tyranny wherewith his Country was oppressed, pleased him no better than it did those, who for fear of it were fled from home. Whereupon a plot was laid between these two, that soon found very good success, being managed thus. Seven of the banished men forsook *Athens* privily, and entred by night into the fields of *Thebes*; where spending the next day secretly, they came late in the evening to the Gates like Husbandmen returned from work, and so passed undiscovered unto the house of *Charon*, whom *Phyllidas* the Scribe had drawn into the Conspiracy. The day following, a solemn Feast being then held in the City, *Phyllidas* promised the Governours, who were insolent and lustful men, that he would convey unto them that night the most beautiful Dames of the Town, with whom they should take their pleasure. Having cheared them with such hope, and plenty of good Wine, he told them when the time of performance (which they urged) came, that he could not make good his promise, unless they would dismiss their followers, because the Gentlewomen who attended without the Chamber, would not endure that any of the servants should see their faces. Upon this occasion the attendants were dismissed, and the Conspirators attired like Ladies, and their Maids, brought into the place; who taking advantage of the Governours loose behaviour, slew them all upon the sudden with Daggers, which they brought hidden under their Garments. Then presently casting off their disguise, they went to other places, where feigning themselves to come to the Governours upon business, they got admittance, and likewise slew those which were of the *Lacedæmonian* faction. By the like device they brake into the Prison, slew the Gaoler, and set at liberty such as they thought meet; and being followed by these desperate men, proclaimed liberty, making the death of the Tyrants known. The Captain of the Castle hearing the sudden Proclamation, thought the Rebels to be stronger than

indeed they were: the Citizens contrariwiſe miſtruſted, that it was a practice to diſcover ſuch as would be forward upon occaſion of revolting. But as ſoon as day-light revealed the plain truth, all the people took Arms and beſieged the Caſtle, ſending haſtily to *Athens* for ſuccour. The Gariſon alſo ſent for aid unto the Towns adjoining, whence a few broken Troops coming to the reſcue, were defeated on the way by the horſemen of *Thebes*. On the other ſide, the baniſhed *Thebans* did not only make ſpeed to aſſiſt their Countrymen, but procured ſome *Athenians* to join with them, and thereby came ſo ſtrong into the City, that the Caſtle was yielded, more through fear than any neceſſity, upon condition that the Soldiers might quietly depart with their Arms; for which compoſition, the Captain at his return to *Sparta* was put to death. When the news of the doings at *Thebes*, and the ſucceſs arrived at *Sparta*, an Army was raiſed forthwith, and all things prepared as earneſtly for the recovering of that City, as if ſome part of their ancient Inheritance had been taken from the *Lacedæmonians*, and not a Town perfidiouſly uſurped by them, reſtored to her own liberty. *Cleombrotus* one of the Kings, was ſent on this Expedition, who having wearied his followers with a toilſom Winters journey, returned home without any good or harm done; leaving *Sphodrias* with part of his Army, at *Theſpies*, to infeſt the *Thebans*; who doing them ſome diſpleaſures, made large amends by a fooliſh attempt upon the Haven of *Athens*; which failing to take, he waſted the Country adjoining, and drave away Cattel, cauſing by this outrage the *Athenians* to enter with all their power into the War, out of which they were before very carefully ſeeking how they might poſſibly withdraw themſelves.

CHAP. XII.

Of the flouriſhing Eſtate of Thebes, *from the Battel of* Leuctra, *to the Battel of* Mantinæa.

SECT. I.

How Thebes *and* Athens *joined together againſt* Sparta. *How the* Athenians *made peace for themſelves, and others, out of which the* Thebans *were excluded. The Battel of* Leuctra, *and beginning of the* Theban *greatneſs.*

THe *Lacedæmonians* were men of great reſolution, and of much gravity in all their proceedings; but one diſhonourable Rule they held, That all reſpects withſtanding the commodity of *Sparta*, were to be neglected; the practice of which Doctrine, even by the beſt and wiſeſt of them, did greatly blemiſh that Eſtate: but when it was put in execution by inſufficient overweening men, it ſeldom failed to bring upon them, inſtead of profit unjuſtly expected, both ſhame and loſs. And ſo it befell them in theſe enterprizes of *Phœbidas*, upon the Caſtle of *Thebes*, and *Sphodrias* upon the *Piræus*. For howſoever *Ageſilaus* did ſpoil the Country about *Thebes*, in which he ſpent two Summers; yet the diligence of the *Thebans* repaired all, who by the good ſucceſs of ſome attempts grew ſtronger than they were at the firſt.

The *Athenians* likewiſe began to look abroad, ſailing to the Iſle of *Corcyra*, where they ordered things at their pleaſure, and having in ſome fights at Sea prevailed, began as in the *Peloponneſian* War, to ſurround *Peloponneſus* with a Navy; afflicting ſo the *Lacedæmonians*, that had not the *Thebans* by their inſolency wearied their friends, and cauſed them to ſeek for peace, it had been very likely that the end of this War ſhould have ſoon come to a good end, which nevertheleſs being proſecuted by the *Thebans* (who oppoſed at once both theſe two great Eſtates) left the City of *Sparta* as much dejected, as the beginnings found it proud and tyrannous. But the *Athenians* perceiving how *Thebes* encroached every day upon her weak Neighbours, not ſparing ſuch as had been dependants upon *Athens*, and finding themſelves, whileſt engaged in ſuch a War, unable to relieve their complaining friends, reſolved to ſettle the affairs of *Greece*, by renewing that form of peace which *Antalcidas* had brought from the *Perſian*. Wherefore they ſent Meſſengers to *Thebes*, peremptorily ſignifying, That it was their intent to finiſh the War, to which purpoſe they willed the *Thebans* to ſend Embaſſadors along with them to *Sparta*; who readily condeſcended, fearing otherwiſe that they ſhould be left out of the Treaty of Peace: which came to paſs, being ſo wrought by the couragious wiſdom of *Epaminondas*, who underſtood it far better than his Countrymen, what was to be feared or hoped. In this Treaty the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians* did ſoon agree; but when the *Thebans* offered to ſwear to the Articles in the name of the *Bœotians*, *Ageſilaus* required them to ſwear in their own name, and to leave the *Bœotians* free, whom they had lately reduced under their obedience. Whereunto *Epaminondas* made anſwer, That the City of *Sparta* ſhould give example to *Thebes* by ſetting the *Laconians* free; for that the Seigniory of *Bœotia* did by as good right appertain to the *Thebans*, as that of *Laconia* to the *Spartans*. This was well and truly ſpoken; but was heard with no patience: for *Ageſilaus* bearing a vehement hatred unto thoſe of *Thebes*, by whom he was drawn back out of *Aſia* into *Greece*, and diſappointed of all the glory which he had hoped to atchieve by the *Perſian* War, did now paſſionately urge that point of ſetting the *Bœotians* at liberty; and finding it as obſtinately refuſed, he daſht the name of the *Thebans* out of the League. At the ſame time *Cleombrotus* the other King of *Sparta* lay in *Phocis*, who received command from the Governours of *Sparta* forthwith to enter upon the Land of the *Thebans* with all his power; which he did, and was there ſlain at *Leuctra*, and with him

him the flower of his Army. This Battel of *Leuctra* being one of the most famous that ever were fought between the *Greeks*, was not so notable for any circumstance foregoing it, or for the managing of the fight it self, as for the death of the King, and many Citizens of *Sparta*; but especially, for that after this Battel (between which and the conclusion of the general Peace, there passed but twenty days) the *Lacedæmonians* were never able to recover the strength and reputation which had formerly made them redoubted far and near: whereas contrariwise the *Thebans*, whose greatest ambition had in former times confined it self unto the little Region of *Bœotia*, did now begin to undertake the leading and command of many People and Estates, in such wise, that soon after they brought an Army of threescore and ten thousand strong unto the Gates of *Sparta*. So much do the afflictions of an hard War, valiantly endured, advance the affairs of the distressed, and guide them into the way of conquest, by stiffning that resolution with a manly temper, which wealth and ease had through luxury, wretchlesness, and many other vices or vanities, made rusty and effeminate.

SECT. II.

How the Athenians *took upon them to maintain the Peace of* Greece. *New troubles hence arising.* Epaminondas *invadeth and wasteth the Territory of* Lacedæmon.

THe *Athenians* refusing to take advantage of this overthrow faln upon their old Enemies, and new Confederates the *Lacedæmonians*, did nevertheless finally give them to understand, that their Dominion was expired, and therefore their pride might well be laid away. For taking upon themselves the maintenance of the Peace lately concluded, which *Agesilaus* (perhaps of purpose to make benefit of quarrels that might arise) had left unperfect, they assembled the Deputies of all the Estates confederated at *Athens*; where the general liberty of all Towns, as well small as great, was ratified under the stile of the *Athenians*, and their Associates. Hereupon began fresh garboils. The *Mantineans*, claiming power by this Decree to order their affairs at their own pleasure did (as it were) in despight of the *Spartans*, who had enforced them to raze their Town, re-edifie it, and allie themselves with such of the *Arcadians* as stood worst affected to *Sparta*. The *Arcadians*, a strong Nation, consisting of many Cities, were distracted with factions; some desiring to hold good correspondency with the *Lacedæmonians*; some to weaken and keep them low; yet all pretending other ends. The *Lacedæmonians* durst not give impeachment to the *Mantineans*, nor take upon them to correct their ill-willers among the *Arcadians*, till such time as the factions brake out into violence, and each party called in foreign help. Then was an Army sent from *Sparta*, as it were in defence of the people of *Tegea*, against the *Mantineans*, but indeed against them both. *Agesilaus* had the leading of it, but effected nothing. The *Thebans* had by this time subdued the *Phocians*, and were become head of the *Locrians*, *Acarnanians*, *Eubœans*, and many others; with the power of which Countrys they entred *Peloponnesus* in favour of the *Arcadians*, who had upon expectation of their coming, abstained from giving Battel to *Agesilaus*. The Army of the *Spartans* being dismissed, and *Epaminondas* joined with the *Arcadians*, the Region of *Laconia* was invaded and spoiled: a thing so strange, that no Oracle could have found belief if any had foretold it. Almost 600 years were spent, since the *Dorians* under the posterity of *Hercules* had seized upon *Laconia*; in all which time the sound of an Enemies Trumpet was not heard in that Country. Ten years were not fully past, since all *Greece* was at the devotion of the *Spartans*: but now the Region which neither *Xerxes* with his huge Army could once look upon, nor the mighty forces of *Athens*, and other enemy-States had dared to set foot on, saving by stealth, was all on a light fire, the very smoke whereof the Women of *Sparta* were ashamed to behold. All which indignity notwithstanding, the *Lacedæmonians* did not issue out of *Sparta* to fight, but sought how to preserve the Town, setting at liberty as many of their *Heilotes*, or slaves, as were willing to bear Arms in defence of the State, and somewhat pitifully entreated the *Athenians*, to give them succour. From *Corinth*, and some Towns of *Peloponnesus*, they received speedy assistance; the *Athenians* came forward more slowly, so that *Epaminondas* returned without battel, having rebuilded the City of *Messene*, and peopled it anew by calling home the ancient Inhabitants, whom the *Lacedæmonians* many ages before had chased away to other Countrys, possessing their Territories themselves.

SECT. III.

The Composition between Athens *and* Sparta *for command in War against the* Thebans; *who again invade and spoil* Peloponnesus. *The unfortunate presumption of the* Arcadians.

THis journey therefore utterly defaced the reputation of the *Spartans*, in such wise, that they did no longer demand the conduct of the Army, which was to be raised, nor any manner of precedence: but sending Embassadors from *Sparta*, and from all the Cities which held League with it, unto *Athens*, they offered to yield the Admiralty to the *Athenians*, requesting that they themselves might be Generals by Land. This had been a composition well agreeing with the situation and quality of those two Cities; but it was rejected, because the Mariners and others that were to be employed at Sea, were men of no mark or estimation, in regard of those companies of horse and foot, whereof the Land-Army was compounded; who being all Gentlemen or Citizens of *Athens*, were to have served under the *Lacedæmonians*. Wherefore it was agreed that the Authority should be divided by time, the *Athenians* ruling five days, the *Lacedæmonians* other five, and so successively that each of them should have command of all, both by Land and by Sea. It is manifest, that in this conclusion, vain ambition was more regarded than the common profit; which must of necessity be very slowly advanced, where consultation, resolution, and performance are so often to change hands. This appeared by a second invasion of *Peloponnesus*, wherein the *Thebans* found their enemies so unable to impeach them, that having fortified *Isthmus* from Sea to Sea, as in former times they had done against *Xerxes*, they were driven out of their strength by *Epaminondas*, who foraged the Country without resistance. But as the Articles of this League between *Athens* and *Sparta* did, by dividing the conduct in such manner, disable the Society,

and make it insufficient to those ends for which it was concluded; so the example of it wrought their good, by filling the enemies heads with the like vanity. For the *Arcadians* considering their own numbers which they brought into the field, and having found by many trials that their people were not inferiour to others in strength of body, in courage, or in good Soldiership, thought it good reason that they should in like manner share the Government with their friends the *Thebans*; and not always continue followers of others, by increasing whose greatness they should strengthen their own yoke. Hereupon they began to demean themselves very insolently, whereby they grew hateful to their Neighbour, and suspected of the *Thebans* in an ill time. For a motion of general peace having been made (which took not effect, because the City *Messene* was not abandoned to the *Lacedæmonians*) the next enterprize of the *Spartans* and their friends was upon these *Arcadians*, who relying too much upon their own worth, were overthrown in a great battel, their calamity being as pleasing to their Confederates, as to their Enemies.

SECT. IV.

The great growth of the Theban *Estate. Embassages of the* Greeks *to the* Persian; *with the reasons why he most favoured the* Thebans. *Troubles in the* Persian *Empire. The fruitless issue of the Embassages.*

THe *Thebans* especially rejoiced at the *Arcadians* misfortune; considering that without their aid, the success of all enterprizes proved so ill; whereas they themselves had by their own power accomplished very well whatsoever they took in hand, and were become not only victorious over the *Lacedæmonians*, but Patrons over the *Thessalonians*, and moderators of great quarrels that had risen in *Macedonia*; where compounding the differences about that Kingdom, as pleased them best, they carried *Philip* the son of *Amyntas*, and father of *Alexander* the Great, as an Hostage unto *Thebes*. Having therefore obtained such reputation, that little seemed wanting to make them absolute Commanders of all *Greece*, they sought means of alliance with the *Persian* King, to whom they sent Embassador the great and famous Captain *Pelopidas*, whose reputation drew *Artaxerxes* to grant unto the *Thebans* all that they desired; whereof two especial points were, That *Messene* should remain free from the *Lacedæmonians*, and that the *Athenians* should forbear to send their ships of War to Sea; only the latter of these two was somewhat qualified with reference to further advice. The other States of *Greece* did also send their Embassadors at the same time, of whom few or none received much contentment. For the King having found by long experience, how far it concerned him to maintain a sure party in *Greece*, did upon many weighty considerations resolve to bind the *Thebans* firmly unto him; justly expecting that their greatness should be on that side his own security. The *Athenians* had been ancient Enemies to his Crown; and having turned the profit of their victories upon the *Persians* to the purchase of a great Estate in *Greece*, maintained their Seigniory in such puissant manner, that (sundry grievous misfortunes notwithstanding) they had endured a terrible War, wherein the *Lacedæmonians* being followed by most of the *Greeks*, and supplied with treasure, and all sorts of aid by *Darius Nothus*, were not able to vanquish them till their own indiscretion brought them on their knees. The *Lacedæmonians* being victorious over *Athens*, had no sooner established their Dominion at home, than they undertook the conquest of *Asia*, from which though by the commotion raised in *Greece* with *Persian* Gold, they were called back; yet having renewed their power, and setled things in *Greece*, it was not unlikely that they should upon the next advantage have pursued the same enterprize, had not they been impeached by this *Theban* War. But the *Thebans* contrariwise had always discovered a good affection to the Crown of *Persia*. They had sided with *Xerxes* in his invasion of *Greece*; with *Darius* and the *Lacedæmonians* against *Athens*: And finally, having offered much contumely to *Agesilaus* when he put to Sea, they drew him home by making War on the Confederates of *Sparta*. Besides all these their good deservings, they were no Seamen, and therefore unlikely to look abroad; whereupon if perchance they should have any desire, yet were they disabled by the want of good Haven-Towns; which they could not seize upon without open breach of that peace, whereof they intended to become the Executors, giving liberty to all Cities that had at any time been free. Wherefore *Artaxerxes* did wholly condescend unto the requests of *Pelopidas*, as far forth as he might, without giving open defiance to the rest of *Greece*; and by that mean he purchased his own quiet, being never afterward molested by that Nation in the lower *Asia*. The ill means which the *Greeks* had to disturb *Artaxerxes* was very beneficial to the Estate of *Persia* shortly after these times, in that great rebellion of all the Maritimate Provinces. For had then the affairs of *Greece* been so composed, that any one City might without impeachment of the rest have transported an Army to assist the revolting *Satrapæ*, or Vice-roys of *Caria*, *Phrygia*, *Lydia*, *Mysia*, *Lycia*, *Pisidia*, *Pamphylia*, *Cilicia*, *Syria*, and *Phœnicia*; humane reason can hardly find the means, by which the Empire could have been preserved from that ruine, which the Divine Counsel had deferred unto the days of *Alexander*. But this great Conspiracy of so many large and wealthy Provinces, wanting a firm body of good and hardy Soldiers, was in short space discussed, and vanished like a mist, without effect: these effeminate *Asiaticks*, wearied quickly with the travels and dangers incident to War, forsaking the common cause, and each man striving to be the first, that by treason to his company should both redeem the former treason to his Prince, and purchase withal his own promotion with encrease of riches. Of this commotion which in course of time followed some actions not as yet related, I have rather chosen to make short mention in this place, than hereafter to interrupt the Narration of things more important; but for that it was like a sudden storm, rashly commenced, idly followed, and foolishly laid down, having made a great noise without effect, and having small reference to any other action agreeable; as also because in the whole reign of *Artaxerxes*, from the War of *Cyrus* to the invasion of *Egypt*, I find nothing (this insurrection, and a fruitless journey against the *Cadusians* excepted) worthy of any mention, much less of digression from the course of the business in *Greece*. All, or the most of his time passed away so quietly, that he enjoyed the pleasures which an Empire so great and wealthy could afford unto such an absolute Lord, with little disturbance. The troubles which he found were only, or chiefly Domestical; growing out of the hatred which *Parysatis* the Queen-Mother bare unto his Wife *Statira*, and to such as had been the greatest enemies to her Son *Cyrus*, or gloried in his death: upon whom, when by poyson and mischievous practices she had satisfied her feminine appetite of revenge, thence-

forth

forth she wholly applied her self to the Kings disposition, cherishing in him the lewd desire of marrying his own Daughter, and filling him with the perswasion which Princes not endued with an especial grace, do readily entertain; That his own will was the supream law of his subjects, and the rule by which all things were to be measured and adjudged to be good or evil. In this imaginary happiness *Pelopidas*, and the other Embassadors of *Greece*, both found and left him; but left him by so much more assured than they found him, by how much the conclusion of this Treaty with them, being altogether to his own advantage, did seem to promise, if not the perpetuity, a long endurance of the same felicity to him and his, or (at the least) a full security of danger from *Greece*, whence only could any danger be feared. But such foundations of eternity laid by mortal men in this transitory world, like the Tower of *Babel*, are either shaken from heaven, or made vain and unprofitable, ere the frame can be raised to full height, by confusion of tongues among the builders. Hereof was found a good example in the *Thebans*, and other Estates of *Greece* that had sent Embassadors to the *Persian*. For whereas it had been concluded, that all Towns, as well the little as the great, should be set at liberty, and the *Thebans* made Protectors of this common peace, who thereby should become the Judges of all Controversies that might arise, and Leaders in War of all that would enter into this Confederacy; the Kings Letters being solemnly published at *Thebes*, in the presence of Embassadors drawn thither from all parts of *Greece*: when an Oath was required for observation of the form of peace therein set down, a dilatory answer was made by the Embassadors, who said, that they were sent to hear the articles, not to swear unto them. Hereby the *Thebans* were driven to send unto each of the Cities to require the Oath; but in vain. For when the *Corinthians* had boldly refused it, saying, that they did not need it; others took courage by their example to do the like, disappointing the *Thebans* of their glorious hopes, to whom this negotiation with *Artaxerxes* gave neither addition nor confirmation of greatness, but left them as it found them to relie upon their own swords.

SECT. V.

How all Greece *was divided between the* Athenians *and* Lacedæmonians *on the one side, and* Thebans *on the other. Of the great tumult arising in* Arcadia.

THe condition of things in *Greece* at that time did stand thus: *Athens* and *Sparta*, which in former times had commanded all that Nation, and each upon envy of the others greatness, drawn all their followers into a cruel and intestine War, by which the whole Country, and especially the Estates of these two Cities was brought very low, did now conjoin their forces against the *Thebans*, who sought to make themselves Lords of all. The *Eleans*, *Corinthians*, and *Achaians*, followed the party of these ancient Governing Cities; either for the old reputation of them, and benefits received, or in dislike of those, who by strong hand were ready to become Rulers, to which authority they could not suddenly aspire without some injury and much envy. The City of *Thebes* abounding with men, whom necessity had made warlike, and many Victories in few years had filled with great spirits; and being so mighty independants, that she had reduced all the Continent of *Greece* without *Peloponnesus* (the Region of *Attica*, and very little part beside, excepted) under such acknowledgment as wanted not much of meer Vassallage, did hope to bring all *Peloponnesus* to the like obedience, wherein already she had set good footing by her conjunction with the States of *Argos*, and of *Arcadia*. The *Argives* had been always bad Neighbours to the *Spartans*, to whom they thought themselves in ancient Nobility superiors, but were far under them in valour, having been often beaten out of the field by them, and put in danger of losing all: which caused them to suspect and envy nothing more than the greatness and honour of *Sparta*, taking Truce with her when she was at rest, and had leisure to bend her whole force against them; but firmly joining with her enemies whensoever they found her entangled in a difficult War. As the *Argives* were, in hatred of *Sparta*, sure friends of *Thebes*; so the *Arcadians* transported with a great opinion of their own worthiness, had formerly renounced and provoked against them their old Confederates and Leaders, the *Lacedæmonians*, and were now become very doubtful adherents to the *Thebans*. In which regard, it was thought convenient by *Epaminondas* and the State of *Thebes*, to send an Army into *Peloponnesus*, before such time as these wavering friends should fall further off, and become either Neutral, or which was to be feared, open enemies. And surely great cause there was to suspect the worst of them, considering that without consent of the *Thebans*, they had made peace with *Athens*, which was very strange, and seemed no less to the *Athenians* themselves, who holding a firm League with *Sparta* at the same time when the *Arcadians* treated with them, did nevertheless accept this new Confederacy, not relinquishing the old, because they found that howsoever these *Arcadians* were enemies to the *Lacedæmonians*, they should hereby be drawn somewhat further from their alliance with *Thebes*, which without them was unlikely to invade *Peloponnesus* with a strong Army. But this did rather hasten, than by any means stay the coming of *Epaminondas*; who finding the way somewhat more clear for him (because the City of *Corinth*, which lay upon the *Isthmus*, and had been adverse to *Thebes*, was now by miseries of this grievous War, driven to become Neutral) took occasion hereby, and by some disorders among the *Arcadians*, to visit *Peloponnesus* with an Army, consisting of all the power of *Thebes*. A great tumult had risen in *Arcadia* about consecrated money, which many principal men among them had laid hands on, under pretence of employing it to publick uses. In compounding the differences grown upon this occasion, such as had least will to render account of the money which had come into their hands, procured the Captains of some *Theban* Soldiers lying in *Tegea*, to take prisoners many of their Countrymen, as people desirous of innovation. This was done, but the uproar thereby caused was so great, that the prisoners were forthwith enlarged, and the *Arcadians*, who had in great numbers taken Arms, with much ado scarce pacified. When complaint of the Captains proceedings came to *Thebes*, *Epaminondas* turned all the blame upon them who had made the peace with *Athens*, letting them know, that he would be shortly among them to judg of their fidelity, by the assistance which they should give him in that War which he intended to make in *Peloponnesus*. These Lordly words did greatly amaze the *Arcadians*; who needing not the aid of so mighty a power as he drew along with him, did vehemently suspect that great preparation to be made against themselves. Hereupon such of them as had before sought means to settle the affairs of their Country,

by

by drawing things to ſome good concluſion of peace, did now forthwith ſend to *Athens* for help, and withal diſpatched ſome of the principal among them as Embaſſadors to *Sparta*, by whom they offered themſelves to the common defence of *Peloponneſus*, now ready to be invaded. This Embaſſage brought much comfort to the *Lacedæmonians*, who feared nothing more than the coming of *Epaminondas*, againſt whom they well knew, that all their forces and beſt proviſions would be no more than very hardly ſufficient. Forbearing therefore to diſpute about Prerogatives, they (who had been accuſtomed unto ſuch a ſupremacy, as they would in no wiſe communicate with the powerful City of *Athens*, till other hope of ſecuring their own Eſtate could not be thought upon) did now very gently yield to the *Arcadians*, that the command of the Army in chief ſhould be given for the time to that City in whoſe Territory it lay.

SECT. VI.

A terrible Invaſion of Peloponneſus *by* Epaminondas.

CErtain it is, that the condition of things did at that time require a very firm conſent, and uniform care of the common ſafety. For beſide the great forces raiſed out of the other parts of *Greece*, the *Argives* and *Meſſenians* prepared with all their ſtrength to join with *Epaminondas*; who having lain a while at *Nemea* to intercept the *Athenians*, received their intelligence, that the Army coming from *Athens* would paſs by Sea, whereupon he diſlodged, and came to *Tegea*, which City, and the moſt of all *Arcadia* beſides, forthwith declared themſelves his. The common opinion was, that the firſt attempt of the *Thebans*, would be upon ſuch of the *Arcadians* as had revolted; which cauſed the *Lacedæmonian* Captains to fortifie *Mantinæa* with all diligence, and to ſend for *Ageſilaus* to *Sparta*, that he bringing with him all that ſmall force of able men which remained in the Town, they might be ſtrong enough to abide *Epaminondas* there. But *Epaminondas* held ſo good eſpial upon his Enemies, that had not an unknown fellow brought haſty advertiſment of his purpoſe to *Ageſilaus*, who was then well onward in the way to *Mantinæa*, the City of *Sparta* had ſuddenly been taken. For thither with all ſpeed and ſecrecy did the *Thebans* march, who had ſurely carried the City, notwithſtanding any defence that could have been made by that handful of men remaining within it, but that *Ageſilaus* in all flying-haſte got into it with his Companies, whom the Army of his Confederates followed thither to the reſcue as faſt it was able. The arrival of the *Lacedæmonians* and their friends, as it cut off all hope from *Epaminondas* of taking *Sparta*, ſo it preſented him with a fair advantage upon *Mantinæa*. It was the time of Harveſt, which made it very likely, that the *Mantinæans* finding the War to be carried from their Walls into another quarter, would uſe the commodity of that vacation, by fetching in their Corn, and turning out their Cattel into the fields, whilſt no enemy was near that might impeach them. Wherefore he turned away from *Sparta* to *Mantinæa*, ſending his horſemen before him, to ſeize upon all that might be found without the City. The *Mantinæans* according to the expectation of *Epaminondas*) were ſcattered abroad in the Country, far more intent upon their Harveſt-buſineſs, than upon the War, whereof they were ſecure, as thinking themſelves out of diſtance. By which preſumption it fell out, that great numbers of them, and all their Cattel, being unable to recover the Town, were in a deſperate caſe; and the Town it ſelf in no great likelihood of holding out, when the enemy ſhould have taken all their proviſion of victuals, with ſo many of the people as had not over-dearly been redeemed, by that Cities returning to ſociety with *Thebes*. But at the ſame time the *Athenians* coming to the ſuccour of their Confederates, whom they thought to have found at *Mantinæa* were very earneſtly entreated by the Citizens to reſcue their goods and people from the danger whereinto they were fallen, if it were poſſible by any couragious adventure to deliver thoſe who otherwiſe were given as loſt. The *Thebans* were known at that time to be the beſt Soldiers of all the *Greeks*, and the commendation of good Horſemanſhip had always been given to the *Theſſalians*, as excelling in that quality all other Nations; yet the regard of honour ſo wrought upon the *Athenians*, that for the reputation of their City, which had entred into this War upon no neceſſity of her own, but only in deſire of relieving her diſtreſſed friend, they iſſued forth of *Mantinæa*, not abiding ſo long as to refreſh themſelves, or their Horſes with meat; and giving a luſty charge upon the enemy, who as bravely received them, after a long and hot fight, they remained Maſters of the field, giving by this Victory a ſafe and eaſie retreat to all that were without the Walls. The whole power of the *Bœotians* arrived in the place ſoon after this Battel, whom the *Lacedæmonians* and their Aſſiſtants were not far behind.

SECT. VII.

The great Battel of Mantinæa. *The honourable death of* Epaminondas, *with his Commendation.*

E*Paminondas* conſidering that his Commiſſion was almoſt now expired, and that his attempts of ſurprizing *Sparta* and *Mantinæa* having failed, the impreſſion of terror which his name had wrought in the *Peloponneſians* would ſoon vanquiſh, unleſs by ſome notable act he ſhould abate their courage in their firſt growth, and leave ſome memorable character of his Expedition, reſolved to give them Battel, whereby he reaſonably hoped both to ſettle the doubtful affections of his own Aſſociates, and to leave the *Spartans* as weak in ſpirit and ability as he found them, if not wholly to bring them into ſubjection. Having therefore warned his men to prepare for that Battel, wherein Victory ſhould be rewarded with Lordſhip of all *Greece*; and finding the alacrity of his Soldiers to be ſuch as promiſed the accompliſhment of his own deſire; he made ſhew of declining the enemy, and entrenching himſelf in a place of more advantage, that ſo by taking from them all expectation of fighting that day, he might allay the heat of their valour, and afterward ſtrike their ſenſes with amazement, when he ſhould come upon them unexpected. This opinion deceived him not. For with very much tumult, as in ſo great and ſudden a danger, the enemy ran to Arms, neceſſity enforcing their reſolution, and the conſequence of that days ſervice, urging them to do as well as they might. The *Theban* Army conſiſted of thirty thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe; the *Lacedæmonians* and their friends were ſhort of this number, both in horſe and in foot, by a third part. The *Mantinæans* (becauſe the War was in their Country) ſtood in the right wing, and with them the *Lacedæmonians*; the *Athenians* had the left wing; the *Achæans*, *Eleans*, and

others

others of leſs account filled the body of the Army. The *Thebans* ſtood in the left wing of their own Battel, oppoſite to the *Lacedæmonians*, having by them the *Arcadians*, the *Eubœans*, *Locrians*, *Sicyonians*, *Meſſenians*, and *Theſſalians*, with others, compounding the main Battel; the *Argives* held the right wing, the horſemen on each part were placed in the flanks, only a troop of the *Eleans* were in the rear. Before the footmen could join, the encounter of the horſe on both ſides was very rough, wherein finally the *Thebans* prevailed, notwithſtanding the valiant reſiſtance of the *Athenians*: who not yielding to the enemy either in courage or skill, were overlaid with numbers, and ſo beaten upon by *Theſſalian* ſlings, that they were driven to forſake the place, and leave their Infantry naked. But this retreat was the leſs diſgraceful, becauſe they kept themſelves together, and did not fall back upon their own footmen; but finding the *Theban* horſe to have given them over, and withal diſcovering ſome Companies of foot which had been ſent about by *Epaminondas*, to charge their Battel in the rear, they brake upon them, routed them, and hewed them all in pieces. In the mean ſeaſon the Battel of the *Athenians* had not only to do with the *Argives*, but was hardly preſſed by the *Theban* horſemen, in ſuch wiſe that it begun to open, and was ready to turn back, when the *Elean* ſquadron of horſe came up to the relief of it, and reſtored all on that part. With far greater violence did the *Lacedæmonians* and *Thebans* meet, theſe contending for Dominion, the other for the maintenance of their ancient honour; ſo that equal courage, and equal loſs on both ſides made the hope and appearance of Victory to either equally doubtful: unleſs perhaps the *Lacedæmonians* being very firm abiders, might ſeem the more likely to prevail, as having born the firſt brunt and fury of the onſet, which was not hitherto remitted; and being framed by diſcipline, as it were by nature, to excel in patience, whereof the *Thebans* by practice of a few years, cannot be thought to have gotten a habit ſo ſure and general. But *Epaminondas* perceiving the obſtinate ſtiffneſs of the Enemies to be ſuch, as neither the bad ſucceſs of their own horſe, nor all the force of the *Bœotian* Army, could abate ſo far, as to make them give one foot of ground; taking a choice company of the moſt able men, whom he caſt into the form of a Wedg, or Diamond, by the advantage of that figure againſt a ſquadron, and by his own exceeding virtue, accompanied with the great ſtrength and reſolution of them which followed him, did open their ranks, and cleave the whole Battel in deſpight of all reſiſtance. Thus was the honour of that day won by the *Thebans*, who may juſtly be ſaid to have carried the Victory, ſeeing that they remained Maſters of the ground whereon the Battel was fought, having driven the Enemy to lodg farther off. For that which was alledged by the *Athenians*, as a token that the Victory was partly theirs, the ſlaughter of thoſe Mercenaries upon whom they lighted by chance in their own flight, finding them behind their Army, and the retaining of their dead bodies; it was a ceremony regardable only among the *Greeks*, and ſerved meerly for oſtentation, ſhewing that by the fight they had obtained ſomewhat, which the enemy could not get from them otherwiſe than by requeſt. But the *Thebans* arrived at the general immediate end of the Battel; none daring to abide them in the field: whereof a manifeſt confeſſion is expreſſed from them, who forſook the place which they had choſen or accepted, as indifferent for trial of their ability and proweſs. This was the laſt work of the incomparable virtue of *Epaminondas*, who being in the head of that Warlike troop of men, which broke the *Lacedæmonians* ſquadron, and forced it to give back in diſaray, was furiouſly charged on the ſudden by a deſperate Company of the *Spartans*, who all at once threw their Darts at him alone; whereby receiving many wounds, he nevertheleſs with a ſingular courage maintained the fight, uſing againſt the enemies many of their Darts, which he drew out of his own body; till at length by a *Spartan* called *Anticrates*, he received ſo violent a ſtroke with a Dart, that the wood of it brake, leaving the iron, and piece of the trunchion in his breaſt. Hereupon he ſunk down, and was ſoon conveyed out of the fight by his friends; having by his fall ſomewhat animated the *Spartans* (who fain would have got his body); but much more inflamed with revengeful indignation, the *Thebans* who raging at his heavy miſchance, did with great ſlaughter compel their diſordered enemies to leave the field; though long they followed not the chaſe, being wearied more with the ſadneſs of this diſaſter, than with all the travel of the day. *Epaminondas* being brought into his Tent, was told by the Phyſicians, that when the head of the Dart ſhould be drawn out of his body, he muſt needs die. Hearing this, he called for his ſhield, which to have loſt, was held a great diſhonour: It was brought unto him. He bade them tell him, which part had the Victory; anſwer was made, that the *Bœotians* had won the field. Then ſaid he, It is a fair time for me to die; and withal ſent for *Iolidas* and *Diophontes*, two principal men of War, that were both ſlain: which being told him, he adviſed the *Thebans* to make peace, whilſt with advantage they might, for that they had none left that was able to diſcharge the office of a General. Herewithal he willed, that the head of the weapon ſhould be drawn out of his body, comforting his friends that lamented his death, and want of iſſue, by telling them, that the Victories of *Leuctra* and *Mantinæa* were two fair daughters, in whom his memory ſhould live.

So died *Epaminondas*, the worthieſt man that ever was bred in that Nation of *Greece*, and hardly to be matched in any Age or Country: for he equalled all others in the ſeveral Virtues, which in each of them were ſingular. His Juſtice and Sincerity, his Temperance, Wiſdom, and high Magnanimity, were no way inferior to his Military virtue; in every part whereof he ſo excelled, that he could not but properly be called a Wary, a Valiant, a Politick, a Bountiful, or an Induſtrious, and a Provident Captain. Neither was his private Converſation unanſwerable to thoſe high parts, which gave him praiſe abroad. For he was Grave, and yet very Affable and Courteous; reſolute in publick buſineſs; but in his own particular eaſie, and of much mildneſs: a lover of his people, bearing with mens infirmities; witty and pleaſant in ſpeech, far from inſolence. Maſter of his own affections, and furniſhed with all qualities that might win and keep love. To theſe graces were added great ability of body, and much Eloquence, and very deep knowledg in all parts of Philoſophy and Learning, wherewith his mind being enlightned, reſted not in the ſweetneſs of Contemplation, but brake forth into ſuch effects as, gave unto *Thebes*, which had evermore been an underling, a dreadful reputation among all people adjoining, and the higheſt command in *Greece*.

SECT.

SECT. VIII.

Of the Peace concluded in Greece *after the Battel of* Mantinæa. *The Voyage of* Ageſilaus *into* Egypt. *His death and qualities; with an examination of the compariſon made between him and* Pompey *the* Roman.

THis Battel of *Mantinæa* was the greateſt that had ever been fought in that Country between the Naturals, and the laſt. For at *Maranthon* and *Platæa*, the populous Armies of the barbarous Nations gave rather a great fame, than a hard trial to the *Græcian* Valour; neither were the practice of Arms and Art Military ſo perfect in the beginnings of the *Peloponneſian* War, as long continuance, and daily exerciſe had now made them. The times following produced no actions of worth or moment, thoſe excepted which were undertaken againſt foreign enemies, proving for the moſt part unfortunate. But in this laſt fight all *Greece* was intereſſed, which never had more able Soldiers and brave Commanders, nor ever contended for Victory with greater care of the ſucceſs, or more obſtinate reſolution. All which notwithſtanding, the iſſue being ſuch as hath been related, it was found beſt for every particular Eſtate, that a general Peace ſhould be eſtabliſhed, every one retaining what he preſently had, and none being forced to depend upon another. The *Meſſenians* were by name comprized in this new League; which cauſed the *Lacedæmonians* not to enter into it. Their ſtanding out hindred not the reſt from proceeding to concluſion, conſidering that *Sparta* was now too weak to offend her Neighbours, and therefore might well be allowed to ſhew that anger in Ceremonies, which had no power to declare it ſelf in execution. This peace, as it gave ſome breath and refreſhing to all the Country, ſo to the Cities of *Athens* and *Sparta* it afforded leiſure to ſeek after wealth by foreign employment in *Egypt*, whither *Ageſilaus* was ſent with ſome ſmall Forces to aſſiſt, or indeed as a Mercenary, to ſerve under *Tachos* King of *Egypt* in his War upon *Syria*. *Chabrias* the *Athenian*, who had before commanded under *Acoris* King of *Egypt*, went now as a Voluntary, with ſuch Forces as he could raiſe by entreaty, and offer of good pay, to the ſame ſervice. Theſe *Egyptian* Kings deſcended from *Amyrtæus* of *Sais*, who rebelled againſt *Darius Nothus*, having retained the Country, notwithſtanding all inteſtine diſſentions, and foreign invaſions, during three Generations of their own race, were ſo well acquainted with the valour of the *Greeks*, that by their help (eaſily procured with Gold) they conceived great hope, not only to aſſure themſelves, but to become Lords of the Provinces adjoining, which were held by the *Perſian*. What the iſſue of this great enterprize might have been, had it not fallen by Domeſtical Rebellion, it is uncertain. But very likely it is, that the Rebellion it ſelf had ſoon come to nothing, if *Ageſilaus* had not proved a falſe Traytor, joining with *Nectanebus*, who roſe againſt his Prince, and helping the Rebel with that Army which the money of *Tachos* had waged. This falſhood *Ageſilaus* excuſed, as tending to the good of his own Country, though it ſeem rather, that he grudged becauſe the King took upon himſelf the conduct of the Army, uſing his ſervice only as Lieutenant, who had made full account of being appointed the General. Howſoever it came to paſs, *Tachos* being ſhamefully betrayed by them, in whom he had repoſed his chief confidence, fled unto the *Perſian*, who upon his ſubmiſſion gave him gentle entertainment; and *Nectanebus* (who ſeems to have been the Nephew of *Tachos*) reigned in his ſtead. At the ſame time the Citizens of *Mendes* had ſet up another King; to whom all, or moſt of the *Egyptians* yielded their obedience. But *Ageſilaus* fighting with him in places of advantage, prevailed ſo far, that he left *Nectanebus* in quiet poſſeſſion of the Kingdom; who in recompence of his Treaſon to the former King *Tachos*, and good ſervice done to himſelf, rewarded him with 230 Talents of Silver; with which booty ſailing homewards, he died by the way. He was a Prince very temperate and valiant, and a good Leader in War, free from Covetouſneſs, and not reproached with any blemiſh of luſt; which praiſes are the leſs admirable in him, for that the Diſcipline of *Sparta* was ſuch as did endue every one of the Citizens (not carried away by the violent ſtream of an ill nature) with all, or the chief of theſe good qualities. He was nevertheleſs very arrogant, perverſe, unjuſt and vain-glorious, meaſuring all things by his own will, and obſtinately proſecuting thoſe courſes, whoſe ends were beyond hope. The Expedition of *Xenophon* had filled him with an opinion, that by his hand the Empire of *Perſia* ſhould be overthrown; with which conceit being tranſported, and finding his proceedings interrupted by the *Thebans* and their Allies, he did ever after bear ſuch hatred unto *Thebes*, as compelled that Eſtate by meer neceſſity to grow warlike, and able, to the utter diſhonour of *Sparta*, and the irrepairable loſs of all her former greatneſs. The commendations given to him by *Xenophon* his good friend, have cauſed *Plutarch* to lay his name in the ballance againſt *Pompey* the great; whoſe actions (the ſolemn gravity of carriage excepted) are very diſproportionable. Yet we may truly ſay, That as *Pompey* made great Wars under ſundry Climates, and in all the Provinces of the *Roman* Empire, exceeding in the multitude of employments all that were before him; ſo *Ageſilaus* had at one time or other ſome quarrel with every Town in *Greece*, had made a War in *Aſia*, and medled in the buſineſs of the *Egyptians*, in which variety he went beyond all his Predeceſſors: yet not winning any Countrys, as *Pompey* did many, but obtainining large wages, which *Pompey* never took. Herein alſo they were very like; Each of them was the laſt great Captain which his Nation brought forth in time of Liberty, and each of them ruined the Liberty of his Country by his own Lordly wilfulneſs. We may therefore well ſay, *Similia magis omnia quam paria*; the *reſemblance was nearer than the equality*. Indeed the freedom of *Rome* was loſt with *Pompey*, falling into the hands of *Cæſar*, whom he had enforced to take Arms; yet the *Roman* Empire ſtood, the form of Government only being changed: But the Liberty of *Greece*, or *Sparta* it ſelf, was not forfeited unto the *Thebans*, whom *Ageſilaus* had compelled to enter into a Victorious War; yet the Signiory, and ancient renown of *Sparta* was preſently loſt; and the freedom of all *Greece* being wounded in the *Theban* War, and after much blood loſt, ill healed by the Peace enſuing, did very ſoon upon the death of *Ageſilaus* give up the ghoſt, and the Lordſhip of the whole Country was ſeized by *Philip* King of *Macedon*, whoſe actions are now on foot, and more to be regarded than the Contemporary paſſages of things, in any other Nation.

Finis Libri Tertia.

THE

THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD.

Intreating of the Times from the Reign of *Philip* of *Macedon*, to the Eſtabliſhing of that Kingdom in the Race of *Antigonus*.

THE FOURTH BOOK.

CHAP. I.

of Philip *the Father of* Alexander *the Great, King of* Macedon,

SECT. I.

What Kings Reigned in Macedon *before* Philip.

THE *Greeks* of whom we have already made large diſcourſe, not as yet wearied with inteſtine War, nor made wiſe by their vain contention for ſuperiority, do ſtill, as in former times, continue the invaſion and vaſtation of each other.

Againſt *Xerxes*, the greateſt Monarch of that part of the World, they defended their liberty, with as happy ſucceſs as ever Nation had, and with no leſs honour, than hath ever been acquired by deeds of Arms. And having had a tryal and experience more than fortunate, againſt thoſe Nations, they ſo little regarded what might come from them, who had ſo often forfeited the reputation of their Forces, as whatſoever could be ſpared from their own diſtraction at home, they tranſported over the *Helleſpont*, as ſufficient, to entertain and buſie them withall.

But, as it commonly falleth out with every man of mark in the world, that they underfal, and periſh by the hands and harms which they leaſt fear; ſo fared it at this time with the *Greeks*. For of *Philip* of *Macedon* (of whom we are now to ſpeak) they had ſo little regard, as they grew even then more violent in devouring each other, when the faſt-growing greatneſs of ſuch a Neighbour-King, ſhould, in regard of their own ſafeties, have ſerved them for a ſtrong argument of union and accord. But the glory of their *Perſian* victories, wherewith they were pampered and made proud, taught them to neglect all Nations but themſelves, and the rather to value at little the power and purpoſes of the *Macedonians*, becauſe thoſe Kings and States, which ſate nearer them than they did, had in the time of *Amyntas*, the Father of *Philip*, ſo much weakned them, and won upon them, that they were not (as the *Grecians* perſwaded themſelves) in any one Age, likely to recover their own, much leſs to work any wonders againſt their borderers. And indeed, it was not in their Philoſophy to con-

ſider, That all great alterations are, ſtorm-like, ſudden and violent; and that it is then over-late to repair the decayed and broken banks, when great rivers are once ſwollen, faſt-running, and enraged. No, the *Greeks* did rather employ themſelves, in breaking down thoſe defences which ſtood between them and this inundation, than ſeek to rampire and re-enforce their own fields, which by the Level of reaſon they might have found to have lien under it. It was therefore well concluded by *Oroſius*: *Graciæ Civitates imperare ſingulæ cupiunt, imperium omnes perdiderunt*; *The Cities of* Greece *loſt their command, by ſtriving each of them to command all.* *Oroſ. l. 3. cap. 12.*

The Kingdom of *Macedon*, ſo called of *Macedon* the ſon of *Oſiris*, or, as other Authors affirm, of *Jupiter* and *Æthra*, is the next Region towards the North, which bordereth *Greece*; It hath to the Eaſt, the *Ægean* Sea; it is bounded on the North and North-weſt, by the *Thracians* and *Illyrians*: and on the South and South-weſt by *Theſſaly* and *Epirus*.

Their Kings were of the family of *Temenus*, of the race of *Hercules*, and by Nation *Argives*; who are liſted as followeth. About ſome ſix years after the tranſlation of the *Aſſyrian* Empire, *Ambaces* then governing *Media*; *Caranus* of *Argos*, commanded by an Oracle to lead a Colony into *Macedon*, departed thence with many people: and as he was marching through that Countrey, the weather being rainy and tempeſtuous, he eſpied a great herd of Goats, which fled the ſtorm as faſt as they could, haſting them to their known place of covert. Whereupon *Caranus*, calling to mind, that he had alſo by another Oracle been directed to follow the firſt troop of Beaſts, that ſhould either lead him, or flee before him; he purſued theſe Goats to the Gates of *Edaſſa*, and being undiſcovered by the Inhabitants, by reaſon of the darkneſs of the Air, he entred their City without reſiſtance, and poſſeſt it. Soon after this, by the overthrow of *Ciſſeus*, *Caranus* became Lord of the reſt of *Macedon*, and held it eight and twenty years. *Cœnus* ſucceeded *Caranus*, and reigned twelve years. *Tyrimas* followed *Cœnus* and ruled eight and twenty years. *Paul. Diac. Conſ. Theop. Antio. 6.* *Euſeb. in Chro.*

Perdiccas the firſt, the ſon of *Tyrimas* governed one and fifty years: a Prince for his great valour and many other virtues, much renowned, *Solinus*, *Pliny*, *Juſtine*, *Euſebius*, *Theophilus*, *Antiochenus*, and others, affirm, that he appointed a place of burial for himſelf, and for all the Kings of *Macedon* his Succeſſors, at *Ægæ*, aſſuring them that the Kingdom ſhould ſo long continue in his Line and Race, as they continued to lay up their bodies in that Sepulchre: wherein it is ſaid, that becauſe *Alexander* the Great failed, therefore the poſterity of the *Temenedæ* failed in him: a thing rather deviſed after the effect, as I conceive, than foretold by *Perdiccas*. *Sol. c. 14. Plin. l. 4. c. 10.*

Argæus ſucceeded unto *Perdiccas*, and ruled eight and twenty years.

Philip the firſt, his ſucceſſor, reigned eight and twenty years. *Euſeb. in Chro.*

Æropus followed *Philip*, and governed ſix and twenty years: in whoſe infancy the *Illyrians* invaded *Macedon*, and having obtained a great victory, they purſued the ſame to the great danger of that State. Whereupon the *Macedonians* gathering new forces, and reſolving either to recover their former loſs or to loſe at once both their Kingdom and their King, they carried him with them in his cradle into the field, and returned victorious: for they were either confident that their Nation could not be beaten, (their King being preſent) or rather they perſwaded themſelves, that there was no man ſo void of honour and compaſſion, as to abandon their natural Lord, being an Infant, and no way (but by the hands of his ſervants) able to defend himſelf from deſtruction. The like is reported by *Aimonius* of *Clotarius* the ſon of *Fredegunda*. *Euſeb. Juſtin. Ammian. Theſ. Ant. &c. Aimon. l. 3. c. 82.*

Alcetas ſucceeded *Æropus*, and ruled nine and twenty years.

Amyntas the firſt, ſucceeded *Alcetas*, and reigned fifty years: He lived at ſuch time as *Darius Hyſtaſpes*, after his unproſperous return out of *Scythia*, ſent *Megabazus* with an Army into *Europe*, who in *Darius* name required *Amyntas* to acknowledge him for his Supream Lord, by yielding unto him Earth and Water. But his Ambaſſadours, as you have heard before, were for their inſolent behaviour toward the *Macedonian* Ladies, ſlain by the direction of *Alexander*, who was the ſon of *Amyntas*, and his Succeſſor. *Her. Euſ. Juſt. &c.*

Alexander ſirnamed the Rich, the ſon of *Amyntas*, governed *Macedon* three and forty years. He did not only appeaſe the wrath of *Megabazus*, for the ſlaughter of the *Perſian* Ambaſſadours by giving *Gygea* his Siſter, to *Bubares* of the blood of *Perſia*: but by that match he grew ſo great in *Xerxes* his grace, as he obtained all that Region between the Mountains of *Olympus* and *Hemus*, to be united to the Kingdom of *Macedon*. Yet could not theſe benefits buy his affection from the *Greeks*. For *Xerxes* being returned into *Aſia*, and *Mardonius* made General of the *Perſian* Army; *Alexander* acquainted the *Greeks* with all his intents and purpoſes againſt them. He had three ſons, *Perdiccas*, *Alcetas* and *Philip*. *Her. l. 8. Plut. Euſeb. Juſt. &c.*

Perdiccas the ſecond, the ſon of *Alexander*, lived in the time of the *Peloponneſian* War, and reigned in all eight and twenty years. The wars which he made were not much remarkable: the Story of them is found here and there by pieces in *Thucydides* his firſt ſix Books. He left behind him two ſons, *Perdiccas*, who was very young: and *Archelaus*, who was baſe-born.

Perdiccas the third, being delivered to the cuſtody and care of *Archelaus*, was at ſeven years of age caſt into a well and drowned by his falſe Guardian, who excuſing this Fact to *Cleopatra* the Mother of the young King, ſaid, That the child in following a Gooſe haſtily, fell thereinto by miſadventure. But *Archelaus* ſtayed not here: for having thus diſpatched his Brother, he ſlew both his Uncle *Alcetas* the ſon of *Alexander* the Rich, and *Alexander* the ſon of this *Alcetas*, his Couſin Germain, and enjoyed the Kingdom of *Macedon* four and twenty years.

This *Archelaus*, of whom both *Plato* and *Ariſtotle* make mention, though he made himſelf King by wicked murder, yet performed many things greatly to the profit of his Nation. It is ſaid, That he ſought by all means to draw *Socrates* unto him, and that he greatly loved and honoured *Euripides* the Tragedian. He had two Sons, *Archelaus* and *Oreſtes*. *Plat. in Gorg. Ariſt. in Pol. 5.*

Archelaus the ſecond ſucceeded his Father: and having reigned ſeven years, he was ſlain in hunting, either by chance, or of purpoſe, by *Crateus*.

Oreſtes his younger ſon was committed to the education of *Æropus* of the Royal blood of *Macedon*, and had the ſame meaſure which *Archelaus* had meaſured to his Pupil, for *Æropus* murthered him, and uſurped the Kingdom, which he held ſome ſix years: the ſame who denied paſſage to *Ageſilaus* King of *Sparta*, who deſired, after his return from the *Aſian* expedition to paſs by the way of *Macedon* into *Greece*.

This

Dyod. Polyæn. Plut. in Demet.

This Usurper left three sons, *Pausanias*, *Argæus*, and *Alexander*. *Pausanias* succeeded his Father *Æropus*, and having reigned one year, he was driven out by *Amyntas* the son of *Philip*, the son of the first *Perdiccas*, the son of *Alexander* the Rich, which *Philip* was then preserved, when *Archelaus* the Bastard slew his Brother *Perdiccas*; his Uncle *Alcetas*, and his son *Alexander*. This *Amyntas* reigned (though very unquietly) four and twenty years, for he was not only infested by *Pausanias*, assisted by the *Thracians*, and by his Brother *Argæus*, encouraged by the *Illyrians*; and by the said *Argæus*, for two years possest of *Macedon*: but on the other side, the *Olynthians*, his Neighbours near the *Ægean* Sea, made themselves for a while Masters of *Pella*, the chief City of *Macedon*.

Amyntas the second, had by his wife *Eurydice* the *Illyrian*, three sons; *Alexander* the second, *Perdiccas* the third, and *Philip* the second, Father of *Alexander* the Great: and one Daughter called *Euryone*, or *Exione*. He had also by his second wife *Gygæa*, three sons; *Archelaus*, *Argæus*, and *Menelaus*, afterward slain by their Brother *Philip*. He had more by a Concubine, *Ptolomy* sirnamed *Alorites*, of the City of *Alorus*, wherein he was born.

Alexander the second reigned not much above one year, in which time he was invaded by *Pausanias*, the son of *Æropus*, but defended by *Iphicrates* the *Athenian*, while he was at that time about *Amphipolis*. He was also constrained (for the payment of a great sum of money) to leave his youngest Brother *Philip* in Hostage with the *Illyrians*, who had subjected his Father *Amyntas* to the payment of tribute. After this, *Alexander* being invited by the *Alevadæ* against *Alexander* the Tyrant of *Pheres* in *Thessaly*, having redeemed his brother *Philip*, to draw the *Thebans* to his assistance, entred into confederacy with *Pelopidas*, being at that time in the same Countrey, with whom he also left *Philip* with divers other principal persons, for the gage of his promises to *Pelopidas*. But *Eurydice* his Mother falling in love with her Son in Law, who had married her Daughter *Euryone*, or *Exione*, practised the death of *Alexander* her son, with a purpose to confer the Kingdom on her Paramour, which *Ptolomy Alorites* did put in execution: by means whereof, he held *Macedon* for three years, but was soon after slain by *Perdiccas* the brother of *Alexander*. *Diodore* hath it otherwise of *Philip* being made pledge; and saith, That *Amyntas* his Father delivered him for hostage to the *Illyrians*, by whom he was conveyed to *Thebes*, there to be kept: others report that *Philip* (while his Father was yet living) was first ingaged to the *Thebans*, and delivered for hostage a second time by *Alexander* his brother.

Diod. l. 15. & 16.

Perdiccas the third, after he had slain *Alorites*, his base Brother, governed *Macedon* five years, and was then slain in a Battel against the *Illyrians*, according to *Diodorus*; but *Justin* affirmeth, that he perished by the practice of *Eurydice* his Mother, as *Alexander* did.

Just. l. 7.

SECT. II.

The beginning of Philip's *Reign, and how he delivered* Macedon *from the troubles wherein he found it intangled.*

PHilip the second, the youngest son of *Amintas* by *Eurydice*, having been instructed in all knowledge, requisite unto the Government of a Kingdom, in that excellent education which he had under *Epaminondas*, making an escape from *Thebes*, returned into *Macedon*, in the first year of the hundred and fifth *Olympiad*, which was after the building of *Rome* three hundred fourscore and thirteen years: and finding the many enemies and dangers wherewith the Kingdom was invironed, he took on him, not as a King (for *Perdiccas* left a son, though but an Infant) but as the Protector of his Nephew, and Commander of the men of War. Yet his fruitful ambition soon over-grew his modesty, and he was easily perswaded by the people to accept both the title of King, and withal, the absolute rule of the Kingdom. And to say the truth, the necessity of the State of *Macedon* at that time required a King both prudent and active. For, besides the incursions of the *Illyrians* and *Pannonians*, the King of *Thrace* did set up in opposition, *Pausanias*; the *Athenians*, *Argæus*; son of the late Usurper, *Æropus*: each of these labouring to place in *Macedon* a King of their own election. These heavy burdens when *Philip* could not well bear, he bought off the weightiest by money, and by fair promises unloaded himself of so many of the rest, as he ran under the remainder happily enough. For, notwithstanding that his Brother *Perdiccas* had his death accompanied with four thousand *Macedonians*, beside those that were wounded and taken prisoners, and that the *Pannonians* were destroying all before them in *Macedon*; and that the *Athenians* with a Fleet by Sea, and three thousand Souldiers by Land under *Mantias*, did beat upon him on all sides and quarters of his Country: yet after he had practised the men of War of *Pannonia*, and corrupted them with gifts; and had also bought the King of *Thrace* from *Pausanias*, he forthwith made head against the *Athenians* his stiffest enemies: and for the first, he prevented their recovery of *Amphipolis*, a City on the Frontier of *Macedon*: and did then pursue *Argæus*, the son of *Æropus*, set against him by the *Athenians*, and followed him so hard at the heels, in his retreat from *Æges*, that he forced him to abide the battel, which *Argæus* lost, having the greatest part of his Army slain in the place. Those of the *Athenians*, and others, which remained unbroken, took the advantage of a strong piece of ground at hand, which though they could not long defend, yet avoiding thereby the present fury of the Souldiers, they obtained of the Vanquishers life and liberty to return into *Attica*. Whereupon a peace was concluded between him and the *Athenians* for the present, and for this clemency he was greatly renowned and honoured by all the *Greeks*.

Diod. l. 16.

SECT. III.

The good success which Philip *had in many enterprizes.*

NOw had *Philip* leisure to look North-ward, and to attend the *Illyrians* and *Pæonians*, his irreconcilable Enemies and borderers: both which he invaded with so prosperous success, as he slew *Bardillis*, King of the *Illyrians*, with seven thousand of his Nation, and thereby recovered all those places which the *Illyrians* held in *Macedon*: and withal, upon the death of the King of *Pannonia*, he pierc'd that Country, and after a main Victory obtained, he enforc'd them to pay him tribute. This was no sooner done, than (without staying to take longer breath) he hasted speedily towards *Larissa*, upon the River *Peneus* in *Thessaly*, of

which Town he ſoon made himſelf Maſter; and thereby he got good footing into that Country, whereof he made uſe in time following. Now although he reſolved either to ſubdue the *Theſſalians*, or to make them his own againſt all others, becauſe the horſe-men of that Country were the beſt, and moſt feared in that part of *Europe*; yet he thought it moſt for his ſafety to cloſe up the entrances out of *Thrace*, leſt while he invaded *Theſſaly* and *Greece* towards the South, thoſe ample Nations lying towards the North, ſhould either withdraw him, or over-run *Macedon*, as in former times. He therefore attempted *Amphipolis*, ſeated on the famous river of *Strimon*, which parteth *Thrace* from *Macedon*, and won it. He alſo recovered *Pynda*, and (to the North of *Amphipolis*) the City of *Crenides* (ſometime *Datus*) and called it after his name *Philippi*: to the people whereof, Saint *Paul* afterward directed one of his Epiſtles. This place, wherein *Philippi* ſtood, is very rich in Mines of Gold, out of which, greatly to the advancement of *Philip's* affairs, he drew yearly a thouſand Talents, which make ſix hundred thouſand French Crowns.

And that he might with the more eaſe diſburthen the *Thracian* ſhores of the *Athenian* Garriſons, to which he had given a great blow by the taking in of *Amphipolis*, he entred into league with his Father's malicious enemies, the *Olynthians*, whom the better to faſten unto him, he gave them the City of *Pynda* with the Territory, meaning nothing leſs, than that they ſhould enjoy it, or their own Eſtate, many years.

Now that he might by degrees win ground upon the *Greeks*, he took the fair occaſion to deliver the City of *Pheres* in *Theſſaly*, from the Tyrants *Lycophron* and *Liſiphonus*: who, after they had conſpired with *Thebe* the Wife of *Alexander*, who uſurped upon the liberty of that State, they themſelves (*Alexander* being murdered) held it alſo by the ſame ſtrong hand and oppreſſion that *Alexander* did, till by the aſſiſtance of *Philip* they were beaten out, and *Pheres* reſtored to her former liberty. Which act of *Philip* did for ever after faſten the *Theſſalians* unto him, and to his exceeding great advantage, bind them to his ſervice.

SECT. IV.

Of the Phocian *War, which firſt drew* Philip *into* Greece.

ABout this time, to wit, in the ſecond year of the hundred and ſixth *Olympiad* eight years after the Battel of *Mantinea*, and about the eighth year of *Artaxerxes Ochus*, began that War, called *Sacred*. Now, as all occaſions, concur towards the execution of eternal providence, and of every great alteration in the World, there is ſome preceding preparation, though not at the firſt eaſily diſcerned; ſo did this revengeful hatred by the *Thebans*, *Theſſalians*, and *Locrians*, conceived againſt the *Phocians*, not only teach *Philip* how he might with half a hand wreſt the ſword out of their fingers; but the *Greeks* themſelves, beating down their own defences, to give him an eaſie paſſage; and beating themſelves to give him Victory without peril; left nothing unperformed towards their own ſlavery, ſaving the title and impoſition. Of this War the *Thebans* (made overproud by their Victory at *Leuctra*) were the inflamers. For at the Council of the *Amphyctiones*, or of the general Eſtates of *Greece*, in which at that time they ſwayed moſt, they cauſed both the *Lacedemonians* and *Phocians* to be condemned in greater ſums of money than they could well bear; the one for ſurpriſing the Caſtle of *Cadmea* in the time of peace, the other for ploughing up a piece of ground belonging to the Temple of *Delphos*. The *Phocians* being reſolved not to obey this Edict, were ſecretly ſet on, and encouraged by the *Lacedemonians*: and for refuſal were expoſed as Sacrilegers, and accurſed to all their neighbour-Nations, for whom it was then lawful to invade, and deſtroy them at their pleaſures.

The *Phocians* perſwaded thereunto by *Philomelus*, a Captain of their own, caſt the ſame dice of hazard that *Cæſar* after many Ages following did; but had not the ſame chance. Yet they dealt well enough with all the enemies of their own Nation. And the better to bear out an ungracious quarrel, of which there was left no hope of compoſition, they reſolved to ſack the Temple it ſelf. For ſeeing that for the ploughing of a piece of *Apollo's* ground, they had ſo much offended their Neighbour-god, and their Neighbour-Nations, as worſe could not befal them than already was intended; they reſolved to take the gold with the ground, and either to periſh for all, or to prevail againſt all that had commiſſion to call them to account. The treaſure which they took out of the Temple in the beginning of the War, was ten thouſand Talents, which in thoſe days ſerved them to wage a great many men; and ſuch was their ſucceſs in the beginning of the War, as they won three great battels againſt the *Thebans*, *Theſſalians*, and *Locrians*; but being beaten in the fourth, their Leader *Philomelus* caſt himſelf head-long over the Rocks.

In the mean while the Cities of *Cherſoneſus*, both to defend themſelves againſt their bad neighbour *Philip*, who encroached upon them, and to draw others into their quarrel, rendred themſelves to the *Athenians*. *Philip* prepareth to get them into his hands, and at the ſiege of *Methone* loſt one of his eyes. It is ſaid, That he that ſhot him, did purpoſely direct his Arrow toward him, and that it was written on the ſhaft thereof: *After Philippo*; *After to Philip*: for ſo he was called that gave him the wound. This City he evened with the ſoil. *Plut. in Ulpian. Strab. l. 8.*

The Tyrant *Lycophron* before mentioned, while *Philip* was buſied on the border of *Thrace*, and the *Theſſalians* engaged in the holy War, entred *Theſſaly* with new Forces, being aſſiſted by *Onomarchus* Commander of the *Phocian* Army, in place of *Philomelus*. For hereby the *Phocians*, hoped ſo to entertain the *Theſſalians* at home, as they ſhould not find leiſure to invade them. Hereupon was *Philip* the ſecond time called into *Theſſaly*; but both the *Theſſalians* and *Macedonians* (*Philip* being preſent) were utterly overthrown by *Onomarchus*, and great numbers of both Nations loſt. From *Theſſaly*, *Onomarchus* drew ſpeedily towards *Bœotia*, and with the ſame Victorious Army brake the forces of the *Bœotians*, and took from them their City of *Coronea*. But *Philip*, impatient of his late miſadventure, after he had re-enforced his Army, returned with all ſpeed into *Theſſaly*, there to find again the honour which he lately loſt: and was the ſecond time encountred by *Onomarchus*, who brought into the field twenty thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe. All this great preparation ſufficed not; for *Onomarchus* was by *Philip* ſurmounted, both in numbers and in good fortune. his Army

Army overturned, six thousand slain, and three thousand taken: of which number himself being one, was among others hanged by *Philip*. Those that fled, were in part received by the *Athenian* Gallies, which sailed along the Coast, commanded by *Caves*; but the greatest number of those that took the Sea, were therein devoured e're they recovered them. *Lycophron* was now again driven out of *Thessaly*, and *Pheres* made free as before.

SECT. V.

Of the Olynthian *War. The ambitious practices of* Philip.

FRom hence *Philip* resolved to invade *Phocis* it self, but the *Athenians* did not favour his entrance into those parts, and therefore with the help of the *Lacedemonians*, they retrench'd his passage at the Straits of *Thermopylis*. Whereupon he returned into *Macedon*, and after the taking of *Micybrne*, *Torone*, and other Towns, he quarrelled with the *Olynthians*, whom not long before he had wooed to his alliance, and bought his peace of them. For the *Olynthians* were very strong, and had evermore both braved and beaten the *Macedonians*. It is said, that *Philip* having put to death *Archelaus* his half Brother (for *Amyntas* had three sons by *Eurydice* the Mother of *Philip*, and three other Sons by *Gygea*: but *Philip's* elder Brother by the same Mother being dead, he determined to rid himself also of the rest) the two younger held themselves within *Olynthus*; and that the receiving of them by the *Olynthians* was the cause of the War, *Justine* affirmeth. Just quarrels are ballanced by just Princes, but to this King all things were lawful that might serve his turn; all his affections, and passions, how divers soever in other men, were in his ambition swallowed up, and thereinto converted. For he neither forbare the murder of his own Brothers, the breach of faith, the buying of other mens fidelity: he esteemed no place strong where his Ass loaden with gold might enter; nor any City or State unconquerable, where a few of the greatest, to be made greater, could lose the sense of other mens sorrow and subjection. And because he thought it vain to practise the winning of *Olynthus*, till he had inclosed all the power they had within their own walls, he entred their Territory, and by the advantage of a well compounded and trained Army, he gave them two overthrows e're he sate down before the City it self: which done, he bought *Euthicrates* and *Lasthenes* from their people, and from the service of their Countrey and Common-weal, by whose treason he entred the Town, slew his Brothers therein, sackt it, and sold the Inhabitants for slaves by the drum. By the spoil of this place, he greatly enriched himself, and had treasure sufficient to buy in other Cities withal, which he daily did. For so was he advised by the Oracle in the beginning of his undertaking, *That he should make his assaults with silver spears*: Whereupon *Horace* well and truly said,

Hor. Carm. Od. 16.

——*Diffidit Urbium*
Portas vir Macedo, & subruit æmulos
Reges muneribus.——

By gifts the Macedon *clave Gates asunder,*
And Kings envying his estate brought under.

And it is true, that he won more by corruption and fraud than he did by force. For as he had in all the principal Cities of *Greece* his secret workers (which way of Conquest was well followed by *Philip* the second of *Spain*:) So when in the contention between the Competitors for the Kingdom of *Thrace*, he was chosen Arbitrator, he came not to the Council accompanied with Piety and Justice, but with a powerful Army, and having beaten and slain both Kings, gave sentence for himself, and made the Kingdom his own.

SECT. VI.

How Philip *ended the* Phocian *War.*

THe War still continued between the *Phocians* and the Associates of the holy War: the *Beotians*, finding themselves unable to subsist without some present aid, sent unto *Philip* for succour, who willingly yielded to their necessities, and sent them such a proportion of men, as were neither sufficient to master their enemies; nor to assure themselves; but yet to enable them to continue the War, and to waste the strength of *Greece*. They also sent to *Artaxerxes Ochus* for supply of treasure, who lent them thirty Talents, which makes a hundred and fourscore thousand Crowns: but when with these supplies they had still the worst against the *Phocians*, who held from them three of the strongest Cities within *Beotia* it self, they then besought *Philip* of *Macedon* that he would assist them in person, to whom they would give an entrance into their Territory, and in all things obey his Commandments in War.

Now had *Philip* what he longed for; for he knew himself in state to give the law to both, and so quitting all his other purposes towards the North, he marched with a speedy pace towards *Beotia*, where being arrived, *Phallechus* who commanded the *Phocian* Army, fearing to shock with this victorious King, made his own peace, and withdrew himself with a Regiment of eight thousand Souldiers into *Peloponnesus*, leaving the *Phocians* to the mercy of the Conquerour; and for conclusion, he had the glory of that War called *Sacred*, which the *Grecians* in many mutual slaughters had continued for ten years; and besides the glory, he possest himself of *Orchomene*, *Coronea*, and *Corsia*, in the Country of the *Beotians*, who invited him to be victorious over themselves. He brought the *Phocians* into servitude, and wasted their Cities, and gave them but their Villages to inhabit, reserving unto himself the yearly tribute of threescore Talents, which make six and thirty thousand French Crowns. He also hereby (besides the fame of piety for service of the gods) obtained the same double voice in the Council of the *Amphyctions* which the *Phocians* had, with the superintendency of the *Pythian* games, forfeited by the *Corinthians*, by being partakers in the *Phocian* sacrilege.

SECT.

SECT. VII.

How Philip *with ill succeſs attempted upon* Perinthus, Byzantium, *and the* Scythians.

Philip, after his triumphant return into *Macedon*, by the Lieutenant of his Army *Parmenio*, ſlaughtered many thouſand of *Illyrians* and *Dardanians*, and brought the *Thracians* to pay him, the tenth part of all their Revenues. But his next enterprize againſt the *Perinthians* ſtayed his fury. *Perinthus* was a City of *Thrace*, ſeated upon *Propontis*, in the mid-way between *Seſtos* and *Byzantium*, a place of great ſtrength, and a people reſolved to defend their liberty againſt *Philip*, where the *Athenians* encouraged and aſſiſted them. *Philip* ſate down before it with a puiſſant Army, made many fair breaches, gave many furious aſſaults, built many over-topping and commanding towers about it. But he was repelled with equal violence. For whereas *Philip* thought by his continual aſſaults to weary them, and waſte both their men and munition, they were ſupplied, not only from the *Perſian* with men and money, and ſuccoured from *Byzantium*, which ſtood upon the ſame Sea-coaſt, but they were relieved from *Athens*, *Chio*, and *Rhodes*, by the conduction of *Phocion*, with whatſoever was wanting to their neceſſity. But becauſe thoſe of *Byzantium* by reaſon of their neighbourhood, and eaſie paſſage by water, gave them often and ready help, *Philip* removed the one half of his Army, and beſieged it, leaving fifteen thouſand foot before *Perinthus* to force it if they could: But to be ſhort, he failed in both attempts, (as all Princes commonly do that undertake divers enterprizes at one time) and returned into *Macedon* with no leſs diſhonour than loſs: whereupon he made an overture of peace with the *Athenians*, and greatly deſired it: to which though *Phocion* perſwaded them all he could, and that by the occaſion offered they might greatly advantage their conditions; yet *Demoſthenes* with his eloquence prevailed in the refuſal. In the mean while, *Philip* having digeſted his late affront, and ſupplied his expence, by the taking of an hundred threeſcore and ten Merchants ſhips, he gathered new forces, and being accompanied with his ſon *Alexander*, led them into *Scythia*: but he was alſo unproſperous in that enterprize: for the *Triballi*, a people of *Maſia*, ſet on him in his return, wounded him, and took from him the greateſt part of the ſpoils which he had gathered.

SECT. VIII.

How Philip *overthrowing the* Greeks *in the battel of* Cheronæa, *was choſen Captain General of* Greece. *The death of* Philip.

AMong theſe Northern Nations (part of which he ſuppreſt, and part quieted) he ſpent ſome eight years; and in the ninth year after the end of the Holy War, he was, by his great advantage, invited again by the *Grecians* to their aſſiſtance. For the Citizens of *Amphiſſa* having diſobeyed the decree of *Amphyctiones*, in which *Philip* had a double voice, and who by reaſon that the *Thebans* and *Locrians* gave countenance and aid to the *Amphiſſonians*, the reſt were not of themſelves able to conſtrain them, they beſought *Philip* to come in perſon to their aſſiſtance. Now you muſt think that *Philip* was not long in reſolving upon this enterprize; he needed no drawing on, whom nothing could keep back, nor other diſſwaſion then a maſtering power could hold thence. He therefore commanded his Army forthwith to march; the ſame being compounded of thirty thouſand Foot, and two thouſand Horſe; and with as much expedition as could be made, he entred *Phocis*, won *Platæa*, and brought into ſubjection all that Region.

The reſt, and eſpecially the *Athenians*, although they had good cauſe to fear that a great part of this ſtorm would fall on themſelves, yet were they diſſwaded by *Demoſthenes* from accepting ſuch reaſonable conditions of peace as *Philip* offered, and rather made choice (having drawn the *Thebans* to joyn with them) to leave the enjoying of their eſtates, and their freedom to the chance of one battel, than to hold it either by compoſition, or by the grace of *Philip*. But this their Oratour's eloquence coſt them dear. It is true, that he could far more eaſily mind them of the vertue of their Anceſtors, than make them ſuch as they were. He might repeat unto them (with words moving paſſion) the wonders they wrought at *Marathon*, but he could not transform the *Macedonians* into *Perſians*, nor draw from the dead, a *Miltiades*, or *Ariſtides*, a *Themiſtocles*, or a *Cimon*, or any of thoſe famous Commanders, whoſe great vertues they had payed with the greateſt ingratitude that ever Nation did. A *Phocion* they had, but by the ſtrength of a contrary faction he was at this time in diſgrace, and not employed; in ſo much as when the Armies of *Philip* and the confederates encountred, although ſome thouſands of the *Athenians* did abide the killing, and the like number well near of the *Thebans* died with them; yet the want of the worthy men on that ſide to hold up the reſt, and to draw them on, and the many choice Captains of the *Macedonians*, encouraged by a King of a growing fortune, as it gave to *Philip* ſo ſhining a victory; that *Alexander* by the light thereof found his way (in deſpight of the Nations interjacent) into *Perſia*, *India*, and *Egypt*, ſo it cut to the ground, and gave end and date to all the *Grecian* glory; Yea their liberty (ſaith *Curtius*) with their large Dominion, won with ſo many difficulties, continued for ſo many Ages, and ſo often defended againſt the greateſt Kings, was now loſt in a moment, and for ever loſt.

Now this adviſed King (never paſſionate to his diſadvantage) to the end he might obtain the Soveraignty over all *Greece*, and be acknowledged for their Captain-General againſt the *Perſians*, without any further hazard or trouble, was content to let go thoſe *Athenians* that were taken at this battel of *Cheronæa*, as he alſo forbare to attempt any thing againſt their City: but in *Thebes* (which lately by the vertue of *Epaminondas* triumphed over the reſt) he lodged a Garriſon of *Macedonians*. And being ſoon after (according to the long deſire which he had nouriſhed of this Soveraignty) by the general States at *Corinth*, ſtiled the firſt Commander of all the *Grecians*, and contribution of men and money granted him, he compounded an Army of great ſtrength, and under the Commandment of *Attalus* and *Parmenio*, tranſported the ſame over the *Helleſpont* into *Aſia*, to begin the War. Of his enterprize againſt *Perſia*, he

he ſought ſucceſs from the Oracle at *Delphos*, from whence he received ſuch another convertible riddle, as *Cræſus* did, when he attempted *Cyrus*, and was in like ſort miſtaken in the expoſition.

But as it is hard to diſcern and withſtand the flatteries of our own appetites, ſo did *Philip's* ambitious deſire to invade *Perſia*, abuſe his judgement, ſo far, that the death wherewith himſelf was threatned, he underſtood to be delivered of his enemy, whom he intended preſently to invade. Before his purpoſed departure into *Aſia*, he prepared for the marriage of his Daughter *Cleopatra*, with *Alexander* King of *Epirus*; to which feaſt and paſtimes thereat appointed, he invited all his Friends and Allies, with the principal perſons of the *Grecian* Cities, from whom he received much honour and many rich Preſents: but this was indeed the Feaſt of his Funeral. For, having refuſed to do Juſtice to one *Pauſanias*, a Gentleman of his Guard, whom *Attalus* (greatly favoured by *Philip*) had firſt made drunk, and then left to be carnally abuſed by divers baſe perſons; this *Pauſanias* grew into ſo great a deteſtation of the King's partiality in ſo foul a fact, as, when *Philip* was paſſing towards the Theater; he drew a ſword from under his long garment and wounded him to death, when he had lived ſix and forty years, and reigned five and twenty. *Juſtine* reports it, that *Olympias* encouraged *Pauſanias* to murder the King her husband; which after his death ſhe bodily avowed, by the honour ſhe did unto *Pauſanias*, in crowning his dead body, in conſecrating his ſword unto *Apollo*, by building for him a Monument, and other like Graces.

SECT. XI.

What good foundations of Alexander's *greatneſs were laid by* Philip. *Of his laudable qualities and iſſue.*

NOw although he were then taken from the World, when he had maſtered all oppoſition on that ſide of the Sea; and had ſeen the fruits of his hopes, and labours, changing colour towards ripeneſs and perfection; yet he was herein happy, that he lived to ſee his Son *Alexander* at Man's eſtate, and had himſelf been an eye-witneſs of his reſolution and ſingular valour in this laſt battel.

The foundation of whoſe future greatneſs he had laid ſo ſoundly for him, with ſo plain a pattern of the Buildings which himſelf meant to erect, as the performance and finiſhing was far more eaſie to *Alexander*, though more glorious than the beginnings unto *Philip*, though leſs famous. For, beſides the recovery of *Macedon* it ſelf in competition between him and the Sons of *Æropus*, the one aſſiſted by the *Thracians*, the other by the *Athenians*; and beſides the regaining of many places poſſeſt by the *Illyrians*, the cruſhing of all thoſe Northern Kings his Neighbours, the overthrow of *Olynthus*, a State that deſpiſed the power of his Father, the many Maritimate Cities taken, of great ſtrength and ancient freedom; and the ſubjection of that famous Nation of *Greece*, which for ſo many Ages had defended it ſelf againſt the greateſt Kings of the World, and won upon them; He left unto his Son, and had bred up for him, ſo many choice Commanders, as the moſt of them, both both for their valour and judgement in the War, were no leſs worthy of Crowns, than himſelf was that ware a Crown: For it was ſaid of *Parmenio* (whom *Alexander*, ungrateful to ſo great virtue, impiouſly murthered) That *Parmenio* had performed many things challenging eternal fame, without the King; but the King without *Parmenio* never did any thing worthy of renown: as for the reſt of his Captains, though content to obey the Son of ſuch a Father, yet did they not after *Alexander's* death endure to acknowledge any man Superiour to themſelves.

Of this Prince it is hard to judge, whether his ambition had taught him the exerciſe of more vices, than Nature and his excellent education had enriched him with virtues. For, beſides that he was Valiant, Wiſe, Learned, and Maſter of his Affections, he had this favour of piety, that he rather laboured to ſatisfie thoſe that were grieved, than to ſuppreſs them. Whereof (among many other) we find a good example in his dealing with *Arcadion* and *Nicanor*. Whom when for their evil ſpeech of *Philip*, his familiars perſwaded him to put to death, he anſwered them, That firſt it ought to be conſidered, whether the fault were in them that gave him ill language, or in himſelf: Secondly, that it was in every man's own power to be well ſpoken of; and this was ſhortly after proved; for after *Philip* relieved their neceſſities, there were none within his Kingdom that did him more honour than they did. Whereupon he told thoſe that had perſwaded him to uſe violence, that he was a better phyſician for evil ſpeech than they were.

His Epiſtles to *Alexander* his Son are remembred by *Cicero* and *Gellius*; and by *Dion* and *Chryſoſtome* exceedingly commended. His Stratagems are gathered by *Polyænus* and *Erontinus*; his wiſe ſayings, by *Plutarch*. And albeit he held *Macedon* as in his own right, all the time of his reign, yet was he not the true and next Heir thereof; for *Amyntas* the Son of his Brother *Perdiccas* (of whom he had the protection during his Infancy) had the right. This *Amyntas* he married to his daughter *Cyna*, who had by him a daughter called *Eurydice*, who was married to *Philip*'s baſe Son *Aridæus*, her Uncle by the Mothers ſide: both which *Olympias*, *Philip*'s firſt Wife, and Mother to *Alexander* the Great, put to death; *Aridæus* by extream torments, *Eurydice* ſhe ſtrangled.

Philip had by this *Olympias*, the daughter of *Neoptolemus*, King of the *Moloſſians* (of the race of *Achilles*) *Alexander* the Great, and *Cleopatra*. *Cleopatra* was married to her Uncle *Alexander*, King of *Epirus*, and was after her Brother *Alexander*'s death ſlain at *Sardis*, by the commandment of *Antigonus*.

By *Audita* an *Illyrian*, his ſecond Wife, he had *Cyna*, married as is ſhewed before.

By *Nicaſipolis*, the Siſter of *Jaſon*, Tyrant of *Pheres*, he had *Theſſalonica*, whom *Caſſander*, after he had taken *Pidna*, married; but ſhe was afterward by her Father-in-Law *Antipater* put to death.

By *Cleopatra* the Neece of *Attalus*, he had *Caranus*, whom others call *Philip*: him *Olympias*, the Mother of *Alexander* the Great, cauſed to be roſted to death in a Copper Pan. Others lay his murder to *Alexander* himſelf. By the ſame *Cleopatra* he had likewiſe a daughter called *Europa*, whom *Olympias* alſo murdered at the Mothers breaſt.

By

By *Phila* and *Meda* he had no issue.

He had also two Concubines, *Arsinoe*, whom after he had gotten with child, he married to an obscure man, called *Lagus*, who bare *Ptolomy* King of *Ægypt*, called the Son of *Lagus*, but esteemed the Son of *Philip*: by *Philinna* his second Concubine, a publick Dancer, he had *Aridæus*, of whom we shall have much occasion to speak hereafter.

CHAP. II.

Of Alexander *the Great.*

SECT. I.

A brief rehearsal of Alexander's *doings, before he invaded* Asia.

Alexander, afterwards called the Great, succeeded unto *Philip* his Father; being a Prince no less valiant by Nature, than by Education, well instructed, and enriched in all sorts of Learning and good Arts. He began his Reign over the *Macedonians* four hundred and seventeen years, after *Rome* was built, and after his own Birth twenty years. The strange dreams of *Philip* his Father, and that one of the gods in the shape of a Snake, begat him on *Olympias* his Mother, I omit as foolish Tales; but, that the Temple of *Diana* (a work the most magnificent of the World) was burnt upon the day of his Birth, and that so strange an accident was accompanied with the news of three several Victories, obtained by the *Macedonians*, it was very remarkable, and might with the reason of those times be interpreted for ominous, and fore-shewing the great things by *Alexander* afterward performed. Upon the change of the King, the Neighbour Nations, whom *Philip* had oppress, began to consult about the recovery of their former liberty, and to adventure it by force of Arms. *Alexander's* young years gave them hope of prevailing, and his suspected severity increased courage in those, who could better resolve to die, than to live slavishly. But *Alexander* gave no time to those swelling humours, which might speedily have endangered the health of his Estate. For after revenge taken upon the Conspirators against his Father, whom he slew upon his Tomb, and the celebration of his Funerals, he first fastned unto him his own Nation, by freeing them from all exactions and bodily slavery, other than their service in his Wars; and used such Kingly austerity towards those that contemned his young years, and such clemency to the rest that perswaded themselves of the cruelty of his disposition, as all affections being pacified at home, he made a present journey into *Peloponnesus*, and so well exercised his spirits among them, as by the Council of the States of *Greece*, he was, according to the great desire of his heart, elected Captain General against the *Persians*, upon which War *Philip* had not only resolved, (who had obtained the same Title of General Commander) but had transported under the leading of *Parmenio* and *Attalus*, a part of his Army, to recover some places on *Asia* side, for the safe descent of the rest.

This enterprize against the *Persian* occupied all *Alexander's* affections: those fair marks of Riches, Honour, and large Dominion, he now shot at both sleeping and waking; all other thoughts and imaginations were either grievous or hateful. But a contrary wind ariseth: for he receiveth advertisement, that the *Athenians*, *Thebans* and *Lacedemonians*, had united themselves against him, and by assistance from the *Persian*, hoped for the recovery of their former freedom, Hereunto they were perswaded by *Demosthenes*, himself being thereto perswaded by the gold of *Persia:* the device he used was more subtle than profitable; for he caused it to be bruited, that *Alexander* was slain in a battel against the *Triballes*, and brought into the assembly a companion, whom he had corrupted, to affirm that himself was present and wounded in the battel. There is indeed a certain Doctrine of policy (as policy is now a-days defined by falsehood and knavery) that devised rumours and lies, if they serve the turn but for a day or two, are greatly available. It is true, Common people are sometimes mockt by them as Souldiers are by false Alarums in the wars; but in all that I have observed, I have found the success as ridiculous as the invention, For as those that find themselves at one time abused by such like bruits, do at other times neglect their duties, when they are upon true reports, and in occasions perilous summoned to assemble; so do all men in general condemn the Venters of such trumpery, and for them, fear upon necessary occasion to entertain the truth it self. This labour unlooked for, and loss of time, was not only very grievous to *Alexander*, but by turning his sword from the ignoble and effeminate *Persians*, against which he had directed it, towards the manly and famous *Grecians*, of whose assistance he thought himself assured, his present undertaking was greatly disordered. But he that cannot endure to strive against the wind, shall hardly attain the Port, which he purposeth to recover: and it no less becometh the worthiest men to oppose misfortunes, than it doth the weakest children to bewail them.

He therefore made such expedition towards these Revolters, as that himself, with the Army that followed him, brought them the first news of his preparation. Hereupon all stagger, and the *Athenians*, as they were the first that moved, so were they the first that fainted, seeking by their Ambassadour to pacifie the King, and to be received again into his grace. *Alexander* was not long in resolving; for the *Persians* perswaded him to pardon the *Grecians*. Wise men are not easily drawn from great purposes by such occasions as may easily be taken off, neither hath any King ever brought

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to effect any great affair, who hath entangled himself in many enterprises at once, not tending to one and the same certain end.

And having now quieted his borderers towards the South, he resolved to assure those Nations which lay on the North-side of *Macedon*, to wit, the *Thracians*, *Triballes*, *Peones*, *Getes*, *Agreans*, and other salvage people, which had greatly vexed with incursions, not only other of his Predecessors, but even *Philip* his Father: with all which, after divers Overthrows given them, he made peace, or else brought them into subjection. Notwithstanding this good success, he could not yet find the way out of *Europe*. There is nothing more natural to man than liberty: the *Greeks* had enjoyed it over-long, and lost it too late to forget it; they therefore shake off the yoke once again. The *Thebans* who had in their Cittadel a Garrison of three thousand *Macedonians*, attempt to force it; *Alexander* hasteneth to their succour, and presents himself with thirty thousand foot, all old Souldiers, and three thousand Horse, before the City, and gave the Inhabitants some days to resolve, being even heart-sick with the desire of passing into *Asia*. So unwilling, indeed, he was to draw blood of the *Grecians*, by whom he hoped to serve himself elsewhere, that he offered the *Thebans* remission, if they would only deliver into his hands *Phœnix* and *Prothytes*, the stirrers up of the Rebellion. But they opposing the mounting fortune of *Alexander*, (which bare all resistance before it, like the breaking in of the Ocean Sea) instead of such an Answer, as men besieged and abandoned should have made, demanded *Philotas* and *Antipater* to be delivered unto them; as if *Thebes* alone, then layed in the ballance of Fortune with the Kingdom of *Macedon*, and many other Provinces, could either have evened the scale or swayed it. Therefore in the end they perished in their obstinacy. For while the *Thebans* oppose the assailant, they are charged at the back by the *Macedonian* Garrison, their City taken and rased to the ground, six thousand slain, and thirty thousand sold for slaves, at the price of four hundred and forty Talents. This the King did to the terrour of the other *Grecian* Cities.

Many arguments were used by *Cleadas* one of the Prisoners, to perswade *Alexander* to forbear the destruction of *Thebes*. He prayed the King to believe that they were rather mis-led, by giving hasty credit to false reports, than any way malicious; for being perswaded of *Alexander*'s death, they rebelled but against his successour. He also besought the King to remember, that his Father *Philip* had his education in that City, yea, that his Ancestor *Hercules* was born therein: but all perswasions were fruitless; the times wherein offences are committed do greatly aggravate them. Yet for the honour he bare to learning, he pardoned all the race of *Pindarus* the Poet, and spared, and set at liberty *Timoclea* the Sister of *Theagenes*, who died in defence of the liberty of *Greece* against his Father *Philip*. This noble woman being taken by a *Thracian*, and by him ravished, he threatned to take her life, unless she would confess her treasure: she led that *Thracian* to a Well, and told him, that she had therein cast it: and when the *Thracian* stooped to look into the Well, she suddenly thrust him into the mouth thereof and stoned him to death.

Now because the *Athenians* had received into their City so many of the *Thebans*, as had escaped and fled unto them for succour, *Alexander* would not grant them peace, but upon condition to deliver into his hands both their Oratours which perswaded this second revolt, and their Captains; yet in the end, it being a torment unto him to retard the enterprize of *Persia*, he was content that the Oratours should remain, and accepted of the banishment of the Captains; wherein he was exceeding ill advised, had not his fortune, or rather the providence of God, made all the resistance against him unprofitable: for these good Leaders of the *Grecians* betook themselves to the service of the *Persian*, whom after a few days he invaded.

SECT. II.

How Alexander *passed into* Asia, *fought with the* Persians *upon the River of* Granicus.

WHen all was now quieted at home, *Alexander*, committing to the trust of *Antipater* both *Greece* and *Macedon*, in the first of the Spring did pass the *Hellespont*, and being ready to dis imbark, he threw a Dart towards the *Asian* shore, as a token of defiance, commanding his Souldiers, not to make any waste in their own Territory, or to burn, or deface those buildings which themselves were presently, and in the future to possess. He landed his Army, consisting of two and thirty thousand foot, and five thousand horse, all old Souldiers, near unto *Troy*, where he offered a solemn sacrifice upon *Achilles's* Tomb, his maternal Ancestor.

But before he left his own coast, he put to death without any offence given him, all his Mother-in-laws Kinsmen, whom *Philip* his Father had greatly advanced, not sparing such of his own as he suspected. He also took with him many of his tributary Princes, of whose fidelity he doubted; thinking by unjust cruelty to assure all things, both in the present and future. Yet the end of all fell out contrary to the policy which his Ambition had commended unto him, though agreeing very well with the Justice of God; for all that he had planted, was soon after withered and rooted up; those whom he most trusted were the most traiterous; his mother, friends, and children, fell by such another mercilesse sword as his own, and all manner of confusion followed his dead body to the grave, and left him there.

When the knowledge of *Alexander's* landing on *Asia* side was brought to *Darius*, he so much scorned the Army of *Macedon*, and had so contemptible an opinion of *Alexander* himself, as having stiled him his servant in a letter which he wrote unto him, reprehending his disloyalty and audacity (for *Darius* intitled himself King of Kings, and the Kinsman of the gods) he gave order withal to his Lieutenants of the lesser *Asia*, that they should take *Alexander* alive, whip him with rods, and then convey him to his presence: that they should sink his ships, and send the *Macedonians* taken prisoners beyond the Red-Sea; belike into *Æthiopia*, or some other unhealthful part of *Africa*.

In this sort did this glorious King, confident in the glittering, but heartless multitude which he commanded, dispose of the already-vanquished *Macedonians*: But the ill destinies of men bearing

them to the ground, by what ſtrong confidence ſoever armed. The great numbers which he gathered together, and brought in one heap into the field, gave rather an exceeding advantage to his enemies, than any diſcouragement at all. For, beſides that they were men utterly unacquainted with dangers; men, who by name, and countenance of their King were wont to prevail againſt thoſe of leſs courage than themſelves; men that took more care how to embroider with gold and ſilver their upper garments, as if they attended the invaſion but of the Sun-beams, than they did to arm themſelves with Iron and Steel againſt the ſharp pikes, ſwords and darts of the hardy *Macedonians*; I ſay, beſides all theſe, even the opinion they had of their own numbers, of which every one in particular hoped that it would not fall to his turn to fight, filled every one of them with the care of their own ſafety, without any intent at all to hazard any thing but their own breath, and that of their Horſes, in running away. The *Macedonians*, as they came to fight, and thereby to enrich themſelves with the Gold and Jewels of *Perſia*, both which they needed; ſo the *Perſians*, who expected nothing in that War but blows and wounds, which they needed not, obeyed the King, who had power to conſtrain them in aſſembling themſelves for his ſervice; but their own fears and cowardiſe, which in time of danger had moſt power over them, they only then obeyed, when their rebellion againſt ſo ſervile a paſſion did juſtly and violently require it. For, ſaith *Vegetius*, *Quem admodum bene exercitatus miles prælium cupit, ita formidat indoctus; nam ſciendum eſt in pugna uſum amplius prodeſſe quàm vires. As the well practiſed Souldier deſires to come to battel, ſo the raw one fears it: for we muſt underſtand, that in fight it more avails to have been accuſtomed unto the like, than only to have rude ſtrength.* What manner of men the *Perſians* were, *Alexander* diſcovered in the firſt encounter; before which time it is ſaid, by thoſe that write his ſtory, that it was hard to judge, whether his daring to undertake the Conqueſt of an Empire ſo well peopled with an handful of men, or the ſucceſs he had, were more to be wondred at. For at the River of *Granick*, which ſevereth the Territory of *Troy* from *Propontis*, the *Perſians* ſought to ſtop his paſſage, taking the higher ground and bank of the River to defend, which *Alexander* was forced (as it were) to clime up unto, and ſcale from the Level of the water. Great reſiſtance (ſaith *Curtius*) was made by the *Perſians*, yet in the end *Alexander* prevailed. But it ſeems to me that the Victory then gotten was exceeding eaſie, and that the twenty thouſand *Perſian* footmen, ſaid to be ſlain, were rather killed in the back, in running away, than hurt in the boſoms by reſiſting. For had thoſe twenty thouſand foot, and two hundred and fifty horſemen, or, after *Plutarch*, two thouſand and five hundred horſe-men, dyed with their faces towards the *Macedonians*, *Alexander* could not have bought their lives at ſo ſmall a rate, as with the loſs of four and thirty of all ſorts of his own. And if it were alſo true, that *Plutarch* doth report, how *Alexander* encountred two of the *Perſian* Commanders, *Spithridates* and *Rœſaches*; and that the *Perſian* horſe-men fought with great fury, though in the end ſcattered; and laſtly, how thoſe *Grecians* in *Darius* his pay, holding themſelves in one body upon a piece of ground of advantage, did (after mercy was refuſed them) fight it out to the laſt; how then doth it reſemble truth, that ſuch reſiſtance having been made, yet of *Alexander's* Army there fell but twelve footmen, and two and twenty horſemen.

SECT. III.

A digreſſion concerning the defence of hard paſſages. Of things following the Battel of Granick.

THe winning of this paſſage did greatly encourage the *Macedonians*, and brought ſuch terrour upon all thoſe of the leſſer *Aſia*, as he obtained all the Kingdoms thereof without a blow, ſome one or two Towns excepted. For in all invaſions, where the Nations invaded have once been beaten upon a great advantage of the place, as in defence of Rivers, Straits, and Mountains, they will ſoon have perſwaded themſelves, that ſuch an enemy upon equal terms and even ground; can hardly be reſiſted. It was therefore *Machiavel's* counſel, That he which reſolveth to defend a paſſage, ſhould with his ableſt force oppoſe the Aſſailant. And to ſay truth, few Regions of any great circuit are ſo well fenced, that Armies of ſuch force as may be thought ſufficient to conquer them, can be debarred all entrance, by the natural difficulties of the ways. One paſſage or other is commonly left unguarded: if all be defended, then muſt the forces of the Country be diſtracted; and yet lightly ſome one place will be found that is defended very weakly. How often have the *Alpes* given way to Armies, breaking into *Italy*? Yea, Where ſhall we find that ever they kept out an Invader? Yet are they ſuch as (to ſpeak briefly) afflict with all difficulties thoſe that travel over them; but they give no ſecurity to thoſe that lye behind them: for they are of too large extent. The Towns of *Lombardy* perſwaded themſelves that they might enjoy their quiet, when the Warlike Nation of the *Switzers* had undertaken to hinder *Francis* the French King from deſcending into the Dutchy of *Milan*: but whilſt theſe Patrons of *Milan*, whom their own dwelling in thoſe Mountains had made fitteſt of all other for ſuch a ſervice, were buſied in cuſtody of the *Alpes*; *Francis* appeared in *Lombardy*, ſo much the greater terrour of the Inhabitants, by how much the leſs they had expected his arrival. What ſhall we ſay of thoſe Mountains, which lock up whole Regions in ſuch ſort, as they leave but one Gate open; The Straits, or (as they were called) the Gates of *Taurus* in *Cilicia*, and thoſe of *Thermopylæ*, have ſeldom been attempted, perhaps becauſe they were thought impregnable: but how ſeldom (if ever) have they been attempted in vain? *Xerxes*, and long after him, the *Romans*, forced the entrance of *Thermopylæ*; *Cyrus* the younger, and after him *Alexander*, found the Gates of *Cilicia* wide open; how ſtrongly ſoever they had been locked and barred, yet were thoſe Countries open enough to a Fleet that ſhould enter on the backſide. The defence of Rivers, how hard a thing

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it is, we find examples in all histories that bear good witness. The deepest have many Foords; the swiftest and broadest may be passed by Boats, in case it be found a matter of difficulty to make a Bridge. He that hath men enough to defend all the length of his own bank, hath also enough to beat his enemy; and may therefore do better to let him come over, to his loss, than by striving in vain to hinder the passage, as a matter tending to his own disadvantage, till the heads of his Souldiers with an opinion, that they are in ill case, having their means of safeguard taken from them by the skill or valour of such as are too good for them. Certainly, if a River were sufficient defence against an Army, the Isle of *Mona*, now called *Anglesey*, which is divided from *North Wales*, by an Arm of the Sea, had been safe enough against the *Romans*, invading it under the conduct of *Julius Agricola*. But he wanting, and not meaning to spend the time in making Vessels to transport his forces, did assay the foords. Whereby he so amazed the enemies attending for ships and such like provisions by Sea, that surely believing nothing could be hard or invincible to men, which came so minded to War, they humbly intreated for peace, and yielded the Island. Yet the *Britains* were men stout enough, the *Persians* were very dastards.

It was therefore wisely done of *Alexander*, to pass the River of *Granick* in face of the enemy; not marching higher to seek an easier way, nor labouring to convey his men, over it by some safer means. For, having beaten them upon their own ground, he did thereby cut off no less of their reputation, than of their strength, leaving no hope of succour to the partakers and followers of such unable Protectors.

Soon after this Victory he recovered *Sardis*, *Ephesus*, the Cities of the *Tralians*, and *Magnesia*, which were rendred unto him. The Inhabitants of which, with the people of the Countrey, he received with great grace, suffering them to be governed by their own Laws. For he observed it well; *Novum Imperium incheantibus, utilis clementiæ fama; It is commodious unto such as lay the foundations of a new Soveraignty, to have the fame of being merciful.* He then by *Parmenio* wan *Miletus*, and by force mastered *Halicarnassæus*, which because it resisted obstinately, he rased to the ground. From whence he entred into *Caria*, where *Ada* the Queen, who had been cast out of all that she held (except the City of *Alinda*) by *Darius* his Lieutenants, presented her self unto him, and adopted him her Son and Successor; which *Alexander* accepted in so gracious part, as he left the whole Kingdom to her disposing. He then entred into *Lycia*, and *Pamphylia*, and obtained all the Sea-coasts, and, subjecting unto him *Pisidia*, he directed himself towards *Darius* (who was said to be advanced towards him with a marvellous Army) by the way of *Phrygia*: For, all the Province of *Asia* the less, bordering upon the Sea, his first Victory laid under his feet.

While he gave order for the government and settling of *Lycia*, and *Pamphylia*, they sent *Cleander* to raise some new Captains in *Peloponnesus*, and marching towards the North, he entred *Celenæ*, seated on the River *Meander*, which was abandoned unto him; the Castle only holding out, which also after forty days was given up: for so long time he gave them to attend succour from *Darius*. From *Celenæ* he pass'd through *Phrygia* towards the *Euxine* Sea, till he came to a City called *Gordium*, the Regal Seat, in former times of King *Midas*. In this City it was, that he found the *Gordian*-knot, which when he knew not how to undo, he cut it asunder with his Sword. For there was an ancient Prophecy did promise to him that could untie it, the Lordship of all *Asia*; whereupon *Alexander*, not respecting the manner how, so it were done, assumed to himself the fulfilling of the Prophecy, by hewing it in pieces.

But before he turned from this part of *Asia* the less towards the east, he took care to clear the Sea-coast on his back, and to thrust the *Persians* out of the Islands of *Lesbos*, *Chio*, and *Coos*: the charge whereof he committed unto two of his Captains, giving them such order as he thought to be most convenient for that service; and delivering unto them fifty Talents to defray the charge, and withal out of his first spoil gotten, he sent threescore Talents more to *Antipater* his Lieutenant in *Greece* and *Macedon*. From *Celenæ* he removed to *Ancira*, now called *Anguori*, standing on the same River of *Sangarias*, which runneth through *Gordium*: there he mustered his Army, and then entred *Paphlagonia*, whose people submitted themselves unto him, and obtained freedom of tribute: where he left *Catus* Governour with one Regiment of *Macedonians* lately arrived.

Here he understood of the death of *Memnon*, *Darius's* Lieutenant, which heartned him greatly to pass on towards him; for of this only Captain he had more respect than of all the multitude by *Darius* assembled, and of all the Commanders he had besides. For so much hath the spirit of some one man excelled; as it hath undertaken and effected the alteration of the greatest States and Commonweals, the erection of Monarchies, the Conquest of Kingdoms and Empires, guided handfuls of men against multitudes of equal bodily strength, contrived victories beyond all hope and discourse of reason, converted the fearful passions of his own followers into magnanimity, and the valour of his enemies into cowardize; such spirits have been stirred up in sundry Ages of the world, and in divers parts thereof, to erect and cast down again, to establish and to destroy, and to bring all things, Persons and States, to the same certain ends, which the infinite Spirit of the *Universal*, piercing, moving and governing all things, hath ordained. Certainly, the things that this King did, were marvellous, and would hardly have been undertaken by any man else: and though his Father had determined to have invaded the lesser *Asia*, it is like enough that he would have contented himself with some part thereof, and not have discovered the River of *Indus* as this man did. The swift course of victory, wherewith he ran over so large a portion of the World in so short a space, may justly be imputed unto this, that he was never encountred by an equal spirit, concurring with equal power against him. Hereby it came to pass that his actions being limited by no greater opposition, than desart places, and the meer length of tedious journies could make, were like the *Colossus* of *Rhodes*, not so much to be admired for the workmanship, though therein also praise worthy, as for the huge bulk. For certainly the things performed by *Xenophon*, discover as brave a spirit as *Alexander's*, and working no less exquisitely, though the effects were less material, as were also the forces and power of command, by which it wrought. But he that would find the exact pattern of a noble Commander, must look upon such as *Epaminondas*, that encountring worthy Captains, and those better followed than themselves, have by their sin-

gular vertue over topped their valiant enemies, and ſtill prevailed over thoſe, that would not have yielded one foot to any other. Such as theſe are do ſeldom live to obtain great Empires. For it is a work of more labour and longer time, to maſter the equal forces of one hardy and well-ordered State, than to tread down and utterly ſubdue a multitude of ſervile Nations, compounding the body of a groſs and unwieldy Empire. Wherefore theſe *Parvo-Potentes*, men that with little have done much upon enemies of like ability, are to be regarded as choice examples of worth; but great Conquerors, to be rather admired for the ſubſtance of their actions, than the exquiſite managing: exactneſs and greatneſs concurring ſo ſeldom, that I can find no inſtance of both in one, ſave only that brave *Roman*, *Cæſar*.

Having thus far digreſſed, it is time that we return unto our Eaſtern Conquerour; who is travelling haſtily towards *Cilicia*, with a deſire to recover the Straits thereof before *Darius* ſhould arrive there. But firſt making a diſpatch unto *Greece*, he ſent to thoſe Cities, in which he repoſed moſt truſt, ſome of the *Perſian* Targets which he had recovered in this firſt battel, upon which by certain inſcriptions, he made them partakers of his Victory. Herein he well adviſed himſelf; for he that doth not as well impart of the honour which he gains in the Wars, as he doth of the ſpoils, ſhall never be long followed of thoſe of the better ſort. For men which are either well-born, or well-bred, and have more of wealth than of reputation, do as often ſatisfie themſelves with the purchaſe of glory, as the weak in fortune, and ſtrong in courage, do with the gain of gold and ſilver.

The Governour of *Cilicia* hearing of *Alexander's* coming on, left ſome Companies to keep the Straits, which were indeed very defenſible; and withal, as *Curtius* noteth, he began over-late to priſe and put in execution the Counſel of *Memnon*: who in the beginning of the Wars adviſed him to waſt all the proviſions for Men and Horſe, that could not be lodged in ſtrong places, and always to give ground to the Invader, till he found ſome ſuch notable advantage as might aſſuredly promiſe him the obtaining of Victory. For the fury of an invading Army is beſt broken, by delays, change of diet, and want, eating ſometimes too little, and ſometimes too much, ſometimes repoſing themſelves in beds, and oftner on the cold ground. Theſe and the like ſudden alterations bring many Diſeaſes upon all Nations out of their own Countries. Therefore if *Darius* had kept the *Macedonians* but a while from meat and ſleep, and refuſing, to give or take battel, had wearied them with his light horſe, as the *Parthians* afterward did the *Romans*, he might perchance have ſaved his own life, and his eſtate. For it was one of the greateſt encouragements given by *Alexander* to the *Macedonians*, in the third and laſt fatal battel, That they were to fight with all the ſtrength of *Perſia* at once.

Xerxes, when he invaded *Greece* and fought abroad, being beaten, loſt only his men; but *Darius* being invaded by the *Greeks*, and fighting at home by being beaten, loſt his Kingdom. *Pericles* though the *Lacedemonians* burnt all in *Attica* to the Gates of *Athens*, yet could not be drawn to hazard a battel: for the invaded ought evermore to fight upon the advantage of time and place. Becauſe we read Hiſtories to inform our underſtanding by the examples therein found, we will give ſome inſtances of thoſe that have periſhed by adventuring in their own Countries, to charge an invading Army. The *Romans*, by fighting with *Hannibal*, were brought to the brink of their deſtruction.

Pompey was well adviſed for a while, when he gave *Cæſar* ground; but when by the importunity of his Captains he adventured to fight at *Pharſalia*, he loſt the battel, loſt the freedom of *Rome*, and his own life.

Ferdinand, in the Conqueſt of *Naples*, would needs fight a battel with the *French* to his confuſion, though it was told him by a man of ſound Judgement, that thoſe Counſels which promiſe ſurety in all things, are honourable enough.

The Conſtable of *France* made fruſtrate the mighty preparation of *Charles* the fifth, when he invaded *Provence*, by waſting the Country, and forbearing to fight; ſo did the Duke of *Alva* weary the *French* in *Naples*, and diſſolve the boiſtrous Army of the Prince of *Orange* in the *Low-Countries*.

The *Leigers*, contrary to the advice of their General, would needs fight a battel with the *Bourgonians*, invading their Country, and could not be perſwaded to linger the time, and ſtay their advantage; but they loſt eight and twenty thouſand upon the place. *Philip* of *Valois* ſet upon King *Edward* at *Creſſie*; and King *John* (when the *Engliſh* were well near tired out, and would in ſhort time by an orderly purſuit have been waſted to nothing) conſtrained the black Prince with great fury, near *Poictiers*, to joyn battel with him: But all men know what lamentable ſucceſs theſe two *French* Kings found. *Charles* the fifth of *France*, made another kind of *Fabian*-Warfare; and though the *Engliſh* burnt and waſted many places, yet this King held his reſolution to forbear blows, and followed his advice, which told him, That the *Engliſh* could never get his inheritance by ſmoak. And it is reported by *Belloy* and *Herrault*, that King *Edward* was wont to ſay of this *Charles*, that he wan from him the Dutchy of *Guyen* without ever putting on his Armour.

But where God hath a purpoſe to deſtroy, wiſe men grow ſhort lived, and the charge of things is committed unto ſuch as either cannot ſee what is for their good, or know not how to put in execution any ſound advice. The courſe which *Memnon* had propounded, muſt in all appearance of reaſon, have brought the *Macedonians* to a great perplexity, and made him ſtand ſtill a while at the Straits of *Cilicia*, doubting whether it were more ſhameful to return, or dangerous to proceed. For, had *Cappadocia*, and *Paphlagonia* been waſted while *Alexander* was far off; and the Straits of *Cilicia* been defended by *Arſenes*, Governour of that Province, with the beſt of his forces; hunger would not have ſuffered the enemy, to ſtay the trial of all means that might be thought upon, of forcing that paſſage: or if the place could not have been maintained, yet might *Cilicia*, at better leiſure have been ſo throughly ſpoiled, that the heart of his Army ſhould have been broken, by ſeeking out miſeries by painful travel.

But *Arſenes* leaving a ſmall number to defend the Straits, took the beſt of his Army with him, to waſte and ſpoil the Country; or rather, as may ſeem, to find himſelf ſome work, by pretence of which he might honeſtly run further away from *Alexander*. He ſhould rather have adventured his perſon in cuſtody of the Straits, whereby he might perhaps have ſaved the Province; and in the mean time, all that was in the fields, would have been con-

conveyed into ſtrong Towns. So ſhould his Army, if it were driven from the place of advantage; have found good entertainment within walled Cities, and himſelf with his horſmen have had the leſs work in deſtroying that little which was left abroad. Handling the matter as he did, he gave the *Cilicians* cauſe to wiſh for *Alexander*'s coming; and as great cauſe to the Keepers of the paſſage not to hinder it. For cowards are wiſe in apprehending all forms of danger. Theſe Guardians of the Straits, hearing that *Arſenes* made all haſte to joyn himſelf with *Darius*, burning down all as he went, like one deſpairing of the defence began to grow circumſpect, and to think that ſurely their General, who gave as loſt the Country behind their backs, had expoſed themſelves unto certain death, as men that were good for nothing elſe but to dull the *Macedonian* Swords. Wherefore not affecting to dye for their Prince and Country (which honour they ſaw that *Arſenes* himſelf could well forbear) they ſpeedily followed the footſteps of their General, gleaning after his Harveſt. Thus *Alexander* without labour got both the entrance of *Cilicia*, abandoned by the cowardiſe of his enemies, and the whole Province that had been alienated from the *Perſian* ſide by their indiſcretion.

SECT. IV.

Of the unwarlike Army levied by Darius *againſt* Alexander. *The unadviſed courſes which* Darius *took in this expedition. He is vanquiſhed at* Iſſus; *where his Mother, Wife and Children are made Priſoners: of ſome things following the battel of* Iſſus.

IN the mean ſeaſon *Darius* approached, who (as *Curtius* reports) had compounded an Army of more than two hundred and ninety thouſand Souldiers, out of divers Nations; *Juſtine* muſters them at three hundred thouſand Foot, and a hundred thouſand Horſe; *Plutarch*, at ſix hundred thouſand.

The manner of his coming on, as *Curtius* deſcribes it, was rather like a Masker than a man of War, and like one that took more care to ſet out his glory and riches, than to provide for his own ſafety, perſwading himſelf, as it ſeemed, to beat *Alexander* with pomp and ſumptuous Pageants. For, before the Army there was carried the holy Fire, which the *Perſians* worſhipped, attended by their Prieſts; and after them three hundred and threeſcore and five young men, anſwering the number of the days of the year, covered with Scarlet; then the Chariot of *Jupiter* drawn with white Horſes, with their Riders cloathed in the ſame colour, with rods of gold in their hands; and after it, the Horſe of the Sun: Next after theſe follow ten ſumptuous Chariots, inlayed and garniſht with ſilver and gold; and then the Vantguard of their horſe, compounded of twelve ſeveral Nations, which the better to avoid confuſion, did hardly underſtand each others language; and theſe marſhall'd in the head of the reſt, being beaten, might ſerve very fitly to diſorder all that followed them: in the tail of theſe horſes the Regiment of Foot marched, which the *Perſians* called Immortal, becauſe if any died, the number was preſently ſupplied: and theſe were armed with chains of gold, and their coats with the ſame mettal embroidered, whereof the ſleeves were garniſhed with pearl: baits, either to catch the hungry *Macedonians* withal, or to perſwade them that it were great incivility to cut, and to deface ſuch glorious garments. But it was well ſaid, *Sumptuosè indutus miles, ſe virtute ſuperiorem aliis non exiſtimet, cum in præliis oporteat fortitudine animi, & non veſtimentis muniri, quoniam hoſtes veſtibus non debellantur*; *Let no man think that he exceedeth thoſe in valour, whom he exceedeth in gay garments; for it is by men armed with fortitude of mind, and not by the apparel they put on, that enemies are beaten.* And it was perchance from the *Roman Papyrius* that this advice was borrowed, who when he fought againſt the *Samnites* in that fatal battel, wherein they all ſware either to prevail or dye, thirty thouſand of them having apparelled themſelves in white garments, with high creſts, and great plumes of feathers, bade the *Roman* Souldiers to lay aſide all fear: *Non enim criſtas vulnera facere, & per picta atque aurata ſcuta tranſire Romanum pilum*; *For theſe plumed creſts would wound no body, and the* Roman *pile would bore holes in painted and guilded ſhields.*

To ſecond this Court-like company, fifteen thouſand were appointed more rich and glittering than the former, but apparelled like Women (belike to breed the more terror) and theſe were honoured with the title of the King's Kinſmen. Then came *Darius* himſelf, the Gentlemen of his Guard-robe, riding before his Chariot, which was ſupported with the Gods of his Nation, caſt and cut in pure gold; theſe the *Macedonians* did not ſerve, but they ſerved their turns of theſe, by changing their maſſie-bodies into thin, portable, and currant coyn. The head of this Chariot was ſet with pretious ſtones, with two little golden Idols, covered with an open winged Eagle of the ſame metal: The hinder part whereon *Darius* ſate, had a covering of ineſtimable value. This Chariot of the King was followed with ten thouſand Horſe-men, their Lances plated with ſilver, and their heads guilt; which they meant not to imbrue in the *Macedonian* blood, for fear of marring their beauty. He had for the proper guard of his own perſon, two hundred of the blood Royal; blood, too Royal and pretious to be ſpilled by any valorous adventure (I am of opinion that two hundred ſturdy fellows, like the *Switzers* would have done him more ſervice) and theſe were backt with thirty thouſand foot-men, after whom again were led four hundred ſpare horſes for the King, which if he had meant to have uſed, he would have marſhalled ſomewhat nearer him.

Now followed the Reer-ward, the ſame being led by *Siſygambis* the King's Mother, and by his Wife, drawn in glorious Chariots, followed by a great train of Ladies their attendants on horſe-back, with fifteen Wagons of the King's Children, and the Wives of the Nobility, waited on by two hundred and fifty Concubines, and a world of Nurſes and Eunuchs, moſt ſumptuouſly apparalled. By which it ſhould ſeem that *Darius* thought that the *Macedonians* had been *Comedians* or *Tumblers*; for this Troop was far fitter to behold thoſe ſports than to be preſent at battels. Between theſe and a company of ſlight-armed ſlaves, with a world of Varlets, was the King's treaſure, charged on ſix hundred Mules, and three hundred Camels brought as it proved, to pay the *Macedonians*. In this ſort came the *May-game-King* into the field, incumbred with

with a moſt unneceſſary train of Strumpets, attended with troops of divers Nations, ſpeaking divers languages, and for their numbers impoſſible to be marſhalled; and for the moſt part ſo effeminate, and ſo rich in gold and in garments, as the ſame could not but have encouraged the naked'ſt Nation of the World againſt them. We find it in daily experience, that all diſcourſe of Magnanimity, of National Virtue, of Religion, of Liberty, and whatſoever elſe hath been wont to move and encourage Virtuous men, hath no force at all with the common Souldier, in compariſon of ſpoil and riches. The rich ſhips are boarded upon all diſadvantage, the rich Towns are furiouſly aſſaulted, and the plentiful Countries willingly invaded. Our *Engliſh* Nation have attempted many places in the *Indies*, and run upon the *Spaniards* head-long, in hope of their Royals of Plate, and Piſtolets; which, had they been put to it upon the like diſadvantages in *Ireland*, or in any poor Country, they would have turned their Pieces and Pikes againſt their Commanders, conteſting that they had been brought without reaſon to the butchery and ſlaughter. It is true that the War is made willingly, and for the moſt part with good ſucceſs, that is ordained againſt the richeſt Nations; for as the needy are always adventurous, ſo plenty is wont to ſhun peril, and men that have well to live, do rather ſtudy how to live well, I mean wealthily, than care to dye (as they call it) honourably. *Car où il n'y a rien a gaigner que des coups, volontiers il n'y va pas. No man makes haſt to the market, where there is nothing to be bought but blows.*

Now if *Alexander* had beheld this preparation before his conſultation with his Sooth-ſayers, he would have ſatisfied himſelf by the out-ſides of the *Perſians*, and never have looked into the intrails of Beaſts for ſucceſs. For leaving the deſcription of this ſecond battel (which is indeed no where well deſcribed; neither, for the confuſion and haſty running away of the *Aſians*, could it be) we have enough by the ſlaughter that was made of them, and by the few that fell of the *Macedonians*, to inform us what manner of reſiſtance was made. For if it be true that threeſcore thouſand *Perſian* footmen were ſlain in this battel, with ten thouſand of their horſemen; Or (as *Curtius* ſaith) an hundred thouſand footmen, with the ſame number of horſemen, and beſides this ſlaughter, 40000. taken priſoners, while of *Alexander's* Army there miſcarried but two hundred and fourſcore of all ſorts, of which numbers *Arrianus* and other Hiſtorians cut off almoſt the one half; I do verily believe, that this ſmall number rather died with the over-travel and pains-taking in killing their enemies, than by any ſtrokes received from them. And ſurely if the *Perſian* Nation (at this time degenerate and the baſeſt of the World) had any ſavour remaining of the ancient valour of their forefathers, they would never have ſold ſo good cheap, and at ſo vile a price, the Mother, the Wife, the Daughters, and other the King's children; had their own honour been valued by them at nothing, and the King's ſafety and his eſtate at leſs. *Darius* by this time found it true, that *Charidemus* a baniſhed *Grecian* of *Athens* had told him, when he made a view of his Army about *Babylon*, to wit, That the multitude which he had aſſembled of divers Nations, richly attired, but poorly armed, would be found more terrible to the Inhabitants of the country, whom in paſſing by they would devour, than to the *Macedonians*, whom they meant to aſſail; who being all old and obedient Souldiers, imbattelled in groſs ſquadrons, which they call their *Phalanx*, well covered with Armour for defence, and furniſhed with weapons for offence of great advantage, would make ſo little accompt of his delicate *Perſians*, loving their eaſe and their pallat, being withal ill armed, and worſe diſciplined, as except it would pleaſe him to entertain (having ſo great abundance of treaſure to do it withal) a ſufficient number of the ſame *Grecians*, and ſo to encounter the *Macedonians* with men of equal courage, he would repent him overlate, as taught by the miſerable ſucceſs like to follow.

But this diſcourſe was ſo unpleaſing to *Darius* (who had been accuſtomed to nothing ſo much as to his own praiſes, and to nothing ſo little as to hear truth) as he commanded that this poor *Grecian* ſhould be preſently ſlain: who while he was a ſundring in the Tormentor's hands, uſed this ſpeech to the King, That *Alexander*, againſt whom he had given this good counſel, ſhould aſſuredly revenge his death, and lay deſerved puniſhment upon *Darius* for deſpiſing his advice.

It was the ſaying of a Wiſe man: *Deſperata ejus Principis ſalus eſt, cujus aures ita formatæ ſunt, ut aſperæ quæ utilia, nec quicquam niſi jucundum accipiat; That Prince's ſafety is in a deſperate caſe, whoſe ears judge all that is profitable to be too ſharp, and will entertain nothing that is unpleaſant.*

For, liberty in Council is the life and eſſence of Council; Libertas conſilii eſt ejus vita & eſſentia, quâ crepta conſilium evaneſcit.

Darius did likewiſe value at nothing the advice given him by the *Grecian* Souldiers that ſerved him, who intreated him not to fight in the Straits: But had they been Counſellers and Directors in that War, as they were underlings and commanded by others, they had with the help of a good troop of horſemen been able to have oppoſed the fury of *Alexander*, without any aſſiſtance of the *Perſian* foot-men. For when *Darius* was overthrown with all his cowardly and confuſed rabble, thoſe *Grecians*, under their Captain *Amyntas*, held firm, and marched away in order, in deſpight of the Vanquiſhers. Old Souldiers are not eaſily diſmayed: we read in Hiſtories ancient and modern, what brave retreats have been made by them, though the reſt of the Army in which they have ſerved, hath been broken.

At the battel of *Ravenna*, where the Imperials were beaten by the *French*, a ſquadron of *Spaniards*, old Souldiers, came off unbroken and undiſmayed; whom when *Gaſton de Foix*, Duke of *Neumours*, and Nephew to *Lewis* the twelfth, charged, as holding the Victory not entire by their eſcape, he was overturned and ſlain in the place. For it is truly ſaid of thoſe men, who, by being acquainted with dangers fear them not, That, *Neglecto periculo imminentis mali, opus ipſum, quantumvis difficile, aggrediuntur; They go about the buſineſs it ſelf, how hard ſoever it be, not ſtanding to conſider of the danger, which the miſchief hanging over their heads may bring*: and as truly of thoſe that know the Wars but by hear-ſay; *Quod valentes ſunt & prævalentes ante pericula, in ipſis tamen periculis diſcedunt; They have ability enough, and to ſpare, till dangers appear; but when peril indeed comes, they get them gone.*

Theſe *Grecians* alſo that made the retreat, adviſed *Darius* to retire his Army into the plain of *Meſopotamia*, to the end that *Alexander* being entred into thoſe large fields and great Champians, he might have invironed the *Macedonians* on all ſides with

with his multitude; and withal they counſelled him to divide that his huge Army into parts, not committing the whole to one ſtroke of Fortune, whereby he might have fought many battels, and have brought no greater number at once than might have been well marſhalled and conducted. But this Counſel was ſo contrary to the cowardly affections of the *Perſians*, as they peſwaded *Darius* to inviron the *Grecians* which gave the advice, and to cut them in pieces as Traytors. The infinite wiſdom of God doth not work always by one and the ſame way, but very often in the alteration of Kingdoms and Eſtates, by taking underſtanding from the Governours, ſo as they can neither give nor diſcern of Counſels. For *Darius* that would needs fight with *Alexander* upon a ſtraitned piece of ground, near unto the City of *Iſſus*, where he could bring no more hands to fight than *Alexander* could (who by the advice of *Parmenio* ſtayed there, as in a place of beſt advantage) was utterly overthrown, his Treaſure loſt, his Wife, Mother, and Children (whom the *Grecians* his followers had perſwaded him to leave in *Babylon*, or elſewhere) taken priſoners, and all their Train of Ladies ſpoiled of their rich Garments, Jewels, and Honour. It is true, that both the Queen, and her Daughters, who had the good hap to be brought to *Alexander*'s preſence, were entertained with all reſpect due unto their birth, their Honours preſerved, and their Jewels and rich Garments reſtored unto them, and though *Darius*'s Wife was a moſt beautiful Lady, and his Daughters of excellent form, yet *Alexander* maſtred his affections towards them all: only it is reported out of *Ariſtobulus* the Hiſtorian that he imbraced the Wife of the valiant *Memnon*, her Husband lately dead, who was taken flying from *Damaſcus* by *Parmenio*, at which time the Daughters of *Ochus*, who reigned before *Darius*, and the Wives and Children of all the Nobility of *Perſia* in effect, fell into captivity; at which time alſo *Darius*'s Treaſure (not loſt at *Iſſus*) was ſeized, amounting to ſix thouſand and two hundred Talents of coyn, and of Bullion five hundred Talents, with a world of riches beſides.

Darius himſelf leaving his brother dead, with divers other of his chief Captains, (caſting the Crown from his head) hardly eſcaped.

After this overthrow given unto *Darius*, all *Phœnicia* (the City of *Tyre* excepted) was yielded to *Alexander*, of which *Parmenio* was made Governor.

Aradus, *Zidon*, and *Biblos*, Maritimate Cities of great importance, of which one *Strato* was King (but hated of the people) acknowledged *Alexander*. Good fortune followed him ſo faſt, that it trod on his heels; for *Antigonus*, *Alexander*'s Lieutenant in *Aſia* the leſs, overthrew the *Cappadocians*, *Paphlagonians*, and others lately revolted; *Ariſtodemus*, *Darius*'s Admiral had his Fleet partly taken, and in part drowned by the *Macedonians* newly levied; the *Lacedemonians* that warred againſt *Antipater* were beaten; four thouſand of thoſe *Greeks* which made the retreat at the laſt battel, forſaking both the party of *Darius* and of *Alexander*, and led by *Amyntas* into *Egypt*, to hold it for themſelves, were buried there, for the time was not yet come to divide Kingdoms.

Alexander to honour *Epheſtion*, whom he loved moſt, gave him power to diſpoſe of the Kingdom of *Zidon*. A man of a moſt poor eſtate, that laboured to ſuſtain his life, being of the Royal blood was commended by the people unto him, who changed his Spade into a Scepter, ſo as he was beheld both a Beggar and a King in one and the ſame hour.

It was a good deſire of this new King, when ſpeaking to *Alexander*, he wiſht that he could bear his proſperity with the ſame moderation, and quietneſs of heart, that he had done his adverſity; but ill done of *Alexander*, in that he would not perform in himſelf that which he commended in another man's deſire: for it was a ſign that he did but accompany, and could not Govern his felicity.

While he made ſome ſtay in thoſe parts; he received a letter from *Darius*, importing the ranſome of his Wife, his Mother, and his Children, with ſome other conditions of peace, but ſuch as rather became a Conquerour, than one that had now been twice ſhamefully beaten, not vouchſafing in his direction, to ſtile *Alexander* King. It is true, that the *Romans*, after that they had received an overthrow by *Pyrrhus*, returned him a more ſcornful anſwer upon the offer of peace, than they did before the tryal of his force. But as their fortunes were then in the Spring, ſo that of *Darius* had already caſt leaf; the one a reſolved, well armed and diſciplined Nation, the other cowardly and effeminate. *Alexander* diſdained the offers of *Darius*, and ſent him word, that he not only directed his letter to a King, but to the King of *Darius* himſelf.

SECT. V.

How Alexander *beſieged and won the City of* Tyre.

Alexander coming near the City of *Tyre*, received from them the preſent of a golden Crown, with great ſtore of victuals and other preſents, which he took very thankfully, returning them anſwer, That he deſired to offer a Sacrifice to *Hercules*, the Protector of their City, from whom he was deſcended. But the *Tyrians* like not his company within their Walls, but tell him that the Temple of *Hercules* was ſeated in the old City adjoyning, now abandoned and deſolate. To be ſhort, *Alexander* reſolved to enter it by force: and though it were a place in all mens opinion impregnable, becauſe the Iſland whereon it was built, was eight hundred furlongs from the Main, yet, with the labour of many hands, having great ſtore of ſtone from the old *Tyre*, and timber ſufficient from *Lybanus*, he filled the paſſage of the Sea between the Iſland and the Main, which being more than once carried away by the ſtrength of the Sea upon a ſtorm of wind, ſometimes by the *Tyrians* fired, and ſometimes torn aſunder; yet with the help of his Navy which arrived (during the ſiege) from *Cyprus*, he overcame all difficulties and prevailed, after he had ſpent ſeven months in that attempt. The *Tyrians* in the beginning of the Siege had barbarouſly drowned the meſſengers ſent by *Alexander*, perſwading them to render the City, in reſpect whereof, and of the great loſs of time and men, he put eight thouſand to the ſword, and cauſed two thouſand of thoſe that eſcaped the fury, to be hanged on Croſſes on the Sea-ſhore, and reſerved for ſlaves (ſaith *Diodore*) thirteen thouſand; *Arrianus* reckons them at thirty thouſand. Many more had died, had not the *Zidonians*, that ſerved *Alexander*, conveyed great numbers by ſhipping unto their own City. *Arrian.*

Happy it was for *Apollo* that the Town was taken: for one of the *Tyrians* having dreamt, that *Juſt. l. 18.*

this

this god meant to forsake the City, they bound him fast with a golden chain to the Idol of *Hercules*; but *Alexander* like a gracious Prince, loosed him again.

It is true, that it was a notable enterprize, and a difficult, but great things are made greater. For *Nebuchodonosor* had taken it before, and filled up the chanel that lay between the Island and the Main.

The Government of this Territory he gave to *Philotas* the Son of *Parmenio*; *Cilicia*, he committed to *Socrates*, and *Andromachus* Lieutenant under *Parmenio*; *Ephestion* had charge of the Fleet, and was directed to find *Alexander* at *Gaza* towards *Egypt*.

SECT. VI.

How Darius *offered Conditions of Peace to* Alexander. Alexander *wins* Gaza, *and deals graciously with the* Jews.

IN the mean while *Darius* sends again to *Alexander*, sets before him all the difficulties of passing on towards the East, and layeth the loss of the last Battel to the straitness of the place: he hoped to terrifie him by threatning to encompass him in the plain Countries, he bids him to consider, how impossible it was to pass the Rivers of *Euphrates*, *Tigris*, *Araxes*, and the rest, with all such other fearful things: for he that was now filled with nothing but fear, had arguments enough of that nature to present unto another. All the Kingdoms between the River of *Alys*, and the *Hellespont*, he offered him in Dower with his beloved Daughter. But *Alexander* answered, That he offered him nothing but his own, and that which victory and his own virtue had possest him of; That he was to give conditions, and not to receive any, and that he having passed the Sea it self, disdained to think of resistance in transporting himself over Rivers. It is said, That *Parmenio*, who was now old, and full of honour and Riches, told the King, That were he *Alexander*, he would accept of *Darius* his offers; to which *Alexander* answered, That so would he, if he were *Parmenio*.

But he goes on towards *Egypt*, and coming before *Gaza*, *Betis*, a faithful servant to *Darius*, shuts the Gate against him, and defends the Town with an absolute resolution, at the siege whereof *Alexander* received a wound in the shoulder, which was dangerous, and a blow on his leg with a stone. He found better men in this place than he did at the former Battels; for he left so many of his *Macedonians* buried in the Sands of *Gaza*, that he was forced to send for a new supply into *Greece*. Here it was, that *Alexander* first began to change condition, and to exercise cruelty. For after that he had entred *Gaza* by assault, and taken *Betis* (whom *Josephus* calleth *Babemesis*) that was weakned with many wounds, and who never gave ground to the Assailants; he bored holes thorow his feet, and caused him to be drawn about the street, whilst he was yet alive; who being as valiant a man as himself, disdained to ask him either life or remission of his torments. And what had he to countenance this his Tyranny, but the imitation of his Ancestor *Achilles*, who did the like to *Hector*? It is true, that cruelty hath always somewhat to cover her deformity.

From *Gaza* (saith *Josephus*) he led his Army towards *Jerusalem*, a City, for the antiquity, and great fame thereof, well known unto him; while he lay before *Tyre*, he had sent for some supply thither, which *Jaddus* the High-Priest, being subject and sworn to *Darius*, had refused him. The *Jews* therefore fearing his revenge, and unable to resist, committed the care of their estates and safety to *Jaddus*, who, being taught by God, issued out of the City covered with his Pontifical Robes, to wit, an upper garment of Purple, embroidered with gold, with his Mitre, and the plate of gold wherein the Name of God was written, the Priests and Levites in their rich Ornaments, and the people in white garments, in a manner so unusual, stately, and grave, as *Alexander* greatly admired it. *Josephus* reports it, that he fell to the ground before the High-Priest, as reverencing the name of God, and that *Parmenio* reprehended him for it. Howsoever it was, I am of opinion, that he became so confident in his enterprize, and so assured of the success after the Prophecy of *Daniel* had been read unto him, wherein he saw himself, and the Conquest of *Persia* so directly pointed at, as nothing thenceforth could discourage him, or fear him. He confessed to *Parmenio* (saith *Josephus*) that in *Dio* a City of *Macedon*, when his mind laboured the Conquest of *Asia*, he saw in his sleep such a person as *Jaddus*, and so apparelled, professing one and the same God; by whom he was encouraged to pursue the purpose he had in hand, with assurance of victory. This apparition formerly apprehended only by the light of his fantasie, he now beheld with his bodily eyes, wherewith he was so exceedingly pleased and emboldened, as contrary to the practice of the *Phœnicians* (who hoped to have sacked and destroyed *Jerusalem*) he gave the *Jews* all, and more than they desired, both of liberty and immunity, with permission to live under their own Laws, and to exercise and enjoy their own Religion. *Lib.* 11. *ca. ult.*

SECT. VII.

Alexander *wins* Egypt: *and makes a journey to the Temple of* Hammon.

FRom *Jerusalem*, *Alexander* turned again towards *Egypt*, and entred it; where *Darius* his Lieutenant, *Astaces*, received him, and delivered into his hand the City of *Memphis*, with eight hundred Talents of Treasure, and all other the King's riches. By this we see, that the King of *Persia*, who had more of affection than of judgement, gave to the valianteſt man he had, but the command of one City, and to the veryest coward the Government of all *Egypt*. When he had set things in order in *Egypt*, he began to travel after *God-head*, towards *Jupiter Hammon*; so foolish had prosperity made him. He was to pass over the dangerous and dry Sands, where, when the water which he brought on his Camels backs was spent, he could not but have perished, had not a marvellous shower of rain fallen upon him, when his Army was in extream despair. All men that know *Egypt*, and have written thereof, affirm, That it never rains there: but the purposes of the Almighty God are secret, and he bringeth to pass what it pleaseth him; for it is also said, That when he had lost his way in those desarts, that a flight of Crows flew

flew before the Army; who making faster wing when they were followed, and fluttering slowly when the Army was cast back, guided them over those pathless Sands to *Jupiter*'s Temple.

Arrianus, from the report of *Ptolomy*, the Son of *Lagus*, says, That he was led by two Dragons; both which reports may be alike true. But many of those wonders and prodigious things, are feigned by those that have written the story of *Alexander*; as, That an Eagle lay hovering directly over his head at the battel of *Issus*; That a Swallow flew about his head when he slept, and would not be feared from him, till it had wakened him at *Halicarnassus*, fore-shewing the treason of *Æropus*, practised by *Darius* to have slain him; That from the Iron bars of which the *Tyrians* made their defensive Engines, when *Alexander* besieged them, there fell drops of blood; and that the like drops were found in a loaf of bread, broken by a *Macedonian* Souldier, at the same time; That a Turf of earth fell on his shoulder, when he lay before *Gaza*, out of which there flew a Bird into the Air. The *Spaniards* in the Conquest of the West *Indies* have many such pretty tales; telling how they have been assisted in battel by the presence of our Lady, and by Angels riding on white horses, with the like Romish miracles, which I think themselves do hardly believe. The strangest thing that I have read of in this kind, being certainly true, was, That the night before the battel at *Novara*, all the Dogs which followed the *French* Army, ran from them to the *Switzers*, leaping and fawning upon them, as if they had been bred and fed by them all their lives, and in the morning following, *Trivulzi* and *Tremouille*, Generals for *Lewes* the twelfth, were by these imperial *Switzers* utterly broken and put to ruine.

The place of this Idol of *Jupiter Hammon* is ill described by *Curtius*: for he bounds it by the *Arabian Troglodites* on the South, between whom, and the Territory of *Hammon*, the Region *Thebais*, or the superiour *Egypt*, with the Mountains of *Lybia*, and the River of *Nilus*, are interjacent; and on the North he joyns it to a Nation called *Nasamones*, who bordering the Sea-shore, live (saith he) upon the spoils of shipwrack: whereas the Temple or Grove of this Idol hath no Sea near it by two hundred miles and more, being found on the South part of *Lybia*; these *Nasamones* being due West from it, in the South part of *Marmarica*.

When *Alexander* came near the place, he sent some of his Parasites before him to practise the Priests attending the Oracle, That their answer might be given in all things, agreeable to his mad ambition; who affected the title of *Jupiter*'s Son. And so he was saluted, *Son of Jupiter*, by the Devil's Prophet, whether prepared before to flatter him, or rather (as some think) defective in the *Greek* Tongue; For whereas he meant to say, *O paidion*, he said, *O pai dios*; that is, *O Son of Jupiter*, instead of *O dear Son*: for which Grammatical errour he was richly rewarded, and a rumour presently spread, that the great *Jupiter* had acknowledged *Alexander* for his own.

He had heard that *Perseus* and *Hercules* had formerly consulted the Oracle: The one when he was employed against *Gorgon*, the other against *Anteus* and *Busiris*; and seeing those men had derived themselves from the gods, why might not he: By this it seems, that he hoped to make his followers and the World fools, though indeed he made himself one, by thinking to cover from the World's knowledge his vanity and vices; and the better to confirm his followers in the belief of his Deity, he had practised the Priests to give answer to such as consulted with the Oracle, that it should be pleasing to *Jupiter* to honour *Alexander* as his Son.

Who this *Ammon* was, and how represented, either by a Bos carried in a Boat, or by a Ram, or a Ram's head; I see that many wise men have troubled themselves to find out; but, as *Arrianus* speaks of *Dionysius* or *Liber Pater* (who lived, saith St. *Augustine*, in *Moses*'s time) *Ea quæ de diis veteres fabulis suis conscripsere, non sunt nimium curiosè pervestiganda; We must not over-curiously search into the fables which the Ancients have written of their gods.* *Curt 3.4.*

But this is certain and notable, that after the Gospel began to be Preached in the World, the Devil, in this, and all other Idols, became speechless. For, that this *Hammon* was neglected in the time of *Tiberius Cæsar*, and in the time of *Trajan* altogether forgotten, *Strabo* and *Plutarch* witness.

There is found near his Temple a Fountain called *Fons solis* (though *Ptolomy* in his third *African* Table sets it farther off) that at Midnight is as hot as boiling water, and at Noon as cold as any Ice: to which I cannot but give credit, because I have heard of some other Wells of like nature, and because it is reported by St. *Augustine*, by *Diodore*, *Herodotus*, *Pliny*, *Mela*, *Solinus*, *Arrianus*, *Curtius*, and others; and indeed our Bathes in *England* are much warmer in the night than in the day.

SECT. VIII.

How Alexander *marching against* Darius, *was opposed very unskilfully by the Enemy.*

FRom the Temple of *Hammon* he returned to *Memphis*, where among many other learned men, he heard the Philosopher *Psammones*, who belike understanding that he affected the title of *Jupiter*'s Son, told him that God was the Father King of all men in general; and refining the pride of this haughty King, brought him to say, That God was the Father of all mortal Men, but that he acknowledged none for his children, save good men.

He gave the charge of the several Provinces of *Egypt*, to several Governours, following the rule of his Master *Aristotle*, That *a great Dominion should not be continued in the hands of any one*: whom therein the *Roman* Emperours also followed, not daring to commit the government of *Egypt* to any of their Senators, but to men of meaner rank and degree. He then gave order for the founding of *Alexandria* upon the Westermost branch of *Nilus*. And having now settled (as he could) the estate of *Egypt*, with the Kingdoms of the lesser *Asia*, *Phœnicia*, and *Syria* (which being but the pawns of *Darius* his ill fortune, one happy victory would readily have redeemed) he led his Army towards *Euphrates*, which passage, though the same was committed to *Mazeus* to defend, yet was it abandoned, and *Alexander* without resistance past it. From thence he marched towards *Tygris*, a River for the swiftness thereof called by the *Persians*, *The Arrow*. Here, as *Curtius*, and reason it self tells us, might *Darius* easily have repelled the invading *Macedonians*: for the violent course of the stream was such, as it drave before it many weighty stones, and those that moved not, but lay in the *Aristot. Pol. lib. 5.* *Curt. l. 4.*

bottom, were so round and well polished by a continual rolling, that no man was able to fight on so slippery a footing; nor the *Macedonian* footmen to wade the River, otherwise than by joyning their hands, and enterlacing arms together, making one weighty and entire body to resist the swift passage, and furious race of the stream. Besides this notable help, the Chanel was so deep towards the Eastern shore, where *Darius* should have made head as the footmen were enforced to lift their Bows and Arrows, and Darts, over their heads to keep them from being moistned, and made unserviceable by the Waters. But it was truly, and understandingly said of *Homer*,

Talis est hominum terrestrium mens,
Qualem quotidie ducit pater virorumq; Deorumq;

The minds of men are ever so affected,
As by God's will they daily are directed.

And it cannot be denied, that as all Estates of the world, by the surfeit of misgovernment have been subject to many grievous, and sometimes mortal diseases: So had the Empire of *Persia* at this time brought it self into a burning and consuming Feaver, and thereby become frantick, and without understanding, fore-shewing manifestly the dissolution and death thereof.

But *Alexander* hath now recovered the Eastern shores of *Tygris*, without any other difficulty, than that of the nature of the place; where *Mazeus* (who had charge to defend the Passage both of *Euphrates* and it) presented himself to the *Macedonians*, followed with certain companies of Horsemen, as if with even forces he durst have charged them on even ground, when as with a multitude far exceeding them, he forsook the advantage which no valour of his enemies could easily have overcome. But it is commonly seen, that fearful and cowardly men do ever follow those ways and counsels, whereof the opportunity is already lost.

It is true, that he set all provisions a fire, wherewith the *Macedonians* might serve themselves over *Tygris*, thinking thereby greatly to have distressed them; but the execution of good counsel is fruitless, when unseasonable. For now was *Alexander* so well furnished with carriages, as nothing was wanting to the competency of the Army which he conducted. Those things also which he sought to waste, *Alexander* being now in sight, were by his Horse-men saved and recovered. This *Mazeus* might have done some days before at good leisure; or at this time with so great a strength of Horsemen, as the *Macedonians* durst not have pursued them, leaving the strength of their foot out of sight, and far behind.

SECT. IX.

The new Provisions of Darius. *Accidents foregoing the Battel of* Arbela.

Darius, upon *Alexander's* first return out of *Egypt*, had assembled all the forces, which those Regions next him could furnish, and now also were the *Arians*, *Scythians*, *Indians*, and other Nations arrived; Nations (saith *Curtius*) that rather served to make up the names of men, than to make resistance. *Arrianus* hath numbred them with their Leaders; and finds of foot-men of all sorts ten hundred thousand, and of horse four hundred thousand, besides armed Chariots, and some few Elephants. *Curtius*, who musters the Army of *Darius* at two hundred thousand foot, and near fifty thousand Horse, comes (I think) nearer to the true number; and yet seeing he had more confidence in the multitude than in the valour of his Vassals, it is like enough that he had gathered together of all sorts some three or four hundred thousand, with which he hoped in those fair plains of *Assyria*, to have overborn the few numbers of the invading Army. But it is a rule in the Philosophy of the War;

In omni prælio non tam multitudo, & virtus indocta, quam ars & exercitium solent præstare victoriam; In every Battel skill and practice do more towards the Victory, than multitude and rude audacity.

While *Alexander* gave rest to his Army after the passage over *Tygris*, there hapned an Eclipse of the Moon, of which the *Macedonians* not knowing the cause and reason, were greatly affrighted. All that were ignorant (as the multitude always are) took it for a certain presage of their overthrow and destruction, insomuch as they began not only to murmur, but to speak it boldly; That for the ambition of one man, a man that disdained *Philip* for his Father, and would needs be called the Son of *Jupiter*, they should all perish; for he not only enforced them to make War against worlds of enemies, but against Rivers, Mountains, and the Heavens themselves.

Hereupon, *Alexander* being ready to march forward, made a halt, and to quiet the minds of the multitude, he called before him the *Egyptian* Astrologers, which followed him thence, that by them the Souldiers might be assured that this defection of the Moon was a certain presage of good success; for, that it was natural, they never imparted to the common people, but reserved the knowledge to themselves, so as a sorry Almanack-maker had been no small fool in those days.

Of this kind of superstitious observation *Cæsar* made good use, when he fought against *Arioviſtus*, and the *Germans*: for they being perswaded by the casting of lots, that if they fought before the change of the Moon, they should certainly lose the battel, *Cæsar* forced them to abide it, though they durst not give it; wherein, having their minds already beaten by their own superstition, and being resolutely charged by the *Romans*, the whole Army in effect perished.

These *Egyptians* gave no other reason than this, That the *Grecians* were under the aspect of the Sun, the *Persians* of the Moon; and therefore the Moon failing and being darkned, the estate of *Persia* was now in danger of failing, and their glory of being obscured. This judgement of the *Egyptian* Priests being noised through all the Army, all were satisfied, and their courage redoubled. It is a principle in the War, which, though devised since, was well observed then: *Exercitum terrore plenum Dux ad pugnam non ducat; Let not a Captain lead his Army to the fight when it is possessed with matter of terrour.*

It is truly observed by *Curtius*, that the people are led by nothing so much as by superstition; yea, we find it in all stories, and often in our own, that by such inventions, devised tales, dreams and Prophecies, the people of this Land have been carried head-long into many dange-

rous

rous tumults and insurrections, and still to their own loss and ruine.

As *Alexander* drew near the *Persian* Army, certain Letters were surprized, written by *Darius* to the *Grecians*, perswading them for great sums of money, either to kill or betray *Alexander*. But these, by the advice of *Parmenio*, he suppressed.

At this time also *Darius* his fair Wife, oppresst with sorrow, and wearied with travel, died. Which accident *Alexander* seemed no less to bewail than *Darius*, who upon the first bruit, suspected that some dishonourable violence had been offered her, but being satisfied by an Eunuch of his own that attended her, of *Alexander's* Kingly respect towards her, from the day of her being taken, he desired the immortal gods, That if they had decreed to make a new Master of the *Persian* Empire, then it would please them to confer it on so just and continent an Enemy as *Alexander*; to whom he once again, before the last tryal by Battel, offered these conditions of Peace.

That with his Daughter in marriage he would deliver up, and resign all *Asia* the less; and, with *Egypt*, all those Kingdoms between the *Phœnician* Sea, and the River of *Euphrates*; That he would pay him for the Ransom of his Mother, and his other Daughters, thirty thousand Talents, and that for the performance thereof, he would leave his Son *Ochus* in hostage: To this they sought to perswade *Alexander* by such arguments as they had. *Alexander* causing the Ambassadours to be removed, advised with his Council, but heard no man speak but *Parmenio*, the very right hand of his good fortune; who perswaded him to accept of these fair conditions. He told him, That the Empire between *Euphrates* and the *Hellespont*, was a fair addition to *Macedon*; that the retaining of the *Persian* Prisoners was a great cumber, and the treasure offered them for them of far better use than their persons, with divers other arguments; all which *Alexander* rejected. And yet it is probable, that if he had followed his advice, and bounded his ambition within those limits, he might have lived as famous for Virtue, as for Fortune, and left himself a Successour of able age to have enjoyed his estate, which afterward indeed he much enlarged, rather to the greatning of others than himself: who, to assure themselves of what they had usurped upon his Issues, left not one of them to draw breath in the world within a few years after. The truth is, That *Alexander* in going so far into the East, left behind him the reputation which he brought out of *Macedon*, the reputation of a just and prudent Prince, a Prince temperate, advised, and grateful: and being taught new Lessons by abundance of prosperity, became a lover of wine, of his own flattery, and of extream cruelty. Yea, as *Seneca* hath observed, the taint of one unjust slaughter, amongst many, defaced and withered the flourishing beauty of all his great acts, and glorious victories obtained. But the *Persian* Ambassadours stay his answer, which was to this effect, That whatsoever he had bestowed on the wife and children of *Darius*, proceeded from his own natural clemency and magnanimity, without any respect to their Master; but thanks to an enemy was improper: that he made no Wars against adversity, but against those that resisted him; not against Women and Children, but against armed enemies: and although by the reiterated practice of *Darius*, to corrupt his Souldiers, and by great sums of money to perswade his friends to attempt upon his person, he had reason to doubt that the peace offered was rather pretended than meant; yet he could not (were it otherwise and faithful) resolve in haste to accept the same, seeing *Darius* had made War against him, not as a King with Royal and overt-force, but as a Traitor by secret and base practice; That for the Territory offered him, it was already his own, and if *Darius* could beat him back again over *Euphrates*, which he had already past, he would then believe that he offered him somewhat in his own power: Otherwise he propounded to himself for the reward of the War which he had made, all those Kingdoms as yet in *Darius's* possession; wherein, whether he were abused by his own hopes or no, the Battel which he meant to fight in the day following should determine. For in conclusion he told them, that he came into *Asia* to give, and not to receive; That the Heavens could not hold two Suns: and therefore if *Darius* would be content to acknowledge *Alexander* for his Superiour, he might perchance be perswaded to give him conditions fit for a second Person, and his Inferiour.

SECT. X.

The Battel of Arbela: *and that it could not be so strongly fought as report hath made it.*

With this Answer the Ambassadours return; *Darius* prepares to fight, and sends *Mazeus* to defend a passage, which he never dared yet so much as to hazard. *Alexander* consults with his Captains. *Parmenio* perswades him to force *Darius* his Camp by night; so that the multitude of enemies might not move terrour in the *Macedonians* being but few. *Alexander* disdains to steal the Victory, and resolves to bring with him the daylight, to witness his valour. But it was the success that made good *Alexander's* resolution, though the counsel given by *Parmenio* was more sound: For it is a ground in War, *Si pauci necessario cum multitudine pugnare cogantur, consilium est noctis tempore belli fortunam tentare.* Notwithstanding upon the view of the multitude at hand, he staggers and trenches himself upon a ground of advantage, which the *Persian* had abandoned: And *Darius* for fear of surprize had stood with his Army in Armour all the day, and forborn sleep all the night. *Alexander* gave his men rest and store of food; for reason had taught him this Rule in the War, *In pugna Milites validiùs resistunt, si cibo potuque refecti fuerint; nam fames intrinsecùs magis pugnat, quàm ferrum exteriùs: Souldiers do the better stand to it in fight, if they have their bellies full of meat and drink; for hunger within, fights more eagerly than steel without.*

The numbers which *Alexander* had, saith *Arrianus*, were forty thousand foot, and seven thousand horse; these belike were of the *European* Army: for he had besides, both *Syrians*, *Indians*, *Egyptians*, and *Arabians*, that followed him out of those Regions. He used but a short speech to his Souldiers to encourage them. And I think that he needed little Rhetorick; for by the two former Battels upon the River of *Granick*, and in *Cilicia*, the *Macedonians* were best taught with what men they were to encounter. And it is a true saying, *Victoria victoriam parat, animumque victoribus auget,*

& adverſariis aufert; One victory begets another, and puts courage into thoſe that have already had the better, taking ſpirit away from thoſe that have been beaten.

Arrianus and *Curtius* make large deſcriptions of this Battel, fought at *Gaugamela*; They tell us of many charges, and re-charges; That the victory inclined ſometimes to the *Perſians*, ſometimes to the *Macedonians*; That *Parmenio* was in danger of being overthrown who led the left wing; That *Alexander's* Rere-guard was broken, and his carriages loſt; That for the fierce and valorous encounters on both ſides, Fortune her ſelf was long unreſolved on whom to beſtow the Garland: And laſtly, that *Alexander* in perſon wrought wonders, being charged in his retreat. But in concluſion, *Curtius* delivers us in account but three hundred dead *Macedonians*, in all this terrible days work, ſaying, That *Epheſtion*, *Perdiccas*, and others of name were wounded. *Arrianus* finds not a third part of this number ſlain; of the *Perſians* there fell forty thouſand (ſaith *Curtius*) thirty thouſand, according to *Arrianus*; ninety thouſand, if we believe *Diodore*. But what can we judge of this great encounter, other than that, as in the two former Battels, the *Perſians* upon the firſt charge ran away, and that the *Macedonians* purſued; For if thoſe four or five hundred thouſand *Aſians* brought into the field by *Darius*, every man had caſt but a dart or a ſtone, the *Macedonians* could not have bought the Empire of the Eaſt at ſo eaſie a rate, as ſix or ſeven hundred men in three notorious Battels. Certainly, if *Darius* had fought with *Alexander* upon the banks of *Euphrates*, and had armed but fifty or threeſcore thouſand of this great multitude, only with Spades (for the moſt of all he had were fit for no other weapon) it had been impoſſible for *Alexander* to have paſt that River ſo eaſily, much leſs the River of *Tigris*. But as a man whoſe Empire God in his Providence had determined, he abandoned all places of advantage, and ſuffered *Alexander* to enter ſo far into the bowels of his Kingdom, as all hope and poſſibility of eſcape by retreat being taken from the *Macedonians*, they had preſented unto them the choice, either of death or victory; to which election *Darius* could no way conſtrain his own, ſeeing they had many large Regions to run into from thoſe that invaded them.

SECT. XI.

Of things following the Battel of Arbela. *The yielding of* Babylon *and* Suſa.

Darius, after the rout of his Army, recovered *Arbela* the ſame night, better followed in his flight, than in the fight. He propounded unto them that ran after him, his purpoſe of making a retreat into *Media*, perſwading them that the *Macedonians*, greedy of ſpoil and riches, would rather attempt *Babylon*, *Suſa*, and other Cities filled with Treaſure, than purſue the vanquiſhed. This miſerable reſolution his Nobility rather obeyed than approved.

Alexander ſoon after *Darius* his departure arrives at *Arbela*, which with a great maſs of treaſure, and Princely ornaments, was rendred to him: for the fear which conducted *Darius*, took nothing with it but ſhame and diſhonour. He that had been twice beaten, ſhould rather have ſent his treaſure into *Media*, than brought it to *Arbela*, ſo near the place where he abid the coming of his enemies; if he had been victorious, he might have brought it after him at leiſure; but being overcome, he knew it unpoſſible to drive Mules and Camels laden with gold from the purſuing enemy, ſeeing himſelf, at the overthrow he had in *Cilicia*, caſt the Crown from his head, to run away with the more ſpeed. But errours are then beſt diſcerned when moſt incurable; *Et præterita magis reprehendi poſſunt quàm corrigi*; *It is eaſier to reprehend than amend what is paſt.*

From *Arbela*, *Alexander* took his way towards *Babylon*, where *Mazeus*, in whom *Darius* had moſt confidence, rendred himſelf, his Children, and the City. Alſo the Captain of the Caſtle who was keeper of the Treaſure, ſtrewed the ſtreets with flowers, burnt Frankincenſe upon Altars of ſilver, as *Alexander* paſſed by, and delivered unto him whatſoever was committed to his truſt. The *Magi* (the *Chaldean* Aſtrologers) followed this Captain in great ſolemnity to entertain their new King: after theſe came the *Babylonian* horſemen, infinite rich in attire, but exceeding poor in warlike furniture. Between theſe (though not greatly to be feared) and himſelf, *Alexander* cauſed his *Macedonian* footmen to march. When he entred the Caſtle, he admired the glory thereof, and the abundance of Treaſure therein found, amounting to fifty thouſand Talents of ſilver uncoyned. The City it ſelf I have elſewhere deſcribed, with the Walls, the Towers, the Gates and Circuit, with the wonderful place of pleaſure about two miles in Circuit, ſurrounded with a wall of fourſcore foot high, and on the top thereof (being under-born with Pillars) a Grove of beautiful and fruitful Trees, which it is ſaid, that one of the Kings of *Babylon* cauſed to be built: that the Queen and other Princeſſes might walk privately therein. In this City, rich in all things, but moſt of all in voluptuous pleaſures, the King reſted himſelf and the whole Army four and thirty days, conſuming that time in banquetting, and in all ſorts of effeminate exerciſe; which ſo much ſoftned the minds of the *Macedonians*, not acquainted till now with the like delicacies, as the ſevere diſcipline of War, which taught them the ſufferances of hunger and thirſt, of painful travel, and hard lodging, began rather to be forgotten, than neglected.

Here it was that thoſe bands of a thouſand Souldiers were erected, and Commanders appointed over them, who thereupon were ſtiled *Chiliarchi*. This new order *Alexander* brought in, was to honour thoſe Captains which were found by certain ſelected Judges to have deſerved beſt in the late War. For before this time the *Macedonian* companies conſiſted but of five hundred. Certainly the drawing down of the foot-bands in this latter age hath been the cauſe (ſaith the Marſhal *Monluc*) that the title and charge of a Captain hath been beſtowed on every *Pieque Bœuf*, or Spurn-Cow; for when the Captains of foot had a thouſand Souldiers under one Enſign, and after that five hundred, as in the time of *Francis* the firſt, the title was honourable, and the Kings were leſs charged, and far better ſerved. King *Henry* the eighth of *England* never gave the Command of any of his good Ships, but to men of known valour, and of great eſtate; nay ſometimes he made two Gentlemen of quality Commanders in one ſhip: but all orders and degrees are fallen from the reputation they had.

While

While *Alexander* was yet in *Babylon*, there came to him a great supply out of *Europe*; for *Antipater* sent him six thousand foot, and five hundred horse out of *Macedon*; of *Thracians* three thousand foot and the like number of horse; and out of *Greece* four thousand and four hundred horse, by which his Army was greatly strengthned: for those that were infected with the pleasures of *Babylon*, could hardly be brought again, *De quitter la plume pour dormir sur la dure*; *To change from soft beds to hard boards.*

He left the Castle and City of *Babylon*, with the Territories about it, in charge with three of his own Captains. to wit, *Agathon*, *Minetus*, and *Apollidorus*; to supply all wants, a thousand Talents, but to honour *Mazeus*, who rendred the City unto him, he gave him the title of his Lieutenant over all, and took with him *Bagastines* that gave up the Castle, and having distributed to every Souldier a part of the Treasure, he left *Babylon*, and entred into the Province *Satrapene*: from thence he went on toward *Susa* in *Persia*, the same which *Ptolomy*, *Herodotus*, and *Elianus* call *Memnonia*, situate on the River *Eulens*, a City sometimes governed by *Daniel* the Prophet. *Abulites* also, Governour of this famous City, gave it up to the Conquerour, with fifty thousand Talents of silver in bullion, and twelve Elephants for the War, with all other the treasures of *Darius*. In this sort, did those Vassals of fortune, lovers of the King's prosperity, not of his person (for so all ambitious men are) purchase their own peace and safety with the King's treasures. And herein was *Alexander* well advised, that whatsoever titles he gave to the *Persians*, yet he left all places of importance in trust with his own Captains, to wit, *Babylon*, *Susa*, and *Persepolis*, with other Cities and Provinces by him conquered; for if *Darius* (as yet living) had beaten the *Macedonians* but in one battel, all the Nobility of *Persia* would have returned unto their natural Lord. Those that are Traitors to their own Kings, are never to be used alone in great enterprises by those Princes that entertain them, nor ever to be trusted with the defences of any Frontier-Town, or Fortress of weight, by the rendring whereof they may redeem their liberty and estates lost. Hereof the French had experience, when *Don Pedro de Navarra*, being banished out of *Spain*, was trusted with *Fonterabe*, in the year 1523.

Diodor. speaketh of more than forty thousand talents in bullion, & of nine millions of gold. *Sub Dorica forma excusi.*

While *Alexander* spoiled *Arbela*, *Mazeus* might have furnished the King from *Babylon*; and while he stayed four and thirty days at *Babylon*, *Abulites* might have holpen him from *Susa*; and while he feasted there, *Tiridates* from *Persepolis* might have relieved him; for the great mass of Treasure was laid up in that City. But who hath sought out and friended fearful adversity? It is certain, that benefits bind not the ambitious, but the honest? for those that are but greedy of themselves, do in all changes of fortune only consult the conservation of their own greatness.

The Government of *Susa*, with the Castle and Treasure, he committed to his own *Macedonians*, making *Abulites*, who rendred it unto him, his Lieutenant, as he had done *Mazeus* and others, in giving them titles, but neither trust nor power; for he left three thousand old Souldiers in Garrison to assure the place; and *Darius's* mother and her children to repose themselves.

It is said that *Charles* the fifth, having promised *Charles* of *Bourbon* the Government of *Marseilles*, if he could have forc'd it, and whereof he made sure account, told some of his neareſt Counsellors, that he meant nothing less than the performance of that promise, because he should thereby have left the Duke (revolted from his Master) very well wherewithal to have recovered his favour.

SECT. XII.

How Alexander *came to* Persepolis, *and burnt it.*

FRom *Susa*, *Alexander* leadeth his Army toward *Persepolis*, and when he sought to pass those Mountains which sunder *Susiana* and *Persia*, he was soundly beaten by *Ariobarzanes*, who defended against him those Straits, called *Pylæ Persidis*, or *Susidæ*, and after the loss of many Companies of his *Macedonians*, he was forc'd to save himself by retreat, causing his Foot to march close together, and to cover themselves with their Targets from the stones tumbled on them from the Mountain-top. Yet in the end he found out another path, which a *Lycian*, living in that Country discovered unto him, and came thereby suddenly in view of *Ariobarzanes*, who being enforc'd to fight upon even ground, was by *Alexander* broken, whereupon he fled to *Persepolis*; but (after that they of *Persepolis* had refused to receive him) he returned and gave a second charge upon the *Macedonians*, wherein he was slain. In like manner did King *Francis* the first, in the year 1515, find a way over the *Alpes*, the *Switzers*, undertaking to defend all the passages, who if their footmanship had not saved them upon the King's descent on the other side, they had been ill paid for their hard lodging on those Hills.

Four thousand *Greeks*, saith *Curtius*; *Justine* numbers them at eight hundred) having been taken prisoners by the *Persians*, presented themselves to *Alexander* now in sight of *Persepolis*. These had the barbarous *Persians* so maimed and defaced, by cutting off their hands, noses, ears, and other members, as they could no way have been known, to their Country-men, but by their voices; to each of these *Alexander* gave three hundred Crowns, with new garments, and such Lands as they liked to live upon.

Tiridates, one of *Darius* his false hearted Grandees, hearing of *Alexander's* approach, made him know that *Persepolis* was ready to receive him, and prayed him to double his pace, because there was a determination in the people to spoil the King's Treasure. This City was abandoned by many of her Inhabitants upon *Alexander's* arrival, and they that stayed followed the worst Counsel; for all was left to the liberty of the Souldiers, to spoil and kill at their pleasure. There was no place in the world at that time, which if it had been laid in the ballance with *Persepolis*, would have weighed it down. *Babylon* indeed, and *Susa* were very rich, but in *Persepolis* lay the bulk and main store of the *Persians*. For after the spoil that had been made of money, curious Plate, Bullion, Images of Gold and Silver, and other Jewels, there remained to *Alexander* himself one hundred and twenty thousand Talents. He left the same number of three thousand *Macedonians* in *Persepolis*, which he had done in *Susa*, and gave the same formal honour to the Traitor *Tiridates*, that he had done to *Abulites*; but

but he that had the truſt of the place was *Nicarides*, a creature of his own. The body of his Army he left here for thirty days, of which the Commanders were *Parmenio* and *Craterus*, and with a thouſand Horſe, and certain Troops of choſen foot, he would needs view in the Winter-time thoſe parts of *Perſia*, which the Snow had covered: a fruitleſs and fooliſh enterprize, but, as *Seneca* ſays: *Non ille ire vult, ſed non poteſt ſtare: He hath not a will to go, but he is unable to ſtand ſtill.* It is ſaid and ſpoken in his praiſe, That when his Souldiers cryed out againſt him, becauſe they could not endure the extream froſt, and make way, but with extream difficulty, through the ſnow, that *Alexander* forſook his Horſe, and led them the way. But what can be more ridiculous than to bring other men into extremity, thereby to ſhew how well himſelf can endure it? His walking on foot did no otherwiſe take off their wearineſs that followed him, than his ſometimes forbearing to drink, did quench their thirſt, that could leſs endure it. For mine own little Judgement, I ſhall rather commend that Captain that makes careful proviſion for thoſe that follow him, and that ſeeks wiſely to prevent extream neceſſity, than thoſe witleſs arrogant fools, that make the vaunt of having endured equally with the common Souldier, as it that were a matter of great glory and importance.

We find in all the Wars that *Cæſar* made, or the beſt of the *Roman* Commanders, that the proviſion of victuals was their firſt care. For it was a true ſaying of *Coligni*, Admiral of *France*: *That who ſo will ſhape that Beaſt* (meaning War) *muſt begin with his belly.*

But *Alexander* is now returned to *Perſepolis*, where thoſe Hiſtorians that were moſt amorous of his virtues, complain, that the opinion of his valour, of his liberality, of his clemency towards the vanquiſhed, and all other his Kingly conditions were drowned in drink; That he ſmothered in carouſing cups all the reputation of his actions paſt, and that by deſcending, as it were, from the reverend Throne of the greateſt King, into the company and familiarity of baſe Harlots, he began to be deſpiſed both of his own, and all other Nations. For being perſwaded, when he was inflamed with Wine, by the infamous Strumpet *Thais*, he cauſed the moſt ſumptuous and goodly Caſtle and City of *Perſepolis* to be conſumed with Fire, notwithſtanding all the arguments of *Parmenio* to the contrary, who told him, that it was a diſhonour to deſtroy thoſe things by the perſwaſions of others, which by his proper vertue and force he had obtained; and that it would be a moſt ſtrong perſwaſion to the *Aſians*, to think hardly of him, and thereby alien their hearts; for they might well believe that he which demoliſhed the goodlieſt Ornaments they had, meant nothing leſs than (after ſuch vaſtation) to hold their poſſeſſion. *Poſt vinolentiam crudelitas ſequitur; Cruelty doth commonly follow Drunkenneſs:* For it ſo fell out ſoon after, and often, in *Alexander.*

Curt. Lib. 5

Ser. Epiſt. 8. 4.

SECT. XIII.

The Treaſon of Beſſus *againſt* Darius. Darius *his death.*

ABout this time he received a new ſupply of Souldiers out of *Cilicia*, and goes on to find *Darius* in *Media*. *Darius* had there compounded his fourth and laſt Army, which he meant to have increaſed in *Bactria*, had he not heard of *Alexander*'s coming on, with whom (truſting to ſuch companies as he had, which were numbred at thirty or forty thouſand) he determined once again to try his Fortune. He therefore calls together his Captains and Commanders, and propounds unto them his reſolution, who being deſperate of good ſucceſs uſed ſilence for a while. *Artabazus*, one of his eldeſt men of War, who had ſometimes lived with *Philip* of *Macedon*, brake the ice, and proteſting that he could never be beaten by any adverſity of the Kings, from the faith which he had ever ought him, with firm confidence, that all the reſt were of the ſame condition (whereof they likewiſe aſſured *Darius* by the like proteſtation) he approved the King's reſolution. Two only, and thoſe of the greateſt, to wit, *Naburzanes* and *Beſſus*, whereof the later was Governour of *Bactria*, had conſpired againſt their Maſter; and therefore adviſed the King to lay a new foundation for the War, and purſue it by ſome ſuch perſon for the preſent, againſt whom neither the gods nor fortune had in all things declared themſelves to be an enemy: this preamble *Naburzanes* uſed, and in concluſion adviſed the election of his Fellow-Traytor *Beſſus*, with promiſe that, the Wars ended, the Empire ſhould again be reſtored to *Darius*. The King ſwollen with diſdain, preſt towards *Naburzanes* to have ſlain him, but *Beſſus* and the *Bactrians* whom he commanded, being more in number than the reſt, with-held him. In the mean while *Naburzanes* with-drew himſelf, and *Beſſus* followed him, making their quarter a part from the reſt of the Army. *Artabazus*, the King's faithful ſervant, perſwaded him to be adviſed and ſerve the time, ſeeing *Alexander* was at hand, and that he would at leaſt make ſhew of forgetting the offence made; which the King, being of a gentle diſpoſition, willingly yielded unto. *Beſſus* makes his ſubmiſſion, and attends the King, who removes his Army. *Patron*, who commanded a Regiment of four thouſand *Greeks*, which had in all the former battels ſerved *Darius* with great fidelity, and always made the retreat in ſpight of the *Macedonians*, offered himſelf to guard his perſon, proteſting againſt the Treaſon of *Beſſus*; but it was not his deſtiny to follow their advice who from the beginning of the War gave him faithful counſel, but he inclined ſtill to *Beſſus*, who told him, that the *Greeks*, with *Patron* their Captain, were corrupted by *Alexander*, and practiſed the diviſion of his faithful ſervants. *Beſſus* had drawn unto him thirty thouſand of the Army, promiſing them all thoſe things, by which the lovers of the World, and themſelves are wont to be allured, to wit, riches, ſafety, and honour.

Now the day following, *Darius* plainly diſcovered the purpoſes of *Beſſus*, and being overcome with paſſion, as thinking himſelf unable to make head againſt theſe ungrateful and unnatural Traytors, he prayed *Artabazus* his faithful ſervant to depart from him, and to provide for himſelf. In like

like ſort he diſcharged the reſt of his attendants, all ſave a few of his Eunuchs; for his Guards had voluntarily abandoned him: His *Perſians* being moſt baſe cowards, durſt not undertake his defence againſt the *Bactrians*, notwithſtanding that they had four thouſand *Greeks* to joyn with him, who had been able to have beaten both Nations. But it is true, that him, which forſakes himſelf, no man follows. It had been far more Man-like, and King-like, to have died in the head of thoſe four thouſand *Greeks*, which offered him the diſpoſition of their lives, (to which *Artabazus* perſwaded him) than to have lien bewailing himſelf on the ground, and ſuffering himſelf to be bound like a ſlave by thoſe ambitious monſters that laid hands on him, whom neither the conſideration of his former great eſtate, nor the honour he had given them, nor the truſt repoſed in them, nor the world of benefits beſtowed on them, could move to pity: no, nor his preſent adverſity, which above all things ſhould have moved them, could pierce their viperous and ungrateful hearts. Vain it was indeed to hope it; for, Infidelity hath no compaſſion.

Now *Darius*, thus forſaken, was bound and laid in a Cart, covered with hides of Beaſts, to the end that by any other ornament he might not be diſcovered; and, to add deſpight and deriſion to his adverſity, they faſtned him with Chains of Gold, and ſo drew him on among their ordinary Carriages and Carts. For *Beſſus* and *Naburzanes*, perſwaded themſelves to redeem their lives and the Provinces they held, either by delivering him a priſoner to *Alexander*, or, if that hope failed, to make themſelves Kings by his ſlaughter; and then to defend themſelves by force of Arms. But they failed in both. For it is againſt the nature of God, who is moſt juſt, to pardon ſo ſtrange villany, yea, though againſt a Prince purely Heatheniſh and an Idolater.

Alexander having knowledge that *Darius* was retired towards *Bactria*, and durſt not abide his coming, haſtned after him with a violent ſpeed, and becauſe he would not force his footmen beyond their powers, he mounted on horſe-back certain ſelected companies of them, and beſt armed, and with ſix thouſand other Horſe, rather ran than marched after *Darius*. Such as hated the Treaſon of *Beſſus*, and ſecretly forſook him, gave knowledge to *Alexander* of all that had happened, informing him of the way that *Beſſus* took, and how near he was at hand: for many men of worth daily ran from him. Hereupon *Alexander* again doubled his pace, and his Vant-guard being diſcovered by *Beſſus* his Rear, *Beſſus* brought a Horſe to the Cart, where *Darius* lay bound; perſwading him to mount thereon, and to ſave himſelf. But the unfortunate King refuſing to follow thoſe that had betrayed him, they caſt Darts at him, wounded him to death, and wounded the Beaſts that drew him, and ſlew two poor ſervants that attended his perſon. This done, they all fled that could, leaving the reſt to the mercy of the *Macedonian* ſwords.

Polyſtratus a *Macedonian*, being by purſuit of the vanquiſhed preſt with thirſt, as he was refreſhing himſelf with ſome water that he had diſcovered, eſpying a Cart with a Team of wounded beaſts breathing for life, and not able to move, ſearched the ſame, and therein found *Darius* bathing in his own blood: And by a *Perſian* Captive which followed this *Polyſtratus*, he underſtood that it was *Darius*, and was informed of his barbarous Tragedy. *Darius* alſo ſeemed greatly comforted (if dying men ignorant of the living God can be comforted) that he caſt not out his laſt ſorrows unheard, but that by this *Macedonian*, *Alexander* might know and take vengeance on thoſe Traitors, which had dealt no leſs unworthily than cruelly with him, recommending their revenge to *Alexander* by this meſſenger, which he beſought him to purſue, not becauſe *Darius* had deſired it, but for his own honour, and for the ſafety of all that did, or ſhould after wear Crowns. He alſo having nothing elſe to preſent, rendred thanks to *Alexander* for the Kingly grace uſed towards his Wife, Mother, and Children, deſiring the immortal gods to ſubmit unto him the Empire of the whole World. As he was thus ſpeaking, impatient Death preſſing out his few remaining ſpirits, he deſired water, which *Polyſtratus* preſented him, after which he lived but to tell him, that of all the beſt things that the world had, which were lately in his power, he had nothing remaining but his laſt breath, wherewith to deſire the gods to reward his compaſſion.

SECT. XIV.

How Alexander *purſued* Beſſus, *and took into his grace* Darius *his Captains.*

IT was now hoped by the *Macedonians*, that their travels were near an end, every man preparing for his return. Hereof when *Alexander* had knowledge, he was greatly grieved, for the bounded earth ſufficed not his boundleſs Ambition. Many arguments he therefore uſed to draw on his Army farther into the Eaſt, but that which had moſt ſtrength was, that *Beſſus*, a moſt cruel Traitor to his Maſter *Darius*, having at his devotion the *Hyrcanians* and *Bactrians*, would in ſhort time (if the *Macedonians* ſhould return) make himſelf Lord of the *Perſian* Empire, and enjoy the fruits of all their former travels. In concluſion he wan their conſents to go on: which done, leaving *Craterus* with certain Regiments of foot, and *Amyntas* with ſix thouſand horſe in *Parthenia*, he enters not without ſome oppoſition into *Hyrcania*; for the *Mardons*, and other barbarous Nations, defended certain paſſages for a while. He paſſeth the River of *Zioberis*, which taking beginning in *Parthia*, diſſolves it ſelf in the *Caſpian* Sea: it runneth under the ledge of Mountains, which bound *Parthia* and *Hyrcania*, where hiding it ſelf under ground for three hundred furlongs, it then riſeth again, and followeth its former courſe. In *Zadracarta*, or *Zeudracarta*, the ſame City which *Ptolomy* writes *Hyrcania*, the *Metropolis* of that Region, he reſted fifteen days, banquetting and feaſting there.

Phataphernes, one of *Darius* his greateſt Commanders, with others of his beſt followers, ſubmit themſelves to *Alexander*, and were reſtored to their places and Governments. But of all others he graced *Artabazus* moſt highly for his approved and conſtant faith to his Maſter *Darius*. *Artabazus* brought with him ten thouſand and five hundred *Greeks*, the remainder of all thoſe that had ſerved *Darius*; He treats with *Alexander* for their pardon, before they were yet arrived, but in the end, they render themſelves ſimply without promiſe or compoſition: he pardons all but the *Lacedemonians*, whom he impriſoned, their Leader having ſlain himſelf. He was alſo wrought (though to his great

great dishonour) to receive *Nabarzanes* that had joyned with *Bessus* to murder *Darius*.

SECT. XV.

Of Thalestris *Queen of the* Amazons; *where, by way of digression, it is shewed, that such* Amazons *have been and are.*

HEre it is said, that *Thalestris* or *Minothea*, a Queen of the *Amazons*, came to visit him, and her sute was, (which she easily obtained) that she might accompany him till she were made with child by him: which done, (refusing to follow him into *India*) she returned into her own Country.

Plutarch citeth many Historians, reporting this meeting of *Thalestris* with *Alexander*, and some contradicting it. But indeed, the letters of *Alexander* himself to *Antipater*, recounting all that befel him in these parts, and yet omitting to make mention of this *Amazonian* business, may justly breed suspicion of the whole matter as forged. Much more justly may we suspect it as a vain tale, because an Historian of the same time reading one of his books to *Lysimachus* (then King of *Thrace*) who had followed *Alexander* in all his Voyage, was laught at by the King for inserting such news of the *Amazons*; as *Lysimachus* himself had never heard of. One that accompanied *Alexander*, took upon him to write his acts; which to amplifie, He told how the King had fought single with an Elephant, and slain it. The King hearing such stuff, caught the book, and threw it into the river of *Indus*; saying, That it were well done to throw the Writer after it, who by inserting such Fables, disparaged the truth of his great exploits. Yet as we believe and know that there are Elephants, though it were false that *Alexander* fought with one; so may we give credit unto Writers making mention of such *Amazons*, whether it were true or false that they met with *Alexander*; as *Plutarch* leaves the matter undetermined. Therefore I will here take leave to make digression, as well to shew the opinions of the ancient Historians, Cosmographers, and others, as also of some modern discoverers, touching these warlike Women, because not only *Strabo*, but many others of these our times make doubt, whether or no there were any such kind of people. *Julius Solinus* seats them in the North-parts of *Asia* the less. *Pom. Mela* finds two Regions filled with them; the one on the River *Thermodoon*, the other near the *Caspian* Sea; *Quas* (saith he) *Sauromatidas appellant*; *Which the people call Sauromatides.* The former of these two had the *Cimerians* for their neighbours; *Certum est* (saith *Vadianus*, who hath commented upon *Mela*) *illos proximos Amazonibus fuisse*; *It is certain that the* Cimerians *were the next Nations to the Amazons.* *Ptolomy* set them farther into the Land Northwards, near the Mountains *Hippaci*, not far from the Pillars of *Alexander*. And that they had Dominion in *Asia* it self toward *India*, *Solinus* and *Pliny* tell us. Where they governed a people called the *Pandeans* or *Padeans*, so called after *Pandea* the Daughter of *Hercules*, from whom all the rest derive themselves. *Claudian* affirms, That they commanded many Nations: For he speaks (largely perhaps as a Poet) thus:

Sol. c. 27. & 65.

Lib. 1.

Ptol lib. 6. c. 12 Tab. 2. Plin. l. 6. c. 20.

——*Medis levibusque Sabeis*
imperat hic Sexus: Reginarumque sub armis,
Barbariæ pars magna jacet.

Claud. de cap. Proserpinæ.

Over the Medes, *and light* Labeans *reigns*
This Female Sex: and under arms of Queen,
Great part of the Barbarian *Land remains.*

Diodorus Siculus had heard of them in *Lybia*, who were more ancient (saith he) than those which kept the banks of *Thermodoon*, a River falling into the Euxine Sea, near *Heraclium*.

Herodotus doth also make report of these *Amazons*, whom he tells us that the *Scythians* call *Æorpatas*, which is as much as *Viricidas*, or men-killers. And that they made incursion into *Asia* the less, sackt *Ephesus*, and burnt the Temple of *Diana*, *Manethon* and *Aventinus* report; which they performed forty years after *Troy* was taken, At the siege of *Troy* it self we read of *Penthesilea*, that she came to the succour of *Priamus*. *Æneid 1. l. 3.*

Am. Marcellinus gives the cause of their inhabiting upon the River of *Thermodoon*, speaking confidently of the wars they made with divers Nations, and of their overthrow. *L. 22. c. 7.*

Plutarch in the life of *Theseus*; out of *Philochorus*, *Hellenecus* and other ancient Historians, reports the taking of *Antiopa* Queen of the *Amazons* by *Hercules*, and by him given to *Theseus*; though some affirm, That *Theseus* himself got her by stealth, when she came to visit him aboard his ship. But in substance there is little difference; all confessing, That such *Amazons* there were. The same Author in the life of *Pompey* speaks of certain companies of the *Amazons*, that came to aid the *Albanians* against the *Romans*, by whom after the battel, many Targets and Buskins of theirs were taken up: and he saith farther, That these women entertain the *Gelæ* and *Legales* once a year, Nations inhabiting between them and the *Albanians*.

But to omit the many Authors, making mention of *Amazons* that were in the old times, *Fran. Lopez*, who hath written the Navigation of *Orellana*, which he made down the River of *Amazons* from *Peru* in the year, 1542. (upon which River, for the divers turnings, he is said to have sailed six thousand miles) reports from the relation of the said *Orellana*, to the Council of the *Indies*, That he both saw those women, and fought with them, where they sought to impeach his passage towards the East-Sea. *Hist. Ind. par. 1. c. 18*

It is also reported by *Ulrichus Schmidel*, that in the year, 1542. when he sailed up the Rivers of *Paragua* and *Parabol*, that he came to a King of that Country, called *Scherves*, inhabiting under the Tropick of *Capricorn*, who gave his Captain *Ernando Rieffere*, a Crown of silver, which he had gotten in fight from a Queen of the *Amazons* in those parts.

Ed. Lopez, in his description of the Kingdom of *Congo*, makes relation of such *Amazons*, telling us, That (agreeably to the reports of elder times) they burn off their right breasts, and live apart from men, save at one time of the year, when they feast and accompany them for one month. These (saith he) possess a part of the Kingdom of *Monomotapa* in *Africa*, nineteen degrees to the Southward of the line: and that these women are the strongest Guards of this Emperour, all the *East-Indian Portugals* know.

I have produced these authorities in part, to justifie mine own relation of these *Amazons*, because

cauſe that which was delivered me for truth by an ancient *Cacique* of *Guiana*, how upon the River of *Papamena* (ſince the *Spaniſh* diſcoveries called *Amazons*) that theſe ſtill live and govern, was held for a vain and unprofitable report.

SECT. XVI.

How Alexander *fell into the* Perſian *Luxury: and how he further purſued* Beſſus.

NOw as *Alexander* had begun to change his conditions after the taking of *Perſepolis*: ſo at this time his proſperity had ſo much overwrought his virtue, as he accounted clemency to be but baſeneſs, and the temperance which he had uſed all his life-time, but a poor and dejected humour, rather becoming the inſtructers of his youth, than the condition and ſtate of ſo mighty a King as the World could not equal. For he perſwaded himſelf, that he now repreſented the greatneſs of the gods; he was pleaſed that thoſe that came before him, ſhould fall to the ground and adore him; he ware the Robes and Garments of the *Perſians*, and commanded that his Nobility ſhould do the like: he entertained in his Court and Camp, the ſame ſhameleſs rabble of Curtiſans, and Sodomitical Eunuchs, that *Darius* had done; and imitated in all things the proud, voluptuous and deteſted manners of the *Perſians*, whom he had vanquiſhed. So licentious is felicity, as notwithſtanding that he was fully perſwaded, that the gods whom he ſerved (deteſting the vices of the invaded) aſſiſted him in all attempts againſt them, he himſelf contrary to the Religion he profeſt (which how Idolatrous ſoever it were, could not be but fearful unto him by neglecting it) became by imitation, and not by ignorance or education, a more foul and fearful Monſter than *Darius*, from whoſe tyranny he vaunted to have delivered ſo many Nations. Yea, thoſe that were deareſt and neareſt unto him, began to be aſhamed of him, entertaining each other with this, and the like ſcornful diſcourſe; That *Alexander* of *Macedon* was become one of *Darius* his licentious Courtiers; That by his example, the *Macedonians* were in the end of ſo many travels, more impoveriſhed in their virtue, than inriched by their victories; and it was hard to Judge whether the Conquerors, or the Conquered, were the baſer ſlaves. Neither were theſe opinions ſo reſerved, but that the noiſe of them came to his ears. He therefore with great gifts ſought to pacifie the better ſort, and thoſe of whoſe judgements he was moſt Jealous; and making it known to the Army, that *Beſſus* had aſſumed the title of a King, and called himſelf *Artaxerxes*, and that he had compounded a great Army of the *Bactrians*, and other Nations; he had arguments enow to perſwade them to go on, to the end that all already gotten, might not with themſelves (ſo far engaged) be caſt away. And becauſe they were peſtered with the ſpoils of ſo many Cities, as the whole Army ſeemed but the guard of their carriages (not much unlike the warfare of the *French*) having commanded every man's fardels to be brought into the Market-place, he, together with his own, cauſed all to be conſumed with fire. Certainly, this could not but have proved moſt dangerous unto him, ſeeing the common Souldiers had more intereſt in theſe things which they had bought with their painful travels, and with their blood, than in the King's ambition; had not (as *Seneca* often obſerved) his happy temerity overcome all things. As he was in his way, news came to him, that *Satribarzanes*, whom he had eſtabliſhed in his former Government over the *Arians*, was revolted; whereupon leaving the way of *Bactria*, he ſought him out; but the Rebel, hearing of his coming, fled to *Beſſus*, with two thouſand Horſe. He then went on towards *Beſſus*, and by ſetting a great pile of wood on fire, with the advantage of a ſtrong wind, won the paſſage over an high and unacceſſible Rock, which was defended againſt him with thirteen thouſand Foot. For the extremity of the flame and ſmoke forced them from the place, otherwiſe invincible. I ſaw in the third Civil War of *France*, certain Caves in *Languedoc*, which had but one entrance, and that very narrow, cut out in the mid-way of high Rocks, which we knew not how to enter by any ladder or engine, till at laſt, by a certain bundle of ſtraw, let down by an Iron chain, and a weighty ſtone in the midſt, thoſe that defended it, were ſo ſmothered, as they rendred themſelves, with their plate, money, and other goods therein hidden. There were alſo ſome three yaers before my arrival in *Guiana*, three hundred *Spaniards* well mounted, ſmothered to death, together with their Horſes, by the Country-people, who did ſet the long dry graſs on fire to the Eaſtward of them (the wind in thoſe parts being always Eaſt) ſo as, notwithſtanding their fleeing from the ſmoke, there was not any one that eſcaped. Sir *John Burrowes* alſo, with a hundred *Engliſh* was in great danger of being loſt at *Margarita*, in the *Weſt-Indies*, by having the graſs fired behind him; bnt the ſmoke being timefully diſcovered, he recovered the Sea-ſhore with the loſs of ſixteen of his men. I remember theſe things; but to give caution to thoſe that ſhall in times to come invade any part of thoſe Countries, that they always, before they paſs into the Land, burn down the graſs and ſedge, to the Eaſt of them; they may otherwiſe, without any other enemy, than a handful of ſtraw ſet on fire, die the death of Hony-Bees, burnt out of the Hive.

SECT. XVII.

A Conſpiracy againſt Alexander; *The death of* Philotas *and* Parmenio.

ALexander was, after he parted hence, no where reſiſted, till he came into *Aria*, to the Eaſt of *Bactria*, where the chief City of that Province, called *Artacoana*, was a while defended againſt him, by the revolt of *Satribarzanes*; but in the end he received the Inhabitants to mercy. At this place his Army was re-enforced, with a new ſupply of five thouſand and five hundred foot, and near five hundred horſe out of *Greece*, *Theſſalia*, and other places. His journey out of *Perſia* into theſe parts, is very confuſedly deſcribed. For, having (as all his Hiſtorians tells us) a determination to find *Beſſus* in *Bactria*, he leaves it at the very entrance, and takes the way of *Hyrcania*; from thence he wanders Northwards towards the obſcure *Mardi*, upon the *Caſpian*-Sea, and thence over the Mountain *Coronus* into *Aria* and *Dranginia*

At this time it was that the Treason of *Dimnus* brake out, of which *Philotas* the Son of *Parmenio* was accused, as accessary, if not principal. This *Dimnus*, having (I know not upon what ground) conspired with some others against the life of *Alexander*, went about to draw *Nichomachus*, a young man whom he loved, into the same Treason. The Youth, although he was first bound by oath to secrecy, when he heard so foul a matter uttered, began to protest against it so vehemently, that his friend was like to have slain him for security of his own life. So, constrained by fear, he made shew as if he had been won by perswasion; and by seeming at length to like well of the business, he was told more at large what they were that had undertaken it. There were nine or ten of them, all men of rank, whose names *Dimnus* (to countenance the enterprize) reckoned up to *Nichomachus*. *Nichomachus* had no sooner freed himself from the company of this Traytor *Dimnus*, than he acquainted his own Brother *Ceballinus* with the whole History: whereupon it was agreed between them, that *Ceballinus* (who might with least suspicion) should go to the Court, and utter all. *Ceballinus*, meeting with *Philotas*, told him the whole business; desiring him to acquaint the King therewith: which he promised to do, but did not. Two days passed, and *Philotas* never brake with the King about the matter, but still excused himself to *Ceballinus* by the Kings want of leisure. This his coldness bred suspicion, and caused *Ceballinus* to address himself to another, one *Metron*, Keeper of the Kings Armory, who forthwith brought him to *Alexander*'s presence. *Alexander*, finding by examination what had passed between *Ceballinus* and *Philotas*, did fully perswade himself that this concealment of the Treason, argued his hand to have been in the business. Therefore when *Dimnus* was brought before him, he asked the Traytor no other question than this: *Wherein have I so offended thee, that thou shouldest think* Philotas *more worthy to be a King than I? Dimnus* perceiving when he was apprehended, how the matter went, had so wounded himself, that he lived no longer, than to give his last groan in the King's presence. Then was *Philotas* called, and charged with the suspicion, which his silence might justly breed. His answer was, That when the practice was reveiled unto him by *Nichomachus*, he judging it to be but frivolous, did forbear to acquaint *Alexander* therewithal, until he might have better information. This error of his, (if it were only an error) although *Alexander*, for the notorious services of his Farther *Parmenio*, of his Brother *Nicanor* lately dead, and of *Philotas* himself, had freely pardoned and given his hand for assurance; yet by the instigation of *Craterus*, he again swallowed his Princely promise, and made his enemies his Judges. *Curtius* gives a note of *Craterus* in this business; How he perswaded himself that he could never find a better occasion to oppress his private enemy, than by pretending Piety and Duty towards the King. Hereof a Poet of our own hath given a note as much better, as it is most general, in his *Philotas*.

(hate
See how these great men clothe their private
In these fair colours of the publick good;
And, to effect their ends, pretend the State,
As if the State by their affection stood:
And arm'd with Power and Princes jealousies,
Will put the least conceit of discontent
Into the greatest rank of treacheries,
That no one action shall seem innocent:
Yea, valour, honour, bounty shall be made
As accessaries unto ends unjust:
And even the service of the State must lade
The needfull'st undertaking with distrust;
So that base vileness, idle Luxury,
Seem safer far, than to do worthily, &c.

Now, although it were so, that the King, following the advice of *Craterus*, had resolved the next day to put *Philotas* to torment, yet in the very evening of the same night in which he was apprehended, he called him to a Banquet, and discoursed as familiarly with him, as at any other time. But when in the dead of the night *Philotas* was taken in his lodging, and that they which hated him began to bind him, he cried out upon the King in these words; *O* Alexander, *the malice of mine Enemies hath surmounted thy mercy, and their hatred is far more constant than the word of a King.* Many circumstances were urged against him by *Alexander* himself (for the King of *Macedon* did in person examine the accusations of Treason) and this was not the least (not the least offence, indeed, against the King's humour, who desired to be glorified as a god) That when *Alexander* wrote unto him concerning the title given him by *Jupiter Hammon*; He answered, That he could not but rejoyce, that he was admitted into that sacred Fellowship of the gods, and yet he could not but withal grieve for those that should live under such a one as would exceed the nature of man. This was (said *Alexander*) a firm perswasion unto me, that his heart was changed, and that he held my glory in despight. See what a strange Monster Flattery is, that can perswade Kings to kill those that do not praise and allow those things in them, which are of all other most to be abhorred. *Philotas* was brought before the multitude to hear the Kings Oration against him: he was brought forth in vile garments, and bound like a Thief; where he heard himself, and his absent Father, the greatest Captain of the World, accused; his two other Brothers, *Hector* and *Nicanor* having been lost in the present War. He was so greatly oppress with grief, as for a while he could utter nothing but tears, and sorrow had so wasted his spirits, as he sank under those that led him. In the end, the King asked him, In what language he would make his defence; he answered, In the same wherein it had pleased the King to accuse him; which he did, to the end that the *Persians*, as well as the *Macedonians*, might understand him. But hereof the King made his advantage, perswading the assembly, that he disdained the language of his own Country; and so withdrawing himself, left him to his mercileſs enemies.

This proceeding of the Kings, *Philotas* greatly lamented, seeing the King, who had so sharply inveighed against him, would not vouchsafe to hear his excuse. For not his enemies only were emboldened thereby against him, but all the rest, having discovered the King's disposition and resolution, contended among themselves, which of them should exceed in hatred towards him. Among many other arguments, which he used in his own defence, this was not the weakest; That when *Nichomachus* desired to know of *Dimnus*, what men of mark and power were his partners in the conspiracy (as seeming unwilling to adventure himself, with mean and base Companions) *Dimnus* named

named unto him *Demetrius* of the King's Chamber, *Nicanor*, *Amyntas*, and some others; but spake not a word of *Philotas*, who by being Commander of the Horse, would greatly have valued the party, and have encouraged *Nichomachus*. Indeed, as *Philotas* said well for himself, it is likely that *Dimnus*, thereby the better to have heartned *Nichomachus*, would have named him, though he had never dealt with him in any such practice. And for more certain proof, that he knew nothing of their intents that practised against the King, there was not any one of the Conspirators, being many, inforced by torments, or otherwise, that could accuse him; and it is true, that adversity being seldom able to bear her own burthen, is for the most part found so malicious, as she rather desires to draw others (not always deserving it) into the same danger, than to spare any that it can accuse. Yet at the last, howsoever it were, to avoid the extremity of resistless and unnatural torments, devised by his profest enemies *Craterus*, *Cenus*, *Ephestion*, and others; *Philotas* accused his own self; being perswaded they would have slain him forthwith. But he failed even in that miserable hope, and suffering all that could be laid on flesh and blood, he was forced to deliver, not wat he knew, but whatsoever best pleased their ears, that were far more mercileſs than death it self.

Aug de Civitat. Dei. lib. 1. c. 6. Of this kind of judicial proceeding St. *Augustine* greatly complaineth, as a matter to be bewailed, saith he, with Fountains of tears, *Quid cum in sua causa quisque torquetur; & cum quæritur utrum sit nocens, cruciatur; & innocens luit pro incerto scelere, certissimas pœnas: non quia illud commisisse detegitur sed quia non commisisse nescitur. What shall we say to it, when one is put to torture in his own cause; and tormented whilst yet it is in question whether he be guilty, and being innocent, suffers assured punishment for a fault, of which there is no certainty: not because he is known to have committed the offence, but because others do not know that he hath not committed it?*

It had been enough for *Alexander's* safety, if *Philotas* had been put to death without torment, the rest would not much have grieved thereat, because he was greatly suspected. But *Hemolaus*, who afterwards conspired against him, made the King's cruelty and delight in blood, the greatest motive of his own ill intent. Therefore, *Seneca* speaking of *Alexander*, saith thus: *Sen. de Clem. l. 1.* *Crudelitas minime humanum malum est, indignum tam miti animo; ferina ista rabies est sanguine gaudere & vulneribus, & abjecto homine, in silvestre animal transire; Cruelty is not a humane vice, it is unworthy of so milde a spirit: It is even a beastly rage to delight in blood and wounds, and casting away the nature of man, to become a savage Monster.*

For the conclusion of this Tragedy, *Curtius* makes a doubt, whether the confession that *Philotas* made, were to give end to the torments which he could not any longer endure, or that the same was true indeed: For (saith he) in this case, they that speak truly, or they that deny falsly, come to one and the same end. Now while the King's hands were yet wet in blood, he commanded that *Lyncestes*, Son-in-law to *Antipater*, who had been three years in prison, should be slain: The same dispatch had all those that *Nichomachus* had accused: others there were that were suspected because they had followed *Philotas*; but when they had answered for themselves, that they knew no way so direct to win the King's favour, as by loving those whom the King favoured, they were dismist. But *Parmenio* was yet living; *Parmenio*, who had served with great fidelity as well *Philip* of *Macedon* the King's Father, as himself; *Parmenio*, that first opened the way into *Asia*; that had depest *Attalus* the King's enemy; that had always, and in all hazards, the leading of the King's Van-guard, that was no less prudent in counsel, than fortunate in all attempts; A man beloved of all the men of War, and to say the truth, he that had made the purchase for the King of the Empire of the East, and of all the glory and fame he had: That he might not therefore revenge the death of his Son, though not upon the King (for it was unlikely that he would have dishonored his fidelity in his eldest age, having now lived threescore and ten years) yet upon those that by the witchcraft of flattery had possest themselves of his affection, it was resolved, that he should be dispatcht. *Polydamas* was employed in this business, a man whom of all other *Parmenio* trusted most, and loved best, who (to be short) finding him in *Media*, and having *Cleander* and other murderers with him, slew him walking in his Garden, while he was reading the King's Letters. *Hic exitus* Parmenionis *fuit, militiæ domique clari viri; Multa sine Rege prosperè, Rex sine illo nihil magnæ rei gesserat; This was the end of* Parmenio (*saith* Curtius) *who had performed many notable things without the King; but the King, without him, did never effect any thing worthy of praise.* *Lib. 7.*

SECT. XVIII.

How Alexander *subdued the* Bactrians, Sogdians, *and other people. How* Bessus *was delivered into his hands. How he fought with the* Scythians.

WHen these things had end, *Alexander* went on with his Army, and brought under his obedience the *Araspians*, or *Evergitans*; he made *Amenides* (sometime *Darius* his Secretary) their Governour, then he subdued the *Arachosians*, and left *Menon* to command over them. Here the Army, sometimes led by *Parmenio*, finds him, consisting of twelve thousand *Macedons* and *Greeks*, with whom he past through some cold Regions with difficulty enough. At length he came to the foot of the Mountain *Taurus* towards the East, where he built a City, which he honoured with his own name, and peopled it with seven thousand of his oldest *Macedons*, worn with age, and with travels of the War. The *Arians*, who since he left them were revolted, he subdued again by the industry and valour of *Caranus* and *Erigius*. And now he resolves to find out the new King *Bessus* in *Bactria*. *Bessus*, hearing of his coming, prepares to pass over the great River of *Oxus*, which divides *Bactria* from *Sogdiana*; *Artabazus* is made Governor of *Bactria* abandoned by *Bessus*: The *Macedonian* Army suffereth for want of Water, insomuch as when they came to the River of *Oxus*, there died more of them by drinking inordinately, than *Alexander* had lost in any one Battel against the *Persians*. And it may well be; For (as *Clytus* did after object unto him) he fought against women, and not against men; and not against their persons, but their shadows. He found on the Banks of this

great River no manner of Timber or other materials, to make either boats, bridges or raff, but was forced to sew together the hides that covered his carriages, and stuff them with straw, and on them in six days to pass over his Army; which *Bessus* might easily have distrest, if he had dared but to behold the *Macedonian* Army a far off. He had formerly complained against *Darius* for neglecting to defend the banks of *Tygris*, and other passages; and yet now, when this traiterous slave had stiled himself a King, he durst not perform any thing worthy of a slave. And therefore those that were neerest unto him, and whom he most trusted, to wit, *Spitamenes*, *Dataphernes*, *Catanes*, and others the Commanders of his Army, moved both by the care of their own safety, and by the memory of *Bessus* his treason and cruelty against *Darius*, bound him in the like manner, that he had done his Master, but with this difference, that he had the chain closed about his neck like a Mastiff-Dog, and so was dragged along to be presented to his Enemy.

In the mean while *Alexander* was arrived at a certain Town inhabited with *Greeks* of *Miletum*, brought thither by *Xerxes*, when long before he returned out of *Greece*; whose Issues had well-near forgotten their Country language. These most cruelly (after they had received him with great joy) he put to the Sword, and destroyed their City. At this place he received *Bessus*, and having rewarded *Spitamenes* with the rest that delivered him, he gave the Traitor into the hands of *Oxatres*, *Darius* his Brother, to be tormented.

But while he now thought himself secure, some twenty thousand Mountainers assaulted his Camp; in repelling whom he received a shot in the leg, the arrow-head sticking in the flesh, so as he was carried in a Horse-litter, sometime by the Horsemen, sometime by the Foot.

Soon after he came unto *Maracanda*, which *Petrus Perondinus* takes to be *Samarchand*, the regal City of the great *Tamerlain*. It had in compass threescore and ten furlongs (*Curtius* saith. Here he received the Ambassadors of the *Scythians* (called *Avians*) who offered to serve him.

The *Bactrians* are shortly again with the *Sogdians* stirred to rebellion, by the same *Spitamenes* and *Catanes*, who had lately delivered into his hands the Traytor *Bessus*. Many Cities were resolvedly defended against him, all which, after victory, he defaced and razed, killing all therein. At one of these he received a blow on the neck, which struck him to the ground, and much disabled him for many days after. In the mean while *Spitamenes* had recovered *Maracanda*, against whom he employed *Menedemus* with three thousand foot, and eight hundred horse.

In the heat of these tumults *Alexander* marched on (if we may believe *Curtius* and others) till he came to the River of *Tanais*; upon whose bank he built another *Alexandria*, threescore furlongs in compass, which he beautified with houses within seventeen days after the walls built. The building of this City is said to have been occasion of a War between him and the *Scythians*; the *Scythian* King perswaded himself, that this new Town was fortified of purpose to keep him under. I do not well understand, why the *Scythians*, offering war in such a terrible manner, that *Alexander* was judged by his own Souldiers to counterfeit sickness for very fear, should nevertheless make suit for peace: neither find I the reason why *Alexander* (not intending the Conquest of those Northern desarts, but only the defence of his own bank) should refuse to let them alone, with whom he could not meddle further than they should agree to suffer him. Yet hereof is made a greater matter; and a victory described; in pursuit of which the *Macedons* ran beyond the bounds and monuments of *Bacchus* his Expedition.

The truth is, That *Curtius* and *Trogus* have greatly mistaken this River, which they call *Tanais*. For it was the River of *Jaxartes*, that runs between *Sogdiana* and *Scythia*, which *Alexander* past over, while *Menedemus* was employed in the recovery of *Samarchand*: But *Tanais*, which divides *Asia* from *Europe*, is near two thousand miles distant from any part of *Bactria* and *Sogdiana*, and the way desart and unknown. So that *Alexander* had (besides *Jaxartes*) the great River of *Volga*, and many others to swim over, ere he could recover *Tanais*: which (from the place where he was) he could hardly have discovered with the Army that followed him, if he had employed all the time that he lived in *Asia* in that travel.

Wherefore it is enough to believe, that the *Asiatique Scythians*, making some offer to disturb the erection of his new City, which was like to give some hinderance to their excursions, were driven away by the *Macedonians*; and being naked of defensive Arms, easily chased some ten or twelve miles; which is the substance of *Curtius* his report. As for the limits of *Bacchus* his journey, like enough it is that *Bacchus* (if in his life-time he were as sober a man, as after his death he was held a drunken god) went not very far into that waste Country, where he could find nothing but trees and stones, nor other business than to set up a Monument.

Threescore of the *Macedonians* are said to have been slain, and one thousand one hundred hurt in this fight, which might easily be in passing a great River, defended against them by good Archers. Of *Scythian* horses one thousand eight hundred were brought into the Camp, and many prisoners. It is forbidden by some Historians, and indeed it is hardly possible, to set down the numbers of such as perish in Battel: yet *Cæsar* commonly did it. And where the diligence of the Victors hath been so inquisitive into the greatness of their own success, that Writers have been able to deliver such particulars by credible report, I hold it not unlawful to set down what we find; especially when it serves to give light to the business in hand. The small number which the *Macedonians* lost, the omission of the number which they slew (a thing not usual in *Curtius*, who forbears nothing that may set out the greatness of *Alexander*) and the little booty that was gotten, do make it probable, that this War was no better than the repulsion of a few roving *Tartars* (the like being yearly performed by the *Moscovite*, without any boast) and therefore better omitted by some Historians, than so highly extolled as a great exploit by others.

While *Alexander* was assuring himself of those *Scythians* bordering upon *Jaxartes*, he received the ill news that *Menedemus* was slain by *Spitamenes*, the Army (by him led) broken, and the greatest numbers slain, to wit, two thousand foot, and three hundred horse. He therefore, to appease the rebellion, and to take revenge of *Spitamenes*, makes all the haste he can; but *Spitamenes* flees into *Bactria*. *Alexander* kills, burns, and lays waste all before him, not sparing the innocent children, and so departs, leaving a new Governor in that Province.

To

To repair this loſs, he received a great ſupply of nineteen thouſand Souldiers out of *Greece*, *Lycia*, and *Syria*; with all which, and the old Army he returns towards the South, and paſſeth the River of *Oxus*; on the South-ſide whereof he built ſix Towns near each other for mutual ſuccour. But he finds a new ſtart up Rebel, called *Arimazes* (a *Sogdian*) followed with thirty thouſand Souldiers that defended againſt him a ſtrong piece of ground on the top of a high Hill; whom when *Alexander* had ſought in vain to win by fair words, he made choice of three hundred young men, and promiſed ten Talents to the firſt, nine to the ſecond; and ſo in proportion to the reſt, that could find a way to creep up to the top thereof. This they performed with the loſs of ſome two and thirty of their men, and then made a ſign to *Alexander*, that they had performed his commandment. Hereupon he ſent one *Cophes* to perſwade *Arimazes* to yield the place; who being ſhewed by *Cophes* that the Army of *Macedon* was already mounted up, yielded ſimply to *Alexander*'s mercy, and was (with all his kinred) ſcourged and crucified to death; which puniſhment they well deſerved for neglecting to keep good watch in ſo dangerous a time. For the place, as ſeems by the deſcription, might eaſily have been defended againſt all the Armies of the World. But, what ſtrength cannot do, Man's wit, being the moſt forcible Engine, hath often effected: Of which I will give you an example in a place of our own.

The Iſland of *Sark*, joyned to *Garnſey*, and of that Government, was in Queen *Maries* time ſurprized by the *French*, and could never have been recovered again by ſtrong hand, having Cattel and Corn enough upon the place to feed ſo many men as will ſerve to defend it, and being every way ſo inacceſſible, that it might be held againſt the Great *Turk*. Yet by the induſtry of a Gentleman of the *Netherlands*, it was in this ſort regained. He anchored in the road with one Ship of ſmall burthen, and pretending the death of his Merchant: beſought the *French*, being ſome thirty in number, that they might bury their Merchant in hallowed Ground, and in the Chappel of that Iſle, offering a preſent to the *French* of ſuch commodities as they had aboard: whereto (with condition that they ſhould not come aſhore with any weapon, no not ſo much as with a Knife) the *French-men* yielded. Then did the *Flemings*, put a coffin into their Boat, not filled with a dead Carkaſs, but with Swords, Targets, and Harquebuſſes: The *French* received them at their landing; and ſearching every of them ſo narrowly as they could not hide a Penknife, gave them leave to draw their Coffin up the Rocks with great difficulty; ſome part of the *French* took the *Flemiſh* Boat, and rowed aboard their Ship, to fetch the Commodities promiſed, and what elſe they pleaſed; but being entred they were taken and bound. The *Flemings* on the Land, when they had carried their Coffin into the Chappel, ſhut the door to them, and taking their weapons out of the Coffin, ſet upon the *French*; they run to the Cliff, and cry to their company aboard the *Fleming* to come to their ſuccour, but finding the Boat charged with *Flemings*, yielded themſelves and the place. Thus a Fox-tail doth ſometimes help well to piece out the Lyon's-skin that elſe would be too ſhort.

SECT. XIX.

How Alexander *ſlew his own Friends.*

After theſe *Sogdian* and *Scythian* Wars, we read of *Alexander*'s killing of a Lyon, and other frivolous matters, and that he committed the Government of *Maracanda*, and the Country about it, to *Clytus*, and how he ſlew him ſoon after, for valuing the virtue of *Philip* the father before that of *Alexander* the ſon, or rather becauſe he objected to the King the death of *Parmenio*, and derided the Oracle of *Hammon*: for therein he toucht him to the quick, the ſame being delivered in publick, and at a drunken Banquet. *Clytus* indeed, had deſerved as much at the King's hands, as any man living had done, and had in particular ſaved his life, which the King well remembred, when he came to himſelf, and when it was too late. Yet, to ſay the truth, *Clytus* his inſolency was intolerable. As he in his Cups forgat whom he offended, ſo the King in his (for neither of them were themſelves) forgat whom he went about to ſlay: For the grief whereof, he tare his own face, and ſorrowed ſo inordinately, as, but for the perſwaſions of *Caliſthenes*, it is thought he would have ſlain himſelf.

Wine begat Fury, Fury matter of Repentance: But preceding miſchiefs are not amended by ſucceeding bewailing: *Omne vitium ebrietas & incendit, & detegit; obſtantem malis conatibus verecundiam removet; ubi poſſedit animum nimia vis vini, quicquid mali latebat, emergit: non facit ebrietas vitia, ſed protrahit; Drunkenneſs both kindles and lays open every vice; it removes out of the way that ſhame which gives impediment unto bad attempts; where Wine gets the maſtery, all the ill that before lay hidden breaks out: Drunkenneſs indeed rather diſcovers vices than makes them.*

Soon after this, *Spitamenes*, who ſlew *Beſſus*, and had lately revolted from *Alexander*, was murthered by his Wife, and his head preſented to *Alexander*. *Spitamenes* being taken away, the *Dacons* alſo ſeized upon his Fellow-Conſpirator *Dataphernes* and delivered him up. So *Alexander* being now freed from all theſe petty Rebels, diſpoſed of the Provinces which he paſt over, and went on with his Army into *Gabaza*, where it ſuffered ſo much Hunger, Cold, Lightning, Thunder, and Storm, as he loſt in one Tempeſt a thouſand of his Train. From hence he invaded the *Sacans*, and deſtroyed their Country. Then came he into the Territory of *Cohortanes*, who ſubmitted himſelf unto him, feaſted him greatly, and preſented him with thirty beautiful Virgins, among whom *Roxana*, afterwards his Wife, was one: which although all the *Macedonians* diſdained, yet none of them durſt uſe any freedom of ſpeech after *Clytus* his death. From hence he directed his courſe towards *India*, having ſo increaſed his numbers, as they amounted to an hundred and twenty thouſand armed men.

In the mean while he would needs be honoured as a god: whereto that he might allure the *Macedonians*, he employed two pernicious Paraſites *Hagis* and *Cleo*; whom *Caliſthenes* oppoſed: For, among many other honeſt Arguments uſed to the Aſſembly, he told *Cleo*, That he thought, that *Alexander* would diſdain the gift of God-head from his Vaſſals; That the opinion of Sanctity, though it did ſometime follow the death of thoſe, who in their life

life time had done the greatest things, yet it never accompanied any one as yet living in the world. He further told him, That neither *Hercules* nor *Bacchus* were Deified at a Banquet, and upon drink (for this matter was propounded by *Cleo* at a carousing Feast:) but that, for the more than manly Acts by them performed while they lived, they were in future and succeeding Ages numbred among the gods. *Alexander* stood behind a partition, and heard all that was spoken, waiting but an opportunity to be revenged on *Calisthenes*, who being a man of free speech, honest, learned, and a lover of the King's honour, was yet soon after tormented to death; not for that he had betrayed the King to others, but because he would never condescend to betray the King to himself, as all his detestable flatterers did. For in a conspiracy against the King made by one *Hermolaus* and others (which they confest) he caused *Calisthenes* without confession, accusation or Trial, to be torn asunder upon the Rack: This deed unworthy of a King, *Seneca* thus censureth, *Hoc est* Alexandri *crimen æternum, quod nulla virtus, nulla bellorum fœlicitas redimet: Nam quoties quis dixerit, Occîdit Persarum multa millia; opponitur, &* Calisthenem. *Quoties dictum erit, Occîdit* Darium; *opponitur, &* Calisthenem. *Quoties dictum erit, Omnia Oceano tenus vicit, ipsum quoq; tentavit novis classibus, & Imperium ex angulo Thraciæ usq; ad orientis terminos protulit; dicetur sed* Calisthenem *occîdit. Omnia licèt antiqua Ducum Regumque exempla transierit, ex his quæ fecit nihil tam magnum erit quam scelus* Calisthenis; *This is the eternal crime of* Alexander, *which no vertue nor felicity of his in War shall ever be able to redeem: For as often as any man shall say, He slew many thousand* Persians; *it shall be replyed, he did so, and he slew* Calisthenes. *When it shall be said, he slew* Darius, *it shall be replyed, and* Calisthenes. *When it shall be said he wan all as far as the very Ocean, thereon also he adventured with unusual Navies, and extended his Empire from a corner of* Thrace, *to the utmost bounds of the Orient; It shall be said withall, But he killed* Calisthenes. *Let him have out-gone all the ancient examples of Captains and Kings; none of all his Acts make so much to his glory, as* Calisthenes *to his reproach.*

SECT. XX.

Of Alexander's *journey into* India. *The Battel between him and* Porus.

WIth the Army before remembred, of one hundred and twenty thousand foot and horse, *Alexander* did enter the borders of *India*, where such of the Princes, as submitted themselves unto him, he entertained lovingly, the rest he constrained, killing Man, Woman, and Child, where they resisted. He then came before *Nisa*, built by *Bacchus*, which after a few days was rendred unto him. From thence he removed to a Hill at hand, which on the top had goodly Gardens, filled with delicate Fruits and Vines, dedicated to *Bacchus*, to whom he made Feasts for ten days together. Now when he had drank his fill, he went on towards *Dedula*, and from thence to *Acadera*, Countries spoiled and abandoned by the Inhabitants; by reason whereof, victuals failing, he divides his Army: *Ptolomy* led one part, *Cenon* another, and himself the rest. They take many Towns, whereof that of greatest fame was *Mazage*, which had in it three hundred thousand men; but after some resistance, it was yielded unto him by *Cleophe* the Queen, to whom again he restored it; at the siege of this City he received a wound in the Leg. After this, *Nora* was taken by *Polysperchon*, and a Rock of great strength by himself: he wan also a passage upon one *Eryx*, who was slain by his company, and his head presented to *Alexander*. This is the sum of *Alexander*'s doings in those parts, before such time as he arrived at the River of *Indus*. Coming to *Indus*, he found there *Ephestion*, who (being sent before) had prepared Boats for the transportation of his Army, and e're *Alexander*'s arrival, had perswaded *Omphis* King of that part of the Country, to submit himself to this great Conquerour. Therefore, soon upon *Alexander*'s coming, *Omphis* presented himself with all the strength of his Country, and six and fifty Elephants, unto him; offering him his service and assistance. He made *Alexander* know, that he was an Enemy to the next two great Kings of that part of *India*, named *Abiasares* and *Porus*; wherewith *Alexander* was not a little pleased, hoping by this dis-union to make his own victory by far the more easie. He presented *Alexander* with a Crown of Gold, so did he the rest of his Commanders, and withal fourscore Talents of Silver Coyn; which *Alexander* not only refused, but to shew that he was covetous of glory, not of gold, he gave *Omphis* a thousand Talents of his own Treasure, besides other *Persian* rarities. *Abiasares* having heard that *Alexander* had received his enemy *Omphis* into his protection, resolved to make his own peace also: For, knowing that his own strength did but equal that of *Omphis*, and that there was no other difference between them, than that which the chance of War gave, he thought it an ill match, when *Alexander*, who had already beaten under foot all the greatest Princes of *Asia*, should make himself a Party and Head of the quarrel. So had *Alexander* none now to stand in his way but *Porus*, to whom he sent a commandment. that he should attend him at the border of his Kingdom, there to do him homage. But from *Porus* he received this manly Answer; That he would satisfie him in his first demand, which was to attend him on his borders, and that well accompanied; but for any other acknowledgement he would take counsel of his Sword. To be short, *Alexander* resolves to pass over the River *Hydaspes*, and to find *Porus* at his own home. *Porus* attends him on the farther bank with thirty thousand foot, fourscore and ten Elephants, and three hundred armed Chariots, and a great Troop of Horse. If *Darius* had done the like on *Tigris*, *Alexander* had surely stayed somewhat longer e're he had seen *India*. The River was four furlongs broad, which makes half a mile, and withal deep and swift. It had in it many Islands, among which there was one well shadowed with wood, and of good capacity. *Alexander* sent *Ptolomy* up the River with a part of the Army, shrowding the rest from the view of *Porus*: who by this device being drawn from his first encamping, sets himself down opposite to *Ptolomy*, supposing that the whole Army of *Macedon*, meant to force their passage there. In the mean while *Alexander* recovers the farther shore without resistance. He orders his Troops, and advanceth towards *Porus*, who at first rather believes that *Abiasares* his Confederate (but now the Confederate of fortune) had been come over *Hydaspes* to his Aid, than that *Alexander* had past it. But he finds it otherwise, and sends his Brother *Hagis* with

with four thousand Horse, and a hundred armed Waggons to entertain him. Each Waggon had in it four to fight, and two to guide it; but they were at this time of little use: for there had fallen so much rain, and thereby the fields were so moistned, as the horses could hardly trot. The *Scythians* and *Dahans* had the Vant-guard, who so galled these *Indians*, as they brake their Reins, and other Furniture, overturning the Waggons, and those in them. *Perdiccas* also gave up the *Indian* horsemen, and the one and the other were forc'd to recoil. *Porus* moves forward with the gross of his Army, that those of his Vant-guard scattered might recover his Rear; *Alexander* being followed with *Ephestion*, *Ptolomy*, and *Perdiccas*, took on him to charge the *Indian* horse-men on the left wing, commanding *Cenus*, or *Cenon* to invade the right; *Antigonus* and *Leonatus*, he directed to break upon *Porus* his battel of foot, strengthned with Elephants, *Porus* himself being carried upon one of them, of the greatest stature. By these beasts the *Macedonian* foot were most offended, but the Archers and Darters being well guarded by the long and strong pikes of the *Macedonians*, so galled them, as being enraged, they turned head, and ran over the foot that followed them; In the end, and after a long and doubtful fight, by the advantage of weapon, and by the courage and skilfulness of the *Macedonian* Captains, the Victory fell to *Alexander*, who also far exceeded *Porus* in number: for besides the *Macedonians*, and other Eastern and Northern Nations, *Porus* was assailed by his own Confederate and Country-people. Yet for his own person he never gave ground other wise than with his sword towards his enemies, till being weakned with many wounds, and abandoned by his Army, he became a prisoner to the Conquerour, from whom again he received his Estate with a great enlargement.

SECT. XXI.

How Alexander *finished his Expedition, and returned out of* India.

I Forbear to trouble my self and others with a frivolous discourse of Serpents, Apes, and Peacocks, which the *Macedonians* found in these their Travels: or of those petty Wars which *Alexander* made between the overthrow of *Porus*, and his sailing down the River of *Indus*. The descriptions of places about the head and branches thereof are better known unto us in this Age, by means of our late Navigations into those parts, than they were in any former times. The magnificence and riches of those Kings we could in no sort be perswaded to believe, till our own experience had taught us, that there were many stranger things in the World, than are to be seen between *London* and *Staines*.

Our great Traveller *Mandevile*, who died in the year, 1372. and had seen so much of the World, and of the East-*India*, we accounted the greatest fabler of the World; yet had he another reputation among other Nations, as well able to judge as we. Witness the Monument made of him in the Covent of the Friars *Guillimus* in *Liege*, where the Religious of that place keep some things of his, *Comme pour honourable memoire de son Excellence*; *For an honourable memory of his Excellency*, saith *Guicciardine*.

Guic. in Disc. of the Low Countries.

The Countries towards the Springs of *Indus*, and where those many Rivers of *Hydaspes*, *Zaradis*, *Acesines*, and the rest fall into the main stream, are now possest by the great *Mogul* the ninth from *Tamberlain*, who commands all the Tract between *Persia* and *Indus* towards the West, as also a great extent of Country towards *Ganges*. In the mouth of *Indus*, the *Ascension*, a Ship of *London* suffered shipwrack, in the year 1609. and some of the company travelled over Land till they came to *Agra*, the same great city (as I take it) which our later Cosmographers call *Nagra*, being named of old *Dionysopolis*.

Philostratus in the Life of *Apollonius Tyaneus*, speaking of the expedition of *Bacchus* and *Hercules* into the East-*India*, tells us, that those two great Captains (whom *Alexander* sought by all means to out-fame) when they endeavoured to subject to them the *Oxidracæ*, a people inhabiting between the Rivers of *Hyphasis* and *Ganges*, they were beaten from the assault of their City with Thunder & Lightnings. This may well be understood by the great Ordinance that those people had then in use. For it is now certainly known, that the great Kings of the uttermost East, have had the use of the Cannon many hundreds of years since, and even since their first civility and greatness, which was long before *Alexander's* time. But *Alexander* pierc'd not so far into the East. It sufficed, that having already over-wearied his Army, he discovered the rest of *India* by fame. The *Indian* Kings whom he had subdued, informed him, that a Prince called *Aggramenes*, who commanded many Nations beyond the River *Ganges*, was the powerfullest King of all those Regions: and that he was able to bring into the field two hundred thousand Foot, three thousand Elephants, twenty thousand Horse, and two thousand armed Chariots. With this report, though *Alexander* were more enflamed than ever to proceed in this discovery and conquest, yet all the Art he had, could not perswade the Souldiers to wander over those great Desarts, beyond *Indus* and *Ganges*, more terrible unto them than the greatest Army that the East could gather. Yet at the last contented they were, after many perswasive Orations, to follow him towards the South, to discover such part of the Ocean Sea, as was nearer at hand, whereunto the River of *Indus* was their infallible guide. *Alexander* seeing that it would be no otherwise, devised a pretty trick, wherewith he hoped to beguil posterity, and make himself seem greater than he was. He enlarged his Camp, made greater Trenches, greater Cabbins for Souldiers, greater Horse-stalls, and higher Mangers than Horses could feed in. He caused all Furniture of Men and Horses to be made larger than would serve for use; and scattered these Armours and Bridles about his Camp, to be kept as Reliques, and wondred at by the Savages. Proportionable to these he raised up twelve great Altars to be the monument of his journeys end. This was a ready way to encrease the fame of his bigness; to his greatness it could add nothing save a suspicion, that it was less than is thought, seeing he strove so earnestly to make it thought more than it was.

This done, he returned again to the bank of *Acesines*, and there determined to set up his Fleet, where *Acesines* and *Hydaspes* encounter; where to testifie by a surer monument, how far he had past towards the East, he built by those Rivers two Cities: the one he called *Nicea*, and the other *Bucephalon*, after the name of his beloved Horse *Bucephalus*. Here again he received a fourth supply of

six

six thousand *Thracian* Horse-men, seven thousand Foot; and from his Lieutenant at *Babylon*, five and twenty thousand Armours garnished with silver and gold, which he distributed among his Souldiers. About these Rivers he wan many Towns, and committed great slaughter on those that resisted; It is then written of him, that in assaulting a City of the *Oxidracans*, he leapt from the top of the wall into it, and fought, I know not how long, against all the Inhabitants; tales like those of *Bevis* of *Southampton*, trivolous and incredible. Finally, he pass'd down the River with his Fleet, at which time also the news came unto him of a Rebellion in *Bactria*, and then of the arrival of an hundred Ambassadours from a King of *India*, who submitted himself unto him. He feasted these Ambassadours upon a hundred beds of gold, with all the sumptuosity that could be devised, who, soon after their dispatch, returned again with a present of three hundred Horses, one hundred and thirty Waggons, and to each of them four Horses, a thousand Targets, with many other things rare and rich.

Their entertainments ended, he sailed towards the South, passed through many obscure Nations, which did all yield unto him either quietly, or compelled by force: among these he builded another *Alexandria*. Of many places which he took in this passage, *Samos* was one, the Inhabitants whereof fought against him with poysoned swords, with one of which *Ptolomy* (afterward King of *Egypt*) was wounded, and cured by an herb which *Alexander* dreamt he had seen in the mouth of a Serpent.

When he came near to the out-let of *Indus* (being ignorant of the tides of the Sea) his Gallies as they were on a sudden shuffled one upon another by the flood, so on the Ebb they were left on the dry ground, and on the sandy banks of the River, wherewith the *Macedonians* were much amazed; but after he had a few days observed well the course of the Sea, he past out of the Rivers mouth some few miles, and after Sacrifices offered to *Neptune*, returned: and the better to inform himself, he sent *Nearchus* and *Onesicritus*, to discover the coast towards the mouth of *Euphrates*. *Arrianus* in the beginning of his sixth book hath written this passage down the River of *Indus* at length, with the manner of the Vessels in which he transported his Army, the Commanders that were used therein, and other the marvellous provisions made.

Near the out-lets of this River, he spent some part of the Winter, and in eighteen days march from thence recovered *Gedrosia*, in which passage his Army suffered such misery for want of Food, that of a hundred and twenty thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse, which he carried into *India* not the fourth part returned alive.

SECT. XXII.

Of Alexander's *Riot, Cruelty, and Death.*

FRom *Gedrosia*, *Alexander* led his Army into *Carmania*, and so drawing near to *Persia*, he gave himself wholly to feasting and drinking, imitating the triumphs of *Bacchus*. And though this Swinish vice be hateful enough in it self, yet it always inflamed this King to cruelty. *For* (saith *Curtius*) *the Hangman followed the feast: for* Aspastes, *one of his Provincial Governours, he commanded to be slain; so as neither did the excess of voluptuousness qualifie his cruelty, nor his cruelty hinder in ought his voluptuousness.*

While he refreshed his Army in these parts, a new supply of five thousand foot, and a thousand horse was brought him by *Cleander*, and his Fellows that had been employed in the killing of *Parmenio*. Against these Murderers, great complaint was made by the Deputies of the Provinces, in which they had commanded; and their offences were so outragious, as *Alexander* was perswaded, that had they not altogether despaired of his return out of *India* they durst not have committed them. All men were glad of this occasion, remembring the virtue of him whom they had slaughtered. The end was, That *Cleander*, and the other chief, with six hundred Souldiers by them employed, were delivered over to the Hangman: every one rejoycing that the Ire of the King was at last executed on the Ministers of his Ire.

Nearchus and *Onesicritus* were now returned from the Coast, and made report of an Island rich in gold and of other strange things: whereupon they were commanded to make some farther discovery: which done, that they should enter the mouth of *Euphrates*, and find the King at *Babylon*.

As he drew near to *Babylon*, he visited the Sepulchre of *Cyrus* in *Pasargada*, now called *Chalquera*: where he was presented with many rich gifts by *Orsines*, one of the Princes of *Persia*, of the race of *Cyrus*. But because *Bagoas*, an *Eunuch* in special favour with the King was neglected; he not only practised certain loose fellows to witness against *Orsines*, that he had robbed *Cyrus*'s Tomb, for which he was condemned to die; but he assisted the Hangman with his own hands in tormenting him. At which time also *Alexander* caused *Phradites* to be slain, suspecting his greatness. *Cæperat* (saith *Curtius*) *esse præceps ad repræsentanda supplicia, item ad deteriora credenda; He began headlongly to shed blood, and believe false reports.* It is true, that he took a way to make all men weary of his Government, seeing cruelty is more fearful, than all adventures that can be made against it.

Arrianus hath a far different description of *Cyrus*'s Tomb.

At this time it is said, that *Calanus* the Philosopher burnt himself, when he had lived threescore and thirteen years. Whether herein he followed the custom of his Country, being an *Indian*, or sought to prevent the grief and incommodity of elder age, it is uncertain: but in this Historians agree, that fore-seeing and fore-shewing *Alexander's* death, he promised to meet him shortly after at *Babylon*.

From *Pasargada* he came to *Susa*, where he married *Statira Darius* his Eldest Daughter, giving her younger sister to his beloved *Ephestion*, and fourscore other *Persian* Ladies to his Captains, there were six thousand guests invited to the Feast to each of which he gave a cup of gold. Here there came unto him three thousand young Souldiers out of his conquered Provinces, whereat the *Macedonians* greatly murmured. *Harpalus* his Treasurer in *Babylon*, having lavishly consumed the moneys in his keeping, got him going with five thousand Talents; and six thousand hired Souldiers: but he was rejected in *Greece*, and there slain. *Alexander* greatly rejoyced at the fidelity of the *Greeks*, whom *Harpalus* with these forces and treasures could not stir: yet he sent commandment that they should again receive their banished men, whereunto (fearful of his indignation) all submitted themselves

themselves (except the *Athenians*) though they resolved, that it was a manifest preparation towards their bondage. After this, there followed a marvellous discontentment in his Army, because he had resolved to send into *Macedon* all those old Souldiers which could no longer endure the travel of War, and to keep the rest in *Asia*. He used many Orations to satisfie them, but it was in vain during the Tempest of their fury. But afterward as Whales are drawn to the Land with a twine-thred, when they have tumbled a while; so are the unconsiderate multitude easily conducted when their first passions are evaporate. With such as were licensed to depart, he sent *Craterus*, to whom he gave the Lieutenantship of *Macedon*, *Thessaly*, and *Thrace*, which *Antipater* had held from his first departure out of *Europe*, who had beaten the rebellious *Greeks* in his absence, discharged the trust committed unto him with great fidelity, and sent him so many strong supplies into *Asia* from time to time. Certainly, if *Alexander* had not taken counsel of his cups, he would have cast some better colour on this alteration, and given *Antipater* a stronger reason for his remove, than to have employed him in the conduction of a new supply to be brought him to *Babylon*, the War being now at an end. For *Antipater* saw nothing in this remove, but the King's disposition to send him after *Parmenio*, and the rest. With this *Antipater*, the King, notwithstanding his great courage, had no great appetite to grapple: Princes, though jealous, do not stand in doubt of every man ill affected, though valiant: but there is a kind of Kingly courage compounded of hardiness and understanding, which is many times so fearful unto them, as they take leave both of Law and Religion, to free themselves thereof.

After he had sent for *Antipater*, he made a journey into *Media* to settle things there; where *Ephestion* whom he favoured most of all men, dies. The King, according to the greatness of his love, laments his loss, hangs his Physician, and bestows upon his Monument twelve thousand Talents: After which he returns to *Babylon*. Thither *Antipater* came not, but sent; and not to excuse himself, but to free himself. For if we believe *Curtius* (whom *Plutarch* and others gainsay) *Antipater* by his Sons, *Cassander*, *Philip*, and *Iolla*, who waited on *Alexander*'s cup, gave him poyson; *Thessalus* (who was of the Conspiracy) having invited him to a drinking Feast of purpose. For after he had taken a carouse in *Hercules* his cup, a draught of drink stronger than *Hercules* himself, he quitted the World within a few days.

Certainly the Princes of the World have seldom found good, by making their Ministers over great and thereby suspicious to themselves. For he that doth not acknowledge fidelity to be a debt, but is perswaded, that Kings ought to purchase it from their Vassals, will never please himself with the price given. The only restorative, indeed, that strengthens it, is the goodness and virtue of the Prince, and his liberality makes it more diligent; so as proportion and distance be observed. It may be that *Antipater*, having commanded two or three Kingdoms ten or twelve years, knew not how to play any other part; no more than *Cæsar* did, after he had so long a time governed the *Gauls*, where he utterly forgat the Art of obedience. A most cruel and ungrateful Traitor *Antipater* was, if *Curtius* do not belie him: For though he feared some ill measure upon his remove (the Tragedies of *Parmenio*, *Clytus*, and *Calisthenes*, having been so lately acted) yet he knew nothing to the contrary, but that the King had resolved to have given him some other great Goverment in *Asia*: The old Souldiers thence returned, having perchance desired to be governed by *Craterus*, whom they had followed in all the former War.

SECT. XXIII.

Of Alexander's *Person and Qualities.*

HOwsoever it were *Alexander's* former cruelties cannot be excused no more than his vanity to be esteemed the Son of *Jupiter*, with his excessive delight in drink and drunkenness, which others make the cause of his Fever and death. In that he lamented his want of enterprising, and grieved to consider what he should do when he had conquered the World, *Augustus Cæsar* found just cause to deride him, as if the well governing of so many Nations and Kingdoms, as he had already conquered, could not have afforded him matter more than abundant, to busie his brains withal. That he was both Learned, and a lover of Learning, it cannot be doubted. Sir *Francis Bacon*, in his first Book of the Advancement of Learning, hath proved it sufficiently. His liberality I know not how to praise, because it exceeded proportion. It is said, That when he gave a whole City to one of his servants, he, to whom it was given did out of modesty refuse it, as disproportionable to his fortune: to whom *Alexander* replyed, That he did not enquire what became him to accept but the King to give: of which *Seneca*; *Animosa vox videtur & regia, cùm sit stultissima. Nihil enim per se quenquam decet. Refert quid, cui, quando, quare, ubi, &c. sine quibus facti ratio non constabit; habeatur personarum & dignitatum proportio, & cum sit ubiq; virtutis modus, æquè peccat quod excedit, quàm quod deficit; It seems a brave and Royal speech, whereas indeed it is very foolish. For nothing simply considered by it self beseems a man. We must regard what, to whom, when, why, where and the like; without which considerations, no act can be approved. Let honours be proportioned unto the persons: for whereas virtue is ever limited by measure, the excess is as faulty as the defect.* Lib. 2. de Ben. c. 1.

For his Person, it is very apparent, That he was as valiant as any man; a disposition, taken by it self, not much to be admired: For I am resolved, that he had ten thousand in his Army as daring as himself. Surely, if adventurous natures were to be commended simply, we should confound that virtue with the hardiness of Thieves, Ruffians, and Mastiff-dogs. For certainly it is no way praiseworthy, but in daring good things, and in the performance of those lawful enterprizes, in which we are employed for the service of our Kings, and Common-weals.

If we compare this great Conquerour with other troublers of the World, who have bought their glory with so great destruction and effusion of blood, I think him far inferiour to *Cæsar*, and many other that lived after him, seeing he never undertook any warlike Nation, the naked *Scythians* excepted: nor was ever encountred with any Army of which he had not a most mastering advantage, both of Weapons and Commanders, every one of his Father's old Captains by far exceeding the best of his Enemies. But it seems Fortune and Destiny

(if we may uſe thoſe terms) had found out and prepared for him, without any care of his own, both heaps of Men, that willingly offered their necks to the yoke, and Kingdoms that invited and called in their own Conquerours. For concluſion, we will agree with *Seneca*, who ſpeaking of *Philip* the Father, and *Alexander* the Son, gives this Judgement of them: *Quod non minores fuere peſtes mortalium, quam inundatio, quâ planum omne perfuſum eſt, quam conflagratio, quâ magna pars animantium exaruit; They were no leſs plagues to mankind, than an overthrow of Waters, drowning all the level; or ſome burning drought, whereby a great part of living Creatures are ſcorched up.*

CHAP. III.

The Reign of Arideus.

SECT. I.

Of the Queſtion about Succeſſion to Alexander.

THe death of *Alexander* left his Army (as *Demades* the *Athenian* then compared it) in ſuch caſe, as was that monſtrous Gyant *Polyphemus*, having loſt his only eye. For that which is reported in Fables of that great *Cyclops*, might well be verified of the *Macedonians:* their force was intolerable, but for want of good guidance uneffectual, and harmful chiefly to themſelves. The cauſes whereof (under the divine ordinance) were partly the uncertainty of Title to ſucceſſion in the Kingdom of *Macedon*, partly the ſtubborn pride of *Alexander* himſelf, who thinking none worthy to be his heir, did refuſe to eſtabliſh the right in any one, leaving every one to his own fortune: but eſpecially the great ambition of his followers, who all had learned of their Maſter to ſuffer no equals; a leſſon ſoon taught unto ſpirits reflecting upon their own worth, when the reverence of a greater object faileth.

It hath formerly been ſhewed, That *Philip* (the Father of *Alexander*) governing in *Macedon* as Protector, aſſumed unto himſelf the Kingdom, not rendring it unto *Amyntas*, (the Son of his elder Brother *Perdiccas*) when he grew to man's eſtate; but only beſtowing upon him in marriage a Daughter of his own: by which bond, and much more by his own proper ſtrength, he aſſured the Crown unto himſelf: *Amyntas* never attempting ought againſt *Philip*; though (with price of his life) he did againſt *Alexander* in the beginning of his Reign. Wherefore *Eurydice* the ſole iſſue of this Marriage, ought in reaſon to have been acknowledged Queen after *Alexander*; as having better Title thereunto, than either He or *Philip* had, when they lived, unleſs (peradventure) ſome Law of that Nation forbad the Reign of Women. But the excellent virtue of theſe two Princes, had utterly defaced the right of all Pretenders, not claiming from their own bodies: and ſo great were their Conqueſts, that *Macedon* it ſelf was (in regard of them) a very ſmall Appendix, and no way deſerving to be laid in ballance againſt the demand of their poſterity, had they left any able to make challenge of the Royal Seat.

Alexander having taken many Wives, had iſſue by none of the principal of them. *Barſine* the Daughter of *Artabazus* a *Perſian*, had born unto him a young Son: and *Roxane* the Daughter of *Oxyartes* (whom he had more ſolemnly married) was left by him great with Child. But the baſeneſs of the Mothers, and contempt of the conquered Nations, was generally alledged in Bar of Plea made for them, by ſome that would (perhaps) have wrought out their own ends, under the name of *Alexander*'s children.

Cleopatra, a Siſter of *Alexander*, Widow to the King of *Epirus*, and *Aridæus* his baſe Brother (Son to *Philip* by a Concubine of no account) who had married the Lady *Eurydice* before mentioned, were next in courſe. Of *Cleopatra* there was no ſpeech, which may give ſuſpicion, that either Law or Cuſtom had made that Sex uncapable of the Soveraignty: *Arideus* (beſides his baſtardy) was neither for perſon nor quality fit to rule as King; yet upon him the election fell, but ſlowly, and (as happeneth often) for lack of a better: when the Counſellors having over-laboured their diſagreeing wits in deviſing what was beſt, were content for very wearineſs to take what comes next to hand.

Ptolomy (ſoon after King of *Egypt*) concurring with them who rejected all mention of the half-*Perſian* brood, King *Alexander*'s children; was of opinion, that the rule of all ſhould be given to the Captains; that going for Law, which by the greater part of them ſhould be decreed: ſo far was he from acknowledging any one as true Heir to the Crown.

This *Ptolomy* was called the Son of *Lagus*, but reputed of *Philip:* who having uſed the company of *Arſinoe*, *Ptolomy*'s Mother, delivered her in marriage to *Lagus*, being great with child. Therefore, whether it were ſo, that he hoped well to work his own fortune out of thoſe diſſenſions, which are incident unto the conſultations of many ambitious men, equal in place, forcing them at length to redeem their quiet with ſubjection to one, deſerving regard by his blood, and truſt for his even carriage; or whether he only deſired to get a ſhare to himſelf, which could not have come to paſs, had all

all been given to one: plain enough it is, that he thought not on preferring *Arideus* before himſelf: and therefore gave ſuch counſel as fitted his own and other mens purpoſes. Yea, this device of his took place indeed, though not in form as he had propounded it: For, it was in effect all one, to have aſſembled at *Alexander*'s empty Chair, as *Ptolomy* had conceived the form of their conſultations, or to ſet in the Chair ſuch a King as *Arideus*, no wiſer than the Chair it ſelf. Alſo the Controverſies ariſing were determined by the greater part of the Captains; by the greater part, if not in number, yet in puiſſance.

But as theſe counterfeit ſhews of diſſembling aſpirers do often take check by the plain dealing of them who dare to go more directly to work: ſo was it like to have fared with *Ptolomy* and the reſt, when *Ariſtonus*, another of the Captains, interpreted the very words of *Alexander*, ſaying, That he left his Kingdom to the worthyeſt, as deſigning *Perdiccas*, to whom (lying at the point of death) he delivered his Ring. It ſeemed good in reaſon, that *Alexander* ſhould be diſpoſer of his own purchaſes: and thoſe tokens of *Alexander*'s purpoſe appeared plain enough, ſo long as no man would interpoſe another's conſtruction: every one being uncertain how the ſecret affections of the reſt might be enclined. Many therefore, either out of their love, or becauſe they would not be of the lateſt, urged *Perdiccas* to take upon him the Eſtate Royal. He was no ſtranger to the Royal blood; yet his birth gave him not ſuch reputation, as the great favour of his dead King, with whom he had been very inward, and that eſpecially ſince the death of *Epheſtion* (a powerful Minion) into whoſe place he was choſen. For his own worth he might well be commended, as a good man of War, and one that had given much proof of his private valour. But very ſurly he was: which quality (joyned with good fortune) carried a ſhew of Majeſty: being checkt with miſadventure, it was called by a true name, Pride; and rewarded with death.

In the preſent buſineſs a fooliſh over-weening did him as great harm, as it had been great happineſs to have ſucceeded *Alexander*. For, not content to have the acclamation of the Souldiers, approving the ſentence of *Ariſtonus*, he would needs counterfeit modeſty; thinking that every one of the Princes would have intreated him to take the weighty burthen of an Empire, which would be the leſs envious, the more ſolemnity he uſed in the acceptance. It is truly ſaid, He that feigneth himſelf a Sheep, may chance to be eaten by a Wolf. *Meleager*, (a man by nature envious, and bearing a particular hatred to *Perdiccas*) took advantage of his irreſolute behaviour, and very bitterly inveighed againſt him. In concluſion, he pronounced, That whoſoever was Heir to the Crown, the Souldiers ought to be heirs to the Treaſure; and therefore he invited them, who were nothing ſlow to ſhare it. This diſturbed all the Conſultation. The Captains were left alone, far enough from agreeing, and not able to have brought any concluſion to good effect without conſent of the Souldiers, who greedy of ſpoil, thronged about *Meleager*.

SECT. II.

The Election of Arideus, *with the troubles thereabout ariſing; the firſt Diviſion of the Empire.*

During this up-roar, mention was made of *Arideus* by ſome one, and entertained with good liking of many, until at laſt it grew to the voice of the Army. *Meleager* having withdrawn himſelf tumultuouſly from the company of the Lords, was glad of ſo fair an occaſion to make himſelf great: therefore he produced *Arideus*, commended him to the Souldiers, who called him by his Fathers name *Philip*, and brought him into the Palace, inveſting him in *Alexander*'s Robes, and proclaiming him King. Many of the Nobles withſtood this election, but in vain: for they could not reſolve what courſe to follow, rejecting this. Only *Python*, a hot-headed man, took upon him to proclaim the Son of *Alexander* by *Roxane*, according to the counſel which *Perdiccas* at firſt had given, appointing *Perdiccas* and *Leontius* his Protectors. But the child was not yet born, which made that attempt of *Python* vain. Finally, *Perdiccas* with ſix hundred men, and *Ptolomy* with the King's Pages took upon them to defend the place where *Alexander*'s body lay: but the Army, conducted by *Meleager*, who carried the new King about whither he liſted, eaſily brake in upon them, and inforced them to accept *Arideus* for their Soveraign Lord. Then by interceſſion of the ancient Captains, a reconciliation was propounded and admitted, but on neither ſide faithfully meant.

Leonatus who was of Royal blood, a goodly Gentleman, and valiant, iſſued out of *Babylon*, being followed by all the horſe, which conſiſted (for the moſt part) of the Nobility. *Perdiccas* abode in the City (but ſtanding upon his guard) that he might be ready to take the opportunity of any commotion that ſhould happen among the Infantry. The King (who was governed by *Meleager*) commanded, or gave leave to have *Perdiccas* made away; which attempt ſucceeded ill, being neither ſecretly carried, nor committed to ſure Executioners. Their coming was not unexpected: and they were by *Perdiccas* rebuked with ſuch gravity, that they departed honeſter than they came; being ſorry for their bad enterpriſe. Upon the news of this attempt, the Camp was in an up-roar, which the King ſeeking to pacifie, wanted Authority, as having newly got the Crown by them, and holding it by their courteſie. The matter it ſelf afforded no good excuſes, and his indiſcretion made them worſe. He ſaid that no harm was done, for *Perdiccas* was alive: but their exclamations were againſt the tyrannous enterprize, which he imputed to *Meleager*; abandoning the ſureſt of his friends to the rage of the multitude, who were not appeaſed, until the King by offering to reſign his Eſtate unto them, renewed out of their pitty that favourable affection, which had moved them to ſet him up at the firſt.

Perdiccas having now joyned himſelf with *Leonatus*, kept the fields, intending to cut off all proviſion of victuals from the City. But after ſundry Embaſſies paſſing between the King and the Nobles, (they requiring to have the Authours of ſedition

given up into their hands; the King, that *Meleager* might be joyned with *Leonatus* and *Perdiccas*, as a Third in the Government of the Army) things were compounded according to the King's desire. *Meleager* should have done well to consider, That such men as had one day demanded his head, were not like the day following to give him a principal place among them without any new occation offered, had not some purpose of treachery lurked under their great facility. General peace was renewed, and much love protested where little was intended. The face of the Court was the same which it had been in *Alexander*'s time: but no longer now did the same heart give it life; and windy spirits they were which moved in the Arteries. False reports were given out by appointment of *Perdiccas*, tending to his own disgrace, but in such terms as might seem to have proceeded from *Meleager*: who finding part of the drift, but not all, took it as an injury done to himself; and (as desirous of a true friendship) desired of *Perdiccas*, that such Authours of discord might be punished. *Perdiccas* (as a lover of peace) did well approve the motion; and therefore agreed that a general Muster should be made, at which time the disturbers of the common quiet should receive their punishment (as was the manner for Souldiers offending) in presence of the Army. The plot was mischievously laid. Had *Meleager* given way to seditious rumours, he must needs have incurred the general hatred of all, as a sower of dissension, and thereby with a publick approbation might have been cut off, as having often offended in that kind; his Prince being too weak a Patron. Now seeking redress of these disorders, he hastned his own ruine, by a less formal, but more speedy way. This kind of Muster was very solemn, and practised with many ceremonies, as for cleansing the Army. The Horse-men, the Elephants, the *Macedonian* foot, the Mercenaries were were each according to their quality set in array, apart from others, as if they had been of sundry sorts, met at adventure: which done, the manner was to skirmish (as by way of exercise) according to the direction of their several Captains. But at that time the great battel of *Macedonian* Pikes, which they called the *Phalanx*, led by *Meleager*, was of purpose bestowed in a ground of disadvantage; and the countenance of the Horse and Elephants beginning to give charge upon them was such, as discovered no jesting pastime, nor good intent. Kings were always wont to fight among the horse-men: of which custom *Perdiccas* made great use that day, to the utter confusion of his enemies. For *Arideus* was always governed by him, who for the present had him in possession. Two or three days before he sought the death of *Perdiccas* at the instigation of *Meleager*: now he rides with *Perdiccas* up and down about the foot-men, commanding them to deliver unto the death all such as *Perdiccas* required. Three hundred they were who were cast unto the Elephants, and by them slain, in the presence of the King (who should have defended them) and of their affrighted companions. But these three hundred were not the men whose punishment *Meleager* had expected: they were such as had followed him, when he disturbed the first consultation that was held about the election of a new King, and some of them his especial friends. Having therefore kept himself quiet a while, as unwilling to give offence to them that had the advantage; when he saw their proceedings tend very manifestly to his destruction, he fled away into a Temple, which he found no Sanctuary: for thither they sent and slew him.

The Army being thus corrected, was led into the City, where a new Council of the Princes was held; who finding what manner of man their King was, divided all the Provinces of the Empire among themselves; leaving to *Arideus* the office of a Visitor, and yet making *Perdiccas* his Protector, and Commander of the Forces remaining with him. Then were the funerals of *Alexander* thought upon; whose body having been seven days neglected, was opened and embalmed by the *Egyptians*: no sign of poyson appearing, how great soever the suspicion might be. The charge of his burial was committed to *Arideus*, one of the Captains, who was two years preparing of a great and costly shew, making a stately Chariot in which the corps was laid; many coarses of his friends being laid in the ground before that of *Alexander* was bestowed in *Alexandria*, a City of his own building in *Egypt*.

SECT. III.

The beginning of the Lamian *War.*

WHilst these things were in doing, or presently after, *Antipater* and *Craterus*, two principal Noblemen, and inferiour to none of *Alexander*'s followers, if not greater than any of the rest, were busied in *Greece* with a War, which the *Athenians* more bravely than wisely had begun in *Alexander*'s life, but now did prosecute more boldly than before, upon the courage which they had taken by his death. *Alexander* not long before he died, had commanded that all the banished *Greeks* (few excepted) should be restored unto their former places. He knew the factious quality of the *Grecian* Estates, and therefore thought so to provide, that in every City he would have a sure party. But it fell out otherwise: For he lost the hearts of many more than he won by this proud injunction. His pleasure indeed was fulfilled; yet not without great murmuring of the whole Nation, as being against all order of Law, and a beginning of open tyranny. The *Athenians* greatly decayed in estate, but retaining more than was needful of their ancient spirits, forbad the execution of this Decree in their Dominions; so did also the *Ætolians* who were valiant men, and inhabited a Region well fortified by Nature: yet neither of them took Arms, but seemed to bear themselves as men that had done no more than they might well justifie by reason: nevertheless to prevent the worst, the *Athenians* gave secret instructions to *Leosthenes*, a Captain of theirs, willing him to levy an Army, but in his own name, and to keep it in a readiness for their use. This was no hard thing for *Leosthenes* to do: great numbers of *Greek* Souldiers being lately returned from the *Asian* War in poor estate, as defrauded of their pay by the Captains. Of these he had gathered up eight thousand, when the certain news was brought of *Alexander*'s death: at which the City of *Athens* declared it self, and more honourably than wisely, proclaimed War against the *Macedonians* for the liberty of *Greece*. Hereupon *Leosthenes* drew in the *Ætolians*, and some other Estates, gave battel to the *Beætians*, who sided with *Antipater*, and overthrew them; growing so fast in reputation, and

and so strong in adherents, that *Antipater* (arming in all haste, yet suspecting his own strength) was fain to send into *Asia* to *Craterus* for succour.

Nothing is more vain than the fears and hopes of men, shunning or pursuing their destinies afar off, which deceive all mortal wisdom, even when they seem near at hand. One month was scarcely past, since nothing so heavily burthened the thoughts of *Antipater* as the return of *Caterus* into *Macedon*; which he then feared as death, but now desired as the most likely assurance of his life. *Craterus*, whom *Alexander* held as of all men the most assured unto him, was sent into *Macedon* to convey the old Souldiers (that was the pretence) and to succeed *Antipater* in the Government of *Macedon* and *Greece*. The suspicions were strong that he had a privy charge to put *Antipater* to death: neither did that which was commonly published sound much better; which was, That *Antipater* should be sent unto the King, as Captain of the young Souldiers, newly to be levied in *Europe*. For *Alexander* was much incensed against him by his Mother *Olympias*: and would sometimes give out speeches, testifying his own jealousie and hatred of him; but yet he strove to smother it, which in a cruel Prince betokeneth little good. Few of *Alexander*'s Lieutenants had escaped with life: most of them indeed were mean persons in regard of those who followed him in his *Indian* expedition, and were therefore (perhaps) removed to make place for their betters. But if the King's rigour was such, as could find rebellious purposes (for so he interpreted even lewd Government) in base persons; little might *Antipater* hope for, who having sitten Viceroy ten years in the strongest part of the Empire, was called away to the presence of so fell a Master, and the envy of a Court, wherein they had been his inferiours, which would now repine to see him their equal. Therefore whether his fear drew him to prevention, working first the King's death by poyson, given by his Son *Iolaus*, *Alexander*'s Cup-bearer; or whether it brake not forth until opportunity had changed it into the passion of revenge, which was cruelly performed by his Son *Cassander*; great cause of much fear he had; which I note in this place, as the ground of effects to be produced in very few years.

At the present, *Craterus* was sent for, and all the Captains of Companies lying near, solicited to make haste. Not without cause: For in *Macedon* there could not at that time be raised more than thirteen thousand foot, and six hundred horse; which Muster was of raw Souldiers, all the force of the Country being employed in *Asia*. The *Thessalians* indeed who had long stood firm for *Philip* and *Alexander*, who also were the best horse-men of *Greece*; furnished him with very brave troops, that might have done great service, had their faith held out, which they changed for the liberty of *Greece*. With these forces did *Antipater* in *Thessaly* try the Fortune of a Battel with *Leosthenes*; rather (as may seem) fearing the increase of his enemies power, and rebellion of the *Greeks*, (were they not checkt at the first) than presuming on his strength. For *Leosthenes* had of *Athenians*, *Ætolians*, and Mercenaries, two and twenty thousand foot, besides the assistance of many petty Signiories, and of some *Illyrians* and *Thracians*: of horse he brought into the field about two thousand and five hundred; but over-strong he was that way also, when once the *Thessalians* had revolted unto him. So *Antipater* lost the day; and his loss was such, that he neither was able to keep the field, nor to make a safe retreat into his own Country; therefore he fled into the Town of *Lamia*, which was well fortified, and well provided of all things necessary to bear out a siege. Thither did *Leosthenes* follow him, present him battel again, and upon refusal close up the Town with Earth-works, and a Wall. There will we leave him for a while, travelling in the last honourable enterprize that ever was undertaken by that great City of *Athens*.

SECT. IV.

How Perdiccas *employed his Army.*

KIng *Arideus* living under the rule of *Perdiccas*, when all the Princes were gone each to his own Province, kept a naked Court: all his greatness consisting in a bare Title, supported by the strength of his Protector, who cared not for him otherwise than to make use of him. *Perdiccas* had no Province of his own peculiar, neither was he like to be welcome to any whom he should visit in his Government. A stronger Army than any of the rest he had, which he might easily hope in that unsettled condition of things to make better worth to him than many Provinces could have been. The better to accomplish his desires, he closely sought the marriage of *Cleopatra*, the sister of *Alexander*; yet about the same time he either married *Nicæa* the daughter of *Antipater*, or made such love to her as blinded their eyes, who did not somewhat narrowly search into his doings.

Ariarathes the *Cappadocian*, the second of that name, and tenth King of that Country, had continued faithful to the *Persian* Empire as long as it stood: following the example of his fore-fathers, even from *Pharnaces*, the first that reigned in *Cappadocia*, who married *Atossa* sister to the great *Cyrus*. Some of his Ancestors had (indeed) been oppressed by the *Persian*: but what Fortune took from them at one time, Vertue restored at another, and their faithful Princes had much encreased all. But now in the fatal Period of so great an Empire, with much wisdom, and (*Darius* being slain) with sufficient honour, he might have acknowledged the *Macedonian* in the *Persians* room. This he did not; neither did *Alexander* call him him to account, being occupied with great cares. But *Perdiccas*, who had no greater business wherein to entertain his Army, found it expedient both for the honour of the Empire, to take that inland Kingdom, surrounded with Provinces of the *Macedonian* Conquest, and for his own particular, to have one opportune place of sure retreat, under the Government of a stedfast friend. Therefore he entred *Cappadocia*, fought with *Ariarathes*, who drew into the field 30000 foot, and 15000 horse (a strong Army, had it not encountred a stronger, and better trained) wan the victory, and thereby the whole Kingdom. But with much cruelty did he use the victory: for having taken *Ariarathes* prisoner, with many others, he crucified him, and as many of his Kindred as he could light upon, and so delivered that Province to *Eumenes*, whom of all men living he trusted most. Another part of his forces he had committed to *Python*,

thon, rather as to the moſt honourable of ſuch as remained about him, than as to the moſt aſſured. *Python* was to ſuddue the *Greeks* rebelling in the high Countries of *Aſia*. About twenty thouſand foot, and thirty thouſand horſe they were (all old Souldiers) who planted in Colonies by *Alexander* to bridle the barbarous Nations, were ſoon weary of their unpleaſant habitations, and the rude people, among whom they lived: And therefore took advantage of the preſent troubles to ſeek unto themſelves a better fortune. Againſt theſe *Python* went, more deſirous to make them his own, than to deſtroy them: which intent of his *Perdiccas* diſcovering, did both give him in charge to put all thoſe Rebels to the ſword, giving the ſpoils of them to his Souldiers, and further enjoyned it upon *Python*'s Captains (his own creatures) that they ſhould ſee his commandment executed. Theſe directions for uſe of the victory, might have proved needleſs; ſo uncertain was the victory it ſelf. A Captain of the Rebels commanding over three thouſand, corrupted by *Python*, did in the heat of the fight (which was very doubtful) retire without neceſſity to a hill not far off. This diſmayed the reſt, and gave the day to *Python*: who being far enough from *Perdiccas*, offered compoſition to the vanquiſhed, granting unto them their lives and liberty, under condition of laying down their arms; and hereupon he gave them his faith. Being Maſter of theſe Companies, he might well have a good opinion of his own power: all power being then valued by ſtrength in followers, when as none could vaunt himſelf as free Lord of any Territory. He had thirteen thouſand foot, and eight thouſand eight hundred horſe, beſides theſe new Companions, whom needleſs fear without great loſs had cauſed to leave the field: but in true eſtimation, all the greatneſs whereof *Python* might think himſelf aſſured, was (and ſoon appeared to be) inherent in *Perdiccas*. For by his command were ten thouſand foot, and eight thouſand horſe, of thoſe which followed *Python*, levied; the Rulers of the Provinces carefully obeying the Letters of *Perdiccas*, by which they were enjoyned to give aſſiſtance to that buſineſs; and by virtue of the precept given unto them by *Perdiccas*, did the *Macedonians* cut in pieces all thoſe poor men who had yielded themſelves; leaving *Python* as naked as he came forth to return unto his great Maſter.

Now was *Perdiccas* mighty above the mighty, and had fair leiſure to purſue his hopes of marriage with *Cleopatra*, and thereby to make himſelf Lord of all: but this muſt be ſecretly carried for fear of oppoſition. How it ſucceeded, will appear when the *Lamian* War taketh ending.

SECT. V.

The Proceſs of the Lamian *War.*

WE left *Antipater* hardly beſieged, wanting means to free himſelf without ſuccours from his friends in *Aſia*. Thoſe helps not appearring ſo ſoon as he expected, he came to parley with *Leoſthenes*, and would have yielded unto any terms of reaſon, wherewith men poſſeſſed with hope of Victory, do ſeldom limit there deſires. *Leoſthenes* willed him without further circumſtance to ſubmit himſelf to diſcretion. This was too much for him that had once commanded over them, who now required of him ſuch a diſhonourable compoſition. Wherefore knowing that the extremity, from which as yet he was far enough, could bring no worſe with it, *Antipater* prepared for the defence; and the other for winning the Town, which felt great want of victuals.

In this lingering War the *Ætolians* (whether weary of ſitting ſtill at a ſiege, or having buſineſs which they pretended at home) took their leave, and returned into their own Country. Their departure left the trenches ſo thinly manned, that *Antipater* found means to ſally out upon his enemies to their great loſs: for many were ſlain, and *Leoſthenes* himſelf among them, ere he could be repulſed into the Town. Yet hereby the *Macedonians* were nothing relieved, their victuals waſted, and they were not ſtrong enough to deal with the *Greeks* in open fight. *Craterus* was long in coming. *Lyſimachus*, who was neareſt at hand in *Thrace*, had work too much of his own, leading no more than four thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe, againſt *Seuthas* the *Thracian* King, who brought into the field above four times that number; and though *Lyſimachus*, not without loſs, had gotten one victory, yet the enemy abounding in multitude, felt not the blow ſo much as might abate his courage. Therefore *Leonatus* was earneſtly ſolicited by *Antipater*'s friends, to make all haſte to the reſcue. He had the Government of *Phrygia* the leſs, and was able to raiſe an Army of more than twenty thouſand foot, and two thouſand five hundred horſe; whether levied out of his own Province, or appointed unto him out of the main Army, it is uncertain. Certain it is, that he was more willing to take in hand the journey into *Greece*, than *Antipater* was to have him come. For *Cleopatra* had written unto him, deſiring his preſence at *Pella*, the chief City of *Macedon*, and very kindly offering her ſelf to be his Wife; which letters he kept not ſo cloſe as had been requiſite, and therefore brought himſelf into great ſuſpicion, that ſoon ended with his life. *Antiphilus*, choſen General by the *Athenians* in place of *Leoſthenes*, hearing of his approach, forſook the ſiege of *Lamia*, and took the ready way to theſe great Conquerors of *Aſia*, with purpoſe to give them an evil welcome home, before *Antipater* and they ſhould joyn in one. He had (notwithſtanding the departure of the *Ætolians*) the advantage of *Leonatus* in horſe, by the odds of two thouſand *Theſſalians*; in other things he was equal with him; in caſe he thought himſelf Superiour, in the fortune of that day he proved ſo: for he wan a great victory (chiefly by virtue of the *Theſſalians*) which appeared the greater by the end of *Leonatus* himſelf; who fighting valiantly, was driven into a mariſh piece of ground, where he found his death, which he deſperately had fought among the *Indians*, but it waited for him at home, not far from the place of his nativity. He was the firſt of *Alexander*'s Captains which died in battel; but all, or moſt of the reſt ſhall follow him the ſame way. After this day, the *Athenians* did never any thing ſuitable to their ancient glory.

The vanquiſhed *Macedonians* were too weak to renew the fight, and too proud to flee. They betook themſelves to high grounds unfit for ſervice on horſeback, and ſo abode in the ſight of the enemy that day; the day following, *Antipater* with his men came into their Camp, and took the charge of all. The *Athenians* perceiving their ſtrength to be at the

the greatest, and fearing lest that of the enemy should increase, did earnestly seek to determine the matter quickly by another battel. But still *Antipater* kept himself on ground of advantage; which gave more than reasonable confidence to the *Greeks*, many of whom departed to their homes, accounting the enemy to be vanquished. This wretchlesness (incorrigible in an Army of Voluntaries) was very inexcusable; seeing that the victories by Land were very much defaced by losses at Sea, where the *Athenians*, labouring to have made themselves once again Masters, were put to the worst.

But now the fatal captivity of *Greece* came on, of which she never could be delivered unto this day. *Craterus* with a strong Army having made great marches from *Cilicia*, passed over into *Europe*, and coming into *Thessaly*, joyned himself with *Antipater*. The forces of *Leonatus*, *Antipater* and *Craterus* being joyned in one, contained forty thousand weightily armed, three thousand light-armed men, and five thousand horse; of which numbers the *Greeks* wanted a thousand and five hundred in horse; in foot, eighteen thousand. Carefully therefore did *Antiphilus* labour to avoid the necessity of a battel, until such time as the Towns confederate should return unto the Camp those bands which straggled from it. But those companies were so slow in coming, and *Antipater* so urgent upon the *Greeks*, that compelled they were to put the matter in hazard without further attendance. Like enough it is, that with a little more help they had carried away the victory: for the *Thessalians* had the upper hand, and held it, until such time as they perceived their battels (over-laid with multitude) retire unto the higher ground, which caused them also to fall back. So the *Macedonians* became Lords of the field, having little else to boast of, considering that with the loss of an hundred and thirty men, they had only purchased the death of some five hundred enemies. Yet hereof was great use made: For the *Greeks*, as not subject unto the full command of one General, and being every one desirous to preserve his own Estate and City: concluded to make a treaty of peace with *Antipater*; who being a subtle Artificer, and well understanding their aptness to division, refused to hearken to any general composition, but willed every City to deal apart for it self. The intent of his device was so apparent, that it was rejected: the *Greeks* chusing rather to abide the coming of their assistants, whose unreasonable carelesness betrayed the cause. *Antipater* and *Craterus* besieging and winning some Towns in *Thessaly*, which the Army of the Confederates wanted means and courage to relieve, wearied that Nation from attending any longer upon other mens unlikely hopes, with their own assured and present calamity.

SECT. VI.

Of the peace granted to Athens *by* Antipater. *Of* Demosthenes *his death.*

THe *Thessalians* falling off, all the rest soon followed severally, and sued for peace; the gentle conditions given to the most forward, inviting such as were slack. Only the *Athenians* and *Ætolians* held out. Little favour could they hope for, having been Authors of this tumult; and their fear was not great; the seat of the war being far from them. But the celerity of *Antipater* confounded all their imaginations; who sate still at *Athens*, devising upon courses of prosecuting the War to come, which came to their doors before their consultation could find issue. He was ready to enter upon their Frontiers; they had no ability to resist, and were as heartless as friendless. All that remained was to send Ambassadours, desiring peace upon some good terms: necessity enforcing them to have accepted even the very worst. *Phocion*, with *Demades* the Orator, and *Xenocrates* the Philosopher, were chief of this Embassage; *Phocion*, as the most honourable; *Demades* as a strong perswader (both of them well respected by *Antipater*) and *Xenocrates*, as one admired for wisdom, gravity of manners and virtues; but all these ornaments consisting in speculation, and therefore of less regard, when their admiration was to cost them much in real effects.

Antipater calling to mind the pride of *Leosthenes*, required of the *Athenians*, that they should wholly submit themselves to his pleasure; which being (perforce) granted, he commanded them to defray the charges of the War past, to pay a fine, and entertain a Garrison. Further, he abrogated the popular estate, committing the Government of the City to those of most wealth, depriving of the right of suffrage all such as wanted a convenient proportion of riches

About nine thousand they were, all men of good substance, to whom the administration of the Common-wealth was given; a number great enough to retain the name and form of a Democracy. But the rascal multitude of beggarly persons, accustomed to get their livings out of the common troubles, being now debarred from bearing offices and giving their voyces, cryed out, that this was a meer Oligarchy, the violent usurpation of a few encroaching upon the publick right. These turbulent fellows (of whom King *Philip* had been wont to say, That war to them was peace, and peace war) *Antipater* planted in *Thrace*, and gave them Lands to manure; leaving as few of them as he could to molest the quiet of *Athens*.

To the same end (yet withal for satisfying his own suspicions and hatred) he caused *Demosthenes* and *Hyperides* famous Orators, with some others, to be slain. Had the death of these two, especially of *Demosthenes*, been forborn, the rest of his proceedings in this action might well have passed for very mild; whereas now, all such as either are delighted with the Orations of *Demosthenes*, or have surrendred their judgements to Authors justly admiring him, as the most eloquent of all that ever did speak and write, condemn him utterly, calling him a bloody Tyrant. Such grace and reputation do the Learned Arts find in all Civil Nations, that the evil done to a man, famous in one of them, is able to blemish any action, how good soever otherwise it be, or honourably carried.

Demosthenes had taken Sanctuary in the Temple of *Neptune*, in the Isle of *Calauria*; there did *Archias* (sent with Souldiers by *Antipater* for the purpose) find him, and gently perswaded him to leave the place; but not so prevailing, he threatned violence. Then *Demosthenes* intreating a little respite, as it had been to write somewhat, secretly

ſecretly took poyſon, which he had kept for ſuch a neceſſity, and ſo died; rather chuſing to do the laſt execution upon himſelf, than to fall into the hands of ſuch as hated him. Only this act of his (commendable perhaps in a Heathen man) argued ſome valour in him; who was otherwiſe too much a coward in battel, howſoever valiant in perſwading to enterprizes, wherein the way to very honourable ends was to be made through paſſages exceeding dangerous. He loved money well, and had great ſums given him by the *Perſian*, to encourage him, in finding work for the *Macedonians* at home. Neither did he ill (me thinks) in taking from the *Perſians* which loved not his Country, great rewards, for ſpeaking ſuch things as tended to his Countries good; which he did not ceaſe to procure, when the *Perſians* were no longer able to give him recompence. Such as in tender contemplation of his death can endure no honourable, though true, mention of *Antipater*, may (if they can) believe *Lucian*, who tells us, That it was *Antipater*'s purpoſe to have done him great honour. Sure it is, that he was a ſtedfaſt enemy to the *Macedonians*; therefore diſcretion required that he ſhould be cut off.

The matters of *Athens* being thus ordered, the chief command was left in the hands of *Phocion*, a virtuous man, lover of his Country, yet applying himſelf to the neceſſity of the times; by which commendations he had both at other times done the City much good, and now procured this peace, which (though grievous to free men, yet favourable to the vanquiſhed) he endeavoured carefully to preſerve.

SECT. VII.

How Craterus *and* Antipater *were drawn from their* Ætolian *wars into* Aſia. *The ground of the firſt civil war between the* Macedonian *Lords.*

SO *Antipater* with *Craterus* returned into *Macedonia*, where they ſtrengthened their friendſhip with a new alliance; *Craterus* taking *Phila*, the Daughter of *Antipater* to Wife.

Shortly after they went againſt the *Ætolians*, whoſe poverty was not ſo eaſily daunted, as the luxurious wealth of the more powerful State of *Athens* had been. Their Country was rough and mountainous, having many places of great faſtneſs, into which they conveyed ſuch of their goods as they moſt eſteemed, and of their people, as were leaſt fit for War: with the reſt they fortified the ſtrongeſt of their Cities, and ſo abode the coming of the *Macedonians*, whom they manfully reſiſted. With great obſtinacy did the *Macedonians* contend againſt the difficulties of the places, which the *Ætolians* made good as long as their victuals held out. But when *Craterus* had ſhut up all paſſages, and utterly debarred them of of relief, then were they put to a miſerable choice; either to deſcend from their ſtrong holds, and fight upon equal ground, with unequal numbers, or to endure the miſeries of hunger and cold, againſt which they could make no long reſiſtance; or to yield themſelves to the *Macedonians*, who, incenſed by the loſs of many good Souldiers, were not like to leave ſo ſtubborn enemies in places which might give confidence to Rebellion. In caſe of extremity much fineneſs of wit apprehending all circumſtances of danger, commonly doth more hurt than a blunt conſideration of that only which at the preſent is in hand. Theſe *Ætolians* did not as yet want meat; but their enemies daily moleſted them: wherefore as yet they thought upon nothing but fighting. Fortune was gracious to their courage. For ſuch news came out of *Aſia* into the *Macedonian* Camp as made *Antipater* and *Craterus* think every hour a month, till they had rid their hands of theſe *Ætolians*, giving them whatſoever conditions they would ask: yet with purpoſe to call them to a ſevere account; yea, to root them out of *Greece* by death or by captivity, when once they ſhould have ſettled the affairs of *Aſia*; as they hoped and deſired. But of mens purpoſes God is diſpoſer: in whoſe high Counſel it was ordained, that that poor Nation ſhould continue a troubleſome bar to the proceedings of *Macedon* and *Greece*, and (when time had ripened the next Monarchy) an open gate to let the *Roman* Conquerors into thoſe and other Provinces. Likewiſe concerning the matters of *Aſia*, the reformation intended by *Antipater* and *Craterus*, was ſo far from taking effect, that it ſerved meerly as an introduction to all the civil Wars enſuing.

The grounds of the *Aſiatique* Expedition, which did ſet the world in an uproar, were theſe. *Antipater* and *Craterus* were of *Alexander*'s Captains the mightieſt in reputation: The one, in regard of his ancient preſidency, and the preſent rule which he bare in the parts of *Europe*. The other, as of all men the beſt beloved, and moſt reſpected, both of *Alexander* and of the whole Army. Next unto theſe had *Perdiccas* been; whom the advantage of his preſence at the King's death did make equal, or ſuperiour, to either of theſe, if not to both together. The firſt intents of *Perdiccas* were, to have conſorted with theſe two, and to have been with them a third partner in the Government of all; to which purpoſe he entertained the diſcourſe of marriage with one of *Antipater*'s Daughters. But feeling in ſhort ſpace the ſtrength of that gale of wind which bore him up, he began to take wing and ſoar quite another way. *Arideus* was a very ſimple man, yet ſerved well enough to wear the title of that Majeſty, whereof *Perdiccas* being Adminiſtrator, and hoping to become Proprietary, the practice was more ſevere than had been in the days of *Alexander*: the deſire to ſeem terrible, being very familiar with weak Princes, and their ambitious Officers, who knew no other means of preſerving themſelves from contempt, and of giving ſuch a fiery luſtre to their Actions, as may dazle the eyes of the beholders. How cruelly the poor *Greeks* in the higher *Aſia* were all put to the ſword; and how tyrannouſly the King and Princes of *Cappadocia* were crucified, hath already been ſhewed. The *Piſidians* were the next who felt the wrath of the counterfeit *Alexanders*. One City of theirs was utterly razed; the children ſold for ſlaves, and all the reſt maſſacred. The *Iſaurians*, by this example grown deſperate, when after two or three days trial they found themſelves unable to continue the defence, lockt themſelves into their houſes, and ſet the Town on fire, into the flame whereof the young men did throw themſelves, after that they had a while repelled the *Macedonians* from the walls.

Theſe exploits being performed, the Army had no other work than to ſift the aſhes of the burnt City for gold and ſilver; but *Perdiccas* had

buſineſs

buſineſs of greater importance troubling his brains. Nothing was more contrary to his ends, than to ſit ſtill without employment, letting his Souldiers grow idle about him, whilſt others grew great, and took deep root in their ſeveral Provinces. He purpoſed therefore to tranſport his forces into *Europe*, under pretence of bringing the King into *Macedonia*, the ſeat of his Anceſtors, and head of the Empire. The King's preſence would make the Offices of his Vice-roys (during the time) actually void; *Antipater* with *Craterus* being once in caſe of private men, and only *Perdiccas* holding authority, the match with *Cleopatra* might eaſily be made. So ſhould greatneſs meet with a good title; and what more could be wiſhed? Some impediment the power of *Ptolomy* might give, who held *Egypt* well fortified with men, but much better with love of the people; yet if the buſineſs proſpered in *Macedonia*, like enough it was that either *Ptolomy* would follow of himſelf, or be driven to come to reaſon. *Antigonus* likewiſe then Governing in *Phrygia*, a buſie headed man, and ill affected to the ſide, was to be looked into and made away, for fear of further trouble. So thought *Perdiccas*, and was deceived in ſo thinking. *Antigonus* was as good a man of War, of as deep a judgement, as high a ſpirit, and as great undertaking, as any of *Alexander*'s Captains. His employments had been leſs than ſome of theirs, which made him alſo the leſs reſpected. But his thoughts were as proud as theirs: for he valued himſelf by his own worth, not by the opinions of other men: with careful attention had he watched *Perdiccas*, and ſounded the depth of his purpoſes, which it was now high time to diſcover. For *Perdiccas* having with a jealous eye pryed into the demeanour of *Antigonus*, and finding him no way fit for his turn, cauſed him to be charged with ſuch accuſations, as might ſuffice to take away his life, eſpecially by a Judge that ſought his death. This device *Antigonus* would not ſeem to perceive, but prepared himſelf in ſhew to make anſwer, indeed, to make eſcape; which eaſily he did, putting himſelf and his Son *Demetrius* aboard of ſome *Athenian* Gallies, that carried him to *Antipater*, laden with ſuch tidings as finiſhed the *Ætolian* War before mentioned.

As the coming of *Antigonus* made *Craterus* and *Antipater* manifeſtly perceive their own danger: ſo his flight gave *Perdiccas* to underſtand that his intentions were laid open, and muſt now be juſtified by the ſword. Therefore he prepared as faſt as he could, not only for defence, but (as having on his ſide the King's name) to meet with them at home, who were nothing ſlack in providing to encounter him. *Ptolomy* being advertiſed of theſe proceedings, and conſidering how nearly they concerned him, ſided with *Antipater*. To his Government of *Egypt* he had annexed the Dominion of *Cyrene*, not without conſent of the chief Citizens; and now in the midſt of theſe garboyls he celebrated the funeral of *Alexander* with great ſolemnity, purchaſing thereby to himſelf much good will and many partakers, notwithſtanding the terrible report of the King's Army coming againſt him.

SECT. VIII.

Perdiccas *his voyage into* Egypt, *and his death.*

Perdiccas, uncertain which way to bend his main power, at length reſolved to ſet upon *Ptolomy*; leaving *Eumenes* to keep to his uſe, againſt *Craterus* and *Antipater*, the parts of *Aſia* bordering upon *Europe*.

It may ſeem ſtrange, that he did not rather make head againſt thoſe who were to come out of *Greece* with a great number, and of more able men than *Ptolomy* could bring. Perhaps he thought to make a quick end with *Ptolomy*; or believed that *Craterus* would not be ready for him ſoon enough. Sure it is, that he took a bad courſe and made it worſe with ill handling.

Ptolomy by his ſweet behaviour allured many to his party, without help of any bad arts. *Perdiccas* contrariwiſe was full of inſolency, which never fails to be rewarded with hatred; which is truly defined, An affection founded upon opinion of an unjuſt contempt. The whole ſtory of his proceedings in *Egypt* is not worth relation: for he did nothing of importance; but (as a wilful man) tired his followers, and waſted them in hard enterprizes without ſucceſs. His moſt forceable attempt was upon a Town, called the *Camels Wall*: thither he marched by night, with more haſte than good ſpeed; for *Ptolomy* preventing him, did put himſelf into the place, where behaving himſelf not only as a good Commander, but as a ſtout Souldier, he gave the foil to *Perdiccas*, cauſing him to retire with loſs, after a vehement, but vain aſſault, continued one whole day. The night following, *Perdiccas* made another journey (which was his laſt) and came to the diviſions of *Nilus*, over againſt *Memphis*. There with much difficulty he began to paſs over his Army into an Iſland, where he meant to encamp. The current was ſtrong, the water deep, and hardly foordable. Wherefore he placed his Elephants above the paſſage, to break the violence of the ſtream, and his horſemen beneath it, to take up ſuch as were carried away by ſwiftneſs of water. A great part of his Army being arrived on the further bank, the channel began to wax deep; ſo that whereas the former companies had waded up to the chin, they who ſhould have followed could find no footing. Whether this came by the riſing of the water, or ſlitting away of the ground; (the earth being broken with the feet of ſo many Men, Horſe and Elephants) no remedy there was, but ſuch as had paſſed muſt repaſs again, as well as they might for they were too weak for the enemy, and could not be relieved by their fellows. With great confuſion therefore they committed themſelves to the River, wherein above two thouſand of them periſhed, a thouſand were devoured by Crocodiles, a miſerable ſpectacle even to ſuch as were out of danger; ſuch as were ſtrong and could ſwim, recovered the Camp; many were carried down the ſtream, and driven to the contrary bank, whereby they fell into the hands of their enemies.

This misfortune exaſperated the Souldiers againſt their General, giving liberty to their tongues, which long time had concealed the evil thoughts of their hearts. While they were thus murmuring, news came from *Ptolomy*, which did ſet

them in an up-roar. *Ptolomy* had not only shewed much compassion on those who fell into his hands alive, but performed all rights of Funeral to the dead carcasses, which the River had cast upon his side: and finally, sent their bones and ashes to be interred by their Kinsmen or Friends. This did not only move the common Souldiers, but made the Captains fall into mutiny, thinking it unreasonable to make war upon so virtuous and honourable a person, to fulful the pleasure of a Lordly ambitious man, using them like slaves. The sedition growing strong, wanted only a head, which it quickly found. *Python* was there, who inwardly hated *Perdiccas*, for the disgrace which he had suffered by his procurement, after the Victory upon the rebellious *Greeks*. *Python* had lived in honourable place about *Alexander*; he was in the division of the Provinces made Governour of *Media*; he had followed *Perdiccas*, and being in all things (the Protectorship excepted) equal to him, had nevertheless been scornfully used by him, which now he requited. Drawing together a hundred of the Captains, and a good part of the Horse, which consisted of the Gentry (the footmen having declared themselves before) he entred the Tent of *Perdiccas*, where without further circumstance they all ran upon him, and slew him. Such end had the proud mis-governing authority of *Perdiccas*. He might have lived as great as any, could he have suffered any as great as himself; yea, peradventure Master of all, had he not been too masterly over those which were already his.

The next day *Ptolomy* came into the Camp, where he was joyfully received; he excused himself of things past, as not having been Author, or given cause of the War, and was easily believed: the favour of the Army being such toward him, that needs they would have made him Protector in the room of *Perdiccas*. But this he refused. It was an Office fit for one that would seek to increase his greatness with his trouble. *Ptolomy* was well enough already, wherefore, for his own quiet he forbare to accept it, and for their well-deserving of him, he procured that honourable charge to *Python*, and to *Arideus* the Captain, who having had some Companies of Souldiers, to furnish with their attendance the solemnities of *Alexander*'s Funerals, did with them adhere to him against *Perdiccas*.

In the midst of these businesses came news of two great Victories obtained by *Eumenes*; which news, had they arrived two or three days sooner, had been entertained with joyful acclamations; and would have given such reputation to *Perdiccas*, as had caused both his private maligners to continue his open flatterers, and his open enemies to have accepted any tolerable composition. But these good tidings coming in ill time, when death had stopped the ears which would have given them welcome, found bad acceptance, as shall be shewed hereafter.

SECT. IX.

Victories of Eumenes *in the lower* Asia.

BEfore we proceed in the relation of things happening about the person of the King, it is meet that we speak of those businesses in the lower *Asia*, which were handled by *Eumenes* with notable dexterity, whilst *Perdiccas* was occupied in the *Egyptian* Wars. *Alcetas* the Brother of *Perdiccas*, and *Neoptolemus*, had received command from *Perdiccas* to be assistant to *Eumenes*, and to follow his directions. But *Alcetas* made flat answer that he would not; alledging the backwardness of his men to bear Arms against so great a person as *Antipater*, and a man so much honoured as *Craterus*. *Neoptolemus* was content to make fair shew, but inwardly he repined at the precedency given to *Eumenes*, as thinking himself the better man. *Eumenes* discovering, through the counterfeited looks of *Neoptolemus*, the mischief lurking in his heart, wisely dissembled with him, in hope to win him by gentle behaviour, and sweet language, that commonly are lost, when bestowed upon arrogant creatures. Yet the better to fortifie himself, that he might stand upon his own strength, he raised out of the Countries under his jurisdiction, about six thousand Horse, giving many priviledges to such as were serviceable; and training them well up. Not without great need. For when upon advertisement of the great preparations made by *Craterus* and *Antipater* (who had newly passed the *Hellespont*) for the invasion of his Provinces, he willed *Neoptolemus* to come to him with all his power; *Neoptolemus* did (indeed) advance, but in hostile manner, though unprovoked, presented him Battel. *Neoptolemus* had secretly covenanted with *Antipater* to lay open the way for him to the Conquest of *Asia*, which now intending to perform, he was shamefully disappointed. For, though his foot-men, being all *Macedonians*, had much the better, and prevailed far upon *Eumenes* his Battels; yet were his horse driven out of the field, and himself compelled, with a few of them, to run away, leaving naked the backs of his *Macedonian* foot-men to be charged by *Eumenes*, who forced them in such wise, that casting down their Pikes, they cried for mercy, and gladly took their oath to do him faithful service. *Antipater* and *Craterus* endeavoured with many goodly promises to draw *Eumenes* into their society, who contrariwise offered himself as a mean of reconciliation, between *Perdiccas* and *Craterus*, whom he dearly loved; professing withal his hatred to *Antipater*, and constant faith to the cause which he had undertaken to maintain.

Whilst these negotiations were on foot, *Neoptolemus* came with his broken crew to *Antipater*, and his Associates, vilifying *Eumenes*, and calling him a Scribe (at which foolish railing they laught) but extolling the virtue of *Craterus* (as well he might) with high commendations; assuring them, that if *Craterus* did but once appear, or that his voice were but heard by any *Macedonian* in *Eumenes* his Camp, the Victory was won; for they would all forthwith revolt unto him. Earnestly therefore he desired them to give him aid against *Eumenes*, and especially requested that *Craterus* might have the leading of the Army to be sent. Their own affections did easily lead them to condescend

to

to his motion: good hope there was, that the reputation of *Craterus* might prevail as much as the force which he drew along. For he had in the midſt of *Alexander*'s vanities, when others (imitating their King) betook themſelves to the *Perſian* faſhions of garments and cuſtoms, retained the ancient *Macedonian* form of behaviour, and apparrel; whereby he became very gracious with the common Souldiers, who beheld theſe new tricks of *Aſia* with diſcontented eyes, as reproachful and derogatory to the manners of their native Country. So *Antipater* took the way toward *Cilicia*, to hold *Perdiccas* at bay, and to joyn with *Ptolomy*. *Craterus* uſed great celerity, to have taken *Eumenes* revelling (as he hoped) according to the common faſhion of Captains, after a great Victory. But he had a wary and well adviſed enemy to encounter, who kept good eſpial upon him, and with much wiſdom fore-ſaw all that was to be feared, and the means of prevention, which his courage did not fail to execute. *Eumenes* was not ignorant that *Craterus* was able to defeat him without Battel, yea without ſtroke; him therefore he feared more than the Army following him: (yet the Army following him were ſuch as much exceeded his own foot-men, but was inferiour in horſe-men) and thought it more uneaſie to keep the *Macedonians* from revolting to him, than from knowing him. Hereupon he took in hand a ſtrange piece of work, which deſperation of all courſes elſe taught him, and wiſe managing proſperouſly accompliſhed. He gave out reports, that *Neoptolemus* was returned with ſuch company as he could gather together, and had gotten *Pigres* (a Captain of no great eſtimation, who lay not far off) to joyn with him. Having animated his men againſt *Neoptolemus*, whom he knew to be deſpiſed and hated among them, (as having been vanquiſhed by ſome of them, and forſaken others in plain field, whilſt they valiantly fought in his quarrel) he took great care to keep them from receiving any intelligence of the enemies matters. Peremptorily he commanded that no meſſenger nor trumpeter ſhould be admitted; and not herewith ſatisfied, he placed againſt *Craterus* no one *Macedonian*, nor any other, that much would have regarded him, had he been known: but *Thracians*, *Cappadocians* and *Perſians*, under the leading of ſuch, as thought more highly of none, than of *Perdiccas* and himſelf. To theſe alſo he give in charge, that without ſpeaking or hearkening to any word, they ſhould run upon the enemy; and give him no leiſure to ſay, or do any thing but fight. The directions which he gave to others, he did not fail to execute in his own perſon: but placing himſelf in the right wing of his Battel, oppoſite to *Neoptolemus*, who (as he underſtood) conducted the left wing on the contrary ſide, he held the *Macedonians* arranged in good order, and ready to charge the enemy as ſoon as the diſtance would give leave. A riſing piece of ground lay between them, which having aſcended, the Armies diſcovered each other: but that of *Eumenes* every way prepared for the fight, the other wearied with long journeys, which overhaſtily they had made, ſeeking the deceitful iſſue of frivolous hopes. Then was it high time for *Craterus* (having failed in ſurpriſing them as enemies) to diſcover himſelf to his old friends, and fellow-ſouldiers, of whom he could ſee none. *Phœnix* a *Tenidian*, and *Artabazus* a *Perſian*, had the leading of that ſide, who, mindful of their inſtructions, began to give battel upon him, with ſuch countenance as told him his error; which to redeem, he bad his men fight, and redeem the day, and take the ſpoil to themſelves; but the Bear, whoſe skin he ſells, is not yet caught. The ground whereon the Battel was fought, gave moſt advantage to the horſe, who encountred very roughly on all parts: eſpecially about *Eumenes* and *Neoptolemus*; who, as ſoon as they had diſcovered one another, could not contain themſelves, but with great rage met body to body, and letting looſe their bridles, grappled ſo violently together, that their horſes ran from under them, leaving both of them tumbling on the ground. *Neoptolemus* roſe firſt up; but *Eumenes* had his ſword firſt drawn, wherewith he houghed the other, cauſing him to fall down and fight upon one knee. In this conflict they received many wounds, but *Neoptolemus* giving ſlight ones, took ſuch as were deadly, by which he died in the place, and there was (being half-dead, half-alive) ſtripped by his mortal enemy, whoſe revilings he requited, lying even at the laſt gaſp, with one wound in the groin, dangerous had it not wanted force. The death of *Neoptolemus* cauſed his followers to run away upon the ſpurr, and ſeek ſhelter behind the Battels of their Foot. They were nothing hotly purſued. For *Eumenes* pained himſelf to carry ſuccour to his left wing, which he ſuſpected much to be diſtreſſed; but found accompanied with the ſame fortune, that had aſſiſted him when he fought in perſon. *Craterus* had gallantly born himſelf a while, and ſuſtained the impreſſion of *Artabazus* and *Phœnix* with more courage than force; holding it nothing agreeable with his honour to retire and protract the fight, when he was charged by men of little eſtimation or note. Otherwiſe it is not unlikely that he might have either carried the day, or preſerved himſelf to a better adventure by giving ground, as the reſt (when he and *Neoptolemus* were ſlain) did. But whilſt he ſought to preſerve his reputation, he loſt his life by the fall of his Horſe, or his falling from his Horſe, through force of a wound received; upon which accident he was trampled under foot by many that knew him not, and ſo periſhed unknown, till it was too late to know it. *Eumenes* coming to the place where he lay, made great lamentation, as having always loved and honoured *Craterus*, of whoſe death he was now become the inſtrument. The vanquiſhed Army entertained a treaty of peace with *Eumenes*, making ſhew of willingneſs to become his followers; but their intent was only to refreſh themſelves, which (by his permiſſion) having done, they ſtole away by night, and fled towards *Antipater*.

This Battel fought within ten days of the former, wan to *Eumenes* more reputation than good will: for his own Souldiers took the death of *Craterus* heavily; and the Armies lying further off were inraged with the news. But other matters there were which incenſed men againſt him, beſides the death of *Craterus*, whereof it manifeſtly appeared, that he was as ſorry as any that pretended greater heavineſs. His Army wanted pay. This was a great fault; which he wiſely amended, by giving to them the ſpoil of ſuch Towns as were ill affected to him. So he redeemed the love of his own men, who of their meer motion appointed unto him a Guard for defence of his perſon. Others were not ſo eaſie to be reconciled. They who had been Traitors to *Perdiccas*, hated him for his faithfulneſs, as greatly, as they thought he would hate them for their falſhood; neither found they any fairer way of excuſing their late revolt,

than by accuſing and condemning the ſide which they had forſaken. Wherefore they proclaimed *Eumenes* a Traitor, and condemned him to dye: but it was an eaſier matter to give that ſentence, than to put it in execution.

SECT. X.

Quarrels between Eurydice *the Queen, and* Python *the Protector.* Python *reſigns his Office, into which* Antipater *is choſen.*

Python and *Arideus* being choſen Protectors of King *Arideus*, and the children of *Alexander*; took the way to *Aſia* the leſs, conducting the Army thorow *Syria*. Of theſe two, *Python* was the greater in reputation, yet far too weak to ſuſtain ſo important a Charge. For *Eurydice*, wife to King *Arideus*, was come to her husband, a Lady of a maſculine ſpirit, well underſtanding what ſhe was or ſhould be, and thinking her ſelf able to ſupport the weight which fortune laid upon her fooliſh husband, being due to her own title. Her mother *Cyna*, Siſter to *Alexander*, by her Father King *Philip*, was married (as hath been ſhewed) to *Amyntas*, who was the right Heir to the Kingdom of *Macedon*, being the only Son of King *Perdiccas*, *Philip*'s elder Brother.

This *Cyna* was a warlike woman; ſhe had led Armies, and (as a true Siſter of *Alexander*) fighting hand to hand with *Ceria*, Queen of the *Phrygians*, a *Virago*, like unto her ſelf, had ſlain her. She brought up this *Eurydice* in the ſame unwomanly Art of War, who now among the Souldiers began to put in practice the rudiments of her education, to the ſmall contentment of *Python*, that could not brook her too curious intermedling in his charge. Whether it were ſo, that *Python* had ſome purpoſe to advance the Son of *Alexander* by *Roxane*, to the Kingdom, (as once he had ſought to do) or whether the Queen did ſuſpect him of ſome ſuch intent; or whether only deſire of rule cauſed her to quarrel with him; quarrel ſhe did, which diſturbed the proceeding againſt *Eumenes*. The Army having ſhaken off ſuch a rank-rider as *Perdiccas*, would not afterward be reigned with a twined thred. *Python* bearing himſelf upon his office took upon him to give directions in the King's name, which the Queen did oftentimes control, uſing the ſame name with more authority, and better liking of the Souldiers. *Python* ſeeing this, would needs reſign his office, whether upon wearineſs of the contentions daily growing, or on purpoſe to bring the Queen into envy, it is uncertain. Perhaps he thought, that now being the far worthieſt man in the Camp, he ſhould be intreated to retain the place, and have his Authority confirmed, or (as might be) increaſed, were it but for want of a fit Succeſſor. *Eurydice* was nothing ſorry at this courſe; for now ſhe thought to manage the affairs of the Empire at her own will, being freed from the troubleſome aſſiſtance of a Protector. But the Souldiers diſappointed both her and *Python* of their contrary expectations; chuſing *Antipater*, the only powerful man of *Alexander*'s Captains, then living, into the room of *Python*. Hereat the Queen fretted exceedingly, and began to deal earneſtly with the *Macedonians*, that they ſhould acknowledge no Lord, ſave only the King their Soveraign. Yet ſhe failed of her purpoſe, being hindred (as may ſeem) by three things: the apparent weakneſs of her husband; the growth of *Alexander*'s children, who (though born of out-landiſh women) were bred in the *Macedonian* Camp; and the mightineſs of *Antipater*, who commanding a great Army near at hand, arrived in few days at the Camp, and enforced *Eurydice* to hold her ſelf content. *Antipater* was of ſuch power, that he needed not to work by any cloſe deviſes, as *Perdiccas* had done: he had no concurrents, all the Governours of Provinces that remained alive, acknowledged him their better; yea many of them he diſplaced out of hand, putting other in their rooms. This done, he took the King, Queen and Princes along with him into *Macedonia*, leaving *Antigonus* General of the Royal Army: to whom for his good ſervices done, and to be done againſt *Eumenes*, he gave the rule of *Suſiana*, beſides his former Provinces, and committed into his hands the Govrnment of *Aſia* during that War.

SECT. XI.

Anitigonus *Lieutenant of* Aſia, *wins a Battel of* Eumenes, *and beſieged him in* Nora: *He vanquiſheth other followers of* Perdiccas.

HEre begins the greatneſs of *Antigonus*, whoſe power in few years over-growing the reſt, wanted little of ſpreading it ſelf over the whole Monarchy. He was to make War upon *Eumenes*, *Alcetus* the Brother, and *Attalus* the Brother-in-law to *Perdiccas*: work enough to keep his Army employed in the publick ſervice, till ſuch time as he might find occaſion to make uſe of it in his own buſineſs. The firſt of theſe which he undertook, was *Eumenes*, with whom *Alcetus* and *Attalus* refuſed to joyn, having unreaſonably contended with him in time of common danger about the chief place. *Eumenes* had an Army ſtrong in number, courage, and all needful proviſions; but obedient only at diſcretion. Therefore *Antigonus* tried all ways of corrupting his Souldiers; tempting firſt the whole Army with Letters: which practice failing by the cunning of *Eumenes* (who made ſhew as if he himſelf had ſcattered abroad thoſe Letters to try the faith of his men) he dealt apart with ſuch Captains as he thought moſt eaſie to be won. Of theſe Captains one rebelled, breaking out too haſtily before any help was near him, yet looking ſo careleſly to himſelf, that he and his were ſurprized, when he thought his enemies far off. Another follower of *Eumenes* (or rather of good fortune, which he thought now to be in company with *Antigonus*) kept his treachery ſecret, reſerving it for the time of execution. Upon confidence of the treaſon which this falſe man *Apollonides*, had undertaken. *Antigonus* preſented battel to *Eumenes*; in the heat whereof *Apollonides*, General of the Horſe to *Eumenes*, fled over to the contrary ſide, with ſuch as he could get to follow him, but was cloſely followed by ſome, whoſe company he deſired not. *Eumenes* perceiving the irrecoverable miſchief which this traiterous practice had brought upon him, purſued the villain, and cut him off before he could thruſt himſelf into the Troops of *Antigonus*, and boaſt of his treachery. This was ſome comfort to *Eumenes* in the loſs of his Battel, which diſabled him utterly to keep the field, and left it, very hard for him to make a ſafe retreat. Yet one

one thing he did which much amazed his enemies, and (though a matter of small importance) caused *Antigonus* himself to admire his high resolution. It was held no small part of the Victory, to get possession of the dead bodies. *Eumenes*, whilst *Antigonus* held him in chase, turned out of the way, and fetching a compass, returned to the place where the Battel had been fought; there he burned (according to the manner of the time) the bodies of his own men, and interred the bones and ashes of the Captains and common Souldiers apart, raising up heaps of earth as mountains over them, and so went his way. As this bold adventure bred in the *Macedonians* (returned to their Camp) great admiration of his brave spirit: so the news which *Menander* (who was set to look unto their carriages) brought and published among them, enticed them to love him as their honourable friend. He had found *Menander* in an open Plain, careless, as after an assured Victory, and loaden with the spoils of many Nations, the rewards of their long service; all which he might have taken: but fearing lest such a purchase should prove a heavy burthen to him, whose chief hope consisted in swift expedition, he gave secret warning to *Menander* to flee to the Mountains, whilst he detained his men (whom authority could not have restrained) by this sleight, setting them to bait their horses. The *Macedonians* extolled him for this courtesie, as a noble Gentleman, that had forborn when it lay in his power to strip them out of all their wealth, and make their children slaves, and to ravish their wives: but *Antigonus* told them, that he had not forborn to do this out of any good will to them; but of meer subtilty had avoided those precious Fetters, which would have hindred his speedy flight. He told them true. For *Eumenes* did not only think all carriages to be over-burthensome, but the number of his men to be more troublesome than available in his intended course. Wherefore he sent them from him as fast as he could, wishing them to shift for themselves; and retaining only five hundred horse, and two hundred foot. When he had wearied *Antigonus* a while in following him up and down, he came to *Nora*, where again keeping about him no more than necessity required to make good the place, he lovingly dismissed all the rest. *Nora* was a little Fortress in *Lycaonia* and *Cappadocia*, so strongly situated, that it seemed impregnable, and so well victualled and stored with all necessaries, that it might hold out for many years. Thither did *Antigonus* follow him, with more desire to make him his friend, than to vanquish him in War. To this purpose he entertained parley with him, but in vain. For, whereas *Antigonus* offered him pardon and his love; *Eumenes* required restitution of his Provinces, which could not be granted without *Antipater's* consent. Then was *Nora* closed up; where *Antigonus* leaving sufficient strength for continuance of the Siege, took his Journey into *Pisidia* against *Alcetus* and *Attalus*, with whom he made short work. He came upon them unexpected, and seised on passages, which wanted not men, but such a Captain as *Eumenes*, to have defended them. *Alcetus* and *Attalus*, as they had been too secure before his coming, so were they too adventurous in fighting at the first sight upon all disadvantages, and their folly was attended with suitable event. *Attalus*, with many principal Captains was taken; *Alcetus* fled to the City of *Termessus*, where the love of the younger sort toward him was so vehement, that stopping their ears against all perswasions of the ancient men, they needs would hazard their lives, and their Country in his defence. Yet this availed him nothing: for the Governours of the Town having secretly compounded with *Antigonus*, caused the young men to sally out; and using the time of advantage, they with their servants did set upon *Alcetus*, who unable to resist, slew himself. His dead body was conveyed to *Antigonus*, and by him barbarously torn, was cast forth without burial. When *Antigonus* was gone, the young men interred the Carkass with solemn Funerals, having once been minded to set on Fire their Town in revenge of his death. Such favour had he purchased with courteous liberality. But, to make an able General, one virtue, how great soever is insufficient.

SECT. XII.

Ptolomy *wins* Syria *and* Phœnicia. *The death of* Antipater.

WHilst these things were in doing, the rest of the Princes lay idle, rather seeking to enjoy their Governments for the present, than to confirm or enlarge them. Only *Ptolomy* looking abroad, wan all *Syria* and *Phœnicia*: an action of great importance, but not remarkable for any circumstance in the managing. He sent a Lieutenant with an Army, who quickly took *Laomedon* prisoner, that ruled there by appointment of *Antipater*, and formerly of *Perdiccas*; but (as may seem) without any great strength of Souldiers, far from Assistants, and vainly relying upon the Authority which had given him that Province, and was now occupied with greater cares, than with seeking to maintain him in his office.

Antipater was old and sickly, desirous of rest, and therefore contented to let *Antigonus* pursue the dispatch of those businesses in *Asia*. He had with him *Polysperchon*, one of the most ancient of *Alexander's* Captains, that had lately suppressed a dangerous insurrection of the *Ætolians*, which Nation had stirred in the quarrel of *Perdiccas*, prevailing far at the first, but soon losing all that they had gained, whilst *Antipater* was abroad in his *Cilician* Expedition. In this *Polysperchon*, *Antipater* did repose great confidence; so far forth, that (suspecting the youth of his own Son *Cassander* of insufficiency in so great a charge) he bequeathed unto him on his death-bed the Government of *Macedon* and *Greece*, together with the office of Protectorship. So *Antipater* died, being fourscore years old, having always travelled in the great affairs of mighty Princes, with such reputation, that *Alexander* in all his greatness was jealous of him, and the Successors of *Alexander* did either quietly give place unto him, or were unfortunate in making oppositions. In his private qualities, he was a subtle man, temperate, frugal, and of a Philosophical behaviour, not unlearned, as having been Scholar to *Aristotle*, and written some Histories. He had been much molested by *Olympias*, *Alexander's* Mother; whom after the death of her Son, he compelled to abstain from coming into *Macedonia*, or intermedling in matters of State: yea, at his own death he gave especial direction, that no woman should be permitted to deal in the administration of the Empire. But this precept was soon forgotten; and yet, e're long, by sorrowful experience approved to have been sound and good.

SECT.

SECT. XIII.

Of Polysperchon, *who succeeded unto* Antipater *in the Protectorship. The insurrection of* Cassander *against him.*

Polysperchon was very skilful in the Art of War, having long time been Apprentice in that occupation; other qualities, requisite in so high an Office as he under-went, either Nature had not given to him, or Time had robbed him of them. He managed his business more formally than wisely, as a man of a second wit, fitter to assist, than command in chief. At the first entrance upon the Stage, he called to council all his friends, wherein for weighty considerations (as they who weighed not the contrary reasons held them) the Queen *Olympias* was revoked out of *Epirus* into *Macedon*, that the presence of *Alexander*'s Mother might countenance and strengthen their proceedings. For, the condition of the times requiring, that the Governors of Provinces abroad should keep greater Armies, than were needful or easie to be retained about the person of the King in *Macedonia*; it seemed expedient, that the face of the Court should be filled with all Majesty, that might give authority to the Injunctions from thence proceeding, and by an awful regard contain within the limited bounds of duty such as could not by force have been kept in order, being strong, and lying too far off.

Such care was taken for prevention of imaginary dangers and out of sight, whilst present mischiefs lay unregarded in their bosoms. *Cassander*, the Son of *Antipater*, was not able to discover that great sufficiency in *Polysperchon*, for which his Father had reposed in him so much confidence: neither could he discern such odds in the quality of himself and *Polysperchon*, as was in their fortune. He was left Captain of one thousand; which Office by practice of those times was of more importance, than the Title now seems to imply. He should thereby have been as Camp-master, or Lieutenant-General to the other: a place no way satisfying his ambition, that thought himself the better man. Therefore he began to examine his own power, and compare it with the forces likely to oppose him. All that had relyed on his Father, were his own assured, especially such as commanded the Garrisons bestowed in the principal Cities of *Greece*. The like hope was of the Magistrates, and others of principal authority, in those Commonweals, whose forms had been corrected by *Antipater*, that they would follow the side, and draw in many partakers: it concerned these men in their own particular to adhere unto the Captains, by whom their faction was up-held; and by whom the rascal multitude, covetous of re-gaining the Tyrannous power which they had formerly exercised over the principal Citizens, were kept in order, obeying their betters perforce. Besides all these helps, *Cassander* had the secret love of Queen *Eurydice*, who had in private rendred him such courtesie, as was due only to her Husband. But neither the Queens favour, nor all his other possibilities, gave him confidence to break out into open rebellion; because he saw *Polysperchon* much reverenced among the *Macedonians*, and strong enough to suppress him, before he could have made head. Therefore he made shew of following his pleasures in the Countrey, and calling many of his friends about him, under pretence of hunting, advised with them upon the safest course, and most free from all suspicion. The necessity was apparent of raising an Army, before the business was set on foot; and to do this, opportunity presented him with fair means. *Ptolomy* had by fine force, without any commission, annexed *Syria* to his Government of *Egypt* and *Cyrene*: this was too much either for the King to trust him with, or for him to part with. *Antigonus* upon the first news of *Antipater*'s death, began to lay hold upon all that he could get, in such sort, that he manifestly discovered his intent of making himself Lord of all *Asia*. These two therefore stood in need of a Civil War; which *Cassander* well noted, and presumed withal, That the friendship which had passed between his Father and them, would avail him somewhat. Whereupon he secretly dispatched messengers to them both; and within a little while conveyed himself on a sudden over the *Hellespont*, that he might in person advance the business with greater speed. Much perswasion is needless in winning a man to what he desireth. *Antigonus* coveting nothing more, than to find *Polysperchon* work, by raising some commotion in *Greece*. Yet (as formalities must not be neglected) *Cassander* did very earnestly press him, by the memory of his Father, and all requisite conjurations, to assist him in this enterprise; telling him, that *Ptolomy* was ready to declare for them, and urging him to a speedy dispatch. *Antigonus* on the other side repayed him with the same coyn, saying, That for his own sake, and for his dead Father's, whom he had very dearly loved, he would not fail to give him all manner of succour. Having thus feasted one another with words, they were nothing slack in preparing the common means, leading to their several ends.

SECT. XIV.

The unworthy courses held by Polysperchon, *for the keeping down of* Cassander.

GReat necessity there was of timely provision. For *Polysperchon* needed no other instructions to inform him of *Cassander*'s drift, than the news of his departure. He was not ignorant of the ready disposition, which might be found in *Antigonus and Ptolomy*, to the strengthning of Rebellion; and well he knew that one principal hope of *Cassander* was reposed in the confidence of such as ruled in the *Grecian* Estate. Therefore (loving to work circumspectly) he called another Council, wherein it was concluded, That the popular form of Government should be erected in all the Cities of *Greece*; the Garrisons withdrawn; and that all Magistrates and principal Men, into whose hands *Antipater* had committed the supreme Authority, should forthwith be either slain or banished. This was a sure way to diminish the number of *Cassander*'s friends, and to raise up many enemies to him in all quarters. Yet hereby was disclosed both an unthankful nature in *Polysperchon*, and a factious malice in his adherents. For, how could he be excused of extream ingratitude, that for hatred of the Son went about to dishonour the Father's actions, whose only bounty had enabled him to do it? Or what could be said in their defence, who sought to destroy many worthy men, friends to the State, by whom the *Greeks* were held restrain-

ſtrained from ſtirring againſt the *Macedonians*? and in oppoſition to their private enemy, gave the rule of things to baſe Companions, and ſuch as naturally maligned the Empire? But as in Man's Body, through ſinews newly iſſuing from one branch, a finger is vexed more by inflammation of his next Neighbour, than by any diſtemper in the contrary hand: ſo in bodies politick, the humours of men ſubdivided in faction, are more enraged by the diſagreeable qualities of ſuch as curb them in their neareſt purpoſes, than they are exaſperated by the general oppoſition of ſuch as are divided from them in the main trunk. Hereby it comes to paſs, that contrary Religions are invited to help againſt Neighbour Princes; bordering enemies drawn in, to a part in civil Wars, and ancient hatred called to counſel againſt injurious friends. Of this fault Nature is not guilty; ſhe hath taught the arm to offer it ſelf unto manifeſt loſs in defence of the head: They are depraved affections, which render men ſenſible of their own particular, and forgetful of the more general good, for which they were created.

The decree, whereby the *Greeks* were preſented with a vain ſhew of liberty, ran under the King's name; but ſo, as one might eaſily diſcern, that *Polyſperchon* had guided his pen. For the main point was, That they ſhould follow ſuch directions, as *Polyſperchon* gave, and treat with him about all difficulties. In the reſt it contained ſuch a deal of kindneſs as proceeding on a ſudden from thoſe who had kept them in hard ſubjection, might well appear to have ſome other root than the pretended good will; and was of it ſelf too baſe and unfit for a King to uſe toward his conquered Subjects, and often ſubdued Rebels.

SECT. XV.

Of the great Commotions raiſed in Athens *by* Polyſperchon's *decree. The death of* Phocion.

NEvertheleſs the *Athenians* with immoderate joy entertained this happy-ſeeming Proclamation, and ſought how to put it in execution without further delay. But *Nicanor*, Captain of the Garriſon, which kept one of their Havens, called *Munychia*, in the lower part of the Town, would needs take longer time of deliberation, than was pleaſing to their haſty deſires.

Nicanor, as a truſty follower of *Caſſander*, was by him ſhifted into the place, and *Menillus* (that was Captain there before) diſcharged, when *Antipater* was newly dead. His coming to *Athens* was no way grateful to the Citizens, who ſoon after hearing the news of *Antipater*'s death, cried out upon *Phocion*, ſaying, That he had ſufficient intelligence of that accident, and might, by advertiſing them in due time, have put into their hands a fair opportunity of thruſting out the *Macedonians*. But theſe exclamations argued no more than a deſire to ſhake off the *Macedonian* yoke. Far more grievouſly would they have been offended, had they known the inſtructions which *Caſſander* had given to *Nicanor*, and his reſolution to follow them. It was concluded, That he ſhould not only retain *Munychia*, any injunction to the contrary notwithſtanding; but that he ſhould find means to thruſt ſome companies into *Pireus*, and fortifie that alſo, which was the principal Haven, againſt the High Town. How to accompliſh this, he rather wanted ſome reaſonable pretence, than good ability: But the *Athenians* were not long in giving him ſufficient cauſe to do that, which he would have done without any cauſe given. They deſired him to come unto their Council, aſſembled in the *Pireus*, there to conſider of the King's Proclamation: whither upon *Phocion*'s word and ſafe conduct he came, and earneſtly preſſed them to hold with *Caſſander* in the War which was ready to break forth. Contrariwiſe, they urged him firſt of all, to make them maſters of their own, which how to uſe, they might conſult afterwards. Each of them refuſing to condeſcend unto the other's demand; the *Athenians* (who did always meaſure Juſtice by profit, yet ſeldom thrived by that courſe) practiſed with *Dercillus*, a Captain following *Polyſperchon*, and then lying near at hand, that he ſhould enter into the Town, and take *Nicanor* Priſoner. But *Phocion*, who then governed in *Athens*, a man very unlike to the reſt of the Citizens, being nothing pleaſed with ſuch a trick of politick diſhoneſty, did quietly ſuffer him to depart and ſave himſelf.

Nicanor hereupon began to deviſe upon taking *Pireus*; not as following now the project of *Caſſander*, but proſecuting his own juſt revenge. He levied as many Souldiers as he could, and drew them cloſely into *Munychia*: which done, he iſſued into *Pireus*, took it, and intrenched himſelf therein, to the exceeding diſcomfort of the *Athenians*, who lately impatient of his keeping the one Haven, ſaw him now maſter of both. *Alexander*, the Son of *Polyſperchon*, came thither ſhortly after with an Army. Then were the Citizens in great hope of recovering all, and addreſſed themſelves unto him; who made fair ſhews, intending meer miſchief, which they perceived not, being blinded with the vain Epiſtles of his Father, and of *Olympias* the old Queen. *Olympias* taking upon her to command, before ſhe durſt well adventure to return into *Macedon*, had peremptorily charged *Nicanor* to reſtore to the *Athenians* the places which he held: but he would firſt conſider more of the matter. *Polyſperchon* had further ordained, that the Iſle of *Samos* ſhould be rendred unto them: a goodly offer, had it accorded with his power and meaning. He was (indeed) ſo far from purpoſing to let them have *Samos*, that as yet he did not throughly intend to let them have themſelves. The commodity of their Havens was ſuch, as he would rather get into his own hands, than leave in theirs; yet rather wiſhed in theirs, than in *Caſſander*'s. His Son *Alexander*, not ignorant of this, made fair ſhew to the *Athenians*, and ſpent much labour in communing with *Nicanor*, but ſuffered not them, for whom he ſeemed to labour, to intermeddle with the buſineſs. Hereupon the Citizens grew jealous, and the diſpleaſure they conceived againſt him, they poured out upon *Phocion*, depriving him of his office. This was done with much tumult; baniſhed Men and ſtrangers thruſting themſelves into the aſſembly of the Citizens, who diſtracted with ſundry paſſions, growing out of their preſent misfortunes, thought every one that beſt could inveigh againſt things paſt, a moſt likely man to find ſome remedy for the evil threatning them. In this hurly-burly was *Alexander* deviſing how he might come to ſome good point of compoſition with *Nicanor*, and held much privy conference with him; which he could not ſo ſecretly carry, but that his negotiation was diſcovered, whereby the up-roar in the Town was ſo far encreaſed, that

Phocion

Phocion with many of his friends were accuſed, and driven to ſeek ſafeguard of their lives by flight. So they came to *Alexander*, who entertained them gently, and gave them his letters of commendation to his Father, deſiring him to take them into his protection.

Polyſpercon was in the Country of *Phocis*, ready to enter with an Army into *Attica*. Thither came *Phocion* with his companions, hoping well that the Letters which they brought, and their own deſerts (having always been Friends to the *Macedonians*, as far as the good of their Countrey gave leave) ſhould be enough to get patronage to their innocency. Beſides all this, *Dinarchus* a *Corinthian*, *Polyſperchon*'s familiar friend, went along with them (in an evil hour) who promiſed to himſelf and them great favour, by means of his acquaintance. But *Polyſperchon* was an unſtable man, very earneſt in what he took in hand, yet either for want of Judgement in following them, or of honeſty in holding the beſt of them, eaſily changing his intended courſes, and doing things by the halves, which made him commonly fail of good ſucceſs. For fear of *Caſſander* he had offered wonderful kindneſs to the *Athenians*; this had cauſed them to love him: out of their love he gathered hope of deceiving them, which made him to change his mind, and ſeek how to get into his own hands thoſe keys, with which *Caſſander* held them faſt lockt up: finding himſelf diſappointed of this purpoſe, and ſuſpected as a falſe diſhonourable man, he ſtood wavering between the contrary allurements of profit and reputation, To keep the *Athenians* perforce at his devotion, would indeed have done well: but the effecting of this began to grow deſperate; and many Towns of importance in *Greece*, began to caſt their eyes upon his proceeding in that action. Wherefore he thought it the wiſeſt way to redeem their good opinion, by giving all contentment unto the popular faction, which was then grown to be Maſter of that City. And in good time for this purpoſe were the *Athenian* Ambaſſadours come, treading (as one may ſay) upon *Phocion*'s heels, whom they were ſent to accuſe. Theſe had ſolemn audience given to them in the King's preſence, who was attended by many great Lords, and for oſtentations ſake was glorified with all exterior ſhews of Majeſty; yet all too little to change *Arideus* into *Alexander*: for he did nothing there, but either laugh or chafe, as he ſaw others do. For beginning of the buſineſs; *Polyſperchon* commanded that *Dinarchus* ſhould be tortured and ſlain. This was enough to teſtifie his hearty affection to the Commonalty of *Athens*, in that he ſpared not his old acquaintance for their ſake; whoſe Ambaſſadours he then bid to ſpeak. When their errand was done, and anſwer to it made by the accuſed, who had no indifferent hearing, *Phocion* and the reſt were pronounced guilty of Treaſon; but to give ſentence, and do the execution upon them, was (for honours ſake) referred unto the City of *Athens*, becauſe they were Burgeſſes. Then were they ſent away to *Athens*, where the raſcal multitude, not ſuffering them to ſpeak for themſelves, condemned them to dye. So they periſhed being innocent. But the death of *Phocion* being very conſpicuous, made the fortune of the reſt to be of the leſs regard. Five and forty times had he been choſen Governor of the City, never ſuing for the place, but ſent for when he was abſent, ſo well was his integrity known, and ſo highly valued, even of ſuch as were no pretenders to the ſame virtue. He was a good Commander in War, wherein, though his Actions were not very great, yet were they of good importance, and never unfortunate. Never did the City repent of having followed his counſel: nor any private man of having truſted his word. *Philip* of *Macedon* highly eſteemed him; ſo, and much more did *Alexander*, who (beſides other ſigns of his love) ſent him two hundred Talents of ſilver, and offered to beſtow upon him of four Cities in *Aſia*, any one which he would chuſe. But *Phocion* refuſed theſe and other gifts, howſoever importunately thruſt upon him; reſting well contented with his honeſt poverty: wherein he lived about fourſcore years, and then was compelled by the unjuſt Judgement of wicked men to drink that poyſon, which by juſt Judgement of the righteous God, ſo infected the City of *Athens*, as from that day forwards it never brought forth any worthy man reſembling the virtue of their Anceſtors.

SECT. XVI.

Of Polyſperchon *his vain Expedition againſt* Caſſander.

NOt long after theſe things were done, *Caſſander*, with ſuch forces as *Antigonus* lent him, entred into *Pireus*; which news drew *Polyſperchon* headlong into *Attica*, with a great Army but ſo ill victualled, that he was fain to depart without any thing done. Only he had given ſome impediment to the enemy; who, not contented with defending what he held, began to look out, and made new purchaſes abroad. Finding therefore himſelf unable to drive *Caſſander* out of *Athens*, he left his Son *Alexander*, with ſuch number of men as exceeded not the proportion of victuals, to withſtand his further encroaching. The greateſt part of his Army he carried into *Peloponneſus*, to make the Country ſure to himſelf, wherein *Caſſander* had many friends.

His doings in *Peloponneſus* were ſuch as they had been in other parts of *Greece*. Firſt, he began to fight with Edicts, reſtoring the Democracy, or popular form of Government. He commanded that the principal Citizens, that had by *Antipater* been made Rulers, ſhould be either ſlain, or driven into exile. This Decree took immediate effect in moſt places: the vulgar ſort being very ready to ſeal the Charter of their freedom and authority, with the blood of thoſe who had kept them in ſubjection. Yet many Cities there were, which delighted in the rule of the chief Citizens; and many which wiſhed well to *Caſſander*, eſpecially they of *Megalopolis*, on whom *Polyſperchon* meant to inflict an exemplary puniſhment of diſobedience to him, which he termed Rebellion. *Megalopolis* had in it fifteen thouſand ſerviceable men, well furniſhed of neceſſaries, and reſolved to endure the worſt. And need there was of ſuch reſolution. For *Polyſperchon* coming thither with all his power, did ſo much, that he overthrew, by a Mine, three of their Bulwarks, and all the ſpace of wall between them. But the Defendents manfully repelled the *Macedonians* which came up to the breach; and at the ſame time with great labour they raiſed up an inner Wall, to bear out the next aſſault. The Aſſailants having failed to carry the Town at the firſt attempt, took much pains to clear the ground, and make fair way for their Elephants, whoſe violence

lence was likely to overthrow all that came in their way. But the Townsmen perceiving their drift, prepared boards driven thorow with long nails, which they used as gall-throps, bestowing them sleightly covered, with the points upward, in the way by which the beasts were to pass. Neither did they set any to encounter them in front, but appointed certain light armed men to beat upon their sides with Arrows and Darts, as they were instructed by some that had learned the manner of that fight in the *Asian* Wars. Of these provisions they made happy use in the next assault. For, by them were the Elephants (wherein the enemy chiefly trusted) either sorely hurt, or driven back upon the *Macedonians*, whom they trampled under feet. *Polysperchon* came as ill furnisht for long abode to *Megalopolis* as before to *Athens*. Therefore being neither able to dispatch the business quickly, nor to take such leisure as was requisite, he forsook the siege, with some loss, and much dishonour, leaving some part of his Army to lie before the Town for his credit.

After this he sent *Clitus*, his Admiral, to Sea, to joyn with *Arideus* that was come out of *Phrygia*, and to cut off all succour which might come to the enemy out of *Asia*. *Cassander* also sent his whole fleet under *Nicanor*, who taking along with him some ships of *Antigonus*, came to the *Propontis*, where he fought with *Clitus* and was beaten. But *Antigonus* hearing of the overthrow, gathered together the ships that were escaped, and manning them very well, sent out *Nicanor* again, assuring himself of the Victory, as well he might. For he sent out sufficient numbers of light-armed men, whom he caused to be wafted over the Straits in small Vessels by night; these before day-light setting upon *Clitus*, drave his men, that lay securely on the Land, headlong into their ships; in which tumult *Nicanor* arriving, did assail them so lustily that few or none escaped them.

This loss at Sea, together with his bad success by Land, brought *Polysperchon* into great contempt. He had a good faculty in penning bloody Decrees, but when the execution was referred to his own sword, he could find the matter more difficult. Wherefore the *Athenians*, perceiving that he had left them to shift for themselves, and was not able to give them protection against the enemy which lay in their bosomes, came to agreement with *Cassander*; accepting a Governour of his appointment; and restoring all things to the same state wherein *Antipater* had left them. The like inclination to the party of *Cassander*, was found in very many Cities of *Greece*, which daily and willingly revolted unto him, as to an industrious man, and likely to prevail in the end. Thus was the whole Country set in a cumbustion, uneasie to be quenched; which presented unto *Antigonus* an opportunity, that he neglected not, of making himself Lord of *Asia*.

SECT. XVII.

Antigonus *seeks to make himself an absolute Lord: and thereupon treats with* Eumenes, *who disappointeth him.* Phrygia *and* Lydia *won by* Antigonus.

Antigonus had in *Antipater*'s life-time a firm resolution, to make unto himself the utmost benefit that he might of the Army committed to his charge, And in fair season for advancement of his purposes came the news of *Antipater*'s death, even then, when all the business in *Pisidia* was dispatched, and no more employment for the Army remaining, save only the continuance of the siege of *Nora*, a small thing of it self, but as hard as a greater matter; and requiring few men, but much time; when time of all things was most precious. *Eumenes* lay in that Fort of *Nora*, able to make the place good, and hoping that the mutability, to which the present Estate was manifestly subject, would in continuance of some years (which he might abide) work more for him, than his enemies in that space could work against him. His most fear was, that for want of exercise in that narrow Castle, his men and horses might grow sickly and unserviceable: which made him to practise many devices of keeping them in health and lusty. But when he had continued shut up in this manner about a year, his hopes came to good pass, and he was eased of his cares by *Antigonus* himself, whose forces held him besieged.

Antigonus knowing the great sufficiency of *Eumenes*, and considering his fidelity shewed unto *Perdiccas*, thought that he could not find in all the world a fitter man than him, to employ in managing those high designs wherein he doubted not that he should be withstood by the mightiest Princes of the Empire. He sent therefore to *Eumenes* by one that was friend to them both, acquainting him with some part of his intent, and promising to make him a better Lord than ever he had been, and the next man to himself, if things fell out as he desired: in regard whereof he required only his friendship, and thereupon sent him an oath to take; which done, he might at his good pleasure issue safely out of *Nora*, and enjoy his perfect liberty. *Eumenes* perusing the form of the oath, did perceive the meaning of *Antigonus*; which was, rather to make him his follower than his fellow. For, whereas, in a few words, it mentioned the King and Princes of the blood, rather to keep the *Decorum*, than upon any loyal intent, the binding words and sum of all were such, as tied him fast only to *Antigonus*, omitting all reservation of duty, to the King or any other. This he liked not, holding it unseemly to become a sworn man to him, with whom he had fought for the mastery; and being assured that his voluntary assistance, which way soever he gave it, would be more acceptable and far more honourable than the course propounded. Yet would he not therefore break off the negotiation, and wait for some better occasion of enlargement, which might perhaps be long in coming: but seeming to be well agreed with *Antigonus*, he prepared to give up his Hold and depart. As for the oath it self, when he came to take it, he made shew of dislike, in that it was not solemn enough for such personages as they were, who could not be too ceremonious in

teſtifying in their allegiance. The *Macedonians* which lay encamped before *Nora*, liked his words, and gave him leave to put in *Olympias*, and the children of *Alexander*, binding himſelf to them and their adherents, as well as to *Antigonus*; and ſo he departed.

Antigonus had taken upon him, as ſoon as he came down to the Sea-ſide, to remove ſome of the Governours of the Provinces, behaving himſelf according to the authority which he had received of *Antipater*, to exerciſe in the time of War. Neither did he want ſufficient pretence whereby to juſtifie his proceeding. For, if *Polyſperchon* might lawfully hold the Protectorſhip, which the old man doting on his death-bed bequeathed unto him as a Legacy, without conſent of the Princes and Souldiers; why might not he himſelf as well retain the Lieutenantſhip of *Aſia*, that was granted unto him for the general good of the State, in preſence of the whole Army, by the King, and by *Antipater*, who had power to ordain what ſhould ſeem convenient whilſt he lived, not to diſpoſe of things that ſhould happen after his death? To give a fair colour to his ambition, this was enough: if any were not herewith ſatisfied, he had threeſcore thouſand footmen, ten thouſand horſe, and thirty Elephants in a readineſs to anſwer them.

The firſt that perceived his drift, and provided to reſiſt him, was *Arideus* Governour of *Phrygia*; who fortified the Towns of his own Province, and ſought to have won *Cizicus*, a fair Haven Town, and ſeated very conveniently for him, but was fain to go away without it. Hereupon *Antigonus* took occaſion to command him out of the Country. *Arideus* was ſo far from obeying him, that he ſent forces to relieve *Eumenes*. Nevertheleſs finding that he was unable of himſelf to make long reſiſtance, he took ſuch companies as he could draw along with him, and ſo paſſed over into *Europe*, to complain at the Court. The like fortune had *Clitus*, who ruled in *Lydia*, and ſought the like remedy of his fortune, with ſome hope at the firſt (for both of them were entertained with very good words) which quickly vaniſhed; and grew deſperate, when they were beaten at Sea, as hath already been declared.

SECT. XVIII.

Antigonus *purſues* Eumenes. Eumenes *having authority from the Court, raiſeth great War againſt* Antigonus *in defence of the Royal Houſe.*

Antigonus having thus gotten into his hands all, or moſt of all *Aſia* the leſs, was able to have entred *Macedon* and ſeized upon the Court; which that he forbare to do, it proceeded (as may ſeem) from ſome of theſe reaſons. It would have bred as much jealouſie in *Caſſander*, as fear in *Polyſperchon*, which might have brought them to terms of reconciliation: It would ask more time than he could ſpare; and the envy which followed the Protectorſhip was ſuch, as he that had power enough without the office, ought rather to ſhun, than to purſue. Beſides all this, it was manifeſt that *Eumenes* would not only refuſe to take his part, but would make war upon him in defence of the Royal houſe, to which it was found that *Antigonus* did not ſtand well-affected. Againſt him therefore he bent his courſe, and with an Army of twenty thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe, made great haſt towards *Cilicia*, hoping to ſuppreſs him before he ſhould be able to make head.

Eumenes was one of thoſe few that continued faithful to their dead Maſter, which being well known in the Court, he had commiſſion ſent unto him from thence to raiſe an Army, and make War upon *Antigonus*, taking of the King's treaſure, as much as he ſhould need. Other Letters alſo there were directed to all the Governors of Provinces, requiring them to give aſſiſtance to *Eumenes*, and be ordered by his direction: eſpecially to the Captains of the old Souldiers, called the *Argyraſpides*, or Silver-ſhielded bands, commandment was given to be at his appointment. He had of his old followers gathered together two thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe, before this Authority was given him: but now he purpoſed with all the ſtrength which he could make, to fight with *Antigonus* in defence of the Royal blood. *Olympias* had written to him, deſiring him to bring help to her, and her Nephew the Son of *Alexander*; and in the mean time to give her his advice in that which *Polyſperchon* required of her: for ſhe was deſirous to return into *Macedon*, but ſuſpected his ambition, as not contained within lawful bounds. *Eumenes* therefore counſelled her to remain in *Epirus*, till ſuch time as he could bring the war to a good iſſue; which done, he promiſed that his faith and care ſhould not be wanting to the ſeed of *Alexander*.

Strange it is to conſider, that in all the Empire ſcarce any one could be found among the Noblemen, in whom *Alexander*'s Mother, Wives, and Children, might repoſe firm confidence, ſaving only this *Eumenes*, a ſtranger to the *Macedonian* blood, born at *Cardia*, a City of *Thrace*. His reputation was no more than his own virtue had made it; his followers obeyed at their own diſcretion; and compelled he was to travel as far as *Perſia*, to gather together an Army ſufficient to reſiſt the enemies that purſued his heels.

SECT. XIX.

How the Princes of Macedon *ſtood affected mutually.* Olympias *takes* Arideus *and* Eurydice, *whom ſhe cruelly puts to death.*

NOw, forasmuch as in this preſent War all the Rulers of the Provinces did intermeddle; and great alterations happened, not only in the parts of *Aſia*, but *Macedon* it ſelf, which brought a new face unto the State, by the extirpation of the Royal houſe of *Philip* and *Alexander*: I hold it convenient in this place, before we enter into the particulars of the War it ſelf, to ſhew briefly how the great Ones did mutually ſtand affected; and by what paſſions they were drawn into thoſe courſes, which overthrew moſt of them, and out of their ruines built the greatneſs of a few: as likewiſe to what extremity the faction brake out in *Macedon* it ſelf, about the main Controverſie of the Title to the Crown, whereupon all other quarrels were or ſhould have been depending.

Arideus the King, being ſimple and fearful, did only what he was bidden.

Polyſper-

Polysperchon, desirous to continue long in Office, had a purpose to advance the Son of *Alexander* by *Roxane* to the Kingdom, and become Governor to a King of his own making.

Eurydice the Queen discovering plainly this intent, and meaning nothing less than to let her husband serve as a Stale, keeping the Throne warm till another were grown old enough to sit in it, grew acquainted with *Cassander*, who hated the memory of *Alexander*, and was therefore the fitter for her turn.

Cassander held fresh in mind the danger wherein his family had been through *Alexander*'s malice, together with the indignity offered to himself by *Alexander*, who knocked his head against a wall for deriding one that adored him after the *Persian* manner. The displeasure hereof, and the pleasure which he took in the amorous Queen, made him to resolve, both to suppress the lineage which he hated, and to maintain his beloved Mistress, either by supporting her weak Husband, or by taking her to be his own Wife.

The rest of the Lords held it a thing indifferent, who reigned over all, so as they might reign in their several Countries, and establish their authority in such wise, that it might not be taken from them.

Among these, *Ptolomy* and *Antigonus* were well enough already, if their ambition would have suffered them to see it.

Pytho and *Seleucbus* lying far off, and being strong, had some good hope to encroach upon their neighbours. Against these, *Peucestes*, and some others, with much ado hardly made resistance until such time as *Eumenes* came to them; who propounded to himself great matters, which he lived not to accomplish.

Olympias the old Queen (as it is common with step dames) hated the children of her Husband by his other Wives. It was thought that she had given poison to *Aridæus*, which failing to take away his life, had much impaired both his body and wits. Now she considering, that *Eumenes* was too full of business to come home so soon as she wished that he should; and that *Cassander* daily prevailed in *Greece*: thought it the best way to joyn with *Polysperchon*, and set up as King, her Nephew *Alexander*, the Son of *Roxane*, removing *Aridæus* before *Cassander* were able to defend him. To this intent she procured men among her kinred in *Epirus*, and so took her way towards *Polysperchon*, who joyning with her, entred into *Macedon*.

Eurydice hearing these news, wrote very earnestly to *Cassander*, praying him to set aside all other business, and come to succour her. She her self by entreaty, gifts, and promises, drew to her party as many of the *Macedonians* as she could, until she thought her own side strong enough; and then taking her Husband with her, went boldly forth against *Olympias*, and the Traitor *Polysperchon*.

These two Queens met armed, as if the matter should have been determined by their own hands, which ended without any stroke stricken, by the revolt of those who followed *Eurydice*. For as soon as the *Macedonians* beheld *Olympias*, caling to mind her former Estate, and the victorious Reigns of her Husband and Son, they refused to lift any weapon against her. *Eurydice* finding her self thus forsaken, fled towards *Amphipolis*, but was intercepted, and made Prisoner with her Husband.

Olympias having obtained this Victory without blood, thought that all things would succeed as easily, and upon the same considerations for which they had refused to bear arms against her, the *Macedonians* would not stick to maintain her, whatsoever her proceedings were. Having therefore shut up *Aridæus* and his wife in a close room, where they could scarce turn round, she fed them thorow a little hole, till after a while it came in her head (for fear lest the people should have commiseration of him, that had reigned almost six years and a half) to put them to death. So she delivered *Aridæus* to some barbarous *Thracians*; who took away his life by cruel torments; to *Eurydice* she sent a sword, a halter, and a cup of poison, willing her to chuse the instrument of her own death, who praying that the like presents might one day be sent to *Olympias*, yielded her neck to the Halter, having spent her last curses not in vain. *Nicanor* the Brother of *Cassander*, and a hundred the chief of his friends, did *Olympias* then chuse out, all whom she commanded to be slain. His Brother *Iolaus* that was already dead and buried, she accused of poison given to *Alexander*, and thereupon caused his Tomb to be thrown down, and his bones to be scattered abroad. The *Macedonians* wondring at this fury, began to condemn themselves, and the folly of *Polysperchon*, who had quite contrary to *Antipater*'s charge given on his deathbed, called this outragious woman to the Government of the Empire.

SECT. XX.

How Cassander *was revenged on* Olympias.

†. I.

The great Expedition of Cassander. Olympias *shuts her self into* Pydna, *where* Cassander *besieged her.* Æacides *King of* Epirus, *coming to succour* Olympias *is forsaken and banished by his own Subjects.*

Cassander at that time lay before *Tegea*, in *Peloponnesus*; whither when all these ill tidings were brought to him, he never stayed to take the City, nor to give order for the state of things in that Country, (though *Alexander* the Son of *Polysperchon*, were there with an Army) but compounding with them of *Tegea*, he willed his associates to look to themselves as well as they could, till his return; and so in all haste he took his journey towards *Macedon*, carried headlong with the greedy desire of just revenge. The *Ætolians* had taken the Straits of *Thermopylæ*, in favour of the Queen and *Polysperchon*, to hinder his passage; but he, not willing to mispend any time in dealing with them, got together as many ships as he could, great and small, with which he transported his Army into *Thessaly*. There he divided his companies, appointing some under *Callas* a subtil Captain, to hold *Polysperchon* busied, who then lay encamped near to *Perrhæbia*, with the rest he marched directly against *Olympias*. She, having once prevailed by the respect given to her dignity took more care how to appear Majestical, than to make her self strong. To this end she made a solemn progress to *Pydna*, a Sea-Town, and well fenced, having in her company all the flower of

the Court, especially the great Ladies, among whom was *Roxane*, and her young Son *Alexander*, heir to the great *Alexander*, by his Grandmothers designment: who during his minority, kept his Soveraign power in her own hands. But all this pomp served to little use against the violence of the enemy, that soon presented himself before the Walls; only it fed the besieged with a vain hope of succour, that would from all parts arrive, to rescue persons of their quality. And hereof there soon appeared a fair likelihood, which as soon vanished and went away in smoak.

For *Æacides* King of *Epirus* made great hast to bring succour to *Olympias* his Cousin, with whom *Deodamia* his daughter was also shut up. Nevertheless, his Subjects were nothing forward in this Expedition; but finding certain passages taken in the way by *Cassander*'s men, they called upon him to retire, and quit the enterprise. The King's importunity urging them to proceed, and the obstinate refusal of the Army, brake out at length into such terms, that when he had raged in vain against the multitude, his Authority, with which he thought to have prevailed upon them, was by them taken from him, and he compelled to forsake his Kingdom, and to wander up and down in forreign Countries a banished man, his people joyning with the enemy, against whom he had led them forth to War.

Pydna in the mean time was closed up straitly, both by Sea and Land, so that neither any could issue out of the City, nor any relief be conveyed into it, but it held out as long as any food was left; no memorable service being done there, whilst great Actions were managed abroad.

†. II.

A continuation of Olympias *her story.* Polysperchon *defeated.* *Extreme Famine in* Pydna. Olympias *yields to* Cassander.

NOw, though order of time require it, that we should rehearse the doings of *Eumenes*, and *Antigonus* in this place, leaving *Olympias* yet a while to the hour of her destiny; which grows the faster upon her, because she may discern it coming: yet that we may not be compelled to interrupt the course of our Narration, by inserting her Tragedy in the midst of things not manifestly coherent with it; we will here (as elsewhere we have done, and elsewhere must) continue to an end one History, that we may not therewith be distracted, when we shall come to the relation of another. All the hope of the besieged, remaining in *Polysperchon*, was in like manner disappointed as their former trust had been, which was reposed in the succours of the *Epirots*. For *Callas* who was sent against him, found the means to corrupt the greatest part of the Army with money, leaving him within a little while so slenderly accompanied, that he was fit for no other business of War, than a swift retreat. When Famine had so far prevailed in the City, that the Horses were killed as a precious food, many men feeding on the dead Carcases of their fellows, and saw-dust being given to the Elephants for Provender; some of the Souldiers obtaining the Queens leave (who could not deny it) others without asking leave, yielded themselves to the enemy, and were by him gently relieved, and sent abroad into the Country. The news of the Queens affairs, dispersed by these men, did so affright her well-willers, that such as had reserved themselves to the event, came in apace, and submitted to *Cassander*. At length, when the mortality was so great in the Town, that the living were even poisoned with the noisome scent of the dead; *Olympias* bethought her self of stealing away by Sea in a Galley that she had: wherewith her success was as bad as in the rest. For God had appointed this Town, by her chosen as a place of refuge, to be unto her as a house of torment, and a Gaol, out of which she should not be delivered, but unto an evil death. Being therefore utterly broken with miseries, which daily afflicted her and the other Ladies, unaccustomed to so wretched a kind of life, she offered composition, and with much labour hardly obtained of *Cassander* (who having fetcht her Galley out of the Haven, accounted himself as good as master of her body) a grant of her own life. Immediately upon her apprehension, *Pella*, the chief City of the Kingdom, was yielded to *Cassander*. *Amphipolis* did stand out: for *Aristonus* (to whom *Olympias* had given charge of such forces as were left abroad in the Country, taking courage from the success of some petty services wherein he had prevailed) began to promise himself great unlikelihoods. But *Olympias*, to win *Cassander*'s favour, very earnestly required him upon his faith to her, that he should give it up. He did so, and presently after was killed by his private enemies, that were set on by *Cassander*, who partly hated him upon old respects, partly doubted him, as a man likely to seek Innovation.

†. III.

The death of Olympias, *and her Conditions.*

WHen *Olympias* had now heard sorrowful tidings of all her friends, she her self was called into question, and accused in an Assembly of the *Macedonians*, for the murthers (they were so stiled in her affliction, which in time of prosperity she called Justice) by her committed. There was she (being not heard, nor called to speak) condemned to die. The sute was commenced and prosecuted against her, by the kinred of those whom she had slain. But it was at *Cassander*'s instigation, who (to hasten the execution) sent her word, that he would furnish her with a ship, and other necessaries, to save her self by flight: which when she refused, saying, that she would plead for her self, and tell her own tale; he dissembled no longer, but sent unto her such men, as hated her most, who took away her miserable life. She was Daughter, and Sister, unto two Kings of *Epirus*; Wife and Mother unto two the mightiest Kings of that, or many other *Ages*; a stout Lady, and of unreproveable chastity; but her ambition was boundless, her hatred unappeasable, and her fury in revenge most unwomanly. Her perverse conditions made her Husband seek other Wives and Concubines, which caused her to hate both him and them. She was thought privy to her Husband's death; after which, very cruelly, she slew his late Wife *Cleopatra*, having first murthered one of her two children in her arms, and with a beastly fury broiled the other alive in fire, in a Copper-bason.

For

For these things, her Son *Alexander* (otherwise loving her well) forbad her to meddle in the Government of *Macedon*. But God, more severe unto cruel Tyrants, than only to hinder them of their wills, permitted her to live, and fulfil the rest of her wickedness (which was his justice upon the adulteries of *Philip*, and the oppression done by him and others;) after all which, he rewarded her malice, by returning it upon her own head.

†IV.

Cassander *celebrates the Funeral of* Aridæus *and* Eurydice; *and seeks to make himself King of* Macedon.

After her death, *Cassander* gave honourable burial to *Aridæus* and *Eurydice*, among their Progenitors, Kings of *Macedon*. And looking further into his own possibilities of greatness, he married the Lady *Thessalonica*, whom he had taken at *Pydna*, being the Daughter of King *Philip*, by another of his Wives; that by her he might have some title to the Crown. For the same end he committed *Roxane*, and her young Son to close Prison, removing thereby some part of his impediment. And, the better to encrease his fame, and purchase love, built a City, called by his own name *Cassandria*, that soon grew to be very great and powerful. He re-edified likewise *Thebes* in *Greece*, and restored it unto the old Inhabitants, after it had lain twenty years waste, being utterly razed by *Alexander*. By these means, especially by the restauration of *Thebes*, whereunto all *Greece* voluntarily contributed, he grew so strong, that few remained enemies unto him; and they with much labour, hardly could resist him. Leaving him therefore daily prevailing in *Greece*, we will return to them, who contended in *Asia*, for less titles, but larger Provinces, with greater forces.

CHAP. IV.

Of the great Lordship which Antigonus *got in* Asia.

SECT. I.

The Journey of Eumenes *into* Persia. *His wise dealing with those that joyned with him.*

Eumenes, having joyned unto his company the *Argyraspides*, made haste into the Eastern parts, to take possession of those Countries, according to his Commission, and strengthen himself against *Antigonus*. He took his journey through *Cœlosyria* and *Phœnicia*, hoping to reclaim those Provinces, the rest of *Syria* usurped (as hath been shewed) by *Ptolomy*, to the King's obedience. But to effect this, his haste of his passing forward was too great, his Army too little, and the readiness of the people, to return their due obedience, none at all. Besides all which Impediments, one inconvenience troubled him in all his proceedings, making them the less effectual. The Captains of the *Argyraspides* were so froward, that they scorned to repair to him, and take his directions; and their fidelity was so unsteady, that they might more easily have dealt with open Traytors. It was not expedient, that he, being General, should weaken his authority by courting them; neither lay it in his power to keep them in order by compulsion. Therefore he feigned, that *Alexander* had appointed unto him, in a dream, a place for their meeting, namely, in a rich pavilion, wherein an empty throne was placed, as if *Alexander* himself had been present at their consultations. Thus he freed himself from their vain pride; but of their faith he could have no assurance. Yet when *Ptolomy* requested them, and *Antigonus* bribed them to forsake him, they continued (though not without considering of the matter) to take his part. So he marched on, sending before him the King's Warrant; which *Pytho* and *Seleucus* refused to obey; not as rejecting the King's Authority, but excepting the person of *Eumenes*, as a man condemned to die by the *Macedonian* Army, for the death of *Craterus*. *Eumenes*, knowing well that he was not to rely upon their assistance, who stood otherwise affected than his affairs required, and were not to be dealt with by perswasion, sought passage by strong hand through the Country of *Babylon*; in such wise that *Seleucus*, having in vain assayed to hinder him, by opening the sluces of *Euphrates*, was glad at length to grant him friendly way, as desirous to be rid of him. Thus he came to *Peucestes* and the rest of the Eastern Lords, who were glad of his company, because of the differences between *Pytho*, and themselves. Yet the contention about superiority grew very hot among them, every one finding matter enough to feed his own humour of self-worthiness. But the former device of assembling in one pavilion, made all quiet; the conclusion ever being sure to follow that which *Eumenes* propounded, who was both wisest in giving advice, and best able to reward, by means of the Authority given him, to take what he pleased of the King's treasures. By these means he won to himself many of those, who had most power to do good or hurt.

SECT.

SECT. II.

How Antigonus *coming to set upon* Eumenes, *was driven off with loss.*

ANtigonus, hearing that *Eumenes* lay in the Province of *Susa*, had an earnest desire to follow him, and drive him further from the King's treasures, which were kept there. To which end, as soon as he had made himself strong enough, he removed out of *Mesopotamia*, where he had wintered; and taking to him *Pytho* and *Seleucus*, with their men, he marched directly against the enemies, with intent to give them battel. *Eumenes* had fortified the Castle of *Susa*, and was retired back toward *Persia*, keeping the River of *Tigris* between him and his pursuers. The passages of the River were well guarded, and good espial kept upon *Antigonus*, to observe which way he took. Before he came to *Tigris* it self, he was to pass over *Coprates*, a great River, and not fordable, which he sought to do by small Vessels, whereof he had no great store. A great part of his Army had gotten over, when *Eumenes*, who kept a bridge upon *Tigris*, came with a thousand horse, and four thousand foot, to see their demeanour: and finding them out of order, charged them, brake them, and drave them head-long back into *Coprates*, wherein most of them were drowned; very few escaping with life, except four thousand that yielded themselves prisoners in sight of *Antigonus*, that was not able to relieve them. This loss made *Antigonus* glad to fall off; and the heat of that Country in the Dog days, breeding diseases in his Army, by which many perished, caused him to remove as far as into *Media*. So he took *Python* with him (leaving *Seleucus* to besiege the Castle of *Susa*) and seeking to go the nearest way, passed through savage Nations, that continually vexing him with skirmishes, slew great numbers of his men, before he could arrive in *Media* with his Troops, that were quite heart-broken.

SECT. III.

Of Eumenes *his cunning. A Battel between him and* Antigonus.

AFter his departure, *Eumenes* with his associates fell into consultation, about the remainder of their business. Fain he would have had them to enter upon those Provinces, which *Antigonus* had left behind him; to which also the Captains of the *Argyraspides* or *Silver shields*, were very inclinable, as desiring to draw near to *Greece*. But *Peucestes*, and the rest, whose Dominions lay in the high Countries, had more care of their own particular Estates, and would needs march Eastward. These carried it; for the Army was not strong enough to divide it self into parts.

When they came into *Persia*, *Peucestes* ruling there, feasted them royally, and sought by all means to win the Souldiers love to himself. *Eumenes* perceiving whereunto those doings tended, suffered him a while to keep good chear, till the time of War drew near. Then did he feign an Epistle, directed, as from *Orontes* Governour of *Armenia*, to *Peucestes* himself: The puport whereof was; that *Olympias* had vanquished *Cassander*, and sent over a great Army under *Polysperchon*, to joyn with *Eumenes*. These news, as they filled the Camp with vain joy, so they wrought in all mens minds a great willingness to obey *Eumenes* by whom was the likeliest appearance of their preferment; wherein they dealt wisely, he being far the most sufficient Commander, as they found soon after. For when *Antigonus*, coming out of *Media*, drew near unto them, *Eumenes*, by some mischance was fallen sick, and fain to be carried in a Litter; the Army marched in very bad array, and was likely to have been forced to take battel in that disorder. But *Eumenes*, when the rest of the Captains were amazed, was carried about the Army in his Litter, and upon the sudden did cast his men into so good form, that *Antigonus*, perceiving him afar off, could not refrain from giving him deserved commendations. Yet he did not cease to promise great rewards to the Captains, and all sorts of men, if they would forsake *Eumenes*: which hopes deceiving him, he came to the trial of a Battel. *Eumenes* had more Elephants than *Antigonus*; otherwise, he was inferiour in number both of horse and foot by a third part. The Battel was fought with variable success, and great loss on both sides, continuing a great part of the day, and of the night following. Yet the Victory was uncertain. For *Eumenes* could not force his men to lye far from their carriages: by which means *Antigonus* (who had a more absolute command over his) encamping on the ground whereon they fought, had in his power the dead bodies, which was accounted the sign of victory; for he buried his own, and gave leave to his enemies craving it, to do the like. But a greater sign of victory had *Eumenes*; For he abode still in the same place, and not only buried his men very honourably, at great leisure, but held the Country round about; whereas *Antigonus* was glad (having tarried but one day) to steal away by night, and return into *Media*, from whence he came.

SECT. IV.

Of divers stratagems practised by Antigonus *and* Eumenes, *one against the other.*

THus did the War continue doubtful, and was protracted to a great length, each part having stout Souldiers, and skilful Generals; but the side which had hitherto prevailed, being hindred by the equal authority of many, from pursuing all advantages to the best, *Antigonus* grew daily weaker, in men and reputation, so that to repair himself he could find no way safer, than to put all to adventure. He knew that his enemies lay in wintering places, quartering far asunder, so that if he could suddenly come among them, he was likely to put them in great distress. Between him and them, the way was not long, being only nine days journey, but very bad, through a rough dry wilderness, hardly passible. Another way, fairer and leading through a Country well peopled, but requiring twenty five days journey, he forsook; partly for the length, partly and chiefly, because he

he would come undiſcovered. So therefore taking his journey in the dead of Winter, he forbad unto his men the uſe of fire by night, becauſe he would not have them diſcryed afar off. This commandment had been well obſerved four or five days, when continuance of time (as commonly) breeding negligence, and the cold weather pinching them, they were bold to cheriſh themſelves, being near to their ways end. The light of theſe fires gave notice of their coming, which being reported to *Peuceſtes*, and other Captains, they were ſo aſtoniſhed with the ſudden danger, that in all haſte they betook themſelves to flight. But *Eumenes*, meeting with the news, began to hearten his affrighted companions, promiſing to make *Antigonus* march leiſurely, and willing them to abide, and draw up their men together. They could ſcarce believe him; yet they were content to be ruled, and did as he appointed, who failed not in making his word good. He took with him ſome companies of the readieſt men, wherewith he occupied certain tops of mountains, looking toward the Camp of *Antigonus*: there he choſe a convenient ground to encamp upon, and made great ſtore of fires in ſundry places, as if the whole Army had been preſent. This was a ſorrowful ſpectacle to *Antigonus*, who thought himſelf prevented of his purpoſe; and began to fear leſt he ſhould be compelled to fight, whilſt his men were tired with a long and painful journey. Therefore he reſolved to turn aſide, and take the way to ſuch places, as might better ſerve to refreſh his Army. This he did with great care and circumſpection, at the firſt, as knowing how ready *Eumenes* would be upon all advantages. But after a while conſidering that no enemy ſtirred about him, he began to pauſe, and think in himſelf, that ſomewhat or other was not fallen out according to his opinion. To be the better informed in the matter, he cauſed ſome Inhabitants of that Deſart to be taken, and brought before him; of whom he learned, that they had ſeen no other Army than his thereabout, but only a few men that kept fires on the Hill-tops. It vexed him exceedingly to find that he had been ſo deluded. Therefore he went againſt theſe Troops with great fury, meaning to take ſharp vengeance on them, for having ſo deceived him. But by this time, ſufficient ſtrength was arrived there, which could not be forced without much buſineſs, and long ſtay. All the Army was come, ſave only *Eudamus*, Captain of the Elephants, who, beſides thoſe beaſts, had no more than four hundred horſemen in his company. *Antigonus* hearing of this ſupply coming to his enemies, ſent above two thouſand Horſe, and all his light-armed foot-men, to cut it off by the way. *Eudamus* being fallen into this danger, was fain to place his Elephants round about his carriages, and ſo to defend himſelf as well as he could; for his horſemen, overlaid with multitudes, were quickly broken, and driven to run away upon the ſpur. Neither knew they, who ſate upon the Elephants, which way to turn them, for on all ſides they received wounds, and were not able to requite them with the like. In this extremity there appeared brave Troops of horſe and foot, that came unexpected to the reſcue; and charging the Aſſailants upon the back, drave them to ſeek their own ſafety by ſpeedy flight. Theſe were ſent by *Eumenes*; who though he knew not what his Adverſary meant to do, yet he knew very well what was fitteſt for him to do: and therefore, playing both games himſelf, provided the remedy.

SECT. V.

The conſpiracy of Peuceſtes *and others, againſt* Eumenes *his life.*

BY theſe means *Eumenes* won great honour, and was by the whole Army acknowledged a moſt expert General, and well worthy of the chief command. But *Peuceſtes*, and the other Captains, guilty of their own much inſufficiency, were ſo tranſported with Envy, that they could no longer contain their vile thoughts, but held communication, as upon a neceſſary point, how they might find means to murther him.

Surely, it is great injuſtice to impute the miſchief contrived againſt worthy men, to their own proud carriage, or ſome other ill deſerving: For, though it often happen, that ſmall vices do ſerve to counterpoize great virtues; (the ſenſe of evil being more quick and laſting than of good) yet he ſhall bewray a very fooliſh malice, that, wanting other teſtimony, will think it a part of wiſdom to find good reaſon of the evils done to virtuous men, which oftentimes have no other cauſe than virtue it ſelf. *Eumenes*, among many excellent qualities, was noted to be of ſingular courteſie, of a very ſweet converſation among his friends, and careful by all gentle means to win their love, that ſeemed to bear him any ſecret ill affection. It was his meer virtue that overthrew him, which even they that ſought his life acknowledged. For they concluded that he ſhould not be ſlain, before the battel were fought with *Antigonus*, wherein they confeſſed that it ſtood beſt with their ſafety, to be governed by his direction. Of this Treaſon he was quickly advertiſed by *Eudamus*, to whom he had done many pleaſures, and by ſome others of whom he uſed to borrow money when he needed not, to the end that they ſhould be careful of his good, for fear of loſing their own. Conſidering therefore, and diſcourſing with himſelf of the villany intended againſt him, he made his laſt Will, and burnt all his Writings that contained any matter of ſecret: which done, he revolved many things in his mind; being doubtful what courſe he had beſt to follow. All the Nobles of the Empire ſtood ill affected to the Royal blood, excepting thoſe which were with him, that were more in number than in worth. How things at that time ſtood in *Macedon* and *Greece*, either he knew not, or knowing the truth, knew nothing that might encourage him to ſeek their help, that needed his. To make his own peace with *Antigonus*, had been againſt his faith to *Olympias*, and the Princes, that had committed this great power into his hands. For which cauſe alſo it may be thought, that he forbare either to loſe the battel willingly, or to flee into *Cappadocia*, and make ſhift for himſelf among his old friends. At length he reſolved to do his beſt againſt the common enemy, and afterwards look to himſelf as well as he might.

SECT. VI.

The laſt battel between Antigonus *and* Eumenes.

THe Souldiers, eſpecially thoſe old bands of the *Silver-ſhields*, finding *Eumenes* perplexed, and not knowing the cauſe, entreated him not to doubt of the victory, but only to bring them into the field, and ſet them in array; for the reſt, they alone would take ſufficient order. The like alacrity was generally found in the common Souldiers faces; but the chief Commanders were ſo miſchievouſly bent againſt him, that they could not endure to think of being beholding to him for the Victory. Yet he ordered the battel ſo well, that without their own great fault, they could hardly fail of getting the upper hand.

Before the Armies came to joyning, a horſeman from the ſide of *Eumenes*, proclaimed with a loud voyce unto the followers of *Antigonus*, That their wickedneſs in fighting againſt their own Fathers, would now be puniſhed, as it well deſerved. This was not ſpoken in vain, For the *Silver-ſhields* were men of threeſcore or ſeventy years old, and ſtrengthened more by continual exerciſe, than decayed by age, and excelling in courage, as having paſſed through greater dangers, than any like to be preſented in that fight.

Therefore *Antigonus* his men (who had often been beaten by them, and were now to try their laſt hope with theſe reſolute warriors, the moſt ancient and beſt regarded of all *Alexander*'s Soulders) grew very penſive, and advanced heavily, ſuſpecting their own cauſe, and fearing that the threatning uttered would prove true.

Antigonus was now again far the ſtronger in horſe, which gave him cauſe of great hope; the ground on which they were to fight, being a plain levelled field. Placing therefore himſelf, and his ſon *Demetrius* in the right wing, and committing the left wing to *Python*, he did ſet forward couragiouſly againſt the Enemies, that were ready to give him a ſharp enetrtainment.

Eumenes took unto him *Peuceſtes*, with the reſt of the Lords, and ſtood in the left wing of his battel, in the face of *Antigonus*; meaning both to prevent the Traytors, his Companions, of all means to make head againſt him on the ſudden; and (withal) to give proof of his own valour, which perhaps he ſhould no more do, in the face of all his Enemies. In the right wing, oppoſite unto *Python*, he beſtowed the weakeſt of his Horſe and Elephants, under one *Philip*, an honeſt man and (which was enough at ſuch a time) obedient: commanding him to protract the fight, and make a reaſonable retreat, expecting the event of the other ſide.

So they joyned very fiercely; *Antigonus*, labouring to make himſelf maſter of all; *Eumenes*, to die an honourable death, or to win ſuch a victory upon his open enemies, as might give him leiſure and opportunity to deal with his falſe friends.

The footmen of *Antigonus*, being, even in their own opinions, far inferiour to thoſe whom they muſt encounter, were at the firſt brunt preſently defeated by the *Silver-ſhields*, who ſlew above five thouſand of them, loſing of their own not one man. But in Horſe, *Eumenes* was ſo overmatched, that he could not repel *Antigonus*, who preſſed him very hard, but was fain to ſtand wholly upon defence. Yet his courage wrought ſo well by example, among his followers, that the Enemy could not win one foot of ground upon him, until ſuch time as *Peuceſtes*, with one thouſand five hundred Horſe, withdrew himſelf out of the battel, leaving his companions fighting to defend his back.

Then did *Eumenes* deſperately ruſh among his Enemies, labouring to break open the way unto *Antigonus* himſelf. And though he failed of his purpoſe; yet with great ſlaughter he did ſo beat upon them which came in his way, that the victory hung a long time in ſuſpence, uncertain which way to incline.

The ground whereon they fought, being of a ſlight ſandy mould, through the trampling of Horſes, Men and Elephants, did caſt up ſuch a cloud of duſt, as hindred the proſpect, ſo that no man could ſee what was done a little from him. *Antigonus* finding this advantage, diſpatched away ſome companies of Horſe, that paſſed undiſcovered beyond *Eumenes* his battels, and came to his carriages, which lay about half a mile from the place of fight, ſlenderly guarded (for that the whole body of the Army lay between them and danger) and therefore eaſily taken. Had *Peuceſtes* retired himſelf no farther than unto the carriages, he might not only have defended them, but peradventure have ſurprized thoſe which came to ſurprize them, and ſo have done as good a piece of ſervice as a better man. But he was gotten ſomewhat further, to a place, where out of danger he might expect the event; and *Eumenes* was ſo over-laboured both in body and mind, that he could not poſſibly give an eye to every place, being not well able to continue where he was.

It happened ſo, that the Elephants meeting together, thoſe of *Antigonus* had the better hand; whereupon *Eumenes*, finding himſelf every way overcharged, began to give back, and withdrew himſelf and his companies in good order, where *Philip* (as he was directed) had by fighting and retiring together, kept that wing from loſs. The *Antigonians* had felt ſo much of *Eumenes* that day, that they were all content to let him depart quietly, and wiſhed not to ſee him come again; as fain he would have done.

The loſs of the carriages was reported unto him, as ſoon as he had any leiſure to hear how things went: whereupon he preſently ordered his men for a freſh charge, and ſent for *Peuceſtes* that was not far off, requeſting him to bring in his men, and renew the fight, whereby he truſted not only to recover their own goods, but to enrich themſelves with the ſpoils of the enemies. *Peuceſtes* not only refuſed to joyn with him, but immediately withdrew himſelf into a ſafer place, where he might be further from ſuch dangerous temptations.

By this the night grew on; and both Armies, wearied with fighting, were deſirous to return into their Camps. Yet *Antigonus* conceived hope of doing ſomewhat more, and therefore taking half his horſemen, he waited upon *Eumenes* a part of his way homewards, but found no opportunity to offend him: the other half he committed to *Python*, willing him to ſet upon the *Silver-ſhields* in their retreat; which yet he forbare to do, becauſe it appeared too full of danger. So the battel ended; wherein

wherein *Antigonus* had not ſo much the better in horſe, as the worſe in foot: but the ſpoil which he got, by ſurprizing his enemies carriages, made amends for all his other loſſes.

SECT. VII.

How Eumenes *was betrayed to* Antigonus *and ſlain.*

Eumenes, coming into his Camp, and finding the *Silver-ſhields* extremely diſcontented with their misfortune, began to cheer them up, and put them in hope of recovering all with advantage. For their brave demeanour that day had ſo cruſhed the enemy, that he had no power left, wherewith to abide them in open field, and was much leſs able to draw their Carts after him, through that great Wilderneſs, over the high Mountains.

But theſe perſwaſions availed nothing. *Peuceſtes* was gone; the other Captains would needs return into the high Countries; and the Souldiers had no deſire either to flee or to fight, but only to recover their goods. Wherefore *Teutamus*, one of the two Captains of the *Silver ſhields* (who had in former times readily conſented unto trayterous motions, in hope of gain, but was letted by his partner *Antigenes*) finding, as he thought a fit occaſion of making himſelf great, and winning the love of thoſe bands, dealt ſecretly with *Antigonus*, requeſting him to reſtore unto thoſe old Souldiers their goods, which he had taken, being the only reward of their ſervices, in the Wars of *Philip* and *Alexander*.

Antigonus, as a ſubtile man, knew very well, that they which requeſted more than they had reaſon to expect, would alſo with little entreaty, perform a great deal more than they promiſed; and therefore he lovingly entertained the meſſengers, filling them with hopes of far greater matters than they deſired, if they would put *Eumenes* into his hands, by whom they were ſeduced to make War againſt him. This anſwer pleaſed them ſo well, that they forthwith deviſed how to deliver him alive. Wherefore coming about him, as at other times to do their duty, and pretending more joy of their victory, than ſorrow of their loſs, which they ſaid they would redeem by another fight; in the midſt of this goodly talk, they leapt upon him, caught hold of his ſword, and bound him faſt. So they haled him away; and, ſtopping their ears againſt all perſwaſions, would not yield ſo far as to looſen one of his hands, and let him kill himſelf, but brought him alive (that was their own General, under whom they had obtained many victories) as it had been in triumph, into the Camp of their enemies.

The preſs of men, running out of the Camp to ſee him, was ſo great, that *Antigonus* was fain to ſend a guard of Horſemen and Elephants, to keep him from being ſmothered; whom he could not ſuddenly reſolve eitheir to kill or ſave. Very few there were that ſued for his life, but of theſe, *Demetrius* the ſon of *Antigonus* was one, the reſt were deſirous to be rid of him quickly; thinking belike, that if he were ſaved, he would ſoon be the chief in reputation, for his great ability. So, after long deliberation, *Antigonus* concluded that it was the ſafeſt way to put him to death; which intending to have done by famine (perhaps becauſe he would keep it a while in his own power, to reverſe the ſentence, as deſiring, if it might be, to have him live his friend) haſt of other buſineſs made him do it by the ſword.

To this end came all the travel of that worthy General *Eumenes*; who had with great wiſdom, fidelity and patience, laboured in vain to uphold the family which God had purpoſed to caſt down. He is reckoned among the notable examples of Fortunes mutability, but more notable was his Government of himſelf, in all his changes. Adverſity never leſſened his courage, nor proſperity his circumſpection. But all his virtue, induſtry and wit, were caſt away; in leading an Army, without full power, to keep it in due obedience. Therefore it was not ill anſwered by *Gaſper de Coligny*, Admiral of *France* in our days, to one that foretold his death, which enſued ſoon after in the maſacre of *Paris*: That rather than to lead again an Army of Voluntaries, he would dye a thouſand times.

Antigonus himſelf gave to the body of *Eumenes* Honourable Funerals; and rewarded the Treaſon, wrought againſt him, with deſerved vengeance. One chief Captain of the *Silver-ſhields* he burnt alive; many of the other Captains he ſlew; and to the whole multitude of the *Silver-ſhields*, that had betrayed ſo worthy a Commander, he appointed a Leader that ſhould carry them into far Countries, under pretence of Wars; but with a privy charge, to conſume them all, as perjured wretches, letting none of them return alive unto his friends and kindred, or ſo much as once behold the Seas that beat upon the ſhores of *Greece* and *Macedon*.

SECT. VIII.

How Antigonus *ſlew* Python, *and occupied* Media. *How he removed Governours of Provinces, and made himſelf Lord of* Perſia, *carrying away* Peuceſtes.

The two Armies being joyned thus in one, were carried into *Media*, where they ſpent the reſt of the Winter: the common Souldiers idly; the principal men intentively bent unto the buſineſs enſuing. *Python* began to conſider his own deſervings; for the whole War had been chiefly maintained by the ſtrength, and riches of his Province. Beſides, he thought himſelf as good a man as *Antigonus*, unleſs it were in the Souldiers opinion, which he judged eaſie to be purchaſed with gifts, and therefore ſpared not to aſſay them with great liberality. But in following this courſe he was driven by neceſſity to truſt many, of whom he ſtumbled upon ſome, that were unſecret, and others, bearning him no ſincere affection. Thus was his purpoſe diſcovered to *Antigonus*, who (nothing like to *Python*) diſſembled his indignation, and rebuked the informers, as breeders of diſſention between him, and his honourable friend, unto whom he meant to commit the Government of all thoſe Countries: his own buſineſs calling him into the lower *Aſia*. Theſe reports coming daily to his ears, did finely delude *Python*. By his greatneſs with *Alexander*; his Au-

thoriry in that Province where they lay, whereof he was Governour; and the love of the Souldiers which he had bought with money; he was ſtrong enough to maintain, even an offenſive War. But what need had he to uſe the ſword, when he was likely without contention, to obtain more than his own asking? Therefore he came as ſoon as he was ſent for, to take his farewel of *Antigonus*, and to divide the Provinces with him, that meant nothing leſs than to yield to any ſuch diviſion. As ſoon as he came, he was taken, and accuſed, condemned to dye, and ſlain out of hand. For *Antigonus*, having begun with *Eumenes* his ancient friend, was not afterward reſtrained by any conſideration of old acquaintance, from cutting down indifferently all that ſtood in his way: but ſwam carelеſly thorow the blood, wherein at the firſt he doubtfully waded.

When this buſineſs was ended, he appointed a new Governor in *Media*, to order the Province, and a Captain, to ſuppreſs all commotions: thinking belike that the power and authority, ſo divided, would hardly agree in one againſt him, from whom both were derived.

After this he marched into *Perſia*, where he was entertained as abſolute Lord of *Aſia*. There began he to ſhew how well he underſtood his own mightineſs. For he placed and diſplaced, at his own pleaſure, Governours in all Provinces, leaveing none in Office, that were not his own creatures, except ſuch as lay too far off to be diſlodged eaſily.

Peuceſtes, who ruled in *Perſia*, thought with good cheer to redeem old offences; but was deceived, having to do with one that could not be taken with ſuch baits: he was carried away, and feaſted with goodly words of promiſe, that never after took effect. Thus he, that envied the virtue of his friend, was driven to flatter (in vain) the fortune of his enemy, after which he led a moſt contemptible life, till he died obſcurely a man forgotten.

SECT. IX.

How Seleucus *was chaſed out of* Babylon *by* Antigonus. *The great riches of* Antigonus.

Seleucus was the next in this Viſitation; one that had from time to time continued in the ſame tenour of good will to *Antigonus*, & now gave proof of his hearty affection toward him, by making the Captain of the Caſtle of *Suſa* to meet him on the way, rendering unto him that ſtrong Place, and all the Treaſures therein beſtowed. This offer was ſo great, that *Antigonus* (though having in his hands the Keeper of the place) could hardly believe it; but uſed him with exceſſive kindneſs, for fear ſo good a mood ſhould change. In that Caſtle he found all the Treaſures of *Alexander*, with the Jewels of the *Perſian* Kings, which, added to his former ſtore of money, made up five and twenty thouſand Talents. Having all this, he might well account himſelf a happy man, if riches were ſufficient to happineſs. But large Dominion was the mark at which he aimed; therefore he proceeded, with intent to leave no Country behind his back, that ſhould not acknowledge him for Soveraign Lord. Coming to *Babylon*, he was entertained by *Seleucus*, with all poſſible demonſtration of love, and honoured with preſents beſeeming the Majeſty of a King. All this he accepted with great gravity, as being due to him; and began to require an account of the revenues of that Province. This demand *Seleucus* held unreaſonable; ſaying, That it was not needful for him to render unto any man an account of that Province, which was given unto him, in reſpect of his many good ſervices to the State. But whether he ſpake reaſon or no, it ſufficeth, that *Antigonus* was powerful; who urged him daily to come to a reckoning. Manifeſt it was, that neither want of money, nor any other neceſſity, moved *Antigonus* to preſs him thus, but only the deſire to pick matter of quarrel againſt him, whereof it was likely that he ſhould find ſuch iſſue, as *Python* and *Peuceſtes* had done. Therefore taking with him only fifty horſe, he conveyed himſelf away, and fled into *Ptolomie*'s Dominions; deſiring him to protect him from ſuch a man as went about to oppreſs all, that in former times had been his betters, or at leaſt his equals. *Antigonus* was glad of his flight; for now all thoſe Countries were yielded unto him without battel, whereas to fight with *Seleucus* for them, he wanted all pretence; and to kill him it was not his deſire, having received many benefits of him, and thoſe not intermixed, as commonly it happens, with any injuries. Yet it is reported, that the *Chaldeans* brought a ſtrange Prophecy to *Antigonus*, bidding him look well to himſelf; and know, that if *Seleucus* did eſcape his hands, he ſhould recover *Babylon*, yea, win all *Aſia*, and kill *Antigonus* in battel. Eaſie believers may give credit to this tale. Had it been true, methinks *Antigonus* rather ſhould have hanged thoſe *Chaldeans*, for giving him no warning till it was too late, than ſent purſuers (as they ſay that he did) after him, whom the Deſtinies preſerved for ſo great purpoſes. When he had ſettled things at *Babylon*, he took his journey into *Cilicia*, where he wintered. There he took up ten thouſand Talents more of the King's treaſures, and caſting up his accounts, found his yearly in-come to amount unto eleven thouſand Talents.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Of the great War between Alexander's *Captains: and how they assumed the Name and State of Kings.*

SECT. I.

The Combination of Ptolomy, Cassander, *and others against* Antigonus. *Their Demands, and his Answer.*

THis great riches, and the rest of his Power, made *Antigonus* dreaded, envied and suspected, whereby he was quickly embarked in a new War. *Ptolomy*, *Cassander* and *Lysimachus*, had privily combined themselves together, intending to hinder his further growth, and bring him to more reason than of his own accord he seemed like to yield unto. Of their practices he had some notice; the good entertainment given unto *Seleucus*, giving him sufficient cause of mistrust. Therefore he sent Ambassadours to them severally, entreating them to continue firm in their love toward him, that would be ready to requite them with the like. The cold answers which they made, occasioned his hasty preparations against the most forward of them, which was *Ptolomy*, it being likely that a good Army should prevail more than a fair message. Therefore, as soon as the season of the year would permit, he took the way toward *Syria*, and was encountred by Embassage from them all. These told him, that their Lords did much rejoyce at his victory obtained against *Eumenes* their common enemy, and the honour that he had thereby gotten. In which War, forasmuch as they being his Confederates, must have endured great loss, with hazard of their whole Estates, if the contrary faction had prevailed; they held it very just, that all should be partakers in the fruits of that voyage, wherein they had been all adventurers. Wherefore they desired him, that making between them all an equal division of the treasures that were in his hands (a thing easie to be done) he would also take some convenient order for enlarging their Dominions, according to the rate of his new purchases. This might best be to every ones liking, if he would make over *Cappadocia*, with *Lycia*, to *Cassander*; and *Phrygia*, bordering upon the *Hellespont*; to *Lysimachus*: for whereas his own Dominions were so much extended Eastward by his late victory, he might well spare some of those Western Provinces, to those that were seated in the West. As for *Ptolomy*, he would not crave any new addition, but rest contented within his own Territories. Provided always, that *Seleucus* their common friend, and partner in the late War, might be restored to his own, out of which he had been driven so injuriously, that all of them were forced to take it deeply to heart; requiring amends, with his friendly consent unto their demands, which otherwise they must labour to obtain with armed hands.

Antigonus knew, that after many losses received, he should yet be able to redeem Peace whensoever he listed, with these, or perhaps with easier conditions. Neither was he so weak, to give away quietly any part of his strength into the hands of such bad friends, for fear only, lest it should be taken from him perforce. Rather he hoped that he should be able to find them work, more than enough to defend their own. Therefore he roundly answered the Ambassadours, that it was no part of his meaning to communicate with other men the profit of that victory, which he alone without other mens help had obtained. Though indeed they had already sufficiently gained by him, if they could see it, having by his means kept their Government, whereof they were like to be dispossessed by *Polysperchon*, and the council of Estate in *Macedon*. But what marvel was it, if they considered not how he had saved them, seeing one them had forgotten the time, when coming to him as a fugitive, and begging succour, he was by his meer bounty relieved, and enabled to get all that he now held? *Cassander* did not (said he) in those days command me to surrender Provinces, and give him his equal share of my Treasures; but (for his Father's sake) desired me to pity him, and help him against his enemies: which I did; by lending him an Army, and Fleet, on confidence whereof he now presumes to threaten me. As for *Seleucus*, How can he complain of wrong, that durst not stay to plead his right? I did use him well, but his conscience told him that he had deserved ill; else he would not have fled. Let them that so curiously search into my doings, consider well their own, which some of them can hardly justifie. I am now in the way to *Syria*, meaning to examine *Ptolomie*'s proceedings, and after him to deal with others, if they continue to provoke me.

SECT. II.

The preparation and beginnings of the War.

WHen the Ambassadours were dismissed with this answer, nothing was thought upon but War. *Antigonus* perceiving that he should be invaded from *Europe*, as soon as he was

entred into *Syria*, left his Nephew *Ptolomy* to guard the Sea-coſts, and hinder *Caſſander* from landing in *Aſia*: giving him alſo charge, to drive out of *Cappadocia*, ſome that were already ſent over to moleſt him. Likewiſe he diſpatched Meſſengers into *Greece* and *Cyprus*, not unfurniſhed of money; to draw friends to his ſide, and raiſe up troubles to his enemies. Eſpecially, he laboured to make himſelf the ſtrongeſt by Sea; to which purpoſe he rather haſtened, than foreſlowed his journey into *Syria*, that he might get poſſeſſion of Mount *Libanus*, which afforded many excellent commodities for building of a Navy. Therefore, having erected Beacons, and laid poſt-horſes throughout all *Aſia*, to give ſwift advertiſement of all occurrences, he invaded *Syria*, that was not held againſt him by any power ſufficient to maintain the field.

Ptolomy lay in *Egypt*, the ſtrength and heart of his Dominion, where he was beloved and honoured of the people as their natural Lord: his other Provinces be kept with a few Garriſons, better ſerving to contain the people within obedience, than to confront a Forreign enemy. So *Antigonus* took many Cities and Places of that Country, and began to ſet great numbers of Artificers on work in making ſhips, which was one of his moſt earneſt cares. In theſe buſineſſes he conſumed a year and three months; not idly. For he took *Joppa* and *Gaza*, which were yielded unto his diſcretion, and well uſed. The ſtrong City of *Tyrus* held out long, but was compelled in the end by famine, to render it ſelf upon compoſition, that *Ptolomie*'s Souldiers might depart with their Arms; which was permitted.

Ptolomy was not aſleep, whilſt theſe things were in doing, though he kept himſelf within the bounds of *Egypt*, as indeed it behoved him to do. His forces were not able to ſtand againſt *Antigonus* in plain field, but likely they were to encreaſe, which made him willing to protract the time. Nevertheleſs by Sea (where his enemy was as yet unready) he ſent his Fleet into all quarters, whereof *Seleucus* had the chief command.

Seleucus paſſed with an hundred ſail along the coaſt of *Syria*, in full view of *Antigonus* and his Army, to their no little diſcomfort. He landed in *Cyprus*, which was then governed by many petty Lords: of whom the greateſt adhered to *Ptolomy*, the reſt were by the Factors of *Antigonus*, bought for him with gold, but now redeemed by the *Egyptians* with ſharp ſteel.

The ſame commodity of aid by Sea, encouraged the Preſident of *Caria* (called alſo *Caſſander*, but not the Son of *Antipater*, howſoever by the painful and learned Writer *Reinerus Reineccius*, he is, by ſome overſight, counted for the ſame) to declare for *Ptolomy* and his Confederates, and buſily imploy in their quatrel all his forces, which he had hitherto kept in good neutrality, and thereby enjoyed reſt; but now he threw himſelf into dangerous War, chuſing rather to undergo trouble at hand, than to fall under certain ruine, though ſomewhat further diſtant, which would have overwhelmed him, if *Antigonus* had beaten all the reſt.

SECT. III.

How each party ſought to win the aſſiſtance of Greece. Antigonus *his declaration againſt* Caſſander. Alexander *the Son of* Polyſperchon *revolted from* Antigonus *who had ſet him up.*

IN the mean ſeaſon all care poſſible was taken on both ſides, to aſſure unto them the people of *Greece*, whoſe aid, which way ſoever inclined, was of great importance. Herein at the firſt, *Antigonus* ſped ſo well by large effuſion of his treaſure, that he drew to him the *Lacedemonians*, and other *Peloponneſians*, of whom he waged eight thouſand; and cauſed *Polyſperchon* (who had a good while made hard ſhifts) to rowſe himſelf again, and taking upon him the title of Captain of *Peloponneſus*, to make head againſt *Caſſander*.

Theſe hopeful beginnings encouraged him to proceed further in the ſame kind. Wherefore to make *Caſſander* the more odious, he called together both his own Souldiers, and all the *Greeks* and *Macedonians* that were to be found thereabouts. To theſe he declared, that *Caſſander* had very cruelly ſlain *Olympias*, Mother to the great *Alexander*; and not herewith contented, had ſhut up in cloſe priſon the poor Lady *Roxane*, *Alexander*'s Wife, and his Son begotten on her body. That all this proceeded from a deſire to make himſelf King over the *Macedonians*; which well appeared by his enforcing the Lady *Theſſalonica*, Daughter to King *Philip*, a match unfit for a man of no greater parentage than he, to joyn with him in marriage. That in meer diſpite of thoſe dead Princes, *Philip* and *Alexander*, he had planted the *Olynthians*, rooted out by *Philip*, in a new City by him built, and called by his own name *Caſſandria*; and had re-edified the City of *Thebes*, which for the great treaſon of the Inhabitants, was levelled with the ground by the victorious hand of *Alexander*. For theſe reaſons he required them to make a Decree, that *Caſſander* ſhould reſtore to abſolute liberty the Lady *Roxane*, and her Son; and ſhould yield obedience to the Lord Lieutenant General of the Empire (by which name *Antigonus* himſelf was underſtood) or elſe ſhould be reputed a Traytor, and open Enemy to the State. Furthermore he propounded, that all the Cities of *Greece* ſhould be reſtored into freedom: this he did, not becauſe he was careful of their good, but for the need which he had of their aſſiſtance.

Theſe things being decreed, *Antigonus* was perſwaded, that not only the *Greeks* would adhere unto him, as to their loving Patron, and fall off from *Caſſander*, but that the rulers of Provinces, who had hitherto ſuſpected him as a man regardful of nothing but his own benefit, would correct their opinion, and think him the moſt faithful of all others to the Royal Blood. But concerning his loyalty to the young Prince, the world was too wiſe to be deceived with vain ſhews. His undertaking for the liberty of the *Greeks* was more effectual, and got eaſie belief, in regard of his preſent hatred to *Caſſander*. Yet herein alſo *Ptolomy* ſtrove to be as earneſt as he, making the like decree, in hope to win to himſelf that valiant Nation, which afforded

afforded men far more servicable in War, than were to be found in any Province of the Empire.

And this indeed was the point at which both sides aimed. Wherein *Antigonus* thinking to make all sure, deceived himself, not without great cost. For he gave to *Alexander* the Son of *Polysperchon* five hundred Talents, willing him to set the War on foot in *Peloponnesus*, whereby it might appear that on his side was meant nothing else, than what was openly pretended.

In *Peloponnesus*, *Cassander*'s men had with much blood-shed, grievously afflicted the contrary faction, and he himself perceiving, that they were more easily spoiled as enemies, than retained as friends, thought it the best way to make what use he could of them, that were not like to continue long his. Finally, perceiving that *Alexander* came furnished with plenty of gold, wherewith he was able not only to win the doubtful, but to corrupt such as might seem best assured; he thought it a part of wisdom, to surrender upon fair conditions, that which he could not assure himself to hold any long time by force. Therefore he sent one to deal with *Alexander* about the matters in controversie; telling him, that *Antigonus* was very skilful in setting men together by the ears, not caring who prevailed, but only desiring to have them weary themselves, whilst he was busied elsewhere; that so at length he might find opportunity to set upon the stronger. If therefore *Alexander* were so wise, as to keep in his purse the five hundred Talents which he had, and without stroke stticken, to receive the whole Lordship of *Peloponnesus*, it should be freely put into his hands by *Cassander*; provided, that he should from thenceforth renounce all confederacy made with *Antigonus*, and enter into a sure and faithful league with *Ptolomy*, *Cassander*, and the rest of the Confederates. Otherwise he might well perswade himself, that the Country which his Father could not keep, when he was indeed the Lieutenant of the Empire, should not in hast be won by him, that was only the Factor of a proud injurious man, so stiling himself, but not acknowledged by others.

Alexander had lived a while with *Antigonus* since the beginning of these wars; among whose followers it was not hard to discover the intent (which he did not carry very secret) of making himself absolute Lord of all. Therefore he was soon entreated to accept so good an offer; and did not stick to enter into that League, whereby he was to become a free Lord, and subject unto no man's controul.

Howbeit, this his honour continued not long, ere he lost both it and his life together, by treason of the *Sicyonians*; who thinking thereby to have made themselves free, were soon after vanquished in battel by *Cratesipolis*, *Alexander*'s Wife, a discreet and valiant Lady. She in revenge of her Husband's death, crucified thirty of the Citizens taken in fight; and having by severity taught them obedience, did afterwards continue her Army in good order, and governed those places she held, with the commendation of her Subjects and Neighbours.

SECT. IV.

The Ætolians *rise against* Cassander *in favour of* Antigonus, *and are beaten. A Fleet and Land-Army of* Antigonus *utterly defeated by* Ptolomy's *Lieutenant. In what terms the War stood at this time.* Antigonus *draws nearer to* Greece.

Antigonus when he found, that with so much money he had only bought an enemy, began to raise troubles to *Cassander*, and his other adversaries in *Greece*, by stirring up the *Ætolians* against them: likewise he laboured to win to his party the Islands in the Greek Seas, by whose assistance he might be the better able to deal with *Ptolomy*, that greatly prevailed by reason of his strong Fleet. But neither of these attempts had the success which he expected. The *Ætolians*, a factious Nation, and always envying the greatness of their Neighbours, were often in commotion, but so, that commonly their gains equalled not their losses. *Cassander* wan some of their own Country, fortified the *Arcarnanians* against them, and compelled *Glaucias*, King of the *Illyrians*, whom he vanquished in battel, to forsake their side, and bind himself, to bear no Arms against *Cassander*'s friends.

On the other side, as many petty Islands were drawn to joyn with *Antigonus*; so the Fleet of the *Rhodians* under *Theodatus*, who was Admiral to *Antigonus*, passing along the Coast of *Asia* towards *Cyprus*, with an Army under conduct of *Perilaus* marching on the shore for mutual assistance, was quite overthrown by *Ptolomy*'s Navy. *Polyclytus*, who in *Ptolomy*'s behalf had been sent into *Peloponnesus* against *Alexander*, finding no need of his service in that Country, because *Alexander* was come over to their side, returned homewards, and by the way heard of the course which these *Antigonians* held, whom he very cunningly surprized. He rode with his Fleet behind a Cape, which the enemies were to double; his Land-forces he placed in ambush, whereinto *Perilaus* falling, was taken prisoner, with many of his men, and many were slain, making little resistance. *Theodatus* the Admiral perceiving this, made all hasie to help his fellows that were on Land; but whilst he with all his Fleet were intentive only to that business, *Polyclytus* appeared at their backs; who as soon as he perceived their disorder, hastned about the Cape, and charging them behind, suffered not one of them to escape him. These ill tidings caused *Antigonus* to deal with *Ptolomy* about some composition. First, he sent Ambassadors; afterwards they met in person. But *Antigonus* would not yield to the demands of *Ptolomy*: so the parley was vain.

Hitherto each part seemed to have indifferently sped in the War, and thereby to have equal cause of hope and fear. This late Victory, with the good success of his affairs in *Cyprus*, did seem to make amends to *Ptolomy* for his losses in *Syria*. Likewise the revolt of *Alexander* from *Antigonus* did equal the confederacy made between the *Ætolians* and him; as also those petty skirmishes that had been in *Asia* the less, to *Antigonus* his advantage, were sufficiently recompenced by others of like regard, but adverse to him, and by the troubles brought upon his estates in those parts by the two *Cassanders*.

Contrariwise, *Antigonus* valued the loss of his men,

men, money and ships, no otherwise than as the pairing of his nails, that were left long enough, and would easily grow again, but the enlargement of his Territory by addition of *Syria*, he prized at a higher rate; as if thereby he had fed upon a limb of *Ptolomy* his enemy, and strengthned the body of his own Empire. Concerning other accidents, whereof the good were hitherto sufficient to counterpoize the bad, he meant to proceed as occasion should direct, which commonly is not long wanting to them, that want no money.

That which most molested him, was the attempts of his enemies upon *Asia* the less; wherein though as yet they had gotten little, yet had he cause to fear, lest the people being tied unto him by no bond of allegiance, might upon small occasion revolt from him, to men of as honourable reputation as he himself. To prevent this, and to be nearer to *Greece*, he held it expedient for him to be there in person, where his affairs did seem to prosper the worse, by reason of his absence. Therefore he left part of his Army in *Syria*, under his Son *Demetrius*, to whom being then but two and twenty years old, he appointed many ancient Captains, as Assistants, or rather as Directors: the rest he carried with him into *Phrygia*, where he meant to winter.

SECT. V.

How Lysimachus *and* Cassander *vanquished some enemies, raised against them by* Antigonus. *The good success of* Antigonus *in* Asia *and* Greece: *with the rebellion of many Cities against* Cassander.

THe coming of *Antigonus* into those parts, wrought a great alteration in the process of his business thereabouts. For his enemies had short leisure to think upon molesting him in *Asia*: they themselves were held over-hardly to their own work on *Europe* side. *Seuthes* a King of the *Thracians*, joyning with some Towns that rebelled against *Lysimachus*, brought also the bordering *Scythians* into the quarrel. All these relyed upon *Antigonus*, who was to help them with money and other aid. The *Ætolians* likewise took courage, and rose against *Cassander*, having *Æacides*, lately restored to the Kingdom of *Epirus*, their Assistant. But *Lysimachus* gave unto his Rebels no time to confirm themselves. He suddenly presented himself before two of the Cities that had rebelled, and compelled them by fear to return unto their former duty. He fought a battel with the *Scythians* and wild *Thracians*, and drave them out of the Country. Finally, he overcame *Seuthes*; and following the heat of his Victory slew *Pausanias* in Battel, whom *Antigonus* had sent over with an Army; and all his men he did either put to ransome or fill up with them his own Bands. The like' success had *Philip*, *Cassander*'s Lieutenant, against the *Ætolians*. For he wasted their Country; fought with the *Epirotes*, that came to help them: and after the victory, fought again with their forces joyned in one, overthrowing them, and killing *Æacides* that unfortunate King. Finally, he drave the *Ætolians* out of most of their Countrey, and forced them to seek their safety among the wild Mountains. Of the *Epirotes* he sent as Prisoners to *Cassander*, the principal Authours of the King's restitution, and of the present War.

Yet these actions required some time, and wearied *Antigonus* his Adversaries with painful travel; after which they remained only savers. *Antigonus* himself at fair leisure wan all *Caria* the whilst, and sent Armies into *Peloponnesus*, and other parts of *Greece*, bestowing liberty upon all the Cities he took out of *Cassander*'s hands. The whole Country of *Peloponnesus* (excepting *Sicyon* and *Corinth*) with the Isle of *Eubœa*, and many places of the firm Land, were by those means won to be his in true and vehement affection, ready to do or suffer any thing for him that had made so evident a demonstration of his readiness, to give them the liberty in deed, which others had promised in idle words. Many States desirous of the same benefit, would fain have shewed their good will; but they were kept in by *Cassander*'s Garrisons, who was too wise to trust them loose. Therefore *Antigonus* made shew as if he would pass over into *Macedon*: by which terror he forced *Cassander* to repair thither in all hast, with the best of his strength, leaving many good Towns of *Greece* so weakly guarded, that well they might take courage to help themselves, if any forreign succour appeared. The aid which they desired was not long wanting. The Lieutenant of *Antigonus*, taking the advantage of *Cassander*'s departure, entred the Country; drave his Garrisons out of divers Cities; forced the Governour of *Athens* to enter into league with their Lord; wan the Cittadel of *Thebes*, and set the people at liberty. This last action was somewhat remarkable. For *Thebes* had not long before been raised out of her old ruines by the meer power of *Cassander*; of which act he was accused by *Antigonus*, as if it had been some hainous crime. Yet now the same *Antigonus* winneth the City, and the love of the Inhabitants, only by expelling him that was their Founder. So much are men readier to thank the Increaser, than the Authour of their good; and rather to look forward upon those hopes, which vainly they extend beyond all measure, than backward upon their miserable nullity, that held them uncapable of being any thing.

SECT. VI.

Victories of Ptolomy *by Sea. A great Battel at* Gaza, *which* Ptolomy *and* Seleucus *wan, against* Demetrius *the Son of* Antigonus.

AS the presence or nearness of *Antigonus* gave life to his affairs in the lower *Asia* and *Greece*; so the designs of his enemies, taking advantage at his absence, ruined the very foundations of those great works in the Eastern parts, wherewith in the year preceeding he had over-topped them. The Isle of *Cyprus*, whose Princes wavered between contrary affections, inclining one while to *Antigonus*, another while faintly regarding their covenant with *Ptolomy*, was visited by an *Egyptian* Fleet, wherewith *Ptolomy*, in his own person easily reduced them to a more settled order, putting some to death, carrying others away Prisoners, and leaving a Lieutenant of his own appointment, Governour of the wholy Country. With the same Fleet he ran along the Sea-coasts, wasting a great part of *Caria*,

Caria and *Cilicia*, with the ſpoils of which he enriched his followers, and returned loaden to *Cyprus*. *Demetrius* the Son of *Antigonus*, hearing frequent reports of the miſeries, wherewith his Father's ſubjects were oppreſſed, made all haſt out of *Syria* to the reſcue, taking only his horſes, and light-armed foot with him, becauſe the buſineſs required expedition. But in vain did he tire himſelf and his followers, in haſty ſeeking of one, that by lanching out into the deep, could in a few minutes delude the labour of ſo many days, if need had ſo required. Anſwerable to the vanity of this expedition was the ſucceſs. For *Ptolomy* was gone, before *Demetrius* came into *Cilicia*. Neither was it certain, whether having lightned his ſhips of their burthen in *Cyprus*, he would return upon thoſe maritime Countries, or make towards *Syria*, where his coming was expected. He was indeed gone into *Egypt*, and there with *Seleucus* was deſcribing a Royal Army, which he levied with all convenient ſpeed, for the recovery of *Syria*. This was more than *Demetrius* knew. Therefore he was fain to chuſe out of uncertainties the moſt likelihood, and return the way that he came, with all his companies, which were fitter for ſervice in the open field, than to be beſtowed in Garriſons among the *Cilicians*. He had ſcarce refreſhed his men and horſes in *Syria*, when the news arrived of *Ptolomy*'s coming with a puiſſant Army, to give him battel. Hereupon he called to Council his principal friends, who adviſed him to give way to the time, and expect ſome better opportunity in the future, being a young man, and weakly furniſhed with means to reſiſt ſuch ancient and famous Generals, as *Ptolomy* and *Seleucus*. This counſel ſeemed rather to proceed from the cold temper of thoſe aged men that gave it, than from any neceſſity growing out of the preſent buſineſs. For *Demetrius* conſidering himſelf to be the Son of *Antigonus*, and now General of his Father's Army, thought his own Title weight enough to be laid in ballance againſt the bare names of thoſe two great Commanders. Neither found he much reaſon that ſhould move him to diſtruſt his forces, as inſufficient. His men were better exerciſed than the enemies, and promiſed as much as could be required. Therefore perſwading himſelf, that ſuch odds of number, and of great fame, would rather ſerve to adorn the victory, than hinder him in obtaining it, he reſolved to put the matter to Trial, without expecting the advantage of more help. So animating his Souldiers with hope of ſpoils and rewards, he abode the coming of the enemies at *Gaza*, with purpoſe to encounter them, as ſoon as they had finiſhed their weariſome journey over the Deſarts of *Arabia*.

Ptolomy and *Seleucus* iſſuing out of ſo rich a Province as *Egypt*, came ſo well provided of all neceſſaries, that their Army felt not any great grievance of the evil way, when battel was preſented them, which confidently they undertook. In all things elſe they had the odds of *Demetrius*; of Elephants they were utterly unprovided: But how to deal with thoſe Beaſts they were not ignorant. They had prepared a kind of Paliſado, faſtned ſtrongly together with chains, and ſharpned in ſuch a manner, that the Elephants could not ſeek to break upon it, without receiving much hurt. The reſt of their forces (which (beſides that they had advantage in multitude) were heartned with many fortunate ſervices, by them performed that year, whilſt the enemies had wearied themſelves, either with vain journeys, or long and dulling expectation) they diſpoſed in ſuch order, as beſt anſwered to the form, wherein *Demetrius* was embattelled. The fight began, and was maintained with equal courage, for a long time, each part ſtriving more to win honour, than to ſatisfie any other paſſion, as having little cauſe of hatred or revenge. But after ſome continuance, the greater number holding better out, the error of *Demetrius*, who upon no neceſſity would needs fight a battel with diſadvantage, began to appear by his loſſes. He had committed himſelf to Fortune, having more to loſe by her than he could get: but in this fight ſhe was idle, and left all to be decided by ſtrong hands; unleſs it may be ſaid, that the terror brought upon his men, by the loſs of his Elephants was bad luck. Thoſe beaſts were in that kind of War hardly to be reſiſted on plain ground; and therefore at the firſt they made great ſpoil amongſt *Ptolomy*'s men. Afterward ſeeking to break the Paliſado, they were ſorely hurt, and every one of them taken. This diſaſter cauſed the horſemen of *Demetrius* to faint. They had laboured hard, and prevailed little, till now perceiving that all muſt lie upon their hands, who were ill able to make their own places good, they began to ſhrink, and many of them to provide for their ſafety by timely flight, which example the reſt quickly followed. When *Demetrius* had ſtriven ſo long in vain to make his men abide, that he himſelf was likely to be loſt; he was fain to give place to the ſtronger, making a violent retreat as far as to *Azotus*, which was about thirty miles from the place of Battel. A great part of his carriages was in *Gaza*, whither ſome of his company turned aſide, hoping to ſave ſuch goods, as in haſte they could pack up. This fooliſh covetouſneſs was their deſtruction, and the loſs of the Town. For, whilſt they, forgetful of the danger, had filled the ſtreets with ſumpter-horſes, and cloyed up the gates, thronging, ſome to get in and fetch; others to carry out what they had already loaden, *Ptolomy*'s Army brake in without reſiſtance, taking them with their goods, and the City altogether.

This Victory reſtored unto *Ptolomy* the beſt part of *Syria*, a Province more eaſie in thoſe times to get, than to keep; and opened the way unto all the greatneſs of *Seleucus*. For between *Gaza* and *Phœnicia* no place offered reſiſtance. In *Cœloſyria* and *Phœnicia*, ſome Towns held out a while, but were ſoon taken in by *Ptolomy*. Among theſe were the great Cities of *Tyrus* and *Sydon*; of which *Sydon* was given up by the Inhabitants; *Tyrus* by the Garriſon, falling to mutiny againſt their Captain, who truſting to the ſtrength of it, had made great vaunts, but was pardoned by *Ptolomy*, and honourably entertained in reſpect of his fidelity.

SECT.

SECT. VII.

How Seleucus *recovered* Babylon, *and made himself Lord of many Countries in the highest* Asia. *The* Æra *of the Kingdom of the* Greeks, *which began with the Dominion of* Seleucus.

WHile *Ptolomy* followed his business with such prosperity, *Seleucus* took leave of him, and went up to *Babylon* to try his own fortune; which he found so favourable, that recovering first his own Province, he became at length master of the better part of *Alexander*'s purchases.

This expedition of *Seleucus* was very strange, and full of unlikelihoods. His train consisted of no more than eighteen hundred foot, and two hundred horse, a number too small to have been placed as Garrison in some one of those main great Cities, against which he carried it into the highest *Asia*. But little force is needful, to make way into strong places, for him that already stands possessed of their hearts which dwell within the walls. The name of *Seleucus* was enough; whom the *Babylonians* had found so good a Governour, that none of them would find courage to resist him; but left that work to *Antigonus* his own men, wishing them ill to speed. Some of the *Macedonians* that were in those Countries, had the like affection; others made a Countenance of War, which by easie compulsion they left off, and followed new Ensigns. This added courage to the people, who came in apace, and submitted themselves joyfully to *Seleucus*. In a defection so general, it was not a safe course for the *Antigonians*, to thrust themselves into the Towns of most importance: for every man of them should have been troubled with daily enemies in his own lodging. It remained that they should issue forth into the field, and try the matter by fight. But the treason of one principal man, who revolted to the enemy, with more than a thousand Souldiers following him, so dismayed the rest, that they did no more than seek to make good one strong place, wherein were kept the Hostages and Prisoners, that *Antigonus* held for his security in those quarters. This Castle, belike, they had not fortified in times of leisure, against dangers, that were not then apparent. *Seleucus* quickly took it; and so got the entire possession of *Mesopotamia* and *Babylon*.

Antigonus had bestowed in *Media* and *Persia*, forces convenient for defence of those Provinces, that were the utmost of his Dominion. In the Countries about *Euphrates* he had not done the like: for his own great Army lay between them and all enemies. Therefore when the Victory at *Gaza* had opened unto *Seleucus* the way into those parts; he found little impediment in the rest of his business. Having now gotten what he sought, it behoved him to seek how he might keep his gettings: for his forces were too small, and his friends were ill able to lend him any more. That which his friends could not do for him, his enemies did. *Nicanor*, to whom *Antigonus* had committed his Army in *Media*, joyning unto himself, out of *Persia* and other Countries, all needful help, came, with ten thousand foot, and seven thousand Horse, either to save all from being lost, or to drive *Seleucus* out of that which he had won.

Against this power, *Seleucus* had only four hundred Horse, and somewhat above three thousand Foot, wherewith to oppose himself: his large Conquest of unwarlike Nations having yielded him many loving Subjects, but few Souldiers. Therefore when his enemies were near to the River of *Tigris*, he withdrew himself from the place where his resistance was expected, into certain marishes not far off; where he lay secretly waiting for some advantage. *Nicanor* thought that he had been fled, and was the less careful in fortifying his Camp. In recompence of this vain security, his Camp was taken by surprize, the first night of his arrival; the *Satrapa*, or Lieutenant of *Persia*, together with sundry of the Captains, were slain; he himself was driven to flee for his life into the Desarts, and the whole Army yielded unto *Seleucus*: whose gentle demeanor, after the Victory, drew all *Media*, *Susiana*, and the Neighbour Provinces, to acknowledge him their Lord without any further stroke stricken.

This Victory of *Seleucus* gave beginning unto the new stile of, *The Kingdom of the Greeks*, an accompt much used by the *Greeks*, *Chaldeans*, *Syrians*, and other Nations in those parts. I will not make any long disputation about the first year of this *Æra*. The authority of that great Astrologer *Ptolomy*, from which there is no appeal, makes it plain, that *the five hundred and nineteenth year of* Nabonassar, *was the fourscore and second year of this accompt*. Other inference hereupon is needless, than that note of the learned *Gauricus*, *That the first of these years was reckoned compleat*, *at* Babylon, *together with the end of four hundred thirty and eight years after* Nabonassar. With the observation of the *Saturn*, recorded by *Ptolomy* agrees (as it ought) the calculation of *Bunting*; finding the same Planet to have been so placed in the sign of *Virgo*, as the *Chaldeans* had observed it, in the same year; which was from *Nabonassar* the five hundred and nineteenth; from *Seleucus* the fourscore and second year; and the last of the hundred thirty and seventh *Olympiad*. These observations of the celestial bodies, are the surest marks of time: from which he that wilfully varies, is inexcusable. As for such occurrences in History, and the years of succeeding Princes (that are not seldom ambiguous, by reason of unremembred fractions) if they seem to be here-against, it is not greatly material. Yet thus much is worthy of note; that these years of the *Greeks* were not reckoned in all Countries from one beginning; as plainly appears in the difference of one year, that is found between actions, related by the several Authors of the two Books of the *Maccabees*, who follow divers accompts. He that shall adhere to the time defined by *Ptolomy*, may apply the other supputations thereunto, as being no farther from it, than a years distance.

Pol. Almag. lib. 11. cap. 7. 8.

L. Gauric. in annot. ad locum citatum.

SECT.

SECT. VIII.

How Ptolomy *loſt all he won in* Syria. *What the cauſes were of the quiet obedience, performed unto the* Macedonians, *by thoſe that had been ſubject unto the Perſian Empire. Of divers petty enterprizes, taken in hand by* Antigonus *and* Demetrius *with ill ſucceſs.*

IN a happy hour did *Seleucus* adventure to go up to *Babylon*, with ſo few men as his friend could then well ſpare: for had he ſtayed longer upon hope of getting more Souldiers, *Ptolomy* could have ſpared him none at all. *Demetrius* the ſon of *Antigonus*, having loſt the battel at *Gaza*, received from *Ptolomy* all his own goods, his Pages and Servants, in free gift, and therewithal a courteous meſſage, to this effect: That no perſonal hatred was the ground of this War, which he and his confederates held with *Antigonus*; but only terms of honour, wherein they would ſeek to right themſelves after ſuch manner, that other friendly Offices, without reference to the quarrel, ſhould not be forgotten.

This noble dealing of *Ptolomy*, did kindle in *Demetrius* an earneſt deſire of requiting him, with ſome as brave liberality. Which to effect, he gathered together the remainder of his broken troops; drew as many as could be ſpared, out of the Garriſons in *Cilicia*, or other Provinces thereabouts, and advertiſing his Father of his misfortune, beſought him to ſend a new ſupply, wherewith he might redeem his honour loſt. *Antigonus* upon the firſt news of this overthrow, had ſaid, That the victory which *Ptolomy* wan upon a beardleſs Boy, ſhould be taken from him by bearded men: yet upon deſire that his ſon, whom he tenderly loved, ſhould amend his own reputation, he was content to make a ſtand in *Phrygia*. *Ptolomy* hearing of *Demetrius* his preparations, did nevertheleſs follow his own buſineſs in *Cœloſyria*; thinking it enough to ſpend part of his Army under *Cilles* his Lieutenant, againſt the remnant of thoſe, that had been already vanquiſhed, when *Cilles* too much under-valued the power of ſuch an Enemy. He thought that this young Gallant, having lately ſaved his life by flight, would now be more careful of having a fair way at his back, than adventurous in ſetting further forward, than urgent reaſon ſhould provoke him. In this confidence he paſſed on without all fear; as one that was already Maſter of the field, and ſhould meet with none, that would iſſue out of their places of ſtrength to make reſiſtance. When *Demetrius* was informed of this careleſs march; he took the lighteſt of his Army, and made his journey with ſuch diligence, one whole night, that early in the morning, he came upon *Cilles* unexpected, and was on the ſudden, without any battel, Maſter of his Camp: taking him alive, with his Souldiers, and their carriages all at once.

This exploit ſerved not only to repair the credit of *Demetrius*, which his loſs at *Gaza* had almoſt ruined: but further it enabled him, to recompence the bounty of *Ptolomy*, with equal favour, in reſtoring to him *Cilles*, with many other of his friends, accompanied with rich preſents. But neither was *Ptolomy* ſo weakned by this loſs, nor *Demetrius* ſo emboldned by his Victory, that any matter of conſequence thereupon iſſued. For *Demetrius* feared the coming of *Ptolomy*; and therefore he fortified himſelf in places of advantage: *Ptolomy* on the other ſide was loth to engage himſelf in an enterprize, wherein he might perceive that if the coming of *Antigonus* found him entangled, he ſhould either be driven to make a ſhameful retreat, or a dangerous adventure of his whole eſtate, in hope of not much more than already he poſſeſſed.

Antigonus, indeed, was nothing ſlow in his way towards *Syria*; whither he made all haſt, not ſo much to relieve his ſon as to embrace him. For he rejoyced exceedingly, that the young man had ſo well acquitted himſelf, and being left to his own advice, performed the office of a good Commander. Wherefore to encreaſe the reputation of this late victory, he brought ſuch forces, as might ſerve to re-conquer all *Syria*: meaning that the honour of all ſhould be referred unto the good foundation laid by his ſon; whom from this time forwards, he employed in matters of greateſt importance.

Ptolomy had now leſs reaſon to encounter with *Antigonus*, than before his coming to have aſſailed the Camp of *Demetrius*. Yet he made it a matter of conſultation; as if he had dared more than he meant. But all his Captains adviſed him to retire into *Egypt*, alledging many good arguments to that purpoſe: which they might well perceive to be agreeable to his own intent, by his propounding that courſe; not without remembrance of the good ſucceſs againſt *Perdiccas*, in the like defenſive War. So he departed out of *Syria*, preſerving his honour; as being rather led by mature deliberation, than any ſudden paſſion of fear: and he departed at fair leiſure, not only carrying his treaſures along with him, but ſtaying to diſmantle ſome principal Cities, that he thought moſt likely to trouble him in the future. All the Country that he left at his back, fell preſently to *Antigonus*, without putting him to the trouble of winning it by pieces: ſo eaſie was it in thoſe times, for the Captain of a ſtrong Army, to make himſelf Lord of a great Province.

We may juſtly wonder, that theſe Kingdoms of *Syria*, *Media*, *Babylon*, and many other Nations (which the victory of *Alexander* had over-run with ſo haſty a courſe, as gave him not leiſure to take any good view of them) were ſo eaſily held not only by himſelf, but by the Captains of his Army after him. The hot contentions for ſuperiority between the King of *Iſrael*, and thoſe of *Damaſcus*; between *Egypt* and *Babylon*; *Babylon* and *Ninive*; the *Perſians* and many Countries: argue a more manly temper, to have once been in thoſe people; which are now ſo patient of a foreign yoke, that like Sheep or Oxen, they ſuffer themſelves to be diſtributed, fought for, won, loſt, and again recovered by contentious Maſters: as if they had no title to their own heads, but were born to follow the fortune of the *Macedonians*. This will appear the more ſtrange, if we ſhall conſider, how the ſeveral States of *Greece* (many of which had never poſſeſſed ſo large a Dominion, as might cauſe their ſpirits to ſwell beyond their ability) did greedily embrace all occaſions of liberty: and how theſe proud Conquerours were glad to offer it, deſiring to have them rather friends than ſervants, for fear of further inconvenience.

It muſt therefore be noted that moſt of theſe Countries had always been ſubject unto the

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How Ptolomy *loſt all he won in* Syria. *What the cauſes were of the quiet obedience performed unto the* Macedonians, *by thoſe that had been ſubject unto the Perſian Empire. Of divers petty enterprizes, taken in hand by* Antigonus *and* Demetrius *with ill ſucceſs.*

IN a happy hour did *Seleucus* adventure to go up to *Babylon*, with ſo few men as his friend could then well ſpare: for had he ſtayed longer upon hope of getting more Souldiers, *Ptolomy* could have ſpared him none at all. *Demetrius* the ſon of *Antigonus*, having loſt the battel at *Gaza*, received from *Ptolomy* all his own goods, his Pages and Servants, in free gift, and therewithal a courteous meſſage, to this effect: That no perſonal hatred was the ground of this War, which he and his confederates held with *Antigonus*; but only terms of honour, wherein they would ſeek to right themſelves after ſuch manner, that other friendly Offices, without reference to the quarrel, ſhould not be forgotten.

This noble dealing of *Ptolomy*, did kindle in *Demetrius* an earneſt deſire of requiting him, with ſome as brave liberality. Which to effect, he gathered together the remainder of his broken troops; drew as many as could be ſpared, out of the Garriſons in *Cilicia*, or other Provinces thereabouts, and advertiſing his Father of his misfortune, beſought him to ſend a new ſupply, wherewith he might redeem his honour loſt. *Antigonus* upon the firſt news of this overthrow, had ſaid, That the victory which *Ptolomy* wan upon a beardleſs Boy, ſhould be taken from him by bearded men: yet upon deſire that his ſon, whom he tenderly loved, ſhould amend his own reputation, he was content to make a ſtand in *Phrygia*. *Ptolomy* hearing of *Demetrius* his preparations, did nevertheleſs follow his own buſineſs in *Cœloſyria*; thinking it enough to ſpend part of his Army under *Cilles* his Lieutenant, againſt the remnant of thoſe, that had been already vanquiſhed, when *Cilles* too much under-valued the power of ſuch an Enemy. He thought that this young Gallant, having lately ſaved his life by flight, would now be more careful of having a fair way at his back, than adventurous in ſetting further forward, than urgent reaſon ſhould provoke him. In this confidence he paſſed on without all fear; as one that was already Maſter of the field, and ſhould meet with none, that would iſſue out of their places of ſtrength to make reſiſtance. When *Demetrius* was informed of this careleſs march; he took the lighteſt of his Army, and made his journey with ſuch diligence, one whole night, that early in the morning, he came upon *Cilles* unexpected, and was on the ſudden, without any battel, Maſter of his Camp: taking him alive, with his Souldiers, and their carriages all at once.

This exploit ſerved not only to repair the credit of *Demetrius*, which his loſs at *Gaza* had almoſt ruined: but further it enabled him, to recompence the bounty of *Ptolomy*, with equal favour, in reſtoring to him *Cilles*, with many other of his friends, accompanied with rich preſents. But neither was *Ptolomy* ſo weakned by this loſs, nor *Demetrius* ſo emboldned by his Victory, that any matter of conſequence thereupon iſſued. For *Demetrius* feared the coming of *Ptolomy*; and therefore he fortified himſelf in places of advantage: *Ptolomy* on the other ſide was loth to engage himſelf in an enterprize, wherein he might perceive that if the coming of *Antigonus* found him entangled, he ſhould either be driven to make a ſhameful retreat, or a dangerous adventure of his whole eſtate, in hope of not much more than already he poſſeſſed.

Antigonus, indeed, was nothing ſlow in his way towards *Syria*; whither he made all haſt, not ſo much to relieve his ſon as to embrace him. For he rejoyced exceedingly, that the young man had ſo well acquitted himſelf, and being left to his own advice, performed the office of a good Commander. Wherefore to encreaſe the reputation of this late victory, he brought ſuch forces, as might ſerve to re-conquer all *Syria*: meaning that the honour of all ſhould be referred unto the good foundation laid by his ſon; whom from this time forwards, he employed in matters of greateſt importance.

Ptolomy had now leſs reaſon to encounter with *Antigonus*, than before his coming to have aſſailed the Camp of *Demetrius*. Yet he made it a matter of conſultation; as if he had dared more than he meant. But all his Captains adviſed him to retire into *Egypt*, alledging many good arguments to that purpoſe: which they might well perceive to be agreeable to his own intent, by his propounding that courſe; not without remembrance of the good ſucceſs againſt *Perdiccas*, in the like defenſive War. So he departed out of *Syria*, preſerving his honour; as being rather led by mature deliberation, than any ſudden paſſion of fear: and he departed at fair leiſure, not only carrying his treaſures along with him, but ſtaying to diſmantle ſome principal Cities, that he thought moſt likely to trouble him in the future. All the Country that he left at his back, fell preſently to *Antigonus*, without putting him to the trouble of winning it by pieces: ſo eaſie was it in thoſe times, for the Captain of a ſtrong Army, to make himſelf Lord of a great Province.

We may juſtly wonder, that theſe Kingdoms of *Syria*, *Media*, *Babylon*, and many other Nations (which the victory of *Alexander* had over-run with ſo haſty a courſe, as gave him not leiſure to take any good view of them) were ſo eaſily held not only by himſelf, but by the Captains of his Army after him. The hot contentions for ſuperiority between the King of *Iſrael*, and thoſe of *Damaſcus*; between *Egypt* and *Babylon*; *Babylon* and *Ninive*; the *Perſians* and many Countries: argue a more manly temper, to have once been in thoſe people; which are now ſo patient of a foreign yoke, that like Sheep or Oxen, they ſuffer themſelves to be diſtributed, fought for, won, loſt, and again recovered by contentious Maſters: as if they had no title to their own heads, but were born to follow the fortune of the *Macedonians*. This will appear the more ſtrange, if we ſhall conſider, how the ſeveral States of *Greece* (many of which had never poſſeſſed ſo large a Dominion, as might cauſe their ſpirits to ſwell beyond their ability) did greedily embrace all occaſions of liberty: and how theſe proud Conquerours were glad to offer it, deſiring to have them rather friends than ſervants, for fear of further inconvenience.

It muſt therefore be noted that moſt of theſe Countries had always been ſubject unto the

rule of Kings, or petty Lords, whom the *Babylonians* and *Persians* long since had rooted out, and held them in such bondage, that few of them knew any other Law, than the command of forein Masters. This had utterly taken from them all remembrance of home-born Princes, and incorporated them into the great body of the *Persian* Empire: so that wanting within themselves all soveraign power, or high authority, the life and spirit of every Estate; they lay as dead, and were bereaved of motion, when that Kingdom fell, whereof they lately had been members.

Why the *Persian Satrapæ*, or Princes of that Empire, did not when *Darius* was taken from them, as the *Macedonian* Captains after the death of *Alexander*, strive to lay hold upon those Provinces, which had many ages been subject unto them, and scarce four years in quiet possession of their enemies; or why at least they contended not (when the terrible name of that great Conquerour did cease to affright them) to get their shares among his followers, if not wholly to dispossess them of their new purchases: it is a question, wherein who is not satisfied, may find no less reason to suspect the History, than authority to confirm it. For we seldom read, that any small Kingdom, prevailing against a far greater, hath made so entire a conquest in the compass of ten years, as left unto the vanquished no hope of recovery, nor means to rebel: especially when such disorders, or rather utter confusion hath ensued, by the fury of civil War among the Victors.

The cause why the *Macedonians* held so quietly the *Persian* Empire, is well set down by *Machiavel*: and concerns all other Kingdoms, that are subject unto the like form of Government: the sum whereof is this: Whersoever the Prince doth hold all his Subjects under the condition of slaves, there is the conquest easie, and soon assured: Where ancient Nobility is had in due regard, there is it hard to win all, and harder to keep that which is won. Examples of this are the Turkish Empire, and the Kingdom of *France*. If any Invader should prevail so far upon Turky, that the great *Sultan* and his Children (for Brethren he useth not to suffer alive) were taken or slain: the whole Empire would quickly be won, and easily kept, without any danger of Rebellion. For the Bassaes, how great soever they may seem, are meer slaves; neither is there in all that large Dominion, any one man, whose personal regard could get the people to follow him in such an attempt, wherein hope of private gain should not countervail, all apparent matter of fear. Contrariwise, in *France*, it were not enough for him that would make a Conquest, to get into his hands the King and his Children; though he further got the better part of the Country, and were by far the strongest in the field. For, besides the Princes of the Royal blood, there are in that Kingdom store of great men; who are mighty in their several Countries, and having certain Royalties and Principalities of their own, are able to raise War in all quarters of the Realm; whereunto the remembrance of their own ancient Families, and long continued Nobility, will always stir up and inflame them: so that until every one's piece were won, and every one (an endless work) of the chief Nobility brought under or destroyed, the victory were not compleat, nor well assured. It is true, that such power of the Nobility, doth often times make way for an Invader; to whom the discontentments of a few can easily make a fair entrance. But such assistants are not so easily kept, as they are gotten; for they look to be satisfied at full, in all their demands; and having what they would, they soon return to their old allegiance, upon condition to keep what they have, unless they be daily hired with new rewards: wherein it is hard to please one man, without offending another as good as himself. The Turk on the other side, needs not to fear any peril, that might arise from the discontented spirits of his principal men. The greatest mischief that any of them could work against him, were the betraying of some frontier Town, or the wilful loss of a battel: which done, the Traitor hath spent his sting, and must either flee to the enemy, whereby he loseth all that he formerly did hold; or else in hope of doing some further harm, he must adventure to excuse himself unto his Master, who seldom forgives the Captain, that hath not strived by desperate valour against misfortune. As for making head, or arming their followers against the great *Sultan*, and so joyning themselves unto any Invader; it is a matter not to be doubted: for none of them have any followers or dependents at all, other than such as are subject unto them, by vertue of their Offices and Commissions. Now as this base condition of the principal men, doth leave unto them no means, whereby to oppose themselves, against the flourishing estate of their Prince; so would it weaken both their power and their courage in giving him assistance, if adversity should make him stand in need of them. For there is not scarce any one among the *Turk*'s Bassaes, or Provincial Governors, that knows either from whence he was brought, or from whom descended, nor any one among them that by the loss and utter ruine of the Turkish Empire, can lose any foot of his proper inheritance; and it is the proper inheritance of the subject, which is also a Kingdom unto him, which makes him fight with an armed heart against the Conquerour, who hath no other device painted on his Ensign, than the picture of slavery.

As is the Turkish Empire, so was the *Persian*, void of liberty in the Subjects, and utterly destitute of other Nobility, than such as depended upon meer favour of the Prince. Some indeed there were of the Royal blood, and others, descended from the Princes that joyned with *Darius*, the son of *Hystaspes*, in oppressing the *Magi*: these were men of reputation in *Persia*, but their reputation consisted only in their Pedigree, and their safety in not medling with affairs of State, which made them little esteemed. In what small account these *Persian* Princes were held, it may appear by this, that the King's Uncles, Cousin Germans, and Brethren, were called by the Kings, *Their Slaves*, and so did stile themselves, in speaking unto these great Monarchs. That upon every light occasion of displeasure they were handled as Slaves, it is easie to be discerned, in that example of cruelty, practised by *Xerxes* upon his own Brother *Masistes*; which hath been formerly noted, in place more convenient. As for the *Satrapæ*, or Governours of the Provinces, it is needless to cite examples, proving them to have been meer slaves: it may suffice, that their heads were taken from them at the King's will; that is, at the will of those Women and Eunuchs, by whom the King was governed.

To this want of Nobility in *Persia*, may be added the general want of liberty convenient among the people, a matter no less avoidable, in making easie and sure the conquest of a Nation, than

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is the cauſe aſſigned by *Machiavel*. For as *Æſop* his Aſs did not care to run from the enemies, becauſe it was not poſſible, that they ſhould load him with heavier burthens, than his Maſter cauſed him daily to bear: ſo the Nations, that endure the worſt under their own Princes, are not greatly fearful of a forein yoke; Nor will be haſty to ſhake it off, if by experience they find it more light, than was that, whereunto they had been long accuſtomed. This was it that made the *Gaſcoigns* bear ſuch faithful affection to the Kings of *England*; for that they governed more mildly than the *French*. This enlarged the *Venetian* juriſdiction, in *Lombardy*; for the Towns that they wan, they wan out of the hands of Tyrannous oppreſſors: and this did cauſe the *Macedonians*, with other Nations, that had been ſubject unto the poſterity of *Alexander*'s followers, to ſerve the *Romans* patiently, if not willingly; for that by them they were eaſed of many burthens, which had been impoſed upon them by their own Kings.

So that of this tameneſs, which we find in thoſe that had been Subjects of the *Perſian* Kings, the reaſons are apparent. Yet ſome of theſe there were, that could not ſo eaſily be contained in good order by the *Macedonians*: for they had not indeed been abſolutely conquered by the *Perſian*. Such were the *Sogdians*, *Bactrians*, and other Nations about the *Caſpian* Sea. Such alſo were the *Arabians* bordering upon *Syria*: againſt whom *Antigonus* ſent part of his Army; thinking therewith to bring them under, or rather to get a rich booty. The Captains that he ſent, fell upon the *Nabatheans*, at ſuch time as they were buſied in a great Mart; wherein they traded with the more remote *Arabians* for Mirrh, Frankincenſe, or other ſuch commodities. All or moſt of theſe rich wares, together with five hundred Talents of ſilver, and many priſoners, the *Macedonians* laid hold upon: for their coming was ſudden and unexpected. But e're they could recover *Syria*, the *Nabatheans* overtook them, and finding them weary with long marches, made ſuch a ſlaughter, that of four thouſand foot, and ſix hundred horſe, only fifty horſe eſcaped. To reveng this loſs, *Demetrius* was ſet out with a great power: yet all in vain; for he was not reſiſted by any Army, but by the natural defence of a vaſt Wilderneſs, lack of water, and of all things neceſſary. Therefore he was glad to make peace with them; wherein he loſt not much honour: for they craved it, and gave him preſents. Returning from the *Nabatheans*, he viewed the Lake *Aſphaltites*, whence he conceived hope of great profit that might be raiſed, by gathering the Sulphur. With this good Husbandry of his Son, *Antigonus* was well pleaſed, and appointed men to the work: but they were ſlain by the *Arabians*, and ſo that hope vaniſhed.

Theſe petty enterpriſes, with the ill ſucceſs accompanying them, had much impaired the good advantage againſt *Ptolomy*: when the news of *Seleucus* his victories in the high Countries, marred all together. For neither was the loſs of thoſe great and wealthy Provinces, a matter to be neglected, neither was it ſafe to tranſport the War into the parts beyond *Euphrates*, whereby *Syria*, and the lower *Aſia* ſhould have been expoſed to the danger of ill-affected Neighbours. A middle courſe was thought the beſt; and *Demetrius* with fifteen thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe, was ſent againſt *Seleucus*. Theſe forces being ſent away, *Antigonus* did nothing, and his Son did leſs. For *Seleucus* was then in *Media*; his Lieutenants about *Babylon* withdrew themſelves from neceſſity of fight; ſome places they fortified and kept: *Demetrius* could hold nothing that he got, without ſetting in Garriſon more men than he could ſpare, neither did he get much: and therefore was fain to ſet out the bravery of his Expedition, by burning and ſpoiling the Country: which he did thereby the more alienate, and, as it were acknowledge to belong unto his enemy, who thenceforth held it as his own aſſured.

Antigonus had laid upon his Son a peremptory commandment, to return unto him at a time prefixed: reaſonably thinking (as may ſeem) that in ſuch an unſettled ſtate of things, either the War might be ended, by the fury of the firſt brunt; or elſe it would be vain to ſtrive againſt all difficulties likely to ariſe, where want of neceſſaries ſhould fruſtrate the valour, that by ſtrength of time was like to become leſs terrible to the enemy. *Demetrius* therefore leaving behind him five thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe, rather to make ſhew of continuing the War, than to effect much, where himſelf with greater forces could do little more than nothing, forſook the enterprize and went back to his Father.

SECT. IX.

A general Peace made and broken. How all the houſe of Alexander *was deſtroyed.*

THeſe ambitious heads, having thus wearied themſelves with uneffectual travel, in ſeeking to get more than any one of them could hold; were contented at length to come to an agreement: wherein it was concluded, that each of them ſhould hold quietly, that which at the preſent he had in poſſeſſion. As no private hatred, but meer deſire of Empire, had moved them to enter into the War; ſo was it no friendly reconciliation, but only a dulneſs growing upon the ſlow advancement of their ſeveral hopes, that made them willing to breath a while, till occaſion might better ſerve to fight again.

Beſides that main point, *Of retaining the Provinces which every man held*, there were two Articles of the peace, that gave a fair, but a falſe colour to the buſineſs; *That the Son of* Alexander *by* Roxane, *ſhould be made King when he came to full age*; and, *That all the Eſtates of* Greece *ſhould be ſet at liberty*. The advancement of young *Alexander* to his Father's Kingdom, ſeems to have been a matter forcibly extorted from *Antigonus*; in whom was diſcovered a purpoſe, to have made himſelf Lord of all. But this indeed, more nearly touched *Caſſander*. For in his cuſtody was the young Prince and his Mother: neither did he keep them in a ſort anſwerable to their degree; but as cloſe priſoners taken in that War, wherein they had ſeen the old Queen *Olympias* taken and murthered, that ſought to put them in poſſeſſion of the Empire. The mutual hatred and fear between them, rooted in theſe grounds, of injuries done, and revenge expected; upon this concluſion of peace, grew up faſter than any time before, in the heart of *Caſſander*: who ſaw the *Macedonians* turn their favourable expectation, towards the Son of their late renowned King.

All this either little concerned *Antigonus*; or tended greatly to his good. The young Prince muſt

first have poſſeſſion of *Macedon*: whereby *Caſſander* ſhall be reduced to his poor office, *of Captain over a thouſand men*, if not left in worſe caſe. As for them that held Provinces abroad, they might either do as they had done under *Arideus*; or better, as being acquainted with their own ſtrength. He, in the mean time, by his readineſs to acknowledge the true Heir, had freed himſelf from that ill-favoured imputation, of ſeeking to make himſelf Lord of all that *Alexander* had gotten.

The like advantage had he in that Article, *Of reſtoring the Greeks to their liberty.* This liberty had hitherto been the ſubject of much idle diſcourſe: but never took effect. *Antigonus* held ſcarce any Town of theirs, *Caſſander* occupied moſt of the Country: which if he ſhould ſet free, he muſt be a poor Prince; if not, there was matter enough of quarrel againſt him, as againſt a Diſturber of the common Peace.

In the mean ſeaſon, the Countries lying between *Euphrates* and the *Greek* Seas, together with a great Army, and money enough to entertain a greater, might ſerve to hold up the credit of *Antigonus*, and to raiſe his hopes as high as ever they had been.

With much diſadvantage do many men contend againſt one that is equal to them all in puiſſance. *Caſſander*'s friends had left him in an ill caſe; but he could not do withall: for, where every man's help is neceſſary to the War, there may any one make his own peace; but no one can ſtand out alone, when all the reſt are weary. The beſt was, that he knew all their affections: which tended to no ſuch end as the becoming Subjects unto any man, much leſs to the Son of an *Aſiatique* woman, of whom they had long ſince refuſed to hear mention. Therefore he took a ſhort courſe, and cauſed both the Child and his Mother to be ſlain: freeing thereby himſelf in a trice, from the dangerous neceſſity of yielding up his Government, which he muſt have done when the Child had come to Age. *Roxane* was a Lady of ſingular beauty, which was perhaps the cauſe, why *Perdiccas* deſired to have her Son, being as yet unborn, proclaimed Heir to the great *Alexander*. Immediately upon the death of *Alexander*, ſhe had uſed the favour (if it were not love) of *Perdiccas*, to the ſatisfying of her own bloody malice, upon *Statira* the Daughter of King *Darius*, whom *Alexander* had likewiſe married, according to the cuſtom of thoſe Countries, wherein plurality of Wives is held no crime. For having by a counterfeit Letter, in *Alexander*'s name, gotten this poor Lady into her hands, ſhe did, by aſſiſtance of *Perdiccas*, murther her and her Siſter, and threw their bodies into a Well, cauſing it to be filled up with earth. But now, by God's juſt vengeance, were ſhe and her Son made away, in the like ſecret faſhion; even at ſuch time as the near approaching hope of a great Empire had made her life, after a wearieſome impriſonment grow dearer unto her than it was before.

The fact of *Caſſander* was not ſo much deteſted in outward ſhew; as inwardly it was pleaſing unto all the reſt of the Princes. For now they held themſelves free Lords of all that they had under them; fearing none other change of their eſtates, than ſuch as might ariſe by chance of War; wherein every one perſwaded himſelf of ſucceſs, rather better than worſe. Hereupon all of them (except *Lyſimachus* and *Seleucus*, that had work enough at home) began to rouze themſelves: as if now the time were come, for each man to improve his own ſtock. *Antigonus* his Lieutenants were in *Peloponneſus*, and about *Helleſpont*: while their Maſter was careful in following other, and ſome greater matters that were more ſecretly to be handled. He pretended the liberty of *Greece*: yet did the ſame argument miniſter unto *Ptolomy* matter of quarrel, againſt both him and *Caſſander*; *Ptolomy* complaining (as if he had taken the matter deeply to heart) that *Antigonus* had put Garriſons into ſome Towns, which ought, in fair dealing, to be ſet at liberty. Under colour of redreſſing this enormity, he ſent an Army into *Cilicia*, where he won four Towns, and ſoon after loſt them, without much labour of his own or his enemies.

After this, putting to Sea, with a ſtrong Fleet, he ran along the Coaſt of *Aſia*, winning many places: and in that Voyage allured unto him a Nephew of *Antigonus* (a good Commander, but diſcontented with the ill requital of his ſervices) whom finding ſhortly, as falſe to himſelf as he had been to his own Uncle, he was fain to put to death. But in doing theſe things, his deſire to ſet the *Greeks* at liberty, appeared not ſo plain, as he wiſhed that it ſhould: for their caſe was no way bettered by his moleſting *Antigonus* in *Aſia*. Therefore to get the love of that valiant Nation, he made at the laſt an Expedition into *Greece* it ſelf: where having ſet free ſome little Iſlands, and landed in *Peloponneſus*, he raiſed ſo great an expectation of finiſhing the long-deſired work, that *Crateſipolis*, the Widow of *Alexander*, *Polyſperchon*'s Son, gave up into his hands the Towns of *Sycion* and *Corinth*.

Ptolomy had conceived a vain belief, that the *Greeks*, emboldened by his countenance and aſſiſtance, would all of them take heart and riſe up in Arms; whereby with little labour their liberty might be gotten; and he be acknowledged as Authour of this immortal benefit. But long ſervitude had well-near extinguiſhed the ancient valour of that Nation: and their ill fortune, in many likely attempts to recover freedom, had ſo tired their ſpirits, that they would no more ſtir in purſuit thereof; but ſate idly ſtill, as wiſhing it to fall into their mouths.

The *Lacedemonians*, about theſe times, began to fortifie their Town with walls; truſting no longer in their virtue (for both it, and the Diſcipline that upheld it, were too much impaired) that had been a wall to their Town and Territory.

The *Athenians* were become as humble ſervants, as they had been inſolent Maſters: erecting as many ſtatues in honour of *Demetrius Phalereus*, as there were days in the year. This *Demetrius* was now their Governor; and he governed them with much moderation: but, in ſpight of their hearts, as being ſet over them by *Caſſander*. By this baſe temper of the principal Cities, it is eaſie to gather how the reſt of the Country ſtood affected. *Ptolomy* could not get them to ſet their helping hands to their own good, and to furniſh him with the promiſed ſupplies of money and victuals. Credible it is, that he had a true meaning to deliver them from thraldom; as judging the commodity that would ariſe by annexing them to his party, a matter of more weight than the loſs that *Caſſander* ſhould receive thereby, who could hardly retain them, if once *Antigonus* took the work in hand. But when he found ſuch difficulty in the buſineſs he changed his purpoſe; and renewing his former friendſhip with *Caſſander*, he retained *Sycion* and *Corinth* in his own poſſeſſion.

Before the coming of *Ptolomy* into *Greece*, *Caſſander*

ſander had been held occupied with very much work. For (beſides his pains taken in Wars among barbarous Princes) he found means to allure unto himſelf the Lieutenants of *Antigonus*, that were in *Peloponneſus*, and about *Helleſpont*: making his own advantage of their diſcontentments. By the like skilful practice he freed himſelf from a greater danger, and made theſe murthers which he had committed ſeem the leſs odious, by teaching his enemies to do the like. Old *Polyſperchon*, that had made ſo great a ſtir in the reign of *Arideus*, did after the death of *Roxane* and her child, enter again upon the Stage: leading in his hand another Son of the great *Alexander*, and meaning to place him in his Father's Throne.

The name of this young Prince was *Hercules*: he was begotten on *Barſine* the daughter of *Artabazus* a *Perſian*; but had been leſs eſteemed than the ſon of *Roxane*, either for that his Mother was held no better than a Concubine, or elſe perhaps, in regard of the favour which *Perdiccas*, and after him *Olympias*, did bear unto *Roxane*. At this time the death of his Brother had moved ſuch compaſſion, and the regard of his being *Alexander*'s only living child, had procured unto him ſuch good will, that the demand which *Polyſperchon* made in his behalf, was deemed very juſt and honourable. There were indeed more hearts than hands, that joyned with this young Prince: yet wanted he not ſufficient ſtrength of hands, if the heart of him that leaſt ought, had not been moſt falſe. *Caſſander* had raiſed an Army to withſtand his entry into *Macedon*: but little truſt could he repoſe in that Army, whoſe wiſhes he perceived to be with *Hercules*. Therefore he aſſailed *Polyſperchon* himſelf with gifts and promiſes; wherewith at length he prevailed ſo far, that the Old Villain was contented to murther his Pupil; chuſing rather with many curſes and foul diſhonour, to take the offered Lordſhip of *Peloponneſus*, and Commander of an Army; than to purchaſe a noble fame with dangerous travel, in maintaining his faith, unto both his dead and living Soveraigns.

Antigonus had not all this while been aſleep; though his loſſes were hitherto the chief witneſſes of his having been a ſtirrer in theſe commotions. He thought it enough for him at the preſent to retain his own: And therefore took order for the recovery of thoſe places which *Ptolomy* had taken pains to win. As for the reſt, it no way grieved him to ſee *Caſſander* incur the general hatred of men, by committing thoſe murthers of which the profit was like to redound unto him that was the moſt powerful, or to ſee *Polyſperchon* and *Ptolomy* ſweat in a buſie War againſt *Caſſander*. If they would have continued their quarrels, he could well have afforded them leiſure, and have thought the time well ſpent in beholding their contentions. For he was throughly perſwaded, that when the reſt had wearied themſelves in vain with long ſtriſe, his Armies and Treaſures, wherein he exceeded them all, would bring all under. According to theſe haughty conceits he demeaned himſelf among his followers; looking big upon them, and like a King before his time. This was it that cauſed ſo many of them to revolt from him: but it was no great loſs to be forſaken by thoſe that looked with envious eyes upon that fortune whereon their own ſhould have depended. Againſt this envy of his men, and malice of others, *Antigonus* buſily ſought a remedy, ſuch as was like to give him a goodly title to the whole Empire.

Cleopatra Siſter unto the great *Alexander*, lay for the moſt part in *Sardis*: whom he had a great deſire to take to wife. This his deſire was not without good hope: for howſoever ſhe diſcovered much unwillingneſs thereunto, yet was ſhe in his power, and might therefore be entreated, were it only for fear of being enforced. But it was not his purpoſe to get her by compulſive means: either becauſe his fancy, being an old man, was not over-violent; or rather becauſe his ambition, whereunto all his affections had reference, could have made ſmall uſe of her, by doing ſuch apparent wrong. She had been married unto *Alexander* King of *Epirus*, after whoſe death ſhe came to her Brother in *Aſia*; hoping belike to find a new Huſband in his Camp. But neither any of thoſe brave Captains, that were, in times following ſo hot in love with her, durſt then aſpire unto her marriage: nor did her Brother, full of other cares, trouble himſelf with providing her of an Husband. She therefore, being a luſty Widow, ſuffered her blood ſo far to prevail againſt her honour, that ſhe ſupplied the want of an Husband by entertainment of Paramours. *Alexander* hearing of this, turned it to a Jeſt: ſaying, That ſhe was his Siſter, and muſt be allowed this liberty, as her portion of the Empire. When by his death the Empire lay in a manner void, and the portion due to her therein grew, in mens opinion, greater than it had been: then did many ſeek to obtain her, while ſhe her ſelf deſired only a proper man, with whom ſhe might lead a merry life. To this purpoſe did ſhe invite *Leonatus* unto her; who made great haſte, but was cut off by death ere he came to her preſence. Now at the laſt, after long tarrying, ſhe had her choice of all the great Commanders, *Antigonus*, *Ptolomy*, *Lyſimachus* and *Caſſander*, being all her earneſt Wooers. All theſe (*Antigonus* excepted) had Wives already; *Ptolomy* had many Wives, and many Concubines whom he reſpected as much as his Wives, being noted of too much dotage in that kind. This hindred not his ſuit: peradventure it advanced it, by giving to *Cleopatra* ſome hope of mutual toleration. To him therefore ſhe bequeathed her ſelf, and was taking her journey from *Sardis* towards him; when *Antigonus* his Deputy in that City, made her to ſtay, until his Maſter's further pleaſure ſhould be known. *Antigonus* had now a Wolf by the ears: he neither could well hold her, nor durſt let her go. She would not be his Wife; he had no honeſt pretence to force her; and to keep her priſoner, had been the way, by which he might have incurred a general hatred, laſting perhaps beyond her life; as the courſe taken by *Caſſander* againſt *Roxane* (a Lady leſs reſpected than *Alexander*'s own Siſter) did well teſtifie. Therefore he thought it the wiſeſt way to procure her death: for to let any other enjoy the commodity of ſo fair a Title to the Kingdom, it was no part of his meaning. To this purpoſe he ſent inſtructions to the Governour of *Sardis*, willing him in any caſe to do it ſecretly. So the fact was committed, and certain women about her put in truſt with the murther: which women afterwards were put to death, as miſchievous conſpirers againſt the life of that good Lady. So was *Antigonus* freed from blame, at the leaſt in his own opinion: but the world was leſs fooliſh, than to be ſo deluded. How the murther was detected, we need not ask: for ſeldom is that bloody crime unrevealed, and never ſo ill ſmothered, as when great perſons are the Authors.

Thus

Thus was the whole race of *Philip* and *Alexander* the great extinguiſhed, and it was extinguiſhed by the hands of ſuch as thought upon nothing leſs than the execution of God's Juſtice, due unto the cruelty of theſe powerful, but mercileſs Princes. Wherefore the ambitious frames, erected by theſe Tyrants, upon ſo wicked foundations of innocent blood, were ſoon after caſt down, overwhelming themſelves or their children, with the ruines, as the ſequel will declare.

SECT. X.

How Demetrius, *the ſon of* Antigonus, *gave liberty to* Athens, *expelling the Garriſons of* Caſſander *out of thoſe parts. The immoderate honour decreed by the* Athenians *to* Antigonus *and* Demetrius.

NOne being left alive that had any title to the Kingdom; it ſtood with good reaſon, that they which were Lords of the Provinces, acknowledging no Superiour, ſhould freely profeſs themſelves Kings in name, as they were already in ſubſtance. Yet had this name ill-beſeemed the weaker, while the ſtrongeſt of all did forbear it: neither ſeemed it convenient in the judgement of *Antigonus*, to crown his laſt action with ſuch a title, as if he had attained unto greatneſs by that foul murther, the infamy whereof he was careful how to diſcharge from his own head. He purpoſed therefore to undertake a plauſible enterprize, even the liberty of *Greece*: whereby it was apparent, that he might get ſuch honour as would not only drown all bad reports, but make him be thought equal to any name of Royalty, whereof in ſeeming modeſty, he was not covetous. To this purpoſe he delivered a ſtrong Army, with a Navy of two hundred and fifty ſail, and fifty thouſand talents of Silver, unto *Demetrius* his ſon: willing him to begin at *Athens*, and thence to proceed, in ſetting the Country free.

Demetrius came to *Athens* before he was expected: ſo that without reſiſtance he entred the Haven; it being thought that a Fleet of *Ptolomy*, *Caſſander*'s good friend, had been arrived. But when it was known, both who he was, and what was the cauſe of his coming; the joy of the Citizens brake out into loud acclamations: *Demetrius Phalereus* forſook the Town, and withdrew himſelf to *Thebes* under ſafe conduct; only the Garriſon in *Munychia* ſtrove to make good that piece, which after a while was won upon them by force. During the ſiege of *Munychia*, *Demetrius* went to *Megara*; whence he expelled the Garriſon of *Caſſander*, and ſo reſtored the City to liberty.

I think it not impertinent, ſometimes to relate ſuch accidents, as may ſeem no better than meer trifles: for even by trifles are the qualities of great perſons as well diſcloſed, as by their great actions; becauſe in matters of importance, they commonly ſtrain themſelves, to the obſervance of general commended rules; in the leſſer things they follow the current of their own Natures. The Lady *Crateſipolis* lay in *Patras*, and had a great deſire to ſee *Demetrius*; hoping, belike, that ſhe might by his means better her eſtate, and recover her Towns of *Sycion* and *Corinth*, detained by *Ptolomy*; to whoſe Lieutenant in thoſe places, *Demetrius* before his departure out of *Greece*, offered money for the ſurrender of them. Yet the only buſineſs pretended was love. He being advertiſed hereof, left his forces in the Country of *Megara*, and taking a company of his lighteſt armed, for guard of his perſon, made a long journey to meet with her. This troop alſo he cauſed to lodge a great way from his Tent, that none might ſee her when ſhe came. As cloſely as the buſineſs was carried, ſome of his enemies had gotten knowledge of it; whereby they conceived good hope, that the diligence of a very few men might overthrow all the great preparations of *Antigonus*; and bring him to any terms of reaſon, by taking his dear ſon priſoner. Their project fell but a little ſhort of the effect. For they came ſo ſuddenly upon him, that he had no better ſhift, than to muffle himſelf in an old cloak, and creep away diſguiſed; leaving them to ranſack his Tent. There was in this Prince a ſtrange medly of conditions; eſpecially an extreme diſſoluteneſs in wanton pleaſures, and a painful induſtry in matters of War. He was of a moſt amiable countenance, a gentle nature, and a good wit; excellent in deviſing Engines of War, and curious in working them with his own hands. He knew better how to reform his bad fortune, than how to rule his good. For adverſity made his valour more active: proſperity puffed him with over-weening, wherein he thought that he might do what he liſted. His fortune was changeable, as were his qualities: turning often round, like the picture of her Wheel, till ſhe had wound up the thred of his life, in ſuch manner as followeth to be ſhewed.

Returning to his Camp, and finiſhing his buſineſs at *Megara*; he reſolved no longer to attend the iſſue of a ſiege, to aſſail *Munychia* by force, that ſo he might accompliſh the liberty of *Athens*: which, until it was fully wrought out, he refuſed to enter into the City. *Munychia* was ſtrongly fortified: yet by continuance of the aſſult, the multitude without, through help of their Engines that ſcoured the walls, prevailed upon the reſolution of thoſe that lay within it, and wan the place in two days. The walls, and all the defences of that piece againſt the City, were levelled with the ground, and ſo was it freely put into the Citizens hands, to whom withal was given their liberty, with promiſe to aid them in maintaining it.

The fame of this action was lowder, than of any other victory gotten by *Demetrius* with greater skill and induſtry. For the *Athenians*, having forgotten how to employ their hands, laboured to make up that defect with their tongues: converting to baſe flattery, that eloquence of theirs which the virtues of their Anceſtors had ſuited unto more manly arguments.

They decreed unto *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* the name of Kings; they conſecrated the place in which *Demetrius* leaped from his Chariot, when he entred their City, and built there an Altar, calling it of *Demetrius*, *The alighter*; they called them by the names of the *gods their ſaviours*, ordaining that every year, there ſhould be choſen a Prieſt of theſe gods; and further, that ſuch as were employed by their State, in dealing with either of theſe two Princes, ſhould not be called Ambaſſadours, but *Theori*, *or conſulters with the gods*; like as they were, whom they ſent unto the Oracle of *Jupiter*, or *Apollo*.

It

It were a frivolous diligence to rehearse all their flatteries, these being so gross. Hereby they not only corrupted the young Prince; but made that acclamation, which best would have pleased the old man, to be of no use. For he could not handsomely take upon him the name of King, as imposed by the *Athenians*, unless he would seem to approve their vanity, in loading them with more than humane honours. Yet was he so tickled with this their fine handling him, that when their *Theori* or *Consulters* came shortly after, desiring him to relieve them with Corn and Timber to build ships; he gave them almost a hundred thousand quarters of wheat, and matter sufficient to make a hundred Gallies. So gracious was his first Oracle: or rather so weak is great power in resisting the assaults of flattery.

SECT. XI.

The great victory of Demetrius *against* Ptolomy *in* Cyprus. *How* Antigonus *and* Demetrius *took upon them the stile of Kings; wherein others followed their example.*

FRom this glorious work, *Antigonus* called away *Demetrius*, unto a business of greater difficulty; meaning to employ his service against *Ptolomy* in *Cyprus*. Before his departure out of *Greece*, he was willed to establish a General Council, that should treat of matters concerning the common good of the Country. About the same time *Antigonus* withdrew his own Garrison out of *Imbros*, committing their liberty entire, into the peoples hands; whereby it might appear, that as he would not permit any other to oppress the *Greeks*, so would he be far from doing it himself. This was enough to hold his reputation high, among these new purchased Friends: it followed, that he should convert his forces, to the winning of ground upon his Enemies.

A pitiful Tragedy had lately hapned in *Cyprus*, through the indiscretion of *Menelaus*, *Ptolomie*'s brother, and his Lieutenant in that Isle. *Nicocles*, King of *Paphos*, was entred into some practice with *Antigonus*: yet not so far that he thought himself past excuse; by which confidence, he was perhaps the more easily detected. To cut off this negotiation, and the false-hearted King of *Paphos* at one blow, *Menelaus* was sent thither: who surrounded *Nicocles* his house with Souldiers, required, in *Ptolomie*'s name, to have him yielded to the death. *Nicocles* offered to clear himself; but *Menelaus* told him, that dye he must, and bad him come forth quietly. This desperate necessity caused the unhappy King to rid himself of life: and his death struck such an impression into his wife, that she not only slew her self, but perswaded the wives of her husband's brethren to do the like. Also those brethren of *Nicocles*, unto whom *Ptolomy* had intended no ill, being amazed with the suddenness of this calamity, did shut the Palace, and setting it on fire, consumed it, with all that was in it, and themselves together.

Whatsoever the crime objected was; *Nicocles* perished as a man innocent, because he was not suffered to make his answer. Of this sad accident, though *Menelaus* deserved the blame, for his rigorous proceeding; yet it is to be thought, that much dislike fell also upon *Ptolomy*: as men that are grieved, cast an ill affection even upon those that gave the furthest removed occasion.

Not long after this, *Demetrius* came into *Cyprus*, with a power sufficient, against any opposition that *Ptolomy* was like to make. The *Cypriots* did little or nothing against him, either because they had small strength, or for that they held it a matter indifferent, whom they acknowledged as their Lord, being sure that they should not have the rule of their own Country. *Menelaus* therefore, out of his Garrisons, drew forth an Army, and fought with *Demetrius*. But he was beaten, and driven to save himself within the walls of *Salamis*, where he was so hardly besieged, that without strong succour, he had no likehood to make good the place, much less to retain possession of the whole Island. His greatest help at the present was the fidelity of his Souldiers; whom no rewards could win from him, nor good usage (when any of them were taken prisoners, and inrolled in the enemies bands) keep from returning to him, with the first opportunity. Most of them were Mercenaries: but all their goods were in *Egypt*, which was enough to keep them faithful. Yet could not this their resolution have stood long against the odds of number, which *Demetrius* had of men as resolute, and against his terrible Engines of battery, if *Ptolomy* had not hasted to the rescue.

Ptolomy brought with him a hundred and forty Gallies, besides two hundred Ships of burthen, for transporting his Army and Carriages. This Fleet made a terrible shew, when it was described afar; though more than half of it was unfit for service in fight at Sea. Wherefore to make the opinion of his forces the more dreadful, *Ptolomy* sent unto *Demetrius* a threatning message: willing him to be gone, unless he would be over-whelmed with multitudes, and trampled to death in a throng. But this young gallant repaid him with words of as much bravery, promising to let him escape upon condition, that he should withdraw his Garrisons out of *Sycion* and *Corinth*.

Demetrius had no more than one hundred and eighteen Gallies; but they were, for the most part, greater than those of *Ptolomy*; better stored with weapons fit for that service; and very well furnished in the prows, to beat upon the enemy. Nevertheless he stood in great doubt of threescore Gallies that lay in the Haven of *Salamis*, lest *Menelaus* with them should set upon his back: in which case, it was very likely that all would go very ill with him. Against this mischief, he bestowed ten of his own Gallies in the mouth of that Haven, to keep *Menelaus* from issuing forth, and setting his horsemen on the shore, to give what assistance they could, he with the rest of the Fleet, puts to Sea against *Ptolomy*.

The fight began early in the morning, and continued long, with doubtful success. The generals were not ranged opposite one to the other; but held each of them the left wing of his own Fleet. Each of them prevailed against the squadron wherewith he encountred; but the success of *Demetrius* was to better purpose. For his victory in one part was such, as caused others to fall out of order, and finally drave all to betake themselves unto speedy flight. As for *Ptolomy*, he was fain to leave his advantage upon the enemy in one part of the fight, that he might relieve and animate

those

thoſe of his own which needed him in another: wherein he found his loſs over-great to be repaired, by contending any longer againſt the fortune of that day; and therefore he laboured only to ſave himſelf, in hope of better event, that might follow ſome other time.

There fell out in this battel no unuſual accident; yet was the victory greater than could have been expected. The occaſions whereof were, partly the skill in Sea-ſervices, which the *Greeks* and *Phenicians* that were with *Demetrius*, had above thoſe which followed *Ptolomy*: partly, the good furniture of the Ships, wherein conſiſted no leſs, than in the quality of thoſe with whom they were manned. Further, we may reaſonably judge, that the two hundred ſhips of burthen, carrying the ſtrength of *Ptolomie*'s Army, did not more encourage his men, and terrifie his enemies the day before the fight, than breed in each part the contrary affections, when in the beginning of the fight they fell off, and ſtood aloof. For though it were fitting that they ſhould ſo do; yet a multitude, prepoſſeſſed with vain conceits, will commonly apprehend very ſlight occaſions to think themſelves abandoned. Beſides all this, the expectation that *Menelaus*, iſſuing with his Fleet out of *Salamis* ſhould charge the enemy in the ſtern, was utterly fruſtrate. He was kept in perforce, by the ten Ships appointed to bar up the mouth of the Haven: which they manly performed, as great neceſſity required.

Such diſappointment of expectation doth much abate the courage of men in fight: eſpecially of the aſſailants: whereas on the contrary, they finding that ſome part of their fears are vain, do eaſily gather hopeful ſpirits, and conceive an opinion of their own ability, to do more than they thought upon, out of their not ſuffering the harm that they had imagined.

Whatſoever the cauſes of this victory were, the fruit was very great. For *Ptolomy* had no more than eight Gallies that accompanied him in his flight: all the reſt of his Feet was either taken or ſunk. Neither did *Menelaus* any longer ſtrive againſt the violence of fortune; but yielded up all that he held in *Cyprus*, together with his Army, conſiſting of twelve thouſand foot, and a thouſand and two hundred horſe, and thoſe Gallies in the Haven of *Salamis*. The ſame dejection of ſpirit was found in the common Souldiers, as well that was taken at Sea, as that had ſerved the *Egyptian* by Land; none of them repoſing any more confidence in *Ptolomy*, but willingly becoming followers of a new Lord, whoſe Army they now increaſed.

It was generally believed, that much more depended on the event of this fight, than the Iſle of *Cyprus*, for which they contended. Wherefore the common expectation was great; eſpecially *Antigonus*, whom it moſt concerned, was deeply perplexed with cares, thinking every day a year, till he was advertiſed of the iſſue. In this mood *Ariſtodemus* found him, a noble flatterer, whom *Demetrius* had honoured with the Meſſage of theſe good news. *Ariſtodemus* had bethought himſelf of a trick, whereby to double the welcome of his joyful errand: He cauſed his Ships to ride at Anchor, a good diſtance from the ſhore; he himſelf landed in a Cock-boat, which he ſent immediately back to the Ship; and ſo all alone went forward, looking very ſadly, that no part of his tidings might appear in his countenance. Report of his arrival (for it was known where he had been) came preſently to *Antigonus*, who ſent Meſſenger after Meſſenger to meet him on the way, and bring ſpeedy word how all went. But neither any anſwer, nor ſo much of a look, as might intimate the purport of his errand, could be won from this demure Gentleman. Thus marched he fair and ſoftly forward with a great throng at his heels (that ſerved well to ſet out his Pageant) until he came in ſight of *Antigonus*, who could not contain himſelf, but went down to meet him at the Gate, and hear the news. Then did *Ariſtodemus*, upon the ſudden, with a high voyce ſalute *Antigonus* by the name of King; uttering the greatneſs of the victory (with as much pomp, as before he had covered it, with ſilence) in the hearing of all the people; who with loud acclamations, gave that name of King, both to *Antigonus* and his ſon *Demetrius*. *Antigonus*, in requital of his long ſuſpence, wherein *Ariſtodemus* had held him, ſaid, That it ſhould alſo be long ere he received his reward. But the Title of King, together with the Diadem, which his friends did ſet on his head, he could not wiſh a fairer occaſion to aſſume: wherefore he readily accepted them, and ſent the like to his ſon.

When it was once noiſed abroad, that *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* called themſelves Kings; it was not long ere their fellows were ready to follow the good example. *Ptolomy* his friends would by no means endure, that their Lord ſhould be thought a man dejected for the loſs of a Fleet; therefore they ſalute him alſo King. *Lyſimachus* in *Thrace* had boldneſs enough to put a Diadem about his own head. *Seleucus* had, before this time, among the barbarous people, taken upon him as King: but now he uſed the ſtile indifferently, as well among the *Greeks* and *Macedonians*, as in dealing with others. Only *Caſſander* held himſelf contented with his own name: whereby, howſoever he might ſhadow his pride, he no way leſſened the fame of his cruelty againſt his Maſter's houſe. But the name which he forbore, his ſons after him were bold to uſurp, though with ill ſucceſs, as will appear when they ſhall enter upon the Stage, whereon theſe old Tragedians, under new habits, as no longer now the ſame perſons, begin to play their parts, with bigger looks, and more boiſterous actions, not with greater grace and judgement, than in the Scenes already paſt.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Wars between the Kings of Egypt, Aſia, Macedon, Thrace, *and others; until all* Alexander's *Princes were conſumed.*

SECT. I.

The Expedition of Antigonus *againſt* Egypt, *with ill ſucceſs.*

ALl the reſt of theſe Kings had taken that name upon them, in imitation of *Antigonus* himſelf, as beſeeming his greatneſs: which was ſuch as gave him hope to ſwallow them up, together with their new Titles. Being not ignorant of his own ſtrength, he reſolved to ſingle out *Ptolomy*, and make him an example to others: who ſhould hardly be able to ſtand, when the greateſt of them was fallen. To this purpoſe he prepared an Army of eighteen thouſand foot, and eight thouſand Horſe, with fourſcore and three Elephants: as likewiſe a Fleet of an hundred and fifty Gallies, and a hundred ſhips of burthen. The Land forces he commanded in perſon: of the Navy *Demetrius* was Admiral.

When all was ready for the journey, the Seamen adviſed him to ſtay yet eight days longer, and expect the ſetting of the *Pleiades*. But his haſty deſire to prevent all preparations for reſiſtance that *Ptolomy* ſhould make, rejected this counſel; imputing it rather to their fear than skill: wherefore he departed from *Antigonia* (a Town which he had built in *Syria*, and called after his own name, that was ſoon changed into *Seleucia*, by his mortal enemy) and came to *Gaza*, where he met with his Fleet. The nearer that he drew to *Egypt*, the more haſt he made: thinking by celerity to prevail more than by his great power. He cauſed his Souldiers to carry ten days proviſion of victuals; and had many Camels loaden with all neceſſaries for paſſing over the Deſarts, over which he marched with no ſmall toil, though he met with no reſiſtance. At Mount *Gaſſius*, which is near adjoyning to *Nilus*, he ſaw his Fleet riding at Anchor, not far from the ſhore, in ill caſe, and many Ships wanting. It had been ſorely beaten with foul weather, wherein ſome were loſt, others driven back to *Gaza*, or ſcattered elſewhere into ſuch creeks as they could recover: *Demetrius* himſelf, with the beſt and ſtrongeſt Veſſels, did ſo long bear it up againſt the Wind, that all his freſh water was ſpent; in which extremity, he and all his muſt have periſhed, had not the tempeſt ceaſed when it did, and *Antigonus* appeared in ſight, from whom thoſe over-wearied, thirſty and Sea-beaten Souldiers received relief. After theſe painful travels, there followed a War no leſs painful than to little purpoſe; for *Ptolomy* had ſo fortified all the paſſages upon the River of *Nilus*, as he aſſured himſelf either to end the war there, or if his guards ſhould happen to be forced, yet could it not be done but ſo much to the weakning of the Aſſailants, as he ſhould afterward, with a ſecond Army (which he held entire) entertain the Invader upon advantage enough. All that *Antigonus* ſought, was to come to blows ſpeedily: *Ptolomy* on the contrary, to beat *Antigonus* by the belly. It is true that *Nilus* gave him water enough, but wood he had none to warm it: and while *Antigonus* aſſaulted the Rampiers, raiſed upon the River, in vain, *Ptolomy* aſſayed the faith of his Souldiers, with good ſucceſs; for, with great gifts, and greater promiſes, he ſerried them over ſo faſt, as had not *Antigonus* thruſt ſome aſſured Regiments upon the paſſages next the enemy, and in the mean while taken a reſolution to return, *Ptolomy* had turned him out of *Egypt* ill attended.

Some of them indeed he laid hands on, in the way of their eſcape, and thoſe he put to death with extreme torments; but in all likelihood with the ſame ill ſucceſs that *Perdiccas* had formerly done, when he invaded *Egypt*, had he not readily removed his Army further off, from the noiſe of their entertainment, that had already been won from him. To prevent therefore as well the preſent danger of his ſtay, as the ſhame following a forc'd retreat, he ſecretly practiſed the advice of his Council, upon whom the burthen muſt be laid of his entrance, and leaving *Egypt*.

It is indeed leſs prejudicial in ſuch like caſes, that errours, diſhonours and loſſes, be laid on Counſellours and Captains, than on Kings; on the Directed, than on the Directors: for the honour and reputation of a Prince is far more precious than that of a Vaſſal. *Charles* the fifth, as many other Princes have done, laid the loſs and diſhonour he received in the invaſion of *France*, by the way of *Provence* to *Antony de Leva*, whether juſtly or no, I know not; but howſoever, all the Hiſtorians of that time agree, that the ſorrow thereof coſt that brave Captain his life. Certainly to give any violent advice in doubtful enterpriſes, is rather a teſtimony of love, than of wiſdom, in the giver; for the ill ſucceſs is always caſt upon the Counſel, the good never wants a Father, though a falſe one, to acknowledge it. Yet I have ſometime known it, that great Commanders, who are for the preſent in place of Kings, have not only been diſſwaded, but held, in a kind, by ſtrong hand, from hazarding their own perſons, and yet have thoſe kind of Mutiners never been called to a Marſhal's Court.

SECT. II.

How the City of Rhodes *was beſieged by* Demetrius.

THis departure of *Antigonus*, left behind it many dead Carcaſes, and a great deal of joy in *Egypt*. *Ptolomy* held a ſolemn Feaſt, and ſent Meſſengers abroad, loaden with glad news to *Seleucus*, *Lyſimachus*, and *Caſſander*, his Confederates: ſtrongly encouraging all that ſide, with the report of this his late felicity, though it appeared but in a defenſive War. *Antigonus* on the contrary, flattered himſelf with another interpretation, calling the joys of his enemies for witneſſes of his own greatneſs, ſeeing they aroſe but from ſo little things: his enemies being but bare ſavers by the laſt bargain, and himſelf, as he ſuppoſed, having loſt but a little time, and no part of his honour in the late retreat. Howſoever it were, yet he meant to follow his affairs henceforth in another faſhion; for that which he could not cleave aſunder by great blows, he purpoſed by little and little to pare off, by cutting off the branches firſt, to fell the Tree it ſelf with the more facility. To effect which, he reſolved (leaving the great ones to grow a while) to root up the Dependents of his enemies: Dependents, whom the fore-named Confederates ſhould be forc't either to relieve, or to loſe; and hereby he doubted not to draw them into the field, where the advantage of power, and of all other warlike proviſion promiſed him victory.

At this time the City of *Rhodes* was very mighty being well governed, and having long held it ſelf in good Neutrality; it drew the better part of all the Trade of thoſe parts, and therein a great deal of riches to it ſelf; to maintain which, and to encreaſe it, it furniſhed and kept on the Seas a Fleet of well armed Ships, by which it not only beat off all Pyrates and petty Thieves, but the reputation of their ſtrength was thereby ſo much increaſed, as all the Neighbour Princes ſought their alliance and confederacy.

In this ſo dangerous a time (in which they muſt either refuſe all that ſought them, and ſo ſtand friendleſs and apart; or joyn themſelves to ſome one, and thereby forego the peace, by which their greatneſs had grown) their affections carried them to the *Egyptian*: both becauſe the greateſt part of their trade lay that way, as alſo for that *Antigonus* his diſpoſition, greatneſs, and neighbourhood was fearful unto them. This affection of theirs, with ſome other paſſages more apparent, gave argument of quarrel to *Antigonus*, who began to declare himſelf againſt them by petty injuries, taking ſome of their ſhips, with ſuch other grievances, while he made a more weighty preparation, to purſue the War againſt them openly and ſtrongly. All things ſoon after ordered according to the greatneſs of the enterpriſe, he employed his Son *Demetrius* againſt them in their own Iſland, who brought ſuch terrour upon the Citizens, that laying aſide all reſpect of friendſhip and honour, they offered him their aſſiſtance and ſervice againſt whomſoever. *Demetrius*, who knew from whence this change came, and that the alteration was perſwaded by fear, and not by love; raiſed his demands to an intolerable height, requiring a hundred Hoſtages to be delivered him, and liberty to lodge in their Port as many ſhips of War as himſelf pleaſed. Theſe conditions, more properly to be impoſed upon a State already conquered, than on thoſe who as yet had heard of nothing but a conſtrained aſſiſtance, reſtored unto the *Rhodians* their loſt courage, and made them reſolve to defend their liberty to the laſt man: this taught them to infranchiſe all their able bondmen, and wiſely rather to make them their fellow-Citizens, than to make themſelves fellow-ſlaves with them.

Demetrius having refuſed the fair conditions offered (as the *Rhodians*, the fearful ones propounded unto them) make preparation for a long ſiege, and finding no appearance to carry the place in fury, he ſet in hand with his engines of battery; in the invention and uſe of which, he did never ſhew himſelf a greater Artiſan, than in this War. But in concluſion, after the Citizens had ſuſtained all the aſſaults given them for a whole year, after many brave ſallies out of the Town, and the famine which they endured within the Town, which had proved far more extream, if *Ptolomy* had not with many hazards relieved them, *Demetrius* by mediation of the *Grecian* Ambaſſadours, gave over the ſiege; a hundred hoſtages they gave him for performance of the Peace made, but with exception of all the Magiſtrates and Officers of the City

Hereunto *Demetrius* was brought by the uſual policy of War, and State: for while with the flower of all his Father's forces he lay before *Rhodes*, *Caſſander* recovered many of thoſe places in *Greece*, which *Demetrius* had formerly taken from him; neither did *Caſſander* make the War as in former times, by practice and ſurpriſe, but by a ſtrong and well compounded Army, which he himſelf lead as far as into *Attica*, and therewith greatly diſtreſſed and endangered *Athens* it ſelf. On the other ſide (though with leſs ſucceſs) did *Polyſperchon* invade *Peloponneſus*. Theſe dangerous undertakings upon *Greece*, adviſed the *Athenians* and *Ætolians* to diſpatch their Ambaſſadours towards *Demetrius*, and adviſed *Demetrius* rather to abandon the enterpriſe of *Rhodes*, than to abandon the great honour which he had formerly gotten by ſetting all *Greece* at liberty.

Demetrius was no ſooner out of the Iſland, than that the *Rhodians* erected Statues in honour of *Lyſimachus* and *Caſſander*; but for *Ptolomy*, whom they moſt affected, and from whom they received their moſt relief, they conſulted with the Oracle of *Jupiter*, whether it were not lawful to call him a god. The Prieſts which attended in the Temple of *Hammon*, gave the ſame fair anſwer for *Ptolomy*, which they had formerly done for *Alexander* his Maſter; for as *Alexander* conſulted the Oracle with an Army at his heels, ſo was *Ptolomy* at this time Lord of the ſoil: and yet was this a far more cleanly creation than that done by the *Athenians*, who deified *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* by decree of the people. A mad age it was, when ſo many of *Alexander*'s Captains, could not content themſelves with the ſtile of Kings, but that they would needs be called gods.

SECT.

SECT. III.

How Demetrius *prevailed in* Greece. Caſſander *deſires peace of* Antigonus, *and cannot obtain it. Great preparations of War againſt* Antigonus.

Demetrius, coming with a ſtrong Fleet and Army into *Greece*, quickly drave *Caſſander* out of *Attica*, and purſuing his fortune, chaſed him beyond the Straits of *Thermopylæ*. Herein his reputation did much avail him; which was ſo great, that ſix thouſand of his enemies Souldiers revolted unto him. So, partly by the greatneſs of his name, partly by force, he recovered in ſhort ſpace all that *Caſſander* held in thoſe Straits, and giving liberty unto the people, he beſtowed upon the *Athenians* thoſe pieces, which had been fortified againſt them, to block them up. Then went he into *Peloponneſus*, where he found the like or more eaſie ſucceſs: for he ſuddenly took *Argos*, *Corinth*, *Sycion*, and the moſt of the Country, beſtowing liberty upon ſuch as needed it. The Town of *Sycion* he tranſlated by conſent of the Citizens, from the old ſeat into another place, and called it after his own name, *Demetrius*. This done, he betook himſelf to his pleaſure. At the *Iſthman* games he cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed Captain General of *Greece*, as *Philip* and *Alexander* had been in former times: whereupon (as if he were now become as great as *Alexander*) he deſpiſed all others, making it a matter of jeſt, that any, ſave himſelf or his Father, ſhould uſurp the Name of King. But in his behaviour he was ſo far unlike to a King, that in all the time of his leiſure, he deſerved none other name than of a drunken *Palliard*. Yet were the *Athenians* as ready as ever to deviſe new honours for him: among which they made one Decree, That whatſoever King *Demetrius* ſhould command, ought to be held ſacred with the gods, and juſt with men.

All *Greece* being now at the diſpoſition of *Antigonus*, *Caſſander* ſtood in great fear, leſt the War ſhould fall heavily upon him in *Macedon*: which to avoid, he knew no better way than to make peace with his enemies betimes. And to that purpoſe he ſent Ambaſſadours; but had no better anſwer from *Antigonus*, than that he ſhould ſubmit his whole eſtate to his diſcretion. This proud demand made him look about him, and labour hard in ſoliciting his friends, both to aſſiſt him, and take heed to themſelves; neither found he them ſlow in apprehending the common danger: for *Lyſimachus* knew that if once *Caſſander* had loſt *Macedon*, *Demetrius* would ſoon be Maſter of *Thrace*. Neither were *Ptolomy* and *Seleucus* ignorant of that which was like to befall them, if *Antigonus* were ſuffered to put himſelf in quiet poſſeſſion of thoſe Provinces in *Europe*. Wherefore it was agreed, that with joynt-forces they ſhould all together ſet upon the common enemy.

Hereof *Antigonus* had notice: but ſcorned all their preparations, ſaying, That he would as eaſily ſcatter them, as a flock of birds are driven away with a Stone. With theſe conceits he pleaſed himſelf, and no way hindred the proceedings of his Enemy. He lay at that time in the Town of *Antigonia* (a name that it muſt ſhortly loſe) where he was carefully providing to ſet out ſome ſtately games and Pageants, in oſtentation of his glory. But thither was brought unto him the tumultuous news of *Lyſimachus* his victories about *Helleſpont*. For *Caſſander* had committed unto *Lyſimachus* part of his forces, wherewith to paſs over into *Aſia*, while he himſelf with the reſt, ſhould oppoſe *Demetrius* on *Europe* ſide. So *Lyſimachus* paſſing the *Helleſpont*, began to make hot war upon the Subjects of *Antigonus*; getting ſome of the Cities in thoſe parts, to joyn with him by fair means, winning others by force, and waſting the Countrey round about.

To repreſs this unexpected boldneſs, *Antigonus* made haſty journeys, and came ſoon enough to recover his loſſes, but not ſtrong enough to drive *Lyſimachus* home, or compel him to come to battel. *Lyſimachus* waited for the coming of *Seleucus*; keeping himſelf the whilſt from neceſſity of fighting. But *Babylon* was far off; and *Seleucus* his preparations were too great to be ſoon in a readineſs. The Winter alſo did hinder his Journey: which inforced them on both ſides to reſt in ſome quiet, without performing any matter of importance. This delay of debating the quarrel in open field, held all thoſe Nations in a great ſuſpence, and bred much expectation. Yet might all have come to nothing, had not *Antigonus* been ſo froward, that he refuſed to yield upon any peaceable conditions. At length *Seleucus* drew near with a mighty Army of his own (for he had gathered ſtrength in that long time of leiſure, which *Antigonus* had given him) and with great aid from *Ptolomy*, that was joyned with his forces.

To help in this needful caſe, *Demetrius* was called over into *Aſia* by his Father's letters: which he readily obeyed. Before his departure out of *Greece*, he made peace with *Caſſander*, upon reaſonable terms: to the end he might not be driven to leave any part of his Army for defence of the Country; and that his journey might be without any ſuch blemiſh of reputation, as if he had abandoned his Dependents: for one Article of the peace was, that all the Cities of *Greece* ſhould be at liberty. *Caſſander* was glad to be ſo rid of an enemy that was too ſtrong for him. Yet would this league have done him little good, if things had fallen out contrariwiſe than they did in *Aſia*; ſeeing the ratification thereof was referred unto *Antigonus*. It ſufficed, that for the preſent, every one found means to clear himſelf of all incumbrances elſewhere, to the end that each of them might freely apply himſelf to the trial of the main controverſie in *Aſia*,

SECT. IV.

How Antigonus *was ſlain in a great battel at* Ipſus, *near unto* Epheſus; *wherein his whole eſtate was loſt.*

Seleucus, with his Son *Antiochus*, joyning with *Lyſimachus*, compounded a great Army, which was (all conſidered) not inferiour to that of the Enemy. In greatneſs of name (that helpeth much in all Wars, but eſpecially in the Civil) they were rather unanſwerable than unequal to their Adverſaries: for *Antigonus* had of a long time kept them under with a maſtering ſpirit, and had been reputed a King indeed, when the reſt were held but Uſurpers of the Title. Likewiſe *Demetrius* was generally acknowledged a brave Com-

mander, having given proof of his worth in many great ſervices of all kinds, and enriched the art of War with many inventions, which even his enemies, and particularly *Lyſimachus*, did much admire. *Seleucus*, who had ſometimes flattered *Antigonus*, and fearfully ſtoll'n away from him to ſave his life, with young *Antiochus*, a Prince not heard of before this journey: and *Lyſimachus*, that had lived long in a corner, hardly keeping his own from the wild *Thracians*; wanted much in reputation of that which was yielded to their oppoſites: yet ſo, that as ancient Captains under *Philip* and *Alexander*, two of them were held worthy enough to receive any benefit that Fortune might give, and the third a Prince of great hope, whereof he now came to make experience.

The Souldiers, on both ſides, were for the moſt part hardy and well exerciſed: many of them having ſerved under *Alexander*; though of thoſe old Companies, the long ſpace of two and twenty years had conſumed the greateſt number. But concerning their affections, the followers of *Seleucus* were eaſily perſwaded, that in this battel they muſt either get the upper hand, or put in extreme danger all that belonged unto the Confederate Princes; whereas *Antigonus* his men could diſcern no other neceſſity of fighting, than the obſtinate quality of their Lord, that needs would be Maſter of all. *Antigonus* had about threeſcore and ten thouſand foot, ten thouſand horſe, and threeſcore and fifteen Elephants. His enemies were ſix thouſand ſhort of him in number of their foot; in horſe they had the odds of five hundred; of Elephants they had four hundred, and an hundred and twenty armed Chariots of War: which helps, though they little had availed the *Perſians*, yet were they not to be deſpiſed, in the hands of a good Captain.

Antigonus himſelf, either troubled with the unexpected greatneſs of his enemies forces, or preſaging little good like to enſue, grew very penſive, communing much in private with his Son whom he commended to the Army as his Succeſſor: whereas in former times he had never been ſo jocund, as towards the hour of battel, nor had been accuſtomed to make his Son, or any other private to his counſel, before it required execution. Other tokens of bad luck, either foregoing the fight, or afterwards deviſed, I hold it needleſs to recount. *Diana* of *Epheſus* dwelt near to the place of battel, a buſie goddeſs in many great fights: and therefore likely to have been thruſt into the fable, if any matter nearly reſembling a miracle, had chanced.

It is eaſie to believe, that theſe two ſo gallant Armies, containing well near all the ſtrength of *Alexander*'s whole Empire, performed a notable fight, being led by ſuch worthy Commanders, and whom the iſſue thereof did highly concern. Yet are few of the particulars recorded: an eaſie loſs in regard of the much variety, wherewith every ſtory aboundeth in this kind. The moſt memorable things in the battel, were theſe: *Demetrius* with his beſt force of Horſe, charged valiantly upon young *Antiochus*; whom when he had broken, and put to flight, he was ſo tranſported with the heat of his good ſucceſs, that he never gave over his purſuit, but left his Father naked, and loſt thereby both him, and the victory. For when *Seleucus* perceived this advantage, he interpoſed his Elephants, between *Demetrius* and the Phalanx of *Antigonus*; and with many troops of horſe offering to break upon the enemies battel, whereſoever it lay moſt open, he did ſo terrifie the *Antigonians*, that a great part of them rather choſe to revolt from their Lord, whilſt they were fairly invited, than to ſuſtain the fury of ſo dangerous an impreſſion. This cowardize, or rather Treaſon of ſome, diſcouraged others; and finally, caſt them all into flight; expoſing their General to the laſt end of his deſtinies. *Antigonus* was then fourſcore years old, very fat, and unweildy, ſo that he was unapt for flight, if his high ſpirit could have entertained any thought thereof. He had about him ſome of his moſt truſty followers, and as many others as he could hold together. When one that perceived a great troop making towards his perſon, told him, *Sir King, yonder company means to charge you*: He anſwered, *Well may they; for who defends me? but anon* Demetrius *will relieve us.* Thus expecting to the very laſt, that his Son ſhould come to the reſcue, he received ſo many Darts into his body, as took away his lately ambitious, but then fearful hopes, together with his troubleſome life.

His great ability in matter of Arms, together with his unſatiable deſire of Empire, have ſufficiently appeared in the whole Volume of his Actions. He was more feared by his enemies, than loved by his friends; as one that could not moderate his Fortune, but uſed inſolence toward all alike, as if it had been ſome virtue neareſt repreſenting a Kingly Majeſty. This was the cauſe that ſo many of his followers revolted to his enemies; and finally, that a great part of his Army forſook him in his laſt neceſſity. For thoſe Kings and Princes that call all the careful endeavours of their Vaſſals, only duty and debt; and are more apt to puniſh the leaſt offences, than to reward the greateſt ſervices: ſhall find themſelves upon the firſt change of fortune (ſeeing it is love only that ſtays by adverſity) not only the moſt friendleſs, but even the moſt contemptible, and deſpiſed of all other. This *Antigonus* found true in part, while he lived; in part he left it to be verified upon his Son.

SECT. V.

How Demetrius, *forſaken by the* Athenians *after his overthrow, was reconciled to* Seleucus *and* Ptolomy, *beginning a new fortune, and ſhortly entring into quarrels.*

FOr *Demetrius*, at his return from the idle purſuit of young *Antiochus*, finding all quite loſt, he was glad to ſave himſelf, with four thouſand horſe, and five thouſand foot, by a ſpeedy retreat unto *Epheſus*, whence he made great haſt unto *Athens*, as to the place, that for his ſake would ſuffer any extremity. But whilſt he was in the midſt of his courſe thither, the *Athenian* Ambaſſadours met him with a decree of the people, which was, that none of the Kings ſhould be admitted into their City. Theſe were Ambaſſadours, not *Theori*, or Conſulters with the Oracle. It was a ſhameleſs ingratitude in the *Athenians*, to reward their Benefactor, in his miſery, with ſuch a decree: neither did any part of his calamity more afflict the unfortunate Prince, than to ſee his adverſity deſpiſed by thoſe whom he had thought his ſu-

reſt

reſt Friends. Yet was he fain to give good words. For he had left many of his Ships in their Haven, of which he now ſtood in great need; and therefore was fain to ſpeak them fair, that ſometimes had groſly flattered him. But he ſhall live to teach them their old language, and ſpeak unto them in another tune. When he had gotten his Ships, he ſailed to the *Iſthmus*, where he found nothing but matter of diſcomfort. His Garriſons were every where broken up; the Souldiers having betaken themſelves to his enemies pay. So that he was King only of a ſmall Army and Fleet, without money or means wherewith to ſuſtain him and his followers any long time. All the reſt, or the greateſt part of his Father's Dominion, was now in dividing among the Conquerors, and thoſe few places which as yet held for him (having not perchance heard the worſt of what had happened) he no way knew how to relieve: for to put himſelf into the field on that ſide of the Sea, he had no power; and to incloſe himſelf in any of them, how ſtrong ſoever, were but to impriſon his fortune, and his hopes, or therein indeed to bury himſelf and his eſtate: He therefore creeping thorow thoſe buſhes that had feweſt bryers, fell upon a corner of *Lyſimachus* his Kingdom, whereof he gave all the ſpoil that was gotten, to his Souldiers, his own loſſes having been too great to be repayed again by ſmall prizes.

In the mean while the Confederate Princes had wherewithal to buſie themſelves, in the partition of thoſe Provinces, of which their late victory had made them Lords: wherein *Seleucus* had a notable advantage by being preſent, and Maſter of the field; for neither *Ptolomy* nor *Caſſander* were at the overthrow given, having only ſent certain troops to re-inforce the Army which *Seleucus* led, who took hold of a part of *Aſia* the leſs, and all *Syria*, being no otherwiſe divided from his own Territory, than by the River of *Euphrates*. For there had not any order been taken by the Confederates, for the diviſion of all thoſe Lands: becauſe they did not expect ſo proſperous an iſſue of that War, which they made only in their common defence. It was therefore lawful for *Seleucus*, to make the beſt benefit that he could of the Victory, at which nevertheleſs others did repine; and though they neither could nor durſt accuſe him of ill dealing for the preſent, yet ſeeing the overgreatneſs of *Seleucus* brought no leſs danger to the reſt of the new Kings, than that of *Antigonus* had done, they conſulted upon the ſame reaſon of State as before, how to oppoſe it in time. Neither was *Seleucus* ignorant of what they had determined; for he read it in the Law univerſal of Kingdoms and States, needing no other intelligence. Hereupon they forget friendſhips on all ſides, and cure themſelves of all unprofitable paſſion: the hatred of each to other, and their loves being laid on the on ſide, againſt their profits on the other, were found ſo far too light, as *Seleucus*, who had to day ſlain *Antigonus* the Father, and driven *Demetrius* the Son out of *Aſia*, ſought to morrow how to match himſelf with *Stratonica*, *Demetrius* his Daughter; and ſo by *Demetrius* to ſerve his turn againſt *Lyſimachus*.

The ſtory of this *Stratonica*, with whom young *Antiochus*, the Son of *Seleucus* fell ſo paſſionately in love, and ſo diſtempered, as *Seleucus* his Father, to ſave his Son's life, gave her (though ſhe were his Wife) unto him; and how his paſſion was diſcovered by his pulſe, is generally noted by all Writers. But neither did this alliance between *Seleucus* and *Demetrius*; between *Ptolomy* and *Lyſimachus*; between *Demetrius* and *Caſſander*; between *Demetrius* and *Ptolomy*, though for the preſent it brought him again into the rank of Kings; otherwiſe tye any of them to each other, than the marriages between Chriſtian Kings have done in latter times, namely between the *Auſtrians*, the *Arragonians*, the *French*, and other Princes; neither have the Leagues of thoſe elder times been found more faithful, than thoſe of the ſame latter times have been, as in the ſtories of *Charles* the Eighth of *France*, and of *Charles* the Emperour, of *Francis* the Firſt, and of the Kings of *Naples*, Dukes of *Millan*, and others, the Reader may obſerve: between whom from the year of our Lord, *One thouſand four hundred ninety and five*, when *Charles* the Eighth undertook the Conqueſt of *Naples*, to the year *One thouſand five hundred fifty and eight*, when *Henry* the Second died; the Hiſtories of thoſe times tell us, that all the bonds, either by the Bed, or by the Book, either by Weddings or Sacrametal Oaths had neither faithful purpoſe nor performance. Yet did *Demetrius* reap this profit by giving his Daughter to his enemy *Seleucus*, that he recovered *Cilicia* from *Pliſtarchus*, the Brother of *Caſſander*, who had gotten it as his ſhare in the diviſion of *Antigonus* his poſſeſſions: for the Intruder was not ſtrong enough to hold it by his proper forces, from him that entred upon it as a lawful heir; neither would *Seleucus* lend him any help, as by the Rule of Confederacy he ſhould have done againſt the common enemy. So *Pliſtarchus* with very angry complaints, as well againſt *Seleucus* as *Demetrius*, went unto *Caſſander*; whither *Phila*, their Siſter, followed him ſhortly, to pacifie them both, and kept all quiet; being ſent for that purpoſe by *Demetrius* her Husband, that was not ſtrong enough to deal with *Caſſander*; and therefore glad to make uſe of that bond of alliance betwixt them, whereof in his own proſperity, he never took notice to the others good. About the ſame time he took to Wife a Daughter of *Ptolomy* (plurality of Wives being familiar with theſe *Macedonians*, that had learned it in their Eaſtern Conqueſts) and ſo was by two marriages rather freed from two enemies, than ſtrengthened with two friends; for neither of them wiſhed him any good, otherwiſe than might ſeem to advance their own ambitious deſires.

Seleucus and *Ptolomy* could both of them have been contented better, that *Demetrius*, with help of their countenance, ſhould ſeek his fortune ſomewhat farther off, than ſettle his Eſtate under their noſes. Particularly, *Seleucus* thought that *Cilicia* lay very fitly for himſelf: and *Ptolomy* had a great appetite (which yet he concealed a while) to the Iſle of *Cyprus*. Now whether it were ſo, that *Seleucus* would fain have ſet his new Father-in-law upon the neck of *Lyſimachus*; or whether he were indeed greedy of the bargain; he offered to buy of *Demetrius* for ready money, his late purchaſe of *Cilicia*. Hereunto *Demetrius* would not hearken, but meant to keep as much Land as he could, having already found in *Cilicia* twelve thouſand Talents of his Father's Treaſure, that would ſerve him to make ſport a while. This refuſal ſo diſpleaſed *Seleucus*, that in angry terms he demanded the Cities of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, to be ſurrendred unto him; which were the only places in *Syria*, that had not followed the fortune of the late great battel. Inſtead of giving them up, *Demetrius* took preſent order to have them better manned; and ſpake it ſtoutly, That were he overcome

come a thouſand times, yet would he not hire *Seleucus* to become his Son-in-law. In this quarrel *Seleucus* was generally reprehended, as one of a malignant diſpoſition, that would break friendſhip with his Father-in-law for two Towns, from whom he had already taken more than well he knew how to govern. But the fire conſumed it ſelf in words, which had it faſtned upon arms, like it is that the weaker ſhould have found friends out of envy to the ſtronger.

SECT. VI.

How Demetrius *wan the City of* Athens, *and prevailed in* Greece, *but loſt in* Aſia. *Of troubles in* Macedon *following the death of* Caſſander.

IN the mean while, the *Athenians* not knowing how to uſe the liberty which *Demetrius* had beſtowed on them, were fallen by ſedition, under the Tyranny of *Lachares*. Through which alteration their diſtempered City was ſo weakned, that it ſeemed ill able to keep off the puniſhment due to their late ingratitude. This advantage haſtened him, whom they had once called their *God and Saviour*, to preſent himſelf unto them, in the habit of a revenging fury. He brought againſt them all the force that he could well ſpare from other employments, which were at that time perhaps the more, becauſe his doubtful Eaſtern friends, were unwilling to give impediment to any buſineſs, that might entangle him in *Greece*. His firſt enterpriſe in *Athens* had ill ſucceſs; a great part of his Fleet periſhing in a Tempeſt. But he ſoon repaired the loſs; and (after ſome Victories in *Peloponneſus*, where he wan divers Towns that had fallen from him) returning to the enterpriſe, waſted the Country of *Attica*, and cut off all relief from the City, both by Land and Sea.

Athens was not able to feed the great multitude within it, any long time: for it ſtood in a barren ſoil, and wanted now the command of thoſe Iſlands, and places abroad, from whence it was wont to be ſtored with victuals; being alſo deſtitute of means to keep ſuch a Navy as might bring in ſupply, or dare to do any thing at Sea, againſt that of *Demetrius*. Yet was there ſome hope of ſuccour from *Ptolomy*, who (truſting thereby to win the love of *Greece*) had loaden an hundred and fifty ſhips with Corn, and ſent them to relieve the hungry City. But theſe hundred and fifty were unable to deal with three hundred good fighting-ſhips, which *Demetrius* had; rather they feared to become a prey to him, and therefore haſted them away betimes, as having done enough, in adventuring to come ſo near that they might be deſcryed. This brake the heart of the people, among whom the famine was ſo extreme, that a Father and his Son did fight for a dead Mouſe, which dropped down between them from the houſe top. Wherefore they ſent Ambaſſadours to yield up the Town, and crave pardon, having ſo far offended, that out of deſperation, they made it a capital offence to propoſe any motion of peace. Yet were they fain to aboliſh this Decree, rather becauſe they knew not what elſe to do, than becauſe they hoped to be forgiven.

Demetrius, contented with the honour of the Victory, did not only forbear to take away the lives of theſe unthankful men, which they had ſubmitted unto his mercy; but out of his liberality gave them food, and placed in Office amongſt them ſuch as were moſt acceptable to the people. Nevertheleſs he was grown wiſer than to truſt them ſo far as he had done in times paſt. And therefore, when (among other flattering acclamations) they bad him take their Havens, and diſpoſe of them at his pleaſure; he was ready to lay hold upon the word, and leave a ſure Garriſon within their Walls, to keep them honeſt perforce. After this he went into *Peloponneſus*, vanquiſhed the *Lacedemonians* in two Battels, and was in very fair poſſibility to take their City: when the dangerous news of *Lyſimachus* and *Ptolomy*, that prevailed faſter upon him elſewhere, than himſelf did upon his enemies in *Greece*, called him in all haſte. *Lyſimachus* had won many Towns in *Aſia*; *Ptolomy* had gotten all the Iſle of *Cyprus*, except the City of *Salamis* wherein *Demetrius* had left his Children and Mother, that were ſtraitly beſieged. Whilſt he was bethinking himſelf which way to turn his face, a notable piece of buſineſs offered it ſelf, which thruſt all other cares out of his head.

Caſſander was lately dead in *Macedon*, and ſoon after him, *Philip* his eldeſt Son, whoſe two young Brethren, *Antipater* and *Alexander*, ſought for the Kingdom. In this quarrel *Theſſalonica* the Daughter of King *Philip*, whom *Caſſander* had married, ſeemed better affected to *Alexander*, than to her eldeſt Son: who thereupon grew ſo enraged, that moſt barbarouſly he ſlew his own Mother. The odiouſneſs of this fact gave a fair luſtre to *Alexander*'s cauſe: drawing the generality of the *Macedons* to take his part, as in revenge of the Queens death, upon that wicked parricide *Antipater*. But *Antipater* was ſo ſtrongly backed by *Lyſimachus*, whoſe Daughter he had married; that *Alexander* could not hope to make his party good without ſome forreign aid. For which cauſe he called in both *Phyrrhus* and *Demetrius*; who how they dealt with him, it will ſoon appear in the following Tragedy, of him and his Brother. Their Father *Caſſander* had been one that ſhifted well for himſelf, at ſuch time as every man ſought to get ſomewhat, in the ill-ordered diviſion of the Empire. He was cunning in practice, and a good Souldier: one of more open dealing than were his Companions, but withal more impudent, rudely killing thoſe, whom others would more wiſely have made away. He deeply hated the memory of *Alexander*, that had knocked his head againſt a wall, upon ſome opinion of contempt. With *Olympias* he had an hereditary quarrel, derived from his Father, whom ſhe could not abide. Her feminine malice did ſo exaſperate him, by cruelty that ſhe uſed againſt his friends, both alive and dead; as it made him adventure upon ſhedding the Royal Blood: wherewith, when once he had ſtained his hands, he did not care how far he proceded in that courſe of murder. His carefulneſs to deſtroy thoſe women and children, whoſe lives hindred his purpoſe, argues him to have been rather skilful in matters of Arms, than a valiant man: ſuch cruelty being a true mark of cowardize, which fears a far off the dangers, that may quietly paſs away: and ſeeks to avoid them by baſe and wicked means, as never thinking it ſelf ſafe enough, untill there be nothing left, that carries likelihood of danger. Of *Olympias* and *Roxane* it may be ſaid, that they had well deſerved the bloody end which

which over-took them; yet ill-beseemed it *Cassander* to do the Office of a Hang-man. But *Alexander*'s children had by no Law of men deserved to dye for the tyranny of their Father. Wherefore, though *Cassander* died in his bed, yet the Divine Justice brought swords upon his wife and children, that well revenged the cruelty of this bloody man, by destroying his whole house as he had done his Master's.

SECT. VII.

Of Pyrrhus *and his doings in* Macedon. *The death of* Cassander's *Children.* Demetrius *gets the Kingdom of* Macedon; *prevails in War against the Greeks; loseth reputation in his War against* Pyrrhus, *and in his Civil Government, and prepares to win* Asia. *How all conspire against* Demetrius. Pyrrhus *and* Lysimachus *invade him, his Army yields to* Pyrrhus, *who shares the Kingdom of* Macedon *with* Lysimachus.

Pyrrhus, the Son of that unfortunate Prince *Æacides*, which perished in War against *Cassander*, who hardly preserved, being a suckling Infant, from the fury of his Father's enemies. When his Fosterers had conveyed him to *Glaucias* King of *Illyria*; the deadly hatred of *Cassander* would have bought his life with the price of two hundred Talents. But no man can kill him that shall be his heir. *Glaucias* was so far from betraying *Pyrrhus*, that he restored him by force to his Father's Kingdom, when he was but twelve years of age. Within the compass of six years, either the indiscretions of his youth, or the rebellious temper of his Subjects, drave him out of his Kingdom, and left him to try the world anew. Then went he to *Demetrius* (who married his Sister) became his Page, followed him a while in his Wars, was with him in the great Battel of *Ipsus*, whence he fled with him to *Ephesus*; and was content to be hostage for him, in his reconciliation with *Ptolomy*. In *Egypt* he so behaved himself, that he got the favour of *Berenice*, *Ptolomie*'s principal Wife; so that he married her Daughter, and was thereupon sent home, with money and men, into *Epirus*; more beholding now to *Ptolomy*, than to *Demetrius*. When he had fully recovered the Kingdom of *Epirus*, and was settled in it, then fell out that business between the Children of *Cassander*, which drew both him and *Demetrius* into *Macedon*.

Antipater, the elder of *Cassander*'s Sons, was so far too weak for *Pyrrhus*, that he had no desire to attend the coming of *Demetrius*, but made an hasty agreement, and divided the Kingdom with his younger Brother *Alexander*; who likewise felt the aid of *Pyrrhus*, so troublesome, that he was more willing to send him away, than to call in such a nother helper. For *Pyrrhus* had the audacity to request, or take as granted, by strong hand, *Ambracia*, *Acarnania*, and much more of the Country, as the reward of his pains: leaving the two Brethren to agree as well as they could about the rest. Necessity enforced the Brethren to composition: but their composition would not satisfie *Demetrius*, who took the matter hainously, that he was sent for, and made a fool to come so far with an Army, and find no work for it. This was a frivolous complaint; whereby it appeared, that *Demetrius* had a purpose to do as *Pyrrhus* had done; and so much more, by how much he was stronger. Hereupon it seemed to *Alexander* a wise course, to remove this over-diligent friend, by murdering him upon some advantage. Thus *Demetrius* reported the story, and it might be true; though the greatest part, and perhaps the wisest, believed it not. But the issue was, that *Alexander* himself was feasted and slain by *Demetrius*; who took his part of the Kingdom, as a reward of the murder; excusing the fact so well, by telling his own danger, and what a naughty man *Cassander* had been, that all the *Macedonians* grew glad enough to acknowledge him their King. It fell out happily, that about the same time *Lysimachus* was buried in War with a King of the wild *Thracians*: for thereby he was compelled to seek peace with *Demetrius*, which to obtain, he caused the remainder of *Macedon* to be given up; that is, the part belonging to *Antipater* his Son-in-law. At this ill bargain *Antipater* grievously stormed, though he knew not how to amend it: yet still he stormed; until his Father-in-law, to save the labour of making many excuses, took away his troublesome life. Thus in haste, with a kind of neglect, and as it were to avoid molestation, were slain the Children of *Cassander*: Of *Cassander* that had slain his own Master's Children, in a wise course of policy, with careful meditation (so much the more wicked as the more long) studying how to erect his own house, that fell down upon his grave, ere the earth on it was throughly settled.

It might be thought, that such an access of Dominion, added much to the greatness of *Demetrius*. But indeed it shewed his infirmity; and thereby made him neglected by many, and at length hated by all. For he had no Art of Civil Government: but thought (or shewed by his actions that he thought) the use and fruit of a Kingdom, to be none other, than to do what a King listed. He gave himself over to Women and Wine, laughing openly at those which offered to trouble him with supplications, and the tedious discourse of doing Justice. He had more skill in getting a Kingdom, than in ruling it: War being his recreation, and Luxury his nature. By long rest (as six years reign is long to him, that knows not how to reign one year) he discovered so much of his worst conditions, as made the people both weary of his idleness; and the Souldiers of his vanity. He was freed from care of matters in *Asia*, by hearing that all was lost: though more especially, by hearing that *Ptolomy* had with great honour, entertained and dismissed his Mother and Children. This afforded him the better leisure of making War in *Greece*: where he vanquished the *Thebans*, and won their City twice in short space, but used his victory with mercy. Against *Lysimachus* he would fain have done somewhat (the peace between them notwithstanding) at such time as he was taken by the *Thracians*; but *Lysimachus* was freely dismissed, and in good case to make resistance ere *Demetrius* came; so as this Journey purchased nothing but enmity. Another expedition he took in hand against *Pyrrhus*, with no better, or rather with worse event. *Pyrrhus* held somewhat belonging to *Macedon*, which he had indeed as honestly gotten, as *Demetrius* the whole Kingdom; he had also made excursions

excurſions into *Theſſaly*. But there needed not any handſome pretence of quarrel, ſeeing *Demetrius* thought himſelf ſtrong enough to over-run his Eenemies Country, with two great Armies. It is a common fault in men, to deſpiſe the virtue of thoſe, whom they have known raw Novices in that faculty, wherein themſelves are noted as extraordinary. *Pyrrhus* was a Captain, whom latter Ages, and particularly the great *Hannibal*, placed higher in the rank of Generals, than either *Demetrius*, or any of *Alexander*'s followers. At this time, he miſſed that part of the Army, which *Demetrius* led, and fell upon the other half: which he overthrew, not with more commendations of his good conduct, than of his private valour, ſhewed in ſingle combat againſt *Pantauchus*, *Demetrius* his Lieutenant; who being a ſtrong man of body, challenged this young Prince to fight hand to hand, and was utterly beaten. The loſs of this Battel did not ſo much offend the *Macedonians*, as the gallant behaviour of *Pyrrhus* delighted them. For in him they ſeemed to beñold the lively figure of *Alexander* in his beſt quality. Other Kings did imitate, in a counterfeit manner, ſome of *Alexander*'s graces, and had good skill in wearing Princely veſtures: but (ſaid they) none, ſave *Pyrrhus*, is like him in deed, in performing the Office of a Captain.

Theſe Rumours were not more nouriſhed by the virtue of the *Epirot*, than by diſlike of their own King; whom they began to diſeſteem, not ſo much in regard of his unprofitable Journey into *Epirus* (for he had waſted much of the Country, and brought home his Army in good caſe) as of his Inſolence, that grew daily more and more intolerable. His apparel ſeemed, in the eyes of the *Macedons*, not only too ſumptuous and new-fangled, but very unmanly; and ſerving chiefly to be a daily witneſs, how much he contemned them and their good opinions. Of his Souldiers lives he was retchleſs: and ſuffered unwiſely this unprincely ſentence to eſcape out of his mouth; That *the more of them died, the fewer he was to pay*. He made a mockery of Juſtice; and (as it were, to publiſh unto all his Subjects, how little he eſteemed it or them) having by a ſhew of popularity invited Petitioners, and with a gracious countenance entertained their Supplications, he led the poor Suters after him in great hope, till coming to a Bridge, he threw all their Writings into a River; pleaſing himſelf, in that he could ſo eaſily and ſo boldly delude the cares of other men. By theſe courſes he grew ſo odious, that *Pyrrhus* gathered audacity, and invading *Macedon*, had almoſt won it all with little reſiſtance. *Demetrius* lay then ſick in his bed: who recovering health, and taking the field, had ſuch great odds of ſtrength, as made *Pyrrhus* glad to forſake his winnings and be gone.

At length he began to have ſome feeling of the general hate; which to redreſs, he did not (for he could not) alter his own conditions; but purpoſed to alter their idle diſcourſes of him, by ſetting them on work in ſuch an action, wherein his beſt qualities might appear; that is, in a great War. His intent was to invade *Aſia* with a Royal Army: wherein the fortune of one Battel might give him as much, as the fortune of another had taken from him. To this end, he firſt made peace with *Pyrrhus*; that ſo he might leave all ſafe and quiet at home. Then did he compoſe a mighty Army, of almoſt a hundred thouſand foot, and twelve thouſand horſes, with a Navy of five hundred ſail, wherein were many ſhips, far exceeding the greatneſs of any that had been ſeen before; yet ſo ſwift and uſeful withal, that the greatneſs was leaſt part of their commendations.

The terrible fame of theſe preparations, made *Seleucus* and *Ptolomy* ſuſpect their own forces, and labour hard with *Lyſimachus* and *Pyrrhus*, to joyn againſt this ambitious Son of *Antigonus*, that was like to prove more dangerous to them all, than ever was his Father. It was eaſily diſcerned, that if *Demetrius* once prevailed in *Aſia*, there could be no ſecurity for his friends in *Europe*, what league ſoever were of old concluded. Therefore they reſolved to begin with him betimes, and each to invade that quarter of *Macedon*, that lay next his own Kingdom. *Lyſimachus* came firſt, and againſt him went *Demetrius* with a great part of his Army: but whilſt he was yet on the way, news were brought into his Camp, that *Pyrrhus* had won *Berrhæa*. The matter was not over-great: were it not that minds prepared with long diſcontent, are ready to lay hold upon ſmall occaſions of diſlike. All the Camp was in uproar: ſome wept, others raged, few or none did forbear to utter ſeditious words, and many deſired leave of *Demetrius*, to go to their own houſes, meaning indeed to have gone to *Lyſimachus*.

When *Demetrius* perceived the bad affection of his Army, he thought it the wiſeſt way, to lead the *Macedonians* further off from *Lyſimachus* their own Country-man, againſt *Pyrrhus* that was a ſtranger: hoping by victory againſt the *Epirot*, to recover the love of his followers, in ſuch ſort that he might afterwards at leiſure deal with the other. But herein his wiſdom beguiled him. For the Souldiers were as haſty as he, to meet with *Pyrrhus*; not intending to hurt him, but longing to ſee that noble Prince, of whom they daily heard the honourable fame. Some ſpake of his valour; ſome enquired, others anſwered, of his perſon, his armour, and other tokens whereby he might be known; as particularly, by a pair of Goats-horns, that he wore on his creſt. It was not likely, that theſe men ſhould hurt him. Divers of them ſtole away, and ran over into *Pyrrhus* his Camp: where the news that they brought, were better welcome than their perſons. For they ſaid, and it was true, that if the *Macedonians* might once get ſight of *Pyrrhus*, they would all ſalute him King. To try this, *Pyrrhus* rode forth, and preſented himſelf bare-headed in view of all the Camp, whether ſome were ſent before to prepare his welcome. The news of his arrival found a general applauſe, and every one began to look out, with deſire to ſet eye on him. His face was not ſo well known as his Helmet; therefore he was admoniſhed to put it on: which done, all came about him, and proffered their ſervice; neither were there any, that ſpake for *Demetrius*; only ſome (and they the moſt moderate of tongue) bad him be gone betimes, and ſhift for himſelf. So *Demetrius* threw aſide his Masker's habit, and attiring himſelf poorly, did fearfully ſteal away out of his own Camp, deſerving well this calamity: whether it were ſo, that he would not hearken to the good counſel of his friends; or whether his behaviour deprived him of ſuch friends, as would dare to let him hear the unpleaſant ſound of neceſſary truth.

Whilſt *Pyrrhus* was making this triumphant entry into the Kingdom of *Macedon*; *Lyſimachus* came upon him very unſeaſonably, and would needs have half: ſaying, That he had done as much as *Pyrrhus* in the War; and therefore had reaſon

to

to challenge his part of the gain. The bargain was quickly made, and the division agreed upon: each of them being rather desirous to take his part quietly, than to fight for the whole; as hoping each of them to work his fellow quite out of all, upon better opportunity.

SECT. VIII.

How Demetrius *gathering Forces, enterprised many things with ill success, in* Greece *and* Asia. *How he was driven upon* Seleucus, *and compelled to yield himself. His imprisonment and death.*

THe *Athenians* were as unthankful to *Demetrius* in this his adversity, as they had been in former times. For they presently forsook his friendship, and called *Pyrrhus* out of *Macedon* to be their Patron. *Demetrius* when he went against *Lysimachus*, had left a great part of his forces in *Greece*, under his Son *Antigonus*. Therefore it is like, that he had soon gotten an Army, though *Phila* his Wife (who is highly commended for a wife and virtuous Lady) did poyson her self, upon desperate grief for his misfortune. The first, upon whom he attempted to shew his anger, were the *Athenians* that had well deserved it. He began to lay siege to their Town: but was pacified by *Crates* the Philosopher, whom they had made their spokes-man; and taking fair words instead of satisfaction, passed over into *Asia*, with eleven thousand Souldiers, meaning to try his fortune against *Lysimachus*, for the Provinces of *Lydia* and *Caria*.

At his first coming into those parts, fortune seemed to smile upon him. For many good Towns willingly, or by compulsion, yielded to his obedience. There were also some Captains that fell from *Lysimachus* to him, with their companies and treasures. But it was not long e're *Agathocles* the Son of *Lysimachus*, came upon him with an Army so strong, that it was not for *Demetrius* his good, to hazard his last stock against it. Wherefore he resolved to pass through *Phrygia* and *Armenia*, into *Media*, and the Provinces of the higher *Asia*; trusting to find a Kingdom somewhere in those remote quarters. The execution of this counsel was grievously impeached by *Agathocles*: who pursued him close, and cut off all his provisions, driving him to take which ways he could, without following his intended course. In many skirmishes *Demetrius* vanquished this troublesome enemy: nevertheless he could not be shaken off, but continued afflicting the poor titulary King, with extreme famine. At length, in passing the river *Lycus*, so many of *Demetrius* his men were lost, that the rest could no longer make resistance: but were driven to travel with such speed as might well be called a plain flight. So that with famine, pestilent diseases following famine, and other accidents of War, eight thousand of them were consumed: the rest with their Captain, escaped into *Cilicia*. *Seleucus* had gotten possession of *Cilicia*, whilst *Demetrius* was occupied in *Greece*: yet was it no part of *Demetrius* his errand, to lay claim to the Country; but with vehement and humble Letters he besought his Son-in-law to call to mind their alliance, and to pity him in his great misery. These Letters at the first wrought well with *Seleucus*, and he condescended to the request: yet considering further how *Demetrius* had carried himself, when he recovered strength after the battel at *Ipsus*, he changed his purpose and went against him with an Army.

Many treaties were held between them; of which none took effect, through the jealousie of *Seleucus*. Therefore meer desperation enforced *Demetrius* to fight like a mad man, and his furies got him some victories, though of small importance. At length sickness took and held him forty days, in which time, a great number of his few men ran to the enemy. This notwithstanding he still held out, and once had like to have taken *Seleucus* in his bed, had not his coming been discovered by Fugitives, that gave alarm. Finally, when all his Army had forsaken him, and left him with a few of his friends to shift for himself, he was compelled by the last of those adherents (for even some of those few forsook him) to yield unto *Seleucus*.

Seleucus hearing this, was exceeding glad, and sent him very comfortable messages. But the approbation of his own humanity by his followers, was such, as renewed his jealous thoughts; and hindred him from admitting *Demetrius* to his presence, though otherwise he used him with as much favour, as any prisoner could wish. He was kept under sure guard in a demy-Island, wherein were goodly Walks, Orchards, and Parks for hunting. He had all that he asked royally, and friends allowed to visit him, at his, and their pleasure. Only his liberty was reserved unto the coming of young *Antiochus* and *Stratonica*, out of the high Countries. In this sort he spent three years, now merrily all the while (as one that living enjoyed the happiness, which with so much travel and blood shed he had sought in vain) and then died, leaving to his Son *Antigonus*, the same which his Father had left unto himself; that is, friends and hope. His ashes were honourably buried in *Corinth*; his qualities have appeared in his actions, and the fortune of his house, will shew it self hereafter, in times and places convenient.

SECT. IX.

The death of Ptolomy, *of* Lysimachus, *and of* Seleucus, *that was the last of* Alexander's *Captains: with other occurrences.*

ABout the same time that *Demetrius* died, died also *Ptolomy* King of *Egypt*, a vertuous Prince, war-like, bountiful, and (which in those times was a rare commendation) regardful of his word. He had by many Wives and Concubines, many Children, out of whom he selected *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, and caused him to reign together with himself, two or three years before he died, that so he might confirm him in the Inheritance of the Kingdom. At this, *Ptolomy Ceraunus* (for all of that house assumed the name of *Ptolomy*) was grievously incensed. But no man cared for his anger. Therefore he went to *Seleucus*, who gave him loving entertainment. There were now only two of *Alexander*'s Captains left, *Seleucus* and *Lysimachus*. These two needs would fight for it, who should be the longest liver of that brave Company. The true ground of their quar-

rel, was their near equality or ſtrength, and want of one to part them. The pretence was the murders which *Lyſimachus* had committed upon many of his Nobles, together with his poiſoning *Agathocles* his eldeſt Son: whoſe wife and children fled unto *Seleucus* for aid.

The *Macedons*, after ſeven months pauſe, having ſpent their firſt heat of admiration, began to hearken ſo well to *Lyſimachus*, their natural Countreyman, that they forſook *Pyrrhus*, upon none other ground than becauſe he was an Alien. This they had known well enough before: but they did him no great wrong in taking lightly from him, that they lightly gave him. *Lyſimachus* had reigned about five years alone, when the City of *Lyſimachia* (built by him, and called after his name) falling by an earth-quake, appeared by events, to have fore-ſhewed the fall of his houſe. His own jealouſie, and the inſtigation of a mother-in-law, cauſed him to poiſon his ſon *Agathocles*; which drew upon him that War, wherein (after the loſs of all his fifteen Children that were taken away by divers accidents) he periſhed himſelf.

Seleucus was encountred by *Lyſimachus* on *Aſia* ſide, where one battel concluded the War, with *Lyſimachus* his death. It pleaſed *Seleucus* more than the Victory, that he was the laſt of all the great Heroes that followed *Alexander*. For now he ſeemed to himſelf as Lord and Heir of all the conquered World. So he paſſed over into *Macedon*, to take poſſeſſion of *Europe*, where there was none to withſtand him. But there he ended his days, and within ſeven months followed *Lyſimachus*, and others of his fellows, by a bloody death, being treacherouſly ſlain by *Ptolomy Ceraunus*, whoſe friend and Patron he had been. Seventy and ſeven year old he was, when he fought with *Lyſimachus*, and *Lyſimachus* was ſeventy and four. With them ended the generation of old Captains, that had ſeen the days as it were of another World under the *Perſian*: yet was there left one equal to any of them in the Art of War: even *Pyrrhus* the Epirot, of whom we ſpake before; that is now ready to enter into War with the *Romans*, a more Warlike people, than *Alexander* himſelf did ever encounter. Of which War, and of which people, it is needful that we here make mention, as of a ſtory more important, than any likely to enſue in *Greece*, or in the great Kingdoms that were held by *Alexander*'s Succeſſors, with leſs (and ſtill decreaſing) vertue, than was that, by which they were firſt purchaſed.

CHAP. VII.

The growth of Rome, *and ſettling of the Eaſtern Kingdoms.*

SECT. I.

How the Romans *enlarged their Dominions in* Italy, *from the death of* Tullus Hoſtilius *unto ſuch time as they were aſſailed by* Pyrrhus.

HOw *Rome* was founded by *Romulus*; ſetled in good order by *Numa Pompilius*; and by many (though ſmall) Victories, gathered ſtrength, unto ſuch time as it became the Head of *Latium*, by the conqueſt of *Alba*, in the Reign of *Tullus Hoſtilius*, it hath been already noted in due order of time. But whereas now the *Roman* greatneſs beginneth to encounter the power of *Greece*; and extending it ſelf out of *Italy*, to overwhelm the Dominions of other States, and Princes: I hold it convenient (as in like caſes I have done) briefly to ſet down the growth of this mighty City, in a compendious relation of thoſe many Actions, which could not have been delivered in the Ages, wherein they were ſeverally performed, without much interruption of the Hiſtory, that was then occupied in matter more important.

After the death of *Tullus Hoſtilius* (who when he had reigned two and thirty years, was burnt together with his houſe by lightning) *Ancus Martius*, Grand-child to *Numa Pompilius* by his Daughter, and not much unlike him in diſpoſition, ſucceeded in the Kingdom of *Rome*. He walled the City about; enlarged it with the Hill *Aventine*, which he encloſed; built a Bridge over *Tybris*, and the City of *Oſtia* upon the Sea, ſixteen miles diſtant from *Rome*. Finally, having reigned four and twenty years, he died, and by his laſt Will he left his Children in charge with one *Lucumon*, the ſon of *Damaratus* a *Corinthian*, who avoiding *Cypſelus* King of *Corinth* his tyranny, had fled into *Hetruria*, and dwelt in *Tarquinii*, by the name of which Town he was afterward called *Tarquinius*. From that City in *Hetruria* coming to *Rome*, and encouraged by ſome ominous occurrents, together with his Wife *Tanaquils* prophecy, he grew a favourite of *Ancus Martius*; by his *Grecian* wit humouring the factions of the *Roman* Court, inſomuch, that after his deceaſe he became not only Protector to the children, but Governour to the City. He doubled the number of Senators, and enlarged the Centurions of Horſemen: neither was he leſs eminent in War, than in Peace: for he prevailed often againſt the *Tuſcans*, and from his Victories, the chiefeſt ornaments of triumph took their original. When this *Lucius Tarquinius* had reigned eight and thirty years, he was ſlain by the ſons of *Ancus Martius*, to whom he had been left Guardian. But *Tanaquil* his wife, perceiving what was done, informed the people, from out of an high Turret, that her Husband was wounded, and ſick, but not dangerouſly. And withal ſignified unto them, that in the *interim* of his ſickneſs, one *Servius Tullius*, whom from his birth ſhe always propheſied to be born to great hopes (the Son of *P. Corniculanus*, and

and *Ocrisia* a well descended, but captive woman) brought up in her house, and husband unto her daughter, should supply her husbands place, in governing the State, until his recovery; which government, being thus at first obtained by cunning, he afterwards usurped as his right. He first ordained Ratements, Subsidies and Valuations of the peoples wealth; among whom, at that time, fourscore thousand were mustered, of which number consisted their whole Corporation; and by distinction of Dignities, Ages, Trades, and Offices, he managed the Kingdom in as good sort, as if it had been a private household. At length, having two daughters of different natures, the one mild and gentle, the other fierce and outragious: and finding also that the two sons of *Tarquinius Priscus*, *Sextus* and *Aruns*, which had been committed unto his tuition, were of different dispositions proportionably answering to his daughters; he (willing to add water, not oyl, to fire) gave the mild daughter to *Sextus* the hot-headed son, and the violent, to *Aruns* the gentle in marriage. But whether by intended courses, or by accident, it hapned; the two mild ones being made away, the furious natures were readily joyned in marriage: who soon concurring, and calling the Senate together, began to lay claim to the Kingdom. Upon this tumult, *Servius Tullus* hastning to the Senate, (where he thought by Authority to have bridled Insolency) was thrown down the stairs, and going home sore bruised, was slain by the way, when he had reigned forty four years. Then *Tullia* his daughter, first proclaiming her Husband *Tarquinius Superbus* King; returning home, enforced her Coachman to drive his Chariot over her Father's corps: whereupon the street had the denomination of Wicked-street. This *Tarquine*, exercising cruelty without justice, and Tyranny without mercy, upon the people and Senators; having tired himself and them at home, used the same rage of treachery upon his borders. He took *Oriculum*, *Suessa*, *Pometia*, and the *Gabii*. The issue of besieging *Ardea*, a Town eighteen mile distant from *Rome*, was of bad success. In the heat of which War, his Son *Sextus Tarquinius* violently ravished that chast Lady *Lucretia*, his kinsman *Collatine's* wife: who in way of expiation for so unchast a deed, thought good to wash out those spots of infamy with her own blood; so (having first bequeathed the revenge unto her Father *Sp. Lucretius Tricipitinus*, her Husband *Collatine* and *Junius Brutus*) she killed her self: whereupon (chiefly by *Junius Brutus* his resolution) *Tarquinius Superbus*, with his Wife and Children, was deposed and banished; and fled to *Porsenna* King of *Hetruria* for succour, in the five and twentieth year of his reign, and the two hundred forty and fourth from the building of their City: in which space *Rome* had scarce gotten possession of fifteen miles round about her.

Junius Brutus by the help of *Collatine*, having expelled *Tarquine*, and freed his Country from that heavy yoke of bondage, inforced the people by solemn oath, never to admit any government by Kings amongst them: whereupon they ransacked their Kings goods, consecrated their fields to *Mars*, and conferred the government of the State upon *Brutus* and *Collatine*. But because the name of King was odious in their ears, they changed the manner of their government, from perpetual to annual, and from a single Government to a double; lest perpetual or sole dominion might be some motive to usurpation; and instead of Kings they called them Consuls, signifying, as it may be interpreted, Providers: that their Titles might remember them of their place, which was to be always mindful of their Citizens welfare. And yet was it so hard settling of troubled waters, that the people, after this innovation of State, scarce daring to assure themselves of their own security, enforced *Tarquinius Collatine* to resign up his authority, fearing that Tyranny would be hereditary; and supposing that the very name and affinity with the house of *Tarquine*, savoured already of their condition. In his room was substitute *Valerius Publicola*, who that he might (as his name importeth) be gracious in the peoples eyes, gave liberty, in matters of controversie to appeal from the Consuls to the people, and that he might as well in goods as in person, avoid occasion of suspicion, caused his own house to be pulled down, because it was built in a place defensible, as if it had been a Cittadel. Neither was *Brutus* any ways deficient in matter of greater moment; which concerned as well the peoples safety, as their favour: for having got intelligence, that some greener wits, and in the first rank his own Sons, were itching after innovations, hoping to restore the banished Kings; he caused them, publickly in the Market-place, to be whipt, and then to be brought all unpartially to the block.

Hitherto the *Romans*, having by the unblemished integrity of *Brutus*, well appeased all inbred quarrels at home, now hereafter imployed their military designments against Foraigners: first, for their liberty; secondly, for enlarging of their possessions; and lastly, for defending their confederate Provinces, and extending their Empire. For *Rome*, situated as it were in the mid-way between *Latinum* and the *Tuscans*, having as yet but narrow bounds, being in her minority, could not but give occasion of offence to her neighbours; until by main opposition, having prevailed against her borderers, she used them as instruments whereby to obtain the rest.

Their first war, in the first year of Consuls, was against *Porsenna* King of *Hetruria*: who being over-perswaded by *Tarquin's* lamentation came to *Rome*, together with the banished King, and with great forces, to seat him again in his Kingdom.

In the first conflict, *Horatius Cocles*, having long time born the main brunt of his enemies on the Bridge over *Tibris*, at length, feeling himself too faint to stand against so many, caused the bridge behind him to be broken down, and with his armour leaping into the River, like a hunted Stagg, refreshed his hot spirits, and returned safe to his fellows, with the like resolution to sustain a new charge. *Porsenna*, although by this he had well-nigh won the hill *Janiculus*, which is the very entrance into the City, and found the Victory, in a manner assuredly his own: yet admiring their valour and terrified by the constant resolution of *Mutius Scevola* (who having by errour slain *Porsenna* his Secretary, instead of the King himself, did in scorn of torments threatned, burn off his own hand) he thought it not any whit prejudicial either to his safety, or credit, to enter league with them at the worst hand. And yet the edge of *Tarquinius* his spleen was not quite abated, though *Aruns* his Son, and *Brutus* his enemy, in single combat had slain each other. And here the *Romans*, although they lost *Brutus*, got the field; and their Ladies, whose Champion he was, for their chastity, not for beauty, mourned the loss of him one

whole year. Into this place, for the residue of his year was subrogated *Sp. Lucretius Tricipitinus*, father to *Lucretia*: and in his room (deceasing naturally before the year expired) *Horatius Pulvillus*.

Tarquin, upon his overthrow, feeling the fates disastrous, thought it no boot to strive against the stream, but spent the residue of his time, which was about fourteen years, privately at *Tusculum*. Yet his Son-in-law *Mamilius Tusculanus*, stomaching a-fresh at those old repulses, because *Porsenna* had made peace with the *Romans*, and denyed further succour unto the *Tarquines*, mustered up his *Latins*, and gave battel to the *Romans*, at the Lake *Regillum*; where the conflict was fierce, and the issue uncertain, until *Aulus Postumus*, the *Roman* Dictator, (for they had created this Magistracy greater than Consuls, purposely for this war, when first it was expected) to exasperate his Souldiers courage, threw their own Ensigns amidst the Enemies; and *Cossus*, or *Spurius Cassius*, (Master of the Horse men, an assistant Officer to the Dictator) commanded to take off their bridles, that they might run with free violence, to recover again their Ensigns. This fight was so well performed, that a report went of *Castor* and *Pollux*, two gods, who came on milk-white Steeds to be eye-witnesses of their valour, and fellow-helpers of their Victory; for the General consecrated a Temple to them, as a stipend for their pains. After this the *Romans* fierce spirits, having no object of valour abroad, reflected upon themselves at home; and the sixteenth year after the King's expulsion, upon instigation of some desperate bankrouts, thinking themselves wrongfully oppressed by the Senate and Consuls, they made an uproar in the holy Mount; until by *Menenius Agrippa*, his discreet allusion, of the inconvenience in the Head and Belly's discord, to that present occasion, they were reconciled to the Senate: with condition, that they might have some new Magistrates created, to whom they might appeal in cases of variance, and make them Solicitors in all their controversies, the Consuls authority notwithstanding. This was enacted, and they were called the Tribunes of the people. After this attonement among themselves, they had continual War with the *Latins*, concerning their bounds and limits, and with other neighbouring States. Among these, the *Volsci* and *Æqui* held them longest; who made War of themselves upon the *Romans*: whereby they lost the best City in their whole jurisdiction, *Corioli*.

In this Conquest, *T. Martius* got the firname of *Coriolanus*: a name honourable then, as drawn from a great Victory; although, by reason of the poverty of the Town, a *Roman* General, in after times, would have been ashamed of that Title. But yet these graces had been no occasion of disparagement, had he not afterwards in a great time of dearth, advised to sell Corn, which they procured from *Sicil*, at too high a rate, to the people, whereupon *Decius Mus*, their Tribune, in their behalf, accused him, and after judgement banished him. *Coriolanus* flying to the *Volsci*, whom lately before he had vanquished, incensed them to renew their forces again; which being committed unto him, and to *Attius Tullus*, he prevailed in field, so far forth, that he was come within four or five miles of the City. Incamping there, he made so sharp war, and was at such defiance with his Country, that he would not relent by any supplication of Ambassadors, until his Mother *Veturia*, and *Volumnia* his Wife, with a pitiful tune of deprecation, shewing themselves better Subjects to their Country than friends to their Son and Husband, were more available to *Rome* than was any force of Arms. Hereupon *Corolianus* dismissing his Army, was after put to death among the *Volsci*, as a Traitor, for neglecting such opportunity: or (as others surmise) living with them until old age, he died naturally.

Not long after this the *Veii* in *Hetruria*, provoked the *Romans*; against whom the *Fabii*, three hundred and six in number, all of one Family, intreated and obtained, that they only might be imployed, as it had been in a private quarrel. These *Fabii*, after some good services, lying incamped at *Cremera*, were circumvented and all slain: one only of that whole house had been left, by reason of infancy, at home; from whom afterward sprang *Fabius Maximus*, who vanquished *Hannibal*.

In process of time, the *Romans* were also troubled at the *Volsci*, at the hill of *Algidum*, two miles from *Rome*; where *Lucius Minutius* their Consul, with his whole Army, had been discomfited, had not *L. Quintius Cincinatus* chosen Dictator, and taken from the Plow to the highest honour in *Rome*, with success answerable to his expedition, dispersed his enemies, and freed his Country in the space of sixteen days. In the continuance of this *Volscian* War, it was that *Appius Claudius*, one of the ten men, whom they had two years before chosen Governours of the State, and Enactors of *Solon's* Laws amongst them, procured from *Athens* (abrogating in the mean while the Consuls, and all other Magistrates) would have ravished *Virginia*, the daughter of *T. Virginius*, Captain of a company, and lying then in a Camp at *Algidum*. Hereupon the people in an uproar took the Hill *Aventine*, and after much variance, enforced the ten men to resign up their Authority again to new Consuls.

After this, either new quarrels, or desire to revenge old losses, drew the *Romans* into a new War against the *Veientes* and their adherents, upon whom, having tried their forces with diversity of Captains, and variety of event, they vanquished the *Falisci*, and the *Fidenates*, and utterly subdued the *Veientes*. In conquering the *Falisci*, *Furius Camillus* shewed no less integrity than fortitude. For when a Schoolmaster, by training forth into the *Roman* Camp, many children of the principal Citizens, thought to betray the Town, yielding them all up as hostages: *Camillus* delivered this Traitor bound unto his Souldiers, willing them to whip him back into the City; which forthwith yielded unto him in reverence of his Justice. The siege of *Veii* was ten years, and so troublesome, that the *Romans* were there first inforced to winter abroad under beasts skins (to which they were the more easily induced, because then first they received pay) and to make vows never to return without Victory.

At length winning the City by a Mine, they got so large spoils, that they consecrated their tenths to *Apollo Pythius*: and the whole people in general were called to the ransacking of the City. But yet they were no less unthankful to *Camillus* for his service, than before they had been to *Coriolanus*; for they banished him the City, upon some occasion of inequality in dividing the spoils: yet he requited their unkindness with a new piece of service against the fury of the *Gauls*; who being a populous Countrey, and very healthful, the fathers (as sometimes now) lived so long, that the sons, destitute of means, were enforced to rove abroad

broad, seeking some place to set up their rest: and withal being a Nation vast in body, rude by nature, and barbarous in conditions, wandred as Rovers over many Countries. Some of them lighting on *Italy*, set upon *Clusium* a Town in *Hetruria*: whereof *Rome* having information (and being careful of her Confederate Towns) sent Ambassadours, warning them to desist from such injurious enterprises. But the barbarous people, not regarding the message, upon some injury offered by the *Roman* Ambassadours, converted their forces from *Clusium* towards *Rome*; and giving a great overthrow unto the *Romans*, by the River *Allia*, upon the sixteenth day before the Calends of *August* (which day was after branded for unlucky, and called *Alliensis* in the *Roman* Calendar) they hastned towards the City. Then was *Rome* the true map of misery and desolation. For some leaving the City; some creeping into holes; Priests hiding their reliques; and, every one shifting for himself e're the enemy came, *Rome* was abandoned as indefensible. The Vestal Virgins, in this tumult, were safely conveyed away; the Ancients of the City, gathering boldness out of desperate fear, did put on their Robes, and taking their leave of the World, did set themselves in Thrones, in their several houses, hourly expecting the messengers of death, and meaning to die, as they had lived, in State. The younger sort, with *M. Manlius* their Captain, took upon them to make good the Capitol.

By this the *Gauls* were entred the City, who seeing all quiet, at first suspected some ambush; afterward finding all secure, they fell to the spoil, committing all to the fire and sword. As for the old Senators, they sate in their Majesty with a grave resolution; having first reverenced them as gods, anon they tryed whether they would die like men. When the City was throughly rifled, they attempted the Capitol: which held them work for the space of seven months. Once they were like to have surprised it by night, but being descried by the gaggling of Geese, *M. Manlius* did awaken, and kept them from entrance. At length a composition was agreed upon: the *Gauls* being weary, and the *Romans* hungry. The bargain was, that the *Gauls* should take a thousand pound weight in gold. Whilst the gold was in weighing, the *Gauls*, with open insolency, made their weights too heavy: *Brennus* their Captain, casting his Sword into the ballance, and with a proud exprobation, saying, that the vanquished must be patient perforce. But in the midst of this cavilling came *Furius Camillus* with an Army from *Ardea*, (where he had lived in his banishment) and fell upon the *Gauls* with such violence, that he dispersed their troops, quenched the fire of the City with their blood, forcing them to restore the spoils with advantage, and forbear the gold, in accepting which they had lately been so nice. Further, having rid the City of them, he so hotly pursued them thorow a great part of *Italy*, that the remainder of their Army which escaped from him, was very small. Other Armies of the *Gauls*, which followed this first, had the like ill success. They were often beaten by the *Romans*; especially the victories of *M. Torquatus*, and of *M. Valerius Corvinus* (each of which in single fight slew a several Champion of the *Gauls*) abated their presumption, and restored courage to the *Romans*. *Camillus*, for his notable service, was afterwards accounted a second *Romulus*.

The people, after this destruction of their City, were earnestly bent to go to the *Veii* to inhabit; but *Camillus* disswaded them.

About the same time, somewhat before the siege of *Veii* they changed their government from Consuls to military Tribunes. The government of these also, after some years, was by civil dissention interrupted: so that one while Consuls ruled, another while there was an Anarchy. Then the Tribunes were restored and ruled again, till, after many years expired, the Consular Authority was established, it being enacted, that one of the Consuls should always be a Plebeian. This was after the building of the City 365. years. And now *Rome*, by suppression of her neighbour Countries, creeping well forward out of her Minority, dares set forth against the warlike *Samnites*, who dwelt almost one hundred and thirty miles off: situated between *Campania* and *Apulia*. These did so strongly invade the *Campanians* their neighbours, that they forced them to yield themselves subjects to *Rome*, and undergo any conditions of Tribute, or whatsoever else to obtain protection: which the *Romans*, although both Countries had been their confederates, yet not willing that the greater, like fish, should devour the less, easily allowed of; aiming themselves at the good situation of *Campania*, the abundance of Corn and Wine, pleasant Cities and Towns, but especially *Capua* it self, the fairest City then in all *Italy*.

The families of the *Papyrii* and *Fabii* were most imployed in the managing of this War, which endured the space of fifty years. And in this season were the *Romans* oftentimes dangerously encountred by the *Samnites*, as when *T. Veturius* and *Sp. Posthumius* were Consuls, and discomfited by *Pontius* at *Caudium*, with no small ignominy: and when *Q. Fabius Gurges* lost the field with three thousand men. But for those losses, many great Victories made large amends: The greatest whereof were gotten by *L. Papyrius*, and by *Quintus Fabius Maximus*.

The *Samnites* drew the *Hetrurians* into their quarrel. But the force of the *Samnites* was well broken, e're the *Hetrurians* (the greater and richer, but less warlike Nation) began to stir. So the one and the other of these Countries, became at length, tributary to *Rome*. In the continuance of this long War it was, (though in time of truce between the *Romans* and *Samnites*) that the *Latins* began to challenge equal freedom in the Corporation of *Rome*, and right in bearing office, so that they required to have one of the Consuls yearly chosen out of them.

This demand of the *Latins* was not unreasonable. For the *Romans* themselves were a Latin Colony; besides all which, they made offer to change their name, and to be all called *Romans*. But the *Romans* were too proud to admit any such capitulation. So a great battel was fought between them: wherein the fortune of *Rome* prevailed, by the vertue of the Consuls.

Manlius Torquatus and the elder *Decius* were then Consuls, whom the Soothsayers advertised, that the side should be victorious which lost the General in fight. Hereupon *Decius* the Consul exposed his life to the enemy, and purchased victory (as was believed) by his death. In which kind of devoting himself for his Army, the son of this *Decius* being after Consul, did imitate his Father in the *Hetrurian* War. But (as *Tully* well notes) it was rather the desperate resolution of these *Decii*, that purchased victory, by rushing into the midst of the enemies, wherein their Souldiers followed them, than

than any great commendation of ſuch a Religion, as required the lives of ſo worthy Citizens, to be ſacrificed for their Country. The diſcipline of *Manlius* was no leſs reſolute, than the valour of *Decius*. He forbade any one to forſake his place, and fight ſingle with an enemy. For breach of which order, he cauſed his own ſon to be put to death, who had ſlain a Captain of the *Latins*, being challenged in ſingle fight.

When the *Latins*, the *Æqui*, *Volſci*, *Hernici*, *Campani*, *Samnites*, and *Hetrurians*, with ſome other people, were brought under obedience; it was a vain labour for any people of *Italy* to contend againſt the *Romans*.

Yet the *Sabines* adventured to try their fortune, and found it bad. For *Curius Dentatus*, the *Roman* Conſul, waſting all their Country with fire and ſword, from the River *Nar* and *Velia*, to the *Adriatick* Sea, brought them into quiet ſubjection.

The laſt of the *Italians*, that made trial of the *Roman* arms, were the *Tarentines* and their adherents. Theſe had interpoſed themſelve as mediators between the *Romans* and *Samnites*; with a peremptory denunciation of War, unto that party which ſhould dare to refuſe peace by them tendred. Theſe threats which diſcovered their bad affection unto *Rome*, ended in words; but when the *Samnites* were utterly ſubdued, matter enough of quarrel was found to examine their ability of performance.

The *Romans* complained that certain ſhips of theirs were robbed, and ſent Ambaſſadors unto *Tarentum*, to require amends. Upon ſome wrong done to theſe Ambaſſadours, was laid the foundation of that War, wherein the *Lucans*, *Meſſapians*, *Brutians*, and *Apulians*, joyning with the *Tarentines*, procured the *Samnites*, and other Subjects of *Rome* to rebel and take their part. But ſome experience of the *Roman* ſtrength, taught all theſe people to know their own weakneſs. Wherefore they agreed to ſend for *Pyrrhus*, by whoſe aid (being a *Grecian*, as the *Tarentines* alſo were) great hope was conceived, that the Dominion of *Rome* ſhould be confined unto more narrow bounds than all *Italy*, which already in a manner it did overſpread.

SECT. II.

How Pyrrhus *warred upon the* Romans, *and vanquiſhed them in two battels.*

Pyrrhus forſaken by the *Macedonians*, and unable to deal with *Lyſimachus*, was compelled a while to live in reſt: which he abhorred no leſs than a wiſer Prince would have deſired. He had a ſtrong Army, and a good Fleet, which in that unſettled eſtate of things, was enough to purchaſe a Kingdom: but the fall of *Demetrius* had ſo increaſed the power of *Lyſimachus*, that it was no point of wiſdom to make an offenſive War upon him, without far greater forces: *Antigonus*, the ſon of *Demetrius* held *Corinth* at the ſame time, and ſome other Towns, with the remainder of his Father's Army and treaſures, left in his hand. Upon him it is like that *Pyrrhus* might have won; but it was better to let him alone, that he might ſerve to give ſome hindrance to *Lyſimachus*.

In this want of employment, and covetous deſire of finding it, the *Tarentine* Ambaſſadours came very fitly to *Pyrrhus*: and they came with brave offers, as needing no other aid than his good conduct, which to obtain, they would caſt themſelves under his protection. They had in their company ſome of the *Samnites*, *Lucanians*, *Meſſapians*, and others; which promiſed in behalf of their ſeveral Nations, as much as could be deſired. This encouraged *Pyrrhus*, and filled him with hopes of goodly conqueſts; that he might enlarge his Empire to the Weſt, as far as *Alexander* had gotten Eaſtward; and ſtill by one victory open the gate unto another. To which effect it is ſaid, that once he anſwered *Cyneas* his chief Counſellour, asking what he meant to do after every of the victories which he hoped to get: that having won *Rome*, he would ſoon be Maſter of all *Italy*; that, after *Italy* he would quickly get the Iſle of *Sicil*; that out of *Sicil*, he would paſs over into *Affrick*, and win *Carthage*, with all the reſt of the Countrey; and being ſtrengthned with the force of all theſe Provinces, he would be too hard for any of thoſe that were now ſo proud and troubleſome. But *Cyneas* enquired yet further, what they ſhould do, when they were Lords of all. Whereunto *Pyrrhus* (finding his drift) anſwered pleaſantly, that they would live merrily; a thing (as *Cyneas* then told him) that they preſently might do, without any trouble, if he could be contented with his own.

Nevertheleſs, this *Italian* Expedition ſeemed unto *Pyrrhus* a matter of ſuch conſequence, as was not to be omitted, in regard of any ſcholaſtical diſputation. Wherefore he prepared his Army, of almoſt thirty thouſand men, well ſorted, and well trained ſouldiers: part of which he ſent over before him under *Cyneas*, with the reſt he followed in perſon. At his coming, he found the *Tarentines* very prompt of tongue, but in matter of execution, utterly careleſs to provide for the War. Wherefore he was fain to ſhut up their Theatre, and other places of pleaſure and reſort, enforcing them to take Arms, and making ſuch a ſtrict muſter, as was to them very unpleaſing, though greatly behooving to their eſtate.

Whilſt he was occupied with theſe cares, *Levinus* the *Roman* Conſul drew near, and began to waſte *Lucania*, a Province confederate with the *Tarentines* in this War.

The *Lucanians* were not ready to defend their own Country; the *Samnites* were careleſs of the harm, that fell not (as yet) upon themſelves; the *Tarentines* were better prepared than they would have been, but their valour was little: all of theſe had been accuſtomed to ſhrink for fear of the *Roman* fortitude: and therefore it fell out happily, that *Pyrrhus* relied more upon his own forces, than the iſſue of their vaunting promiſes. He was now driven either to ſet forward with thoſe that himſelf had brought into *Italy*, and the aſſiſtance of the *Tarentines*, wherein little was to be repoſed; or elſe to weaken the reputation of his own ſufficiency, which by all means he was careful to uphold. In good time a great part of his forces, that had been ſcattered by foul weather at Sea, were ſafely come to him: with which he reſolved to aſſay the valour of the *Romans*, againſt whom he proudly marched.

Levinus the Conſul was not affrighted with the terrible name of a great King; but came on confidently to meet him, and give him battel e're all his adherents ſhould be ready to joyn with him. This boldneſs of the *Roman*, and the ſlackneſs of the *Meſſa-*

Messapians, *Lucanians*, *Samnites*, and others, whom the danger most concerned, caused *Pyrrhus* to offer a Treaty of peace: requiring to have the quarrel between the *Romans* and his *Italian* friends, referred to his arbitrement. Whether he did this to win time, that the *Samnites* and their fellows might arrive at his Camp; or whether, considering better at near distance, the weight of the business which he had taken in hand, he were desirous to quit it with his honour; the short answer that was returned to his proposition, gave him no means of either the one or the other: for the *Romans* sent him this word, that *they had neither chosen him their Judge, nor feared him their enemy.*

Hereupon both Armies hastned their march unto the River of *Siris*; *Levinus* intending to fight before the arrival of the *Samnites*; *Pyrrhus*, to hinder him from passing that River, until his own Army were full. Upon the first view of the *Roman* Camp, it was readily conceived by *Pyrrhus*, that he had not now to do with barbarous people, but with men well trained in a brave discipline of War: which caused him to set a strong *Corps de garde* upon the passage of the River, that he might not be compelled to fight, until he saw his best advantage. But he quickly found, that this new enemy was not only skilful in the Art of War, but courageous in execution. For the *Roman* Army entred the Foord, in face of his *Corps de garde*; and their horse, at the same time began to pass the River in sundry places: which caused the *Greeks* to forsake the defence of their bank, and speedily retire unto their Camp.

This audacity forced *Pyrrhus* to battel; wherewith he thought it best to present them, e're the whole Army had recovered firm footing, and were in order. So directing his Captains how to marshal his battels; himself with the horse charged upon the *Romans*: who stoutly received him as men well exercised in sustaining furious impressions. In this fight, neither did his courage transport him beyond the duty of a careful General; nor his providence in directing others, hinder the manifestation of his personal valour. It behoved him indeed to do his best; for he never met with better opposers. Once, and shortly after the fight began, his horse was slain under him: afterwards he changed armour with a friend; but that friend paid his life for the use of his King's armour, which was torn from his back. This accident had almost lost him the battel; but he perceiving it, discovered his face, and thereby restored courage to his men, and took from the *Romans* their vain joy. The fight was obstinate, and with the greater loss (at least of more eminent men) on *Pyrrhus* his side, as long as only spear and sword were used. But when the Elephants were brought into the wings, whose unusual form and terrible aspect, the horses of the *Romans* (unaccustomed to the like) were not able to sustain; then was the victory quickly gotten. For the *Roman* battels, perceiving their horse put to the rout, and driven out of the field; finding also themselves both charged in flank, and overborn, by the force and huge bulk of those strange beasts; gave way to necessity, and saved themselves, as well as they could, by hasty flight: in which consternation, they were so forgetful of their Discipline, that they tarried not to defend their Camp, but ran quite beyond it, leaving both it, and the honour of the day entirely to *Pyrrhus*.

The fame of this Victory was soon spread over *Italy*; and the reputation was no less than the fame. For it was a matter very rare to be heard, that a *Roman* Consul, with a select Army, should lose in plain battel, not only the Field, but the Camp it self, being so notably fortified as they always were. And this honour was the more bravely won by *Pyrrhus*, for that he had with him none of his *Italian* friends, save the unwarlike *Tarentines*. Neither could he well dissemble his content that he took, in having the glory of this action peculiarly his own, at such time as he blamed the *Lucans* and *Samnites*, for coming (as we say) a day after the Fair. Nevertheless he wisely considered the strength of the *Romans*, which was such, as would better endure many such losses, than he could many such victories. Therefore he thought it good to compound with them whilst with his honour he might; and to that purpose he sent unto them *Cyneas* his Ambassadour, demanding only to have the *Tarentines* permitted to live at rest, and himself accepted as their especial friend. This did *Cyneas*, with all his cunning, and with liberal gifts labour to effect: but neither man nor woman could be found in *Rome*, that would take any bribe of him; neither did their desire of recovering their Captives, or their danger, by the rising of many States in *Italy* against them, so incline them to peace, as the vehement exhortation of *Appius Claudius*, an old and blind Senator, did stir them up to make good their honour by War. So they returned answer, that whilst *Pyrrhus* abode in *Italy*, they would come to no agreement with him.

Such was the report that *Cyneas* made at his return, of the *Roman* puissance and vertue, as kindled in *Pyrrhus* a great desire of confederacy with that gallant City. Hereupon many kind Offices passed between them: but still when he urged his motion of peace, the answer was; *He must first depart out of* Italy, *and then treat of peace.*

In the mean season, each part made provision for War; the *Romans* levying a more mighty Army than the former; and *Pyrrhus* being strengthned with access unto his forces of all the East parts of *Italy*. So they came to the trial of a second battel, wherein (though after long and cruel fight) the boisterous violence of the Elephants gave to *Pyrrhus* a second victory. But this was not altogether so joyful as the former had been: rather it gave him cause to say, that such another Victory would be his utter undoing. For he had lost the flower of his Army in this battel: and though he drave the *Romans* into their Camp, yet he could not force them out of it, nor saw any likelihood in prevailing against them, that were like to be relieved with daily supplies, whilst he should be driven to spend upon his old stock. Neither could he expect that his Elephants should always stand him in stead. A little knowledge of their manner in fight would soon teach the *Romans*, that were apt Scholars in such learning, how to make them unserviceable. Wherefore he desired nothing more, than how to carry his honour safe out of *Italy*: which to do (seeing the *Romans* would not help him, by offering or accepting any fair conditions of peace, or of truce) he took a slight occasion, presented by fortune, that followeth to be related.

SECT

SECT. III.

The great troubles in Macedon *and* Sicil. *How* Pyrrhus, *being invited into* Sicil, *forsook* Italy, *wan the most of the Isle, and lost it in short space.* Pyrrhus *returns into* Italy, *where he is beaten by the* Romans, *and so goes back to his own Kingdom.*

WHen *Ptolomy Ceraunus* had traiterously murthered his Benefactor and Patron *Seleucus*, he presently seized upon all the Dominions of *Lysimachus* in *Europe*, as if they had been the due reward unto him, that had slain the Conquerour. The houses of *Cassander* and *Lysimachus* were then fallen to the ground: neither was there in *Macedon* any man of strength and reputation enough to advance himself against *Ceraunus*. The friends of *Lysimachus* were rather pleased to have him their King, that had (as he professed) revenged their Lord's death; than any way offended with the odiousness of his fact, by which they were freed from subjection, to one, against whom they had stood in opposition. Many there were, that upon remembrance of his Father's great virtue gathered hope of finding the like in *Ceraunus*: perswading themselves that his reign might prove good, though his entrance had been wicked. These affections of the *Macedonians* did serve to defeat *Antigonus* the son of *Demetrius*, that made an attempt upon the Kingdom. As for *Antiochus* the son of *Seleucus*, he was far off, and might be questioned about some part of *Asia*, e're he should be able to bring an Army near unto *Europe*. Yet he made great shew of meaning to revenge his Father's death: but being stronger in money than in Arms, he was content, after a while, to take fair words, and make peace with the murtherer. While these three strove about the Kingdom, *Pyrrhus* who thought his claim as good as any of theirs, made use of their dissention: threatning War, or promising his assistance to every one of them. By these means he strengthned himself, and greatly advantaged his *Italian* Voyage, which he had then in hand: requesting money of *Antiochus*, ships of *Antigonus*, and Souldiers of *Ptolomy*, who gave him his daughter in marriage, and lent him a strong power of *Macedonian* Souldiers, and of Elephants (covenanting to have them restored at two years end) more for fear than for love: that so he might free himself from trouble, and quietly enjoy his Kingdom.

Thus *Ptolomy* grew mighty on the sudden; and the power that by wicked means he had gotten, by means as wicked he encreased.

All *Macedon* and *Thrace* being his, the strong City of *Cassandria* was held by *Arsinoe* his sister, the Widow of *Lysimachus*, who lay therein with her young children. Her he circumvented by making love to her, and (according to the fashion of those times, wherein Princes regarded no degree of consanguinity) taking her to Wife, with promise to adopt her children: a promise that he meant not to perform; for it was not long, e're he slew them, and drave her into exile.

In the pride of this good success, which his villany found, vengeance came upon him from a far, by the fury of a Nation that he never heard of. *Belgius* a Captain of the *Gauls* having forced his passage through many Countries, unto the confines of *Macedon*, sent a proud message to *Ceraunus*, commanding him to buy peace with money, or otherwise, to look for all the miseries of War. These *Gauls* were the race of those, that issued out of their Countrey, to seek new seats in that great expedition, wherein *Brennus* took and burnt the City of *Rome*. They had divided themselves, at their setting forth, into two companies; of which the one fell upon *Italy*; the other, passing through the Countries that lie on the Northern side of the *Adriatick* Sea, made long abode in *Pannonia*, and the Regions adjoyning, where they forced all the Neighbour Princes to redeem peace with tribute, as now they would have compelled *Ceraunus* to do: unto whose borders they came about an hundred and eight years after such time as their fellows had taken *Rome*.

When their Ambassadours came to *Ptolomy*, asking what he would give: his answer was, that he would be contented to give them peace, but it must be with condition, that they should put into his hands their Princes as Hostages, and yield up their arms; otherwise he would neither pardon their boldness, nor give any credit to their words. At this answer, when it was returned, the *Gauls* did laugh; saying, That they would soon confute with deeds, the vanity of such proud words. It may seem strange, that he, who had given away part of his Army unto *Pyrrhus*, for very fear; should be so confident in undertaking more mighty enemies. The King of the *Dardanians* offered to lend him twenty thousand men against the *Gauls*: but he scorned the offer; saying, That he had the children of those, which under the conduct of *Alexander* had subdued all the East. Thus he issued forth against all the barbarous people with his famous *Macedonians*, as if the Victory must needs have followed the reputation of a great Name. But he soon found his great errour when it was too late. For the enemies were not only equal in strength of body, and fiercenes of courage, but so far superiour to the *Macedonians* in number, that few or none escaped their fury. *Ptolomy* himself grievously wounded, fell into their hands, whilst the battel continued; and they presently strook off his head, which they shewed to his men on the top of a Lance, to their utter astonishment.

The report of this great overthrow filled all *Macedon* with such desperation, that the people fled into walled Towns, and abandoned the whole Countrey as lost. Only *Sosthenes* a valiant Captain, animating as many as he could, gathered a small Army, with which he many times got the upper hand, and hindred *Belgius* from using the Victory at his whole pleasure. In regard of this his virtue, the Souldiers would have made him King; which title he refused, and was contented with the name of a General. But (as mischiefs do seldom come alone) the good success of *Belgius* drew into *Macedon*, *Brennus* another Captain of the *Gauls*, with an hundred and fifty thousand foot, and fifteen thousand horse; against which mighty Army, when *Sosthenes* with his weak troops made opposition, he was easily beaten, and the *Macedonians* again compelled to hide themselves within their walls, leaving all their Countrey to the spoil of the *Barbarians*.

Thus were the *Macedonians* destitute of a King, and trodden down by a Nation that they had not heard of, in less than fifty years after the death of *Alexander*, who sought to discover and subdue unknown Countries, as if all *Greece*, and the Empire of *Persia* had been too little for a King of *Macedon*.

Very

Very ſeaſonably had theſe news been carried to *Pyrrhus* in *Italy*, who ſought a fair pretext of relinquiſhing his War with the *Romans*; had not other tydings out of *Sicil* diſtracted him, and carried him away in purſuit of nearer hopes. For after the death of *Agathocles*, who reigned over the whole Iſland, the *Carthaginians* ſent an Army to conquer *Sicil*, out of which, by him, they had, been expelled. This Army did ſo faſt prevail, that the *Sicilians* had no other hope to avoid ſlavery, than in ſubmitting themſelves to the rule of *Pyrrhus*; whom, being a *Grecian*, and a noble Prince, they thought it more for their good to obey, than to live under the well known heavy yoke of *Carthage*. To him therefore the *Syracuſans*, *Leontines*, and *Agragentines*, principal Eſtates of the Iſle, ſent Ambaſſadours, earneſtly deſiring him to take them into his protection.

It grieved *Pyrrhus* exceedingly, that two ſuch notable occaſions of enlarging his Dominions ſhould fall out ſo unluckily, both at one time. Yet whether he thought the buſineſs of *Sicil* more important, or more full of likelihood; or whether perhaps he believed (as came after to paſs) that his advantage upon *Macedon* would not ſo haſtily paſs away, but that he might find ſome occaſion to lay hold on it at better leiſure; over into *Sicil* he tranſported his Army, leaving the *Tarentines* to ſhift for themſelves; yet not leaving them free as he found them, but with a Garriſon in their Town to hold them in ſubjection.

As his departure out of *Italy* was rather grounded on head-long paſſion, than mature advice; ſo were his actions following, until his return into *Epirus*, rather many and tumultuous, than well-ordered, or note-worthy. The Army which he carried into that Iſle, conſiſted of thirty thouſand foot, and two thouſand five hundred horſe: with which, ſoon after his deſcent into *Sicil*, he forc't the *Carthaginians* out of all, in effect, that they had therein. He alſo won the ſtrong City of *Eryx*, and having beaten the *Mamertines* in battel, he began to change condition, and turn Tyrant. For he drave *Soſtratus* (to whom this cruelty was ſuſpected) out of the Iſland, and put *Thenon* of *Syracuſe* to death, being jealous of his greatneſs; which two perſons had faithfully ſerved him, and delivered the great and rich City of *Syracuſe* into his hands. After this, his fortunes declined ſo faſt, as he ſerved himſelf, and ſalved the diſ-reputation of his leaving *Sicil*, by an Embaſſage ſent him from the *Tarentines* and *Samnites*, imploring his preſent help againſt the *Romans*, who ſince his leaving *Italy*, had well-near diſpoſſeſt them of all that they had.

Taking this fair occaſion, he embarked for *Italy*; but was firſt beaten by the *Carthaginian* Gallies in his paſſage, and ſecondly aſſailed in *Italy* it ſelf, by eighteen hundred *Mamertines*, that attended him in the ſtraits of the Country. Laſtly, after he had recovered *Tarentum*, he fought a third battel with the *Romans*, led by *M. Curius*, who was victorious over him, and forc't him out of *Italy* into his own *Epirus*.

A Prince he was far more valiant than conſtant; and had he been but a General of an Army for ſome other great King or State, and had been directed to have conquered any one Country or Kingdom, it is to be thought, that he would have purchaſed no leſs honour than any man of War, either preceding or ſucceeding him; for a greater Captain, or a valianter man, hath been no where found. But he never ſtayed upon any enterpriſe; which was indeed, the diſeaſe he had, whereof not long after he died in *Argos*.

SECT. IV.

How Antigonus, *the Son of* Demetrius, *delivered* Macedon *from the* Gauls. *How* Pyrrhus *won the Kingdom of* Macedon *from* Antigonus.

THE vertue of *Soſthenes*, being too weak to defend the Kingdom of *Macedon*; and the fortune which had accompanied him againſt *Belgius*, failing him in his attempts againſt *Brennus*: the *Macedonians* were no leſs glad to ſubmit themſelves unto the government of *Antigonus*, than they had been formerly deſirous to free themſelves from the impotent rule of his Father *Demetrius*. His coming into the Country with an Army, Navy, and Treaſure beſeeming a King, did rather breed good hope in the people, than fill them with much confidence: for he was driven to uſe againſt the *Barbarians*, only thoſe forces which he brought with him, having none other than good wiſhes of the *Macedons* to take his part. *Brennus* with the main ſtrength of his Army, was gone to ſpoil the Temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos*, having left no more behind him, than he thought neceſſary to guard the borders of *Macedon* and *Pannonia*; which were about fifteen thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe. Theſe could not be idle, but thought to get ſomewhat for themſelves, in the abſence of their fellows: and therefore ſent unto *Antigonus*, offering to ſell him peace, if he would pay well for it; which by the example of *Ceraunus* he had learnt (as they thought) not to refuſe. *Antigonus* was unwilling to weaken his reputation by condeſcending to their proud demands: yet he judged it unfit to exaſperate their furious choler, by uncourteous words or uſage, as *Ceraunus* had overfondly done. Wherefore he entertained their Ambaſſadours in very loving and ſumptuous manner, with a royal feaſt: wherein he expoſed to their view ſuch abundance of maſſie gold and ſilver, that they were not ſo much delighted with the meat, as with ſight of the veſſels, wherein it was ſerved. He thought hereby to make them underſtand how great a Prince he was, and how able if need required, to wage a mighty Army.

To which end, he likewiſe did ſhew unto them his Camp and Navy, but eſpecially his Elephants. But all this bravery ſerved only to kindle their greedy appetites; who ſeeing his ſhips heavy loaden, his Camp full of wealth, and ill fortified, himſelf (as it ſeemed) ſecure, and his men; both in ſtrength and courage, inferiour unto the *Gauls*, thought all time loſt wherein they ſuffered the preſent poſſeſſors to ſpend the riches which they accounted aſſuredly their own. They returned therefore to their companions with none other news in their mouths, than of ſpoil and purchaſe: which tale carried the *Gauls* head-long to *Antigonus* his Camp, where they expected a greater booty, than the victory over *Ceraunus* had given to *Belgius*. Their coming was terrible and ſudden; yet not ſo ſudden but that *Antigonus* had notice of it, who diſtruſting the courage of his own men, diſlodged ſomewhat before their arrival, and conveyed himſelf with his whole Army and Carriage, into certain woods adjoyning, where he lay cloſe.

The *Gauls*, finding his Camp forsaken, were not hasty to pursue him, but fell to ransacking the empty Cabbins of the Souldiers; in hope of finding all that was either lost or hidden. At length, when they had searched every place in vain, angry at their lost labour, they marched with all speed towards the Sea-side; that they might fall upon him, whilst he was busie in getting his men and Carriages a ship-board. But the success was no way answerable to their expectation. For being proud of the terrour which they had brought upon *Antigonus*, they were so careless of the Seamen, that without all order, they fell to the spoil of what they found on the shore, and in such ships as lay on ground.

Part of the Army had left *Antigonus* where he lay in covert; and had saved it self by getting aboard the Fleet: in which number were some well-experienced men of War: who discovering the much advantage offered unto them, by the desperate presumption of their enemies, took courage, and encouraged others to lay manly hold upon the opportunity. So the whole number, both of Souldiers and Mariners, landing together, with great resolution, gave so brave a charge upon the disordered *Gauls*, that their contemptuous boldness was thereby changed into sudden fear, and they, after a great slaughter, driven to cast themselves into the service of *Antigonus*.

The fame of this Victory caused all the barbarous Nations in those quarters, to re-entertain their ancient belief of the *Macedonian* valour: by which the terrible and resistless oppressors of so many Countries were overthrown.

To speak more of the *Gauls* in this place, and to shew how about these times, three Tribes of them passed over into *Asia* the less, with their Wars and Conquests there; I hold it needless: the victorious Armies of the *Romans* taming them hereafter in the Countries which now they wan, shall give better occasion to rehearse these matters briefly.

Howsoever the success of *Antigonus* got him reputation among the barbarous people; yet his own Souldiers, that without his leading had won this Victory, could not thereupon be perswaded to think him a good man of War: knowing that he had no interest in the honour of the service, wherein his conduct was no better than creeping into a Wood.

This (as presently will appear) was greatly helpful unto *Pyrrhus*: though as yet he knew not so much. For *Pyrrhus*, when his affairs in *Italy* stood upon hard terms, had sent unto *Antigonus* for help: not without threats in case it were denyed. So was he sure to get either a supply, wherewith to continue his War against the *Romans*; or some seeming honourable pretence, to forsake *Italy* under colour of making his word good, in seeking revenge. The threats which he had used in bravery, meer necessity forced him at his return into *Epirus* to put in practice.

He brought home with him eight thousand foot, and five hundred horse: an Army too little to be employed by his restless nature, in any action of importance; yet greater than he had means to keep in pay. Therefore he fell upon *Macedon*; intending to take what spoil he could get, and make *Antigonus* compound with him, to be freed from trouble. At his first entrance into this business, two thousand of *Antigonus* his Souldiers revolted unto *Pyrrhus*; and many Cities, either willingly or perforce, received him. Such fair beginnings easily perswaded the courage of this daring Prince to set upon *Antigonus* himself, and to hazard his fortune in trial of a battel, for the whole Kingdom of *Macedon*.

It appears, that *Antigonus* had no desire to fight with this hot Warriour; but thought it the wisest way, by protracting of time, to weary him out of the Countrey. For *Pyrrhus* overtook him in a strait passage, and charged him in the rear; wherein were the *Gauls* and the Elephants, which were thought the best of his strength; a manifest proof that he was in retreat. The *Gauls* very bravely sustained *Pyrrhus* his impression; yet were broken at length (when most of them were slain) after a sharp fight: wherein it seems that *Antigonus* keeping his *Macedonian Phalanx* within the strait, and not advancing to their succour, took away their courage, by deceiving their expectation. The Captains of the Elephants were taken soon after; who finding themselves exposed to the same violence that had consumed so many of the *Gauls*, yielded themselves and the beasts. All this was done in full view of *Antigonus* and his *Macedonians*, to their great discomfort; which emboldned *Pyrrhus* to charge them where they lay in their strength. Where the *Phalanx* could be charged only in a front, it was matter of extreme difficulty (if not impossible) to force it. But the *Macedonians* had seen so much, that they had no desire to fight against *Pyrrhus*; who discovered so well their affections, that he adventured to draw near in person, and exhort them to yield. Neither the common Souldiers, nor any Leader refused to become his followers. All forsook *Antigonus*, a few horsemen excepted, that fled along with him to *Thessalonica*; where he had some small forces left; and money enough to entertain a greater power, had he known where to levy it. But whilst he was thinking how to allure a sufficient number of the *Gauls* into his service; whereby he might repair his loss: *Ptolomy*, the Son of *Pyrrhus*, came upon him, and easily defeating his weak forces, drave him to flee from the parts about *Macedon*, to those Towns afar off in *Peloponnesus*, in which he had formerly lurked, before such time as he looked abroad into the World, and made himself a King.

This good success revived the spirits of the *Epirot*, and caused him to forget all sorrow of his late misfortunes in the *Roman* War: so that he sent for his Son *Helenus* (whom he had left with a Garrison, in the Castle of *Tarentum*) willing him to come over into *Greece*, where was more matter of conquest, and let the *Italians* shift for themselves.

SECT. V.

How Pyrrhus *assailed* Sparta *without success. His enterprise upon* Argos, *and his death.*

Pyrrhus had now conceived a great hope that nothing should be able to withstand him; seeing that in open fight he had vanquished the *Gauls*, and beaten *Antigonus*, and won the Kingdom of *Macedon*. There was not in all *Greece*, nor indeed, in all the Lands that *Alexander* had won, any Leader of such name and worth, as deserved to be set up against him: which filled him with the opinion that he might do what he pleased

sed. He raised therefore an Army, consisting of five and twenty thousand foot, two thousand horse, and four and twenty Elephants; pretending War against *Antigonus*, and the giving liberty to those Towns in *Peloponnesus*, which the same *Antigonus* held in subjection; though it was easily discovered, that such great preparations were made, for accomplishment of some design more important than War against a Prince already vanquished, and almost utterly dejected. Especially the *Lacedemonians* feared this expedition, as made against their State. For *Cleonymus*, one of their Kings being expelled out of his Country, had betaken himself to *Pyrrhus*: who readily entertained him, and promised to restore him to his Kingdom. This promise was made in secret; neither would *Pyrrhus* make shew of any displeasure that he bare unto *Sparta*; but contrariwise professed, that it was his intent, to have two of his own younger Sons trained up in that City, as in a place of noble discipline. With such colours he deluded men, even till he entred upon *Laconia*; where presently he demeaned himself as an open enemy; excusing himself and his former dissembling words with a jest; *That he followed herein the Lacedemonian custom, of concealing what was truly purposed.* It had been, indeed, the manner of the *Lacedemonians*, to deal in like sort with others, whom in the time of their greatness, they sought to oppress: but now they complained of that, as falshood in *Pyrrhus*, which they always practised in wisdom, till it made them distrusted, forsaken, and almost contemptible. Nevertheless, they were not wanting to themselves in this dangerous extremity. For the old Men and Women laboured in fortifying the Town; causing such as could bear arms to reserve themselves fresh against the assault: which *Pyrrhus* had unwisely deferred, upon assurance of prevailing.

Sparta, was never fortified before this time, otherwise than with armed Citizens: soon after this (it being built upon uneven ground, and, for the most part, hard to approach) the lower and more accessible places, were fenced with Walls, at the present only trenches were cast, and barricadoes made with Carts, where the entrance seemed most easie. Three days together it was assailed by *Pyrrhus* exceeding fiercely; and no less stoutly defended. The desperate courage of the Citizens preserved the Town the first day; whereinto the violence of *Pyrrhus* had forced entrance the second day, but that his wounded horse threw him to the ground, which made his Souldiers more mindful of saving the person of their King, than of breaking into the City, though already they had torn in sunder the Barricadoes. Presently after this, one of *Antigonus* his Captains got into *Sparta*, with a good strength of men; and *Areus* the King returned out of *Crete* (where he had been helping his friends in War) with two thousand men, little knowing the danger, in which his own Country stood, until he was almost at home. These succours did not more animate the *Spartans*, than kindle in *Pyrrhus* a desire to prevail against all impediments. But the third days work shewed how great his errour had been, in forbearing to assault the Town at his first coming. For he was so manfully repelled, that he saw no likelihood of getting the place, otherwise than by a long siege: in which tedious course he had no desire to spend his time.

Antigonus had now raised an Army; though not strong enough to meet the Enemy in plain field, yet able to hinder all his purposes. This made *Pyrrhus* doubtful what way to take; being diversly affected, by the difficulty of his enterprise in hand, and the shame of taking a repulse in his first attempt. Whilst he was thus perplexed, letters came from *Argos*, inviting him thither; with promise to deliver that City into his hands.

Civil Dissention raging then lately in *Argos*, caused the heads of several Factions to call in *Pyrrhus* and *Antigonus*; but the coming of these two Princes taught the Citizens wit, and made them desirous to rid their hands of such powerful assistants, as each of the two Kings pretended himself to be. *Antigonus* told the *Argives*, that he came to save them from the tyranny of *Pyrrhus*: and that he would be gone, if they needed not his help. On the other side, *Pyrrhus* would needs perswade them, that he had none other errand, than to make them safe from *Antigonus*; offering in like manner, to depart, if they so desired.

The *Argives* took small pleasure in hearing the Fox and Kite at strife, which of them should keep the Chickens from his enemy: and therefore prayed them both to divert their power some other way. Hereunto *Antigonus* readily condescended, and gave Hostages to assure his word: for he was the weaker, and stood in need of good will. But *Pyrrhus* thought it enough to promise: Hostages he would give none to his inferiours, especially meaning deceit. This made them suspect his purpose to be, such as indeed it was. Yet he less regarded their opinions, than to hold them worthy of assurance, by giving such a bond as he intended to break e're the next morning.

It was concluded, that a Gate of the City should be opened by night unto *Pyrrhus*, by his Complices within *Argos*: which was accordingly performed. So his Army without any tumult entred the City: till the Elephants with Towers on their backs, cloyed the way, being too high to pass the Gate. The taking off, and setting on again of those Towers, with the trouble thereto belonging, did both give alarm to the City, and some leisure to take order for defence, before so many were entred as could fully master it. *Argos* was full of ditches, which greatly hindred the *Gauls* (that had the Vant guard) being ignorant of the ways in the dark night. The Citizens, on the other side, had much advantage, by their knowledge of every by passage: and setting upon the enemies on all sides, did put them to great loss and more trouble.

Pyrrhus therefore understanding by the confused noise, and unequal shoutings of his own men, that they were in distress, entred the City in person, to take order for their relief, and assurance of the place. But the darkness, the throng and many other impediments, kept him from doing any thing of moment, until break of day. Then began he to make his passage by force, and so far prevailed, that he got into the Market-place. It is said, that seeing in that place the Image of a Wolf and a Bull, in such posture as if they had been combatant, he called to mind an Oracle, which threatned him with death, when he should behold a Bull fighting with a Wolf: and that hereupon he made retreat.

Indeed, the coming of *Antigonus* to the rescue, the disorder and confusion of his own men, with divers ill accidents, gave him reasonable cause to have retired out of the City, though the Wolf and Bull had been away. The tumult was such, that no directions could be heard; but as some gave back, so did others thrust forward, and the *Ar-*

gives preſſing hard upon him, forced *Pyrrhus* to make good his retreat with his own ſword. The tops of the houſes were covered with Women, that ſtood looking on the fight. Among theſe was one, that ſaw her own Son in dangerous caſe fighting with *Pyrrhus*. Wherefore ſhe took a tile-ſtone, or ſlate, and threw it ſo violently down on the head of *Pyrrhus*, that he fell to the ground aſtoniſhed with the blow; and lying in that caſe, had his head cut off.

Thus ended the reſtleſs ambition of *Pyrrhus*, together with his life: and thus returned the Kingdom of *Macedon* to *Antigonus*; who forthwith poſſeſſed the Army, the body, and the children of his Enemy. The body of *Pyrrhus* had honourable burial, and was given by *Antigonus* unto *Helenus* his Son; which young Prince he graciouſly ſent home into his Father's Kingdom of *Epirus*. From this time forwards, the race of *Antigonus* held the Kingdom of *Macedon*; the poſterity of *Seleucus*, reigned over *Aſia* and *Syria*; and the houſe of *Ptolomy* had quiet poſſeſſion of *Egypt*: until ſuch time as the City of *Rome*, ſwallowing all up, digeſted theſe, among other Countries, into the body of her own Empire.

Finis Libri Quarti.

THE

THE

FIRST PART OF THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD.

Intreating of the Times from the ſettled Rule of *Alexanders* Succeſſors in the Eaſt, until the *Romans*, prevailing over all, made Conqueſt of *Aſia* and *Macedon*.

THE FIFTH BOOK.

CHAP. I.

Of the firſt Punick War.

SECT. I.

A diſcuſſion of that Probleme of Livie; Whether the *Romans* could have reſiſted the Great *Alexander*. *That neither the* Macedonian *nor the* Roman *Souldier, was of equal valour to the* Engliſh.

HAT Queſtion handled by *Livie, Whether the Great* Alexander *could have prevailed againſt the* Romans, *if after his Eaſtern Conqueſt, he had bent all his Forces againſt them*, hath been, and is the ſubject of much diſpute; which (as it ſeems to me) the arguments on both ſides do not ſo well explain, as doth the experience that *Pyrrhus* hath given of the *Roman* power in his dayes. For if he, a Commander (in *Hannibal's* judgment) inferiour to *Alexander*, though to none elſe, could with a ſmall ſtrength of men and little ſtore of money, or of other needful helps in War, vanquiſh them in two Battels, and endanger their Eſtate, when it was well ſettled, and held the beſt part of *Italy* under a confirmed obedience: what would *Alexander* have done, that was abundantly provided of all which is needful to a Conquerour, wanting only matter of employment, coming upon them before their Dominion was half ſo well ſettled? It is eaſie to ſay, that *Alexander* had no more then thirty thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe (as indeed, at his firſt paſſage into *Aſia*, he carried over not many more) and that the reſt of his followers were no better than baſe effeminate *Aſiatiques*. But he that conſiders the Armies of *Perdiccas*, *Antipater*, *Craterus*, *Eumenes*, *Ptolomy*, *Antigonus* and *Lyſimachus*, with the actions by them performed, every one of which (to omit others) commanded only ſome fragment of this dead Emperours power, ſhall eaſily find that ſuch a reckoning is far ſhort of the truth.

It were needleſs to ſpeak of Treaſure, Horſes, Elephants, Engines of Battery, and the like: of all which the *Macedonian* had abundance; the *Roman* having nought, ſave men and arms. As for Sea-forces; he that ſhall conſider after what ſort the *Romans*, in their firſt *Punick* War, were trained in the rudiments of Navigation; ſitting upon the ſhoar, and beating the ſand with poles, to practiſe the ſtroak of the Oar, as not daring to lanch their ill-built veſſels into the Sea; will eaſily conceive how far too weak they would have proved in ſuch ſervices.

Now for helpers in War; I do not ſee why all *Greece* and *Macedon*, being abſolutely commanded by *Alexander*, might not well deſerve to be laid in ballance againſt thoſe parts of *Italy*, which the *Romans* held in ill-aſſured ſubjection. To omit therefore all benefit that the Eaſtern World, more wealthy, indeed, than valiant, could have afforded unto the *Macedonian*: Let us only conjecture, how the States of *Sicil* and *Carthage*, neareſt neighbours to ſuch a quarrel (had it hapned) would have ſtood affected. The *Sicilians* were for the moſt part *Grecians*; neither is it to be doubted, that they would readily have ſubmitted themſelves unto him that ruled all *Greece* beſides them. In what terms they commonly ſtood, and how ill they were able to defend themſelves, it ſhall appear anon. Sure it is,

that *Alexanders* coming into thoſe parts, would have brought exceſſive joy to them that were fain to get the help of *Pyrrhus*, by offering to become his ſubjects. As for the *Carthaginians*, if *Agathocles* the Tyrant of *Syracuſe*, hated of his people, and ill able to defend his own beſieged City, could by adventuring to ſail into *Africk*, put their Dominion, yea, and *Carthage* it ſelf, in extream hazard; ſhall we think that they would have been able to withſtand *Alexander*? But why do I queſtion their ability, ſeeing that they ſent Embaſſadours, with their ſubmiſſion, as far as *Babylon*, ere the War drew near them? Wherefore it is manifeſt, that the *Romans* muſt, without other ſuccour, than perhaps of ſome other few *Italian* friends (of which yet there were none that forſook them not, at ſome time, both before and after this) have oppoſed their valour and good military diſcipline, againſt the power of all Countreys to them known, if they would have made reſiſtance. How they could have ſped well, in undertaking ſuch a match; it is uneaſie to find in diſcourſe of humane reaſon. It is true, that vertue and fortune works wonders; but it is againſt cowardly fools, and the unfortunate: for whoſoever contends with one too mighty for him, either muſt excel in theſe, as much as his enemy goes beyond him in power; or elſe muſt look both to be overcome, and to be caſt down ſo much the lower, by how much the opinion of his fortune and vertue renders him ſuſpected, as likely to make head another time againſt the vanquiſher. Whether the *Roman* or the *Macedonian* were in thoſe dayes the better Souldier, I will not take upon me to determine: though I might without partiality, deliver mine own opinion, and prefer that Army, which followed not only *Philip* and *Alexander*, but alſo *Alexanders* Princes after him, in the greateſt dangers of all ſorts of War, before any, that *Rome* either had, or in long time after did ſend forth. Concerning fortune, who can give a rule that ſhall alwayes hold? *Alexander* was victorious in every Battel that he fought: and the *Romans* in the iſſue of every War. But foraſmuch as *Livie* hath judged this a matter worthy of conſideration; I think it a great part of *Romes* good fortune, that *Alexander* came not into *Italy*: where in three years after his death, the two *Roman* Conſuls, together with all the powers of that State, were ſurprized by the *Samnites*, and enforced to yield up their arms. We may therefore permit *Livie* to admire his own *Romans*, and to compare with *Alexander* thoſe Captains of theirs, which were honoured ſufficiently, in being thought equal to his followers: that the ſame conceit ſhould blind our judgment, we cannot permit without much vanity.

Now in deciding ſuch a controverſie, me-thinks it were not amiſs, for an *Engliſh-man*, to give ſuch a ſentence between the *Macedonians* and *Romans*, as the *Romans* once did (being choſen Arbitrators) between the *Ardeates* and *Aricini*; that ſtrove about a peice of Land; ſaying, that it belonged unto neither of them, but unto the *Romans* themſelves.

If therefore it be demanded, whether the *Macedonian*, or the *Roman* were the beſt Warriour? I will anſwer, The *Engliſh-man*. For it will ſoon appear to any that ſhall examine the noble acts of our Nations in War, that they were performed by no advantage of weapon; againſt no ſavage or unmanly people; the enemy being far ſuperiour unto us in number, and all needful proviſions, yea, as well trained as we, or commonly better, in the exerciſe of War.

In what ſort *Philip* wan his Dominion in *Greece*; what manner of men the *Perſians* and *Indians* were, whom *Alexander* vanquiſhed; as likewiſe of what force the *Macedonian Phalanx* was, and how well appointed, againſt ſuch arms as it commonly encountred: any man, that hath taken pains to read the foregoing ſtory of them, doth ſufficiently underſtand. Yet was this *Phalanx* never, or very ſeldom, able to ſtand againſt the *Roman* Armies; which were embattelled in ſo excellent a form, as I know not whether any Nation beſides them have uſed, either before or ſince. The *Roman* weapons likewiſe, both offenſive and defenſive, were of greater uſe than thoſe with which any other Nation hath ſerved, before the fiery inſtruments of Gunpowder were known. As for the enemies with which *Rome* had to do, we find, that they which did over-match him in numbers, were as far overmatched by her in weapons; and that they, of whom ſhe had little advantage in arms, had as little advantage of her in multitude. This alſo (as *Plutarch* well obſerveth) was a part of her happineſs; that ſhe was never over-laid with two great Wars at once.

Hereby it came to paſs, that having at firſt increaſed her ſtrength by acceſſion of the *Sabines*; having won the State of *Alba*, againſt which ſhe adventured her own ſelf, as it were in wager, upon the heads of three Champions: and having thereby made her ſelf Princeſs of *Latium*, ſhe did afterwards by long War, in many ages, extend her Dominion over all *Italy*. The *Carthaginians* had well-near oppreſſed her: but her Souldiers were Mercenary; ſo that for want of proper ſtrength, they were eaſily beaten at their own doors. The *Ætolians*, and, with them, all, or the moſt of *Greece*, aſſiſted her againſt *Philip* the *Macedonian*: he being beaten, did lend her his help to beat the ſame *Ætolians*. The Wars againſt *Antiochus*, and other *Aſiatiques*, were ſuch as gave to *Rome* ſmall cauſe of boaſt, though much of joy: for thoſe oppoſites were as baſe of courage, as the lands which they held were abundant of riches. *Sicil*, *Spain*, and all *Greece*, fell into her hands, by uſing her aid to protect them againſt the *Carthaginians* and *Macedonians*.

I ſhall not need to ſpeak of her other conqueſts: it was eaſie to get more when ſhe had gotten all this. It is not my purpoſe to diſgrace the *Roman* valour (which was very noble) or to blemiſh the reputation of ſo many famous victories: I am not ſo idle. This I ſay; That among all their Wars, I find not any, wherein their valour hath appeared comparable to the *Engliſh*. If my judgment ſeem over-partial, our Wars in *France* may help to make it good.

Firſt therefore it is well known, that *Rome* (or perhaps all the world beſides) had never any ſo brave a Commander in War as *Julius Cæſar*: and that no *Roman* Army was comparable unto that which ſerved under the ſame *Cæſar*. Likewiſe, it is apparent, that this gallant Army, which had given fair proof of the *Roman* courage, in good performance of the *Helvetian* War, when it firſt entred into *Gaule*; was nevertheleſs utterly diſheartned, when *Cæſar* led it againſt the *Germans*. So that we may juſtly impute all that was extraordinary in the valour of *Cæſars* men, to their long exerciſe, under ſo good a Leader, in ſo great a War. Now let us in general compare with the deeds done by theſe beſt of *Roman* Souldiers, in their principal ſervice; the things performed in the ſame Country, by our common *Engliſh* Souldiers, levied in haſte, from following the Cart, or ſitting on the ſhop-ſtall: ſo

so shall we see the difference. Herein will we deal fairly, and believing *Cæsar* in relating the acts of the *Romans*: But will call the *French* Historians to witness, what actions were performed by the *English*. In *Cæsars* time *France* was inhabited by the *Gaules*, a stout people, but inferiour to the *French*, by whom they were subdued; even when the *Romans* gave them assistance. The Country of *Gaule* was rent in sunder (as *Cæsar* witnesseth) into many Lordships: Some of which were governed by petty Kings, others by the multitude, none ordered in such sort as might make it appliable to the neareſt Neighbour. The factions were many, and violent: Not only in general through the whole Country, but between the petty States, yea in every City, and almost in every house. What greater advantage could a Conqueroure desire? Yet there was a greater. *Arioviſtus*, with his *Germans*, had over-run the Country, and held much part of it in subjection, little different from meer slavery: Yea, so often had the *Germans* prevailed in War upon the *Gaules*, that the *Gaules* (who had sometimes been the better Souldiers) did hold themselves no way equal to those daily Invaders. Had *France* been so prepared unto our *English* Kings, *Rome* it self by this time, and long ere this time, would have been ours. But when King *Edward* the third began his War upon *France*, he found the whole Country setled in obedience to one mighty King; a King whose reputation abroad, was no less than his puissance at home; under whose enſign, the King of *Bohemia* did serve in person; at whose call the *Genowayes*, and other Neighbour States, were ready to take arms; finally, a King unto whom one (*a*) Prince gave away his Dominion, for love; (*b*) another sold away a goodly City and Territory for money. The Country lying so open to the *Romans* and being so well fenced against the *English*; it is note-worthy, not who prevailed most therein (for it were vanity to match the *English* purchases with the *Roman* conquest) but whether of the two gave the greater proof of military vertue. *Cæsar* himself doth witness, that the *Gaules* complained of their own ignorance in the Art of War, and that their own hardiness was overmastred by the skill of their enemies. Poor men, they admired the *Roman* Towers, and Engines of Battery, raised and planted against their Walls, as more than humane works. What greater wonder is it, that such a people was beaten by the *Romans*, than that the *Caribes*, a naked people, but valiant, as any under the Sky, are commonly put to the worse by small numbers of *Spaniards*? Besides all this, we are to have regard of the great difficulty that was found, in drawing all the *Gaules*, or any great part of them, to one head, that with joynt forces they might oppose their assailants: As also the much more difficulty of holding them long together. For hereby it came to pass, that they were never able to make use of opportunity: But sometimes compelled to stay for their fellows; and sometimes driven to give or take Battel upon extream disadvantages, for fear least their Companies should fall asunder: As indeed, upon any little disaster, they were ready to break, and return every one to the defence of his own. All this, and (which was little less than all this) great odds in weapon gave to the *Romans* the honour of many gallant Victories. What such help? Or what other worldly help, than the golden mettle of their Souldiers, had our *English* Kings against the *French*? Were not the *French* as well experienced in feats of War? Yea, did they not think themselves therein our superiors? Were they not in Arms, in Horse, and in all Provisions, exceedingly beyond us? Let us hear what a *French* writer saith of the inequality that was between the *French* and *English*, when their King *John* was ready to give the on-set upon the *Black Prince*, at the Battel of *Poitiers*. *John had all advantages over* Edward, *both of number, force, shew, Country, and concert: the which is commonly a consideration of no small importance in worldly affairs;* *and withal, the choice of all his horsmen (esteemed then the best in Europe) with the greatest and wisest Captains of his whole Realm.* And what could he more?

John de Serres. JEAN *avoit tout l'avantage par dessus* EDOWARD, *le nombre, la force, le lustre, le pay, le prejuge (qui n'est pas communement une consideration de plu'd importance aux affaires du monde) & avec joy l'élite de sa Cavallerie, lors estimée la meillure de tout son Royaume.*

I think it would trouble a *Roman* Antiquary to find the like example in their Histories; the example I say, of a King, brought prisoner to *Rome*, by an Army of Eight Thousand, which he had surrounded with Forty Thousand, better appointed, and no less expert Warriours. This I am sure of, that neither *Syphax* the *Numidian*, followed by a rabble of half Scullions, as *Livie* rightly terms them, nor their cowardly Kings, *Perseus* and *Gentius*, are worthy patterns. All that have read of *Cressi* and *Agincourt*, will bear me witness, that I do not alledge the Battel of *Poitiers*, for lack of other, as good examples of the *English* Vertue: The proof whereof hath left many a hundred better marks in all quarters of *France*, than ever did the valour of the *Romans*. If any man impute these Victories of ours to the long bow, as carrying farther, piercing more strongly, and quicker of discharge than the *French* Cross-bow: My answer is ready; that in all these respects, it is also (being drawn with a strong Arm) superiour to the Musket; yet is the Musket a weapon of more use. The Gun and the Cross-bow are of like force, when discharged by a Boy, or Woman, as when by a strong man: Weakness or sickness, or a sore finger makes the long Bow unserviceable. More particularly, I say, that it was the custome of our Ancestors, to shoot, for the most part, *point blank*: And so shall he perceive, that will note the circumstances of almost any one Battel. This takes away all objection: For when two Armies are within the distance of a Butts length, one flight of Arrows, or two at the most, can be delivered before they close. Neither is it in general true, that the long Bow reacheth farther, or that it pierceth more strongly than the Cross-bow: But this is the rare effect of an extraordinary arm; whereupon can be grounded no common rule. If any man shall ask, how then came it to pass, that the *English* won so many great Battels, having no advantage to help him? I may, with best commendation of modesty, refer him to the *French* Historian; who relating the victory of our men at *Crevant*; where they passed a Bridge in face of the Enemy, useth these words: *The English comes with a conquering bravery, as he that was accustomed to gain every-where without any stay: He forceth our guard placed upon the Bridge to keep the passage.* Or I may cite another piece of the same Author, where he tells how the *Britons*, being invaded by *Charles* the Eighth, King of *France*, thought it good policy to apparel a Thousand and five Hundred of their own men in *English* Cassocks, hoping that the very sight of the *English* Red Cross, would be enough to terrifie the *French*. But I will not stand to borrow of the *French* Historians (all which,

(*a*) The Dolphin of *Vienois*.
(*b*) The King of *Majorca*.

which, excepting *De Serres*, and *Paulus Æmilius*, report wonders of our Nation:) the propoſition which firſt I undertook to maintain; *That the military vertue of the* Engliſh, *prevailing againſt all manner of difficulties, ought to be preferred before that of the* Romans, *which was aſſiſted with all advantages that could be deſired.* If it be demanded, why then did not our Kings finiſh the Conqueſt, as *Cæſar* had done? My anſwer may be (I hope without offence) that our Kings were like to the Race of *Æacida*, of whom the old Poet *Ennius* gave this note; *Bellipotentes ſunt magis quam ſapientipotentes: They were more Warlike then politick.* Whoſo notes their proceedings, may find, that none of them went to work like a Conquerour, ſave only King *Henry* the fifth; the courſe of whoſe Victories it pleaſed God to interrupt by his death. But this queſtion is the more eaſily anſwered, if another be firſt made. Why did not the *Romans* attempt the Conqueſt of *Gaule* before the time of *Cæſar*? Why not after the *Macedonian* War? Why not after the third *Punick*, or after the *Numantian*? At all theſe times they had good leiſure: And then eſpecially had they both leiſure and fit opportunity, when under the conduct of *Martus*, they had newly vanquiſhed the *Cimbri*, and *Teutones*, by whom the Country of *Gaule* had been pitiouſly waſted. Surely, the words of *Tully* were true: that with other Nations the *Romans* fought for Dominion, with the *Gauls* for preſervation of their own ſafety.

Therefore they attempted not the Conqueſt of *Gaule*, until they were Lords of all other Countreys, to them known. We on the other ſide, held only the one half of our own Iſland; the other half being inhabited by a Nation (unleſs perhaps in wealth and numbers of men ſomewhat inferiour) every way equal to our ſelves; a Nation anciently and ſtrongly allied to our enemies the *French*, and in that regard enemy to us. So that our danger lay both before and behind us: And the great danger at our backs; where commonly we felt, alwayes we feared, a ſtronger Invaſion by Land, than we could make upon *France*, tranſporting our Forces over Sea.

It is uſual with men, that have pleaſed themſelves in admiring the matters which they find in ancient Hiſtories: To hold it a great injury done their judgment, if any take upon him, by way of compariſon, to extol the things of latter ages. But I am well perſwaded, that as the divided vertue of this our Iſland, hath given more noble proof of it ſelf, than under ſo worthy a Leader, that *Roman* Army could do, which afterwards could win *Rome*, and all her Empire, making *Cæſar* a *Monarch*; ſo hereafter, by Gods bleſſing, who hath converted our greateſt hindrance, into our greateſt help, the enemy that ſhall dare to try our forces, will find cauſe to wiſh, that avoiding us, he had rather encountred as great a puiſſance as was that of the *Roman* Empire. But it is now high time, that laying aſide compariſons, we return to the rehearſal of deeds done; wherein we ſhall find, how *Rome* began, after *Pyrrhus* had left *Italy*, to ſtrive with *Carthage* for Dominion, in the firſt *Punick* War.

SECT. II.

The eſtate of Carthage *before it entred into War with* Rome.

THE City of *Carthage* had ſtood above ſix Hundred years, when firſt it began to contend with *Rome* for the maſtery of *Sicil*. It forewent *Rome* one Hundred and fifty years in antiquity of foundation: But in the honour of great atchievements, it excelled far beyond this advantage of time. For *Carthage* had extended her Dominion in *Africa* it ſelf, from the Weſt of *Cyrene*, to the ſtreights of *Hercules*, about one Thouſand and five Hundred miles in length, wherein ſtood three Hundred Cities. It had ſubjected all *Spain*, even to the *Pyrenæan* Mountains, together with all the Iſlands in the *Mediterranean* Sea, to the Weſt of *Sicil*; and of *Sicil* the better part. It flouriſhed about ſeven Hundred and thirty years, before the deſtruction thereof by *Scipio*: Who, beſides other ſpoils, and all that the Souldiers reſerved, carried thence four Hundred and ſeventy Thouſand weight of Silver, which make of our money (if our pounds differ not) fourteen Hundred and ten Thouſand pound ſterling. So as this glorious City ran the ſame fortune, which many other great ones have done, both before and ſince. The ruine of the goodlieſt pieces of the World fore-ſhews the diſſolution of the whole.

About one Hundred years after ſuch time as it was caſt down, the Senate of *Rome* cauſed it to be re-built: And by *Gracchus* it was called *Junonia*: It was again and again abandoned and re-peopled, taken and retaken; by *Genſericus* the *Vandal*, by *Belliſarius* under *Juſtinian*, by the *Perſians*, by the *Egyptians*, and by the *Mahometans*. It is now nothing. The ſeat thereof was exceeding ſtrong: And while the *Carthaginians* commanded the Sea, invincible. For the Sea compaſſed it about, ſaving that it was tyed to the Main by a neck of Land; which paſſage had two miles and more of breadth (*Appian* ſaith, three miles and one furlong) by which we may be induced to believe the common report, that the City it ſelf was above twenty miles in compaſs; if not that of *Strabo*, affirming the circuit to have been twice as great.

It had three Walls without the Wall of the City; and between each of thoſe, three or four Streets, with Vaults under ground, of thirty foot deep, in which they had place for three Hundred Elephants, and all their food: Over theſe they had Stables for four Thouſand Horſe, and Granaries for their provender. They had alſo lodgings in the Streets, between theſe out-walls, for four Thouſand Horſe-men, and twenty Thouſand Foot-men, which (according to the diſcipline uſed by thoſe of *China*) never peſtered the City. It had towards the South part, the Caſtle of *Byrſa*; to which *Servius* gives two and twenty furlongs in compaſs, that make two miles and a half. This was the ſame piece of ground which *Dido* obtained of the *Lybians*, when ſhe got leave to buy only ſo much Land of them, as ſhe could compaſs with an Ox hide. On the Weſt-ſide it had alſo the Salt-Sea, but in the nature of a ſtanding pool; for a certain arm of Land, faſtned to the ground, on which the City ſtood, ſtretched it ſelf towards the Weſt-continent,

nent, and left but seventy foot open for the Sea to enter. Over this standing-Sea was built a most sumptuous *Arsenal*, having their Ships and Gallies riding under it.

The form of their Common-weal resembled that of *Sparta*; for they had titulary Kings, and the *Aristocratical* Power of Senators. But (as *Regius* well observeth) the people in latter times usurped too great authority in their Councils. This confusion in Government, together with the trust that they reposed in hired Souldiers, were helping causes of their destruction in the end. Two other more forcible causes of their ruine, were their avarice and their cruelty. (*a*) Their avarice was shewed both in exacting from their Vassals (besides ordinary Tributes) the one (*b*) half of the fruits of the Earth; and in conferring of great Offices, not upon gentle and merciful persons, but upon those who would best tyrannize over the people, to augment their treasures. Their cruelty appeared, in putting them to death without mercy, that had offended through ignorance: the one of these rendered them odious to their Vassals, whom it made ready upon all occasions, to revolt from them: the other did break the Spirits of their Generals, by presenting in the heat of their actions abroad, the fear of a cruel death at home. Hereby it came to pass, that many good Commanders of the *Carthaginian* Forces, after some great loss received, have desperately cast themselves, with all that remained under their charge, into the throat of destruction; holding it necessary, either to repair their losses quickly, or to ruin all together: and few of them have dared to manage their own best projects, after that good form, wherein they first conceived them, for fear lest the manner of their proceeding should be mis-interpreted: It being the *Carthaginian* Rule, to crucifie, not only the unhappy Captain, but even him, whose bad counsel had prosperous event. The faults, wherewith, in general, they of *Carthage* are taxed, by *Roman* Historians, I find to be these; lust, cruelty, avarice, craft, unfaithfulness, and perjury. Whether the *Romans* themselves were free from the same crimes, let the tryal be referred unto their actions. The first league between *Carthage* and *Rome*, was very ancient: having been made the year following the expulsion of *Tarquin*. In that league the *Carthaginians* had the superiority, as imposing upon the *Romans* the more strict conditions. For it was agreed, that the *Romans* should not so much as have trade in some part of *Africk*, nor suffer any Ship of theirs to pass beyond the headland, or cape, then called the *fair promontory*, unless it were by force of tempest: whereas on the other side, no Haven in *Italy*, was forbidden to the *Carthaginians*. A second league was made long after, which (howsoever it hath peased * *Livy* to say, that the *Romans* granted it, at the *Carthaginians* intreaty) was more strict than the former: prohibiting the *Romans* to have trade in any part of *Africk*, or in the Island of *Sardinia*.

By these two Treaties it may appear, that the *Carthaginians* had an intent not only to keep the *Romans* (as perhaps they did other People) from getting any knowledge of the State of *Africk*; but to countenance and uphold them, in their troubling all *Italy*, whereby they themselves might have the better means to occupy all *Sicil*, whilst that Island should be destitute of *Italian* succours. Hereupon we find good cause of the joy that was in *Carthage*, and of the Crown of Gold, weighing twenty and five pound, sent from thence to *Rome*, when the *Samnites* were overthrown. But the little State of *Rome* prevailed faster in *Italy*, than the great power of *Carthage* did in *Sicil*. For that mighty Army of three hundred thousand men, which *Hannibal* conducted out of *Africk* in *Sicil*, wan only two Cities therein: many great Fleets were devoured by tempests; and howsoever the *Carthaginians* prevailed at one time, the *Sicilians*, either by their own valour, or by the assistance of their good friends out of *Greece*, did at some other time repair their own losses, and take revenge upon those Invaders. But never were the People of *Carthage* in better hope of getting all *Sicil*, than when the death of *Agathocles* the Tyrant, had left the whole Island in combustion; the estate of *Greece* being such, at the same time, that it seemed impossible for any succour to be sent from thence. But whilst the *Carthaginians* were busie in making their advantage of this good opportunity; *Pyrrhus*, invited by the *Tarentines* and their fellows, came into *Italy*, where he made sharp War upon the *Romans*. These news were unpleasing to the *Carthaginians*, who, being a subtile Nation, easily foresaw, that the same busie disposition which had brought this Prince out of *Greece* into *Italy*, would as easily transport him over into *Sicil*, as soon as he could finish his *Roman* War. To prevent this danger, they sent *Mago* Embassadour to *Rome*; who declared in their name, that they were sorry to hear what misadventure had befallen the *Romans* their good friends in this War with *Pyrrhus*; and that the People of *Carthage* were very willing to assist the State of *Rome*, by sending an Army into *Italy*; if their help were thought needful, against the *Epirots*.

Xen. Grac. Hist. l. 1.

It was indeed the main desire of the *Carthaginians*, to hold *Pyrrhus* so hardly to his work in *Italy*, that they might at good leisure, pursue their business in *Sicil*: which caused them to make so goodly an offer. But the *Romans* were too high-minded: and refused to accept any such aid of their friend, lest it should blemish their reputation, and make them seem unable to stand by their own strength. Yet the message was taken lovingly, as it ought; and the former league between *Rome* and *Carthage* renewed; with covenants added, concerning the present business; that if either of the two Cities made peace with *Pyrrhus*, it should be with reservation of liberty, to assist the other, in case that *Pyrrhus* should invade either of their Dominions. All this notwithstanding, and notwithstanding that the same *Mago* went and treated with *Pyrrhus*, using all means to sound his intentions (a matter very difficult, where one upon every new occasion, changeth his own purposes) yet *Pyrrhus* found leisure to make a step into *Sicil*: whether though in fine he was neither getter nor saver, yet he clean defeated the purposes of *Carthage*, leaving them, at his departure from thence, as far from any end, as when they first began.

So many disasters in an enterprise, that from the first

(*a*) *In Pol. Arist. l. 2. c. 9.*

(*b*) The *Turks* at this day, do also take the one half of the poor mans corn, that labours the earth: yea, they take Tribute both of the bodies, and of the Souls of the *Christians* their Vassals, by bereaving them of their ablest children, and bringing them up in the *Mahometan* Religion. The *Irish* take the fourth sheaf: and were wont to eat up with their Horse-men, foot-men, and Dogs, what they pleased, of the other three parts remaining. The Husbandman and the Yeoman of *England*, are the freest of all the World: And reason good: for of them have the bodies of our victorious Armies been compounded. And it is the Free-man, and not the Slave, that hath courage, and the sense of shame deserved by cowardise. How free the *English* Yeomen have been in times, not long since past, *Fortescue* hath shewed in his praise of our Countreys Laws. But I may say, that they are more free now than ever: and our Nobility and Gentry more servile. For since the excessive bravery and vain expence of our *Grandees* hath taught them to raise their Rents, since by Inclosures, and dismembring of Mannors, the Court Baron, and the Court Leet, the Principalities of the Gentry of *England*, have been dissolved, the Tenants having payed unto their Lords their rack Rent, owe them now no service at all, and (perchance) as little love. * *Liv. Dec. 1. l. 7.*

first undertaking had been so strongly pursued, through the length of many generations, might well have induced the *Carthaginians* to beleive, that an higher providence resisted their intendment. But their desire of winning that fruitful Island, was so inveterate, that with unwearied patience, they still continued in hope of so much the greater an Harvest, by how much their cost and pain therein buried had been the more. Wherefore they re-continued their former courses; and by force or practice, recovered in few years all their old possessions: making peace with *Syracuse*, the chief City of the Island, that so they might the better enable themselves to deal with the rest.

Somewhat before this time, a Troop of *Campanian* Souldiers, that had served under *Agathocles*, being entertained within *Messana* as friends, and finding themselves too strong for the Citizens, took advantage of the power that they had to wrong; and with perfidious cruelty, slew those that had trusted them; which done, they occupied the City, Lands, Goods, and Wives of those whom they had murdered. These Mercenaries called themselves *Mamertines*. Good Souldiers they were: and like enough it is, that meer desperation of finding any that would approve their barbarous treachery, added rage unto their stoutness. Having therefore not any other colour of their proceedings, than *the law of the stronger*, they over-ran all the Country round about them.

In this course, at first, they sped so well, that they did not only defend *Messana* against the Cities of *Sicil* Confederate, to wit, against the *Syracusians*, and others, but they rather wan upon them; yea, and upon the *Carthaginians*, exacting Tribute from many Neighbour places. But it was not long ere fortune turned her back to these *Mamertines*, the *Syracusians* wan fast upon them; and finally, confining them within the walls of *Messana*, they also with a powerful Army besieged the City. It happned ill, that about the same time a contention began between the *Syracusian* Souldiers, then lying at *Magara*, and the Citizens of *Syracuse*, and Governours of the Common wealth; which proceeded so far, that the Army elected two Governours among themselves, to wit, *Artemidorus* and *Hieron*, that was afterward King. *Hieron*, being for his years excellently adorned with many vertues, although it was contrary to the policy of that State, to approve any election made by the Souldiers; yet for the great clemency used at his first entrance, he was by general consent established and made Governour. This Office he rather used as a Scale, thereby to climb to some higher degree, than rested content with his present preferment.

In brief, there was somewhat wanting, whereby to strengthen himself within the City; and somewhat without it, that gave impediment to his obtaining, and safe keeping of the place he sought, to wit, a powerful party within the Town, and certain mutinous Troops of Souldiers without, often and easily moved to sedition and tumult. For the first, whereby to strengthen himself, he took to Wife the daughter of *Leptines*, a man of the greatest estimation and Authority among the *Syracusians*. For the second, leading out the Army to besiege *Messana*, he quartered all those companies, which he held suspected, on the one side of the City, and leading the rest of his Horse and Foot unto the other side, as if he would have assaulted it in two several parts, he marched away under the covert of the Town walls, and left the Mutiners to be cut in pieces by the assieged: So returning home, and levying an Army of his own Citizens, well trained and obedient, he hasted again towards *Messana*, and was by the *Mamertines* (grown proud by their former victory over the Mutiners) incountred in the Plains of *Mylæum*, where he obtained a most signal victory; and leading with him their commander captive in *Syracuse*, himself by common consent was elected and saluted King. Hereupon the *Mamertines*, finding themselves utterly enfeebled, some of them resolved to give themselves to the *Carthaginians*, others to crave assistance of the *Romans*: to each of whom the several faction dispatched Embassadors for the very same purpose.

The *Carthaginians* were soon ready to lay hold upon the good offer: so that a Captain of theirs got into the Castle of *Messana*, whereof they that had sent for him gave him possession. But within a little while, they that were more inclinable to the *Romans*, had brought their Companions to so good agreement, that this Captain, either by force, or by cunning, was turned out of doors, and the Town reserved for other Masters.

These news did much offend the people of *Carthage*; who crucified their Captain, as both a Traitor and Coward; and sent a Fleet and Army to besiege *Messana*, as a Town that rebelled, having once been theirs. *Hieron* the new-made King of *Syracuse*, (to gratifie his people incensed with the smart of injuries lately received) added his forces to the *Carthaginians*, with whom he entred into a league, for exterminating the *Mamertines* out of *Sicil*. So the *Mamertines* on all sides were closed up within *Messana*: the *Carthaginians* lying with a Navy at Sea, and with an Army on the one side of the Town, whilest *Hieron* with his *Syracusians* lay before it on the other side.

In this their great danger came *Appius Claudius* the *Roman* Consul, with an Army to the Streights of *Sicil*: which passing by night with notable audacity, he put himself into the Town; and sending Messengers to the *Carthaginians*, and to *Hieron*, required them to depart; signifying unto them that the *Mamertines* were now become confederate with the people of *Rome*, and that therefore he was come to give them protection, even by force of War, if reason would not prevail.

This message was utterly neglected; And so began the War between *Rome* and *Carthage*; wherein it will then be time to shew on which part was the Justice of the quarrel, when some actions of the *Romans* lately foregoing this, have been first considered.

SECT III.

The beginning of the first Punick War. That it was unjustly undertaken by the Romans.

WHen *Pyrrhus* began his War in *Italy*, the City of *Rhegium* being well affected to *Rome*, and not only fearing to be taken by the *Epirot*, but much more distrusting the *Carthaginians*, as likely to seize upon it in that busie time, sought aid from the *Romans*, and obtained from them a Legion, consisting of four thousand Souldiers, under the conduct of *Decius Campanus*, a *Roman* Prefect; by whom they were defended and assured for the present. But after a while, this *Roman* Garrison, considering

considering at good leisure, the fact of the *Mamertines* committed in *Messana* (a City in *Sicil*, situate almost opposite to *Rhegium*, and no otherwise divided than by a narrow Sea, which severeth it from *Italy*) and rather weighing the greatness of the booty, than the odiousness of the villany, by which it was gotten; resolved finally, to make the like purchase, by taking the like wicked course. Confederating therefore themselves with the *Mamertines*, they entertained their Hosts of *Rhegium*, after the same manner; dividing the spoil, and all which that State had, among themselves.

When complaint was made to the Senate and people of *Rome*, of this outrage; they finding their honour thereby greatly stained (for no Nation in the World made a more severe profession of justice, than they did during all the time of their growing greatness) resolved, after a while, to take revenge upon the offenders. And this they performed shortly after, when they had quenched the fires, kindled in *Italy* by *Pyrrhus*. For, notwithstanding that those *Romans* in *Rhegium* (as men for the foulness of their fact, hopeless of pardon) defended themselves with an obstinate resolution: yet in the end, the assailants forced them; and those which escaped the present fury, were brought bound to *Rome*, where, after the usual torments by whipping inflicted, according to the custome of the Countrey, they had their heads stricken from their shoulders, and the people of *Rhegium* were again restored to their former liberty and estates.

This execution of Justice being newly performed, and the fame thereof sounding honourably through all quarters of *Italy*: messengers came to *Rome* from *Messana*, desiring help against the *Carthaginians*, and *Syracusians*, that were in a readiness to inflict the like punishment upon the *Mamertines*, for the like offence. A very impudent request it was, which they made: who having both given example of that villany to the *Roman* Souldiers, and holpen them with joint forces to make it good, do intreat the Judges to give them that assistance, which they were wont to receive from their fellow-thieves.

The *Romans* could not suddenly resolve, whether the way of honesty or of profit were to be followed; they ever more pretended the one, but they many times walked in the other. They considered, how contrary the course of succouring the *Mamertines* was to their former counsels and actions: seeing for the same offences they had lately put to torment, and to the Sword, their own Souldiers, and restored the oppressed to their liberty. Yet when they beheld the description of the *Carthaginian* Dominion, and that they were already Lords of the best part of *Africk*, of the *Mediterranean* Islands, of great part of *Spain*, and some part of *Sicil* it self; whilest also they feared, that *Syracuse* therein seated (a City in beauty and riches, little at that time inferiour to *Carthage*, and far superiour to *Rome* it self) might become theirs; the safety of their own estate spake for these *Mamertines*: who, if they (driven to despair by the *Romans*) should deliver up *Messana*, with those other holds that they had, into the hands of the *Carthaginians*, then would nothing stand between *Carthage*, and the Lordship of *Sicil*: for *Syracuse* it self could not, for want of succour, any long time subsist, if once the the *Carthaginians* that were Masters of the Sea, did fasten upon that passage from the main Land. It was further considered; that the opportunity of *Messana* was such, as would not only debar all succours out of the Continent, from arrival in *Sicil*; but would serve as a Bridge, whereby the *Carthaginians* might have entrance into *Italy*, at their own pleasure.

These considerations of profit at hand, and of preventing danger, that threatned from afar, did so prevail above all regard of honesty, that the *Mamertines* were admitted into Confederacy with the *Romans*, and *Ap. Claudius* the Consul, presently dispatcht away for *Messana*: into which he entred, and undertook the protection of it, as is shewed before. The besiegers were little troubled with his arrival; and less moved with his requiring them to desist from their attempt. For they did far exceed him in number of men; the whole Island was ready to relieve them in their wants; and they were strong enough at Sea, to hinder any supply from getting into the Town. All this *Appius* himself well understood: and against all this he thought the stiff mettal of his *Roman* Souldiers a sufficient remedy. Therefore he resolved to issue out into the field, and to let the enemies know, that his coming was to send them away from the Town; not to be besieged by them within it.

In executing this determination, it was very beneficial to him, that the enemy lay encamped in such forts as one quarter was not well able to relieve another in distress. *Hieron* was now exposed to the same danger, whereinto he had wilfully cast his own mutinous followers not long before: only he was strong enough (or thought so) to make good his own quarter, without help of others. Against him *Ap. Claudius* issued forth, and (not attempting, by unexpected sally, to surprise his trenches) arranged his men in order of Battle, wherewith he presented him. The *Syracusian* wanted not courage to fight; but surely he wanted good advice: else would he not have hazzarded all his power against an enemy of whom he had made no trial; when it had been easie, and as much as was requisite, to defend his own Camp. It may be, that he thought to get honour, wherewith to adorn the beginning of his Reign. But he was well beaten, and driven to save himself within his trenches: by which loss, he learned a point of wisdom, that stood him and his Kingdom in good stead all the days of his life. It was a foolish desire of revenge, that had made the *Syracusians* so busie, in helping those of *Carthage*, against the *Mamertines*.

Had *Messana* been taken by the *Carthaginians*, *Syracuse* it self must have sought help from *Rome*, against those friends which it now so diligently assisted. *Hieron* had (in respect of those two mighty Cities) but a small stock, which it behooveth him to govern well: such another loss would have made him almost Bankrupt. Therefore he quietly brake up his Camp: and retired home: intending to let them stand to their adventures, that had hope to be gainers by the bargain. The next day, *Claudius* perceiving the *Sicilian* Army gone, did with much alacrity of his Souldiers, give charge upon the *Carthaginians*: wherein he sped so well, that the enemy forsook both Field and Camp, leaving all the Countrey open to the *Romans*; who having spoiled all round, without resistance, intended to lay siege unto the great City of *Syracuse*.

These prosperous beginnings, howsoever they animated the *Romans*, and filled them with hopes of attaining to greater matters, than at the first they had expected: Yet did they not imprint any form of terrour in the City of *Carthage*, that had well enough repaired greater losses than this; in which no more was lost than what had been prepared against the

the *Mamertines* alone, without any ſuſpicion of War from *Rome*.

Now in this place I hold it ſeaſonable, to conſider of thoſe grounds, whereupon the *Romans* entred into this War; not how profitable they were, nor how agreeable to rules of honeſty (for queſtionleſs the enterpriſe was much to their benefit, though as much to their ſhame) but how allowable in ſtrict terms of lawfulneſs; whereupon they built all their allegations in maintenance thereof. That the *Mamertines* did yield themſelves, and all that they had, into the *Romans* hands (as the *Campanes*, diſtreſſed by the *Samnites*, had done) I cannot find: neither can I find how the Meſſengers of thoſe folk, whereof one part had already admitted the *Carthaginians*, could be enabled to make ſuch ſurrendry in the publick Name of all.

If therefore the *Mamertines*, by no lawful ſurrendry of themſelves and their poſſeſſions, were become ſubject unto *Rome*, by what better title could the *Romans* aſſiſt the *Mamertines*, againſt their moſt ancient friends the *Carthaginians*, than they might have aided the *Campanes* againſt the *Samnites*, without the ſame condition? Which was (as they themſelves confeſſed) by none at all. But let it be ſuppoſed, that ſome point ſerving to clear this doubt, is loſt in all Hiſtories. Doubtleſs it is, that no company of Pyrates, Thieves, Out-laws, Murderers, or ſuch other Malefactors, can by any good ſucceſs of their villany, obtain the priviledge of civil Societies, to make League or Truce; yea, or to require fair War: but are by all means, as moſt pernicious Vermine, to be rooted out of the World. I will not take upon me to maintain that opinion of ſome *Civilians*, that a Prince is not bound to hold his faith with one of theſe; it were a Poſition of ill conſequence: This I hold; that no one Prince or State can give protection to ſuch as theſe, as long as any other is uſing the Sword of vengeance againſt them, without becoming acceſſary to their crimes. Wherefore we muſt eſteem this action of the *Romans* ſo far from being, juſtifiable, by any pretence of confederacy made with them; as that contrariwiſe, by admitting this neſt of Murderers and Thieves into their protection, they juſtly deſerved to be Warred upon themſelves, by the people of *Sicil*; yea, although *Meſſana* had been taken, and the *Mamertines* all ſlain, e're any news of the Confederacy had been brought unto the beſiegers. The great *Alexander* was ſo far perſwaded herein; that he did put to Sword all the *Branchiadæ* (a people in *Sogdiana*) and razed their City, notwithſtanding that they joyfully entertained him as their Lord and King; becauſe they were deſcended from a company of *Mileſians*, who to gratifie King *Xerxes*, had robbed a Temple, and were by him rewarded with the Town and Countrey, which theſe of their poſterity enjoyed. Nevertheleſs in courſe of humane juſtice, long and peaceable poſſeſſion gives *jus acquiſitum*, a kind of right by preſcription unto that which was firſt obtained by wicked means: and doth free the deſcendants from the crime of their Anceſtors, whoſe villanies they do not exerciſe. But that the ſame generation of Thieves, which by a deteſtable fact hath purchaſed a rich Town, ſhould be acknowledged a lawful company of Citizens, there is no ſhew of right. For even the Conqueror that by open War obtaineth a Kindgom, doth not confirm his title, by thoſe victories which gave him firſt poſſeſſion: but length of time is requiſite to eſtabliſh him, unleſs by ſome alliance with the ancient Inheritors, he can better the violence of his claim, as did our King *Henry* the firſt, by his Marriage with *Maude*, that was Daughter of *Malcolme* King of the *Scots*, by *Margaret*, the Neece of *Edmund Ironſide*. Wherefore I conclude, that the *Romans* had no better ground (if they had ſo good) of juſtice, in this quarrel, than had the *Gothes*, *Hunnes*, *Vandols*, and other Nations, of the Wars that they made upon the *Roman* Empire, wherein *Rome* her ſelf, in the time of viſitation, was burnt to the ground.

SECT. IV.

Of the Iſland of Sicil.

†. I.

The quality of the Iſland: and the firſt Inhabitants thereof.

THe defence of the *Mamertines*, or the poſſeſſion of *Meſſana*, being now no longer ſince the firſt victories of *Appius Claudius*, the objects of the *Roman* hopes; but the Dominion of all *Sicil* being the prize, for which *Rome* and *Carthage* are about to contend: it will be agreeable unto the other, which in the like caſes we have obſerved, to make a brief collection of things concerning that noble Iſland, which hath been the ſtage of many great acts, performed as well before and after, as in this preſent War.

That *Sicil* was ſometimes a *Peninſula*, or *Demy-Iſle*, adjoyning to *Italy*, as a part of *Brutium* in *Calabria*, near unto *Rhegium*, and afterward by violence of tempeſt ſevered from the ſame: it is a general opinion of all antiquity. But at what certain time this diviſion happened, there is no memorial remaining in any ancient writer. *Strabo*, *Pliny*, and *Dionyſius* affirm, that it was cauſed by an Earthquake; *Silius* and *Caſſidorus* do think it to have beep done by the rage and violence of the Tide, and ſurges of the Sea. Either of theſe opinions may be true; for ſo was *Eubœa* ſevered from *Bœotia*; *Atalante* and *Marcis* from *Eubœa*; *Sillie* here in *England*, from the cape of *Cornwal*, and *Brittain* it ſelf (as may ſeem by *Verſtigans* arguments) from the oppoſite continent of *Gaule*. But for *Sicil*, as they which lend their ears to fables, do attribute the cauſe of it to *Neptune* (as *Euſtathius* witneſſeth) who with his three-forked Mace, in favour of *Jocaſtus*, the Son of *Æolus*, divided it from the main Land, and ſo made it an Iſland, which before was but a *Demy-Iſle*; that by that means he might the more ſafely inhabit, and poſſeſs the ſame. *Diodorus Siculus*, moved by the authority of *Heſiodus*, aſcribeth the labour of ſundring it from *Italy*, to *Orion*: who that he might be compared to *Hercules* (cutting through the Rocks and Mountains) firſt opened the *Sicilian* ſtreights, as *Hercules* did thoſe of *Gibralter*.

Plin. l. 2. c. 91. Sill. 5.

Orcont l. 4. c. 14. Diod. l. 6. Ovid de Faſt. 4.

They which value the Iſlands of the midland Sea, according to their quantity and content, do make this the greateſt, as *Euſtathius* and *Strabo*, who affirm this, not only to excel the reſt for bigneſs, but alſo for goodneſs of Soil. As concerning the form of this Iſland, *Pomponius Mela* ſaith, it is like that Capital letter of the *Greek*, which they call *Delta*, namely, that it hath the figure of a triangle; which is generally known to be true. That the whole

whole Iſland was conſecrated to *Ceres* and *Proſerpina*, all old writers with one conſent affirm. To *Ceres* it was dedicated, becauſe it firſt taught the rules of ſetting, and ſowing of Corn: to *Proſerpina*, not ſo much for that ſhe was from hence violently taken by *Pluto*, as becauſe (which *Plutarch* and *Diodorus* do report for truth) that *Pluto*, as ſoon as ſhe, uncovering her ſelf, firſt ſhewed her ſelf to be ſeen of him, gave her the Dominion thereof.

Of the fertility and riches of this Country, there is a famous teſtimony written by *Cicero*, in the ſecond Oration againſt *Verres*, where he ſaith, that *Marcus Cato* did call it the *Granary* and *Store-houſe of the Common-wealth*, and *the Nurſe of the vulgar ſort*. The ſame *Cicero* doth add in that place; that it was not only the Store-houſe of the people of *Rome*: but alſo that it was a well-furniſhed treaſure. For without any coſt or charge of ours (ſaith he) it hath uſually clothed, maintained, and furniſhed our greateſt Army with Leather, Apparel and Corn. *Strabo* reporteth almoſt the ſame thing of it. Whatſoever *Sicilie* doth yeild (ſaith *Solinus*) whether by the Sun, and temperature of the Air, or by the induſtry and labour of man, it is accounted next unto thoſe things that are of beſt eſtimation: were it not that ſuch things as the Earth firſt putteth forth, are extreamly over-grown with ſaffron. *Diodorus Siculus* ſaith, that in the fields near unto *Leontium*, and in divers other places of this Iſland, wheat doth grow of it ſelf without any labour or looking to of the Husbandman. *Martianus* ſheweth, that there were in it ſix Colonies, and ſixty Cities: there are that reckon more, whereof the names are found ſcatteringly in many good Authors. *Strabo. l. 6.*

Now beſides many famous acts, done by the people of this Iſland, as well in Peace as War, there be many other things which have made it moſt renowned, as the birth of *Ceres*; the raviſhing of *Proſerpina*; the Giant *Enceladus*; the mount *Ætna*; *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, with other Antiquities and rareties; beſides thoſe learned men, the noble *Mathematician*, *Archimedes*; the famous *Geomatrician*, *Euclides*; the painful Hiſtorian *Diodorus*; and *Empedocles*, the deep Philoſopher.

That *Sicil* was at firſt poſſeſſed and inhabited by Giants, *Læſtrigones* and *Cyclopes*, barbarous people, and uncivil; all Hiſtories and Fables do jointly with one conſent averr. Yet *Thucydides*, ſaith, that theſe ſavage people dwelt only in one part of the Iſland. Afterward the *Sicani*, a people of *Spain*, poſſeſſed it. That theſe *Sicani* were not bred in the Iſle (although ſome ſo think) *Thucydides* and *Diodorus* do very conſtantly avouch.

Of theſe it was named *Sicania*. Theſe *Sicani* were invaded by the *Siculi*; who, inhabiting that part of *Latium*, whereon *Rome* was afterward built; were driven by the *Pelaſgi* from their own ſeats, and finding no place upon the Continent, which they were able to maſter and inhabit, paſſed over into this Iſland, three Hundred years before the *Greeks* ſent any Colonies thither: and (ſaith *Philiſtus*) eighty years before the fall of *Troy*. Theſe *Siculi* gave the name of *Sicilia*, to the Iſland; and making War upon the *Sicani*, drave them from the Eaſt and Northern parts thereof, into the Weſt and South. At their landing, they firſt built the City *Zancle*, afterward called *Meſſana*; and after that, *Catana*, *Leontine*, and *Syracuſe* it ſelf, beating from thence the *Ætolians*, who long before had ſet up a Town in that place. As for the name of *Syracuſe* it was not known, till ſuch time as *Archias* of *Corinth* (long after) won that part of the Iſland from the *Siculi*; neither did the *Siculi* at their firſt arrival diſpoſſeſs the *Ætolians* thereof, but ſome Hundred years after their deſcent, and after ſuch time as they had founded the Cities before named with *Nea*, *Hybla*, *Trimarica*, and divers others.

After theſe *Siculi* came another Nation out of *Italy*, called *Morgetes*; who were thence driven by the *Oenotorians*. Theſe ſat down in that part of *Sicil*, where they afterward raiſed the Cities of *Morgantum*, and *Leontium*. For at this time the *Siculi* were divided, and by a Civil War greatly infeebled. Among theſe ancient ſtories, we find the laſt voyage, and the death of *Minos*, King of *Crete*. *Thucyaides*, an Hiſtorian of unqueſtionable ſincerity, reports of *Minos*, that he made conqueſt of many Iſlands: and ſome ſuch buſineſs, perhaps, drew him into *Sicil*. But the common report is, that he came thither in purſuit of *Dædalus*. The tale goes thus: *Dædalus* fleeing the revenge of *Minos*, came into *Sicil*, to *Cocalus*, King of the *Sicani*, and, during his abode there, he built a place of great ſtrength, near unto *Megara*, for *Cocalus* to lay up his treaſure in; together with many notable works, for which he was greatly admired and honoured.

Among the reſt, he caſt a Ram in Gold, that was ſet up in the Temple of *Venus Erycina*; which he did with ſo great Art, as thoſe that beheld it thought it rather to be living, than counterfeit.

Now *Minos*, hearing that *Cocalus* had entertained *Dædalus*, prepares to invade the Territory of *Cocalus*; but when he was arrived, *Cocalus* doubting his own ſtrength, promiſed to deliver *Dædalus*. This he performs not, but in the mean while, kills *Minos* by Treaſon, and perſwades the *Cretans*, *Minos* his followers, to inhabit a part of *Sicil*; the better (as it ſeems) to ſtrengthen himſelf againſt the *Siculi*. Hereupon the *Cretans* (their King being dead) gave their conſent, and builded for themſelves the City of *Minoa* after the name of the King *Minos*. After, they likewiſe built the Town of *Engium*, now called *Gange*: and theſe were the firſt Cities, built by the *Greeks* in *Sicil*, about two ages before the War of *Troy*; for the Grandchildren of *Minos* ſerved with the *Greeks* at the ſiege thereof.

But after ſuch time as the *Cretans* underſtood, that their King had by Treaſon been made away; they gathered together a great Army, to invade *Cocalus*: and landing near unto *Camicus*, they beſieged the ſame five years, but in vain. In the end (being forced to return, without any revenge taken) they were wrackt on the Coaſt of *Italy*, and having no means to repair their Ships, nor the honour they had loſt, they made good the place whereon they fell, and built *Hyria*, or *Hyrium*, between the two famous Ports of *Brunduſium* and *Tarentum*. Of theſe *Cretans* came thoſe Nations, afterward called *Lapyges* and *Meſſapii*.

After the taking of *Troy*, *Egeſtus* and *Elymus*, brought with them certain Troops into *Sicil*, and ſeated themſelves among the *Sicani*; when they built the Cities of *Egeſta* and *Elyma*.

It is ſaid, that *Æneas* viſited theſe places in his paſſage into *Italy*: and that ſome of the *Trojans*, his followers, were left behind him in theſe Towns of *Sicil*: whereof there want not good Authors, that make *Æneas* himſelf the founder.

About the ſame time, the *Phœnicians* ſeized upon the Promontories of *Pachinus*, and *Lilybæ-*

um, and upon certain ſmall Iſles adjoyning to the main Iſland: which they fortified, to ſecure the Trades that they had with the *Silicians*; like as the *Portugals* have done in the *Eaſt-India*, at *Goa*, *Ormus*, *Moſambique*, and other places. But the *Phœnicians* ſtayed not there; for after they had once aſſured their deſcents, they built the goodly City of *Panormus*, now called *Palerma*.

Theſe we find were the Nations that inhabited the Iſle of *Sicil*, before the War of *Troy*, and ere the *Greeks* in any numbers began to ſtraggle in thoſe parts.

It may perchance ſeem ſtrange to the Reader, that in ancient ſtories, he finds one and the ſame beginning of Nations, after the flood; and that the firſt planters in all parts of the World are ſaid to be mighty and Giant-like men; and that, as *Phœnicia*, *Ægypt*, *Lybia* and *Greece*, had *Hercules*, *Oreſtes*, *Antæus*, *Typhon*, and the like; as *Denmark* had *Starchaterus*, remembered by *Saxo Grammaticus*; as *Scythia*, *Britanie*, and other Regions had Giants for their firſt Inhabitants: ſo this iſle of *Sicil* had her *Leſtrigones* and *Cyclopes*. This diſcourſe I could alſo reject for fained and fabulous, did not *Moſes* make us know, that the *Zamzummims*, *Emims*, *Anakims*, and *Og* of *Baſan*, with others, which ſometimes inhabited the Mountains and Deſarts of *Moab*, *Ammon*, and Mount *Seir*, were men of exceeding ſtrength and ſtature, and of the races of Giants: and were it not that *Tertullian*, St. *Auguſtine*, *Nicephorus*, *Procopius*, *Iſidore*, *Pliny*, *Diodore*, *Herodotus*, *Solinus*, *Plutarch*, and many other Authors, have confirmed the opinion: Yea, *Veſpuſius*, in his ſecond Navigation into *America*, had reported that himſelf had ſeen the like men in thoſe parts. Again, whereas the ſelf-ſame is written of all Nations, that is written of any one; as touching their ſimplicity of life, their mean fare, their feeding on Acorns and Roots, their poor Cottages, the covering of their Bodies with the Skins of Beaſts, their Hunting, their Arms, and Weapons, and their Warfare, their firſt paſſages over great Rivers and Arms of the Sea, upon Rafts of Trees tied together; and afterwards their making Boats firſt of Twigs and Leather, then of wood; firſt with Oars, and then with Sails; that they eſteemed as Gods, the firſt finders out of Arts; as of Husbandry, of Laws, and of Policy: It is a matter, that makes me neither to wonder at, nor to doubt of it. For they all lived in the ſame newneſs of time, which we call *Old time*, and had all the ſame want of his inſtruction, which (after the Creator of all things) hath by degrees taught all Mankind. For other teaching had they none, that were removed far off from the *Hebrews*, (who inherited the knowledge of the firſt Patriarchs) than that from variable effects they began, by time and degrees to find out the cauſes: from whence came Philoſophy Natural; as the Moral did from diſorder and confuſion; and the Law from cruelty and oppreſſion.

Saxo G. in præfat. hiſt.

Tertul. de Reſurr. Auguſt. de civit. Dei lib. 15. Et queſt. in Gen. Nicep. lib. 2. c. 37. Procop. l. 2. de Bello Goth. Plin. l. 7. cap. 2.

But it is certain, that the Age of *Time* hath brought forth ſtranger and more incredible things, than the Infancy. For we have now greater Giants for vice and injuſtice, than the World had in thoſe dayes, for bodily ſtrength; for Cottages, and Houſes of Clay and Timber, we have raiſed Palaces of Stones; we carve them, we paint them, and adorn them with Gold, inſomuch that men are rather known by their Houſes, than their Houſes by them; we are fallen from two diſhes to two hundred; from water, to wine and drunkenneſs; from the covering of our Bodies with the Skins of Beaſts, not only to Silk and Gold, but to the Skins of men. But to conclude this digreſſion, *Time* will alſo take revenge of the exceſs, which it hath brought forth; *Quam longa dies peperit, longiorque auxit, longiſſima ſubruet: Long time brought forth, longer time increaſed it, and a time longer then the reſt, ſhall overthrow it.*

SECT. II.

The Plantation of the Greeks *in* Sicil.

WHen the firſt Inhabitants had contended long enough about the Dominion of all *Sicil*: It hapned, that one *Theocles* a *Greek*, being driven upon that Coaſt by an Eaſterly wind, and finding true the commendations thereof, which had been thought fabulous, being delivered only by Poets, gave information to the *Athenians* of this his diſcovery, and propoſed unto them the benefit of this eaſie Conqueſt, offering to become their guide. But *Theocles* was as little regarded by the *Athenians*, as *Columbus*, in our Grand-fathers times, was by the *Engliſh*. Wherefore he took the ſame courſe that *Columbus* afterwards did. He over-laboured not himſelf in perſwading the noble *Athenians* (who thought themſelves to be well enough already) to their own profit; but went to the *Calcidians*, that were needy and induſtrious, by whom his project was gladly entertained. By theſe was built the City of *Naxus*, and a Colony planted of *Eubœans*.

But the reſt of the *Greeks* were wiſer than our Weſtern Princes of *Europe*: For they had no Pope, that ſhould forbid them to occupie the void places of the World. *Archias* of *Corinth* followed the *Eubœans*, and landed in *Sicil*, (near unto that City, called afterward * *Syracuſe*: of which, that part only was then compaſſed with a wall, which the *Æolians* called *Homothermon*; the *Greeks*, *Naſos*; the *Latines*, *Inſula*. He with his *Corinthians* having overcome the *Siculi*, drave them up into the Country; and after a few years, their multitude increaſing, they added unto the City of the Iſland, that of *Acradina*, *Tyca*, and *Neopolis*. So as well by the commodity of the double Port, capable of as many Ships, as any Haven of that part of *Europe*, as by the fertility of the Soil, *Syracuſe* grew up in great haſte, to be one of the goodlieſt Towns of the World. In ſhort time the *Greeks* did poſſeſs the better part of all the Sea-coaſt; forcing the *Sicilians* to withdraw themſelves into the faſts and mountainous parts of the Iſland, making their Royal reſidence in *Trinacria*.

* *Syracuſe*, as *Cicero* relates, was the greateſt, and moſt goodly City of all that the *Greeks* poſſeſt; for the ſituation is both ſtrong, and of an excellent proſpect from every entrance, by Land, or Sea. The Port (was for the moſt part) environed with beautiful buildings: and that part which was without the City, was on both ſides bankt up, and ſuſtained with beautiful walls of Marble. The City of it ſelf was one of the greateſt of the World: for it had in compaſs (as *Strabo* reporteth) without the treble wall thereof, a hundred and eighty furlongs, which make of our miles about eighteen. It was compounded of four Cities (*Strabo* ſaith of five) to wit, *Inſula*, *Acradina*, *Tycha*, and *Neapolis*: of which greatneſs the ruines and foundations of the walls do yet witneſs. After ſuch times as the *Dores* of *Peloponeſus* had driven out the *Sicilians*, this goodly City for a long time became the ſeat of Tyrants. The firſt whereof was *Gela*: The ſecond, *Hiero* the elder: The third, *Thraſybulus*: The fourth and fifth, *Dionyſius* the elder, and younger: The ſixth, *Dion*: The ſeventh, *Agathocles*: The eighth, *Pyrrhus*: The ninth, *Hiero* the younger: The tenth and laſt, *Hieronymus*; who being ſlain at *Leontium*, at length the *Romans* conquered it under the conduct of *Marcellus*.

Some ſeven years after the arrival of *Archias*, the *Calcidians*, encouraged by the ſucceſs of the *Corin-*

Corinthians, did assail, and obtain the City of *Leontium*, built and possest by the *Siculi*. In brief, the *Greeks* win from the *Siculi*, and their Associates, the Cities of *Catana* and *Hybla*, which in honour of the *Megarians* that forc't it, they called *Megara*.

About five and forty years after *Archias* had taken *Syracuse*; *Antiphemus*, and *Entimus*, the one from *Rhodes*, the other from *Crete*, brought an Army into *Sicil*, and built *Gela*; whose Citizens, one Hundred and eight years after, did erect that magnificent and renowned City of *Agrigentum*, governed according to the Laws of the *Dorians*.

The *Syracusians* also, in the seventieth year after their Plantation, did set up the City of *Acra*, in the Mountains; and in the nineteenth year of *Casmena*, in the Plains adjoyning; and again in the Hundred and thirtieth year of their dwelling in *Syracuse*, they built *Camerina*: and soon after that, *Enna*, in the very Centre of the Island. So did the *Cumani* about the same time, recover from the *Siculi* the City of *Zancle*, which they had founded in the Straight between *Sicil* and *Italy*. They of *Zancle*, had been the founders of *Himera*.

Not long after this, *Dorieus* the *Lacedæmonian* built *Hereclia*; which the *Phœnicians*, and *Carthaginians*, fearing the neighbourhood of the *Spartans*, soon after invaded and ruined, though the same were again ere long re-edified.

Solinus also was built by a Colony of *Megara*: and *Zancle* was taken by the *Messenians*; who having lost their own Country, gave the name thereof unto this their new purchase. Such were the beginnings of the greatest Cities in this Island.

†. III.

Of the Government and Affairs of Sicil *before* Dionysius *his Tyranny.*

THE most parts of the Cities in *Sicil*, were governed by the rule of the people, till such time as *Phalaris* began to usurp the state of *Agrigentum*, and to exercise all manner of Tyranny therein.

This was that *Phalaris*, to whom *Perillus*, the cunning Artificer of a detestable Engine, gave an hollow Bull of Brass, wherein to inclose men, and scorch them to death: Prasing his device with this commendation; that the noise of one tormented therein, should be like unto the bellowing of a Bull. The Tyrant gave a due reward to the Inventer; by causing the first tryal to be made upon himself. He reigned one and thirty years, saith *Eusebius*; others give him but sixteen: Howsoever it were, one *Telemachus* in the end, fell upon him with the whole multitude of *Agrigentum*, and stoned him to death; being thereto animated by *Zeno*, even whilst the Tyrant was tormenting the same *Zeno*, to make him confess some matter of conspiracy.

After the death of *Phalaris*, the Citizens recovered their liberty, and enjoyed it long, till *Thero* usurped the Government of the Common-weal: At which time also *Panetius* made himself Lord of *Leontium*; and *Cleander* of *Gela*: But *Cleander* having ruled seven years, was slain by one of the Citizens. *Cleander* being dead, his Brother *Hippocrates* succeeded in his room, and greatly afflicted the people of *Naxos*, of *Zancle*, of *Messena*, and of *Leontium*; whom with diverse others of the ancient Inhabitants, he forced to acknowledge him their Lord. He also made War with the *Syracusians*, and, in the end, got from them by composition, the City of *Camerina*. But when he had reigned seven years, he was slain in a Battel against the *Siculi*, before *Hybla*.

At this time did the *Syracusians* change their form of Government, from Popular to *Aristocratical*; a preparation towards a Principality, whereinto it was soon after changed. After the death of *Hippocrates*, *Gelon* (descendendep from the *Rhodians*, which together with the *Cretans*, had long before, among other of the *Greeks*, seated themselves in *Sicil*) that had commanded the forces of *Hyppocrates*, in the former War, with notable success, became Lord of *Gela*. He, after his Masters death, breaking the trust committed unto him by *Hyppocrates* over his Children, and being in possession of *Gela*, took the occasion and advantage of a contention in *Syracuse*, between the Magistrates and the People. For coming with a strong Army to the succour of the Governours, driven out by the multitude, they elected him their Prince, being the first, (and indeed) the most famous, that ever governed the *Syracusians*. This change hapned in the second year of the threescore and twelfth Olympiad; wherein the better to establish himself, he took to wife the Daughter of *Thero*, who had also usurped the State of *Agrigentum*. *Pau. l. 6.*

Now this *Gelon*, the Son of *Dinomenes*, had three Brethren; *Hiero*, *Polyzelus*, and *Thrasybulus*: to the first of which he gave up the City of *Gela*, when he had obtained the Principality of *Syracuse*. For, after that time, all his thoughts travelled in the strengthening, beautifying, and amplifying of *Syracuse*. He defaced *Camerina*, that a little before was fallen from the obedience of the *Syracusians* who built it, and brought the Citizens to *Syracuse*. The *Megarians* that had moved a War against him, he overcame; the richer sort he brought unto *Syracuse*; and the people he sold for slaves. In like manner dealt he with other places upon the like occasion. Not long after this, *Thero*, a Prince of the *Agrigentines*, having dispossest *Terillus* of his City *Himera*; the *Carthaginians* were drawn into the quarrel by *Anaxilus*, Lord of *Messena*, Father-in-law to *Terillus*; and *Gelon* was also solicited by his Father-in-law, *Thero*. *Geron* was content, and in fine, after diverse conflicts, the *Carthaginians* and other *Africans*, led by *Amilcar*, were overthrown by *Gelon*: And an Hundred and fifty Thousand of them left their Bodies in *Sicil*. *Herod. & Dio.*

This *Gelon* it was, to whom the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* sent for succour, when *Xerxes* with his huge Army past the *Hellespont*. He, for their relief having armed thirty Thousand Souldiers, and two Hundred Ships, refused nevertheless to send them into *Greece*, because they refused him the command of one of their Armies, either by Sea, or Land. So he used to their Embassadours only this Saying, *That their Spring was withered*; accounting the Army, by him prepared, to be the very flower of the *Greek* Nation.

The *Carthaginians*, after this great loss received, fearing the invasion of their own Country, sent to *Gelon* by their Embassadours, to desire peace, who grants it them on these conditions: That from thenceforth they should not sacrifice their Children to *Saturn*; that they should pay him two Thousand Talents of Silver, and present him with two armed Ships, in sign of amity. These conditions the *Carthaginians*, not only willingly accepted, but with

the two Thouſand Talents, and the Ships for War, they ſent unto *Demarata*, *Gelons* Wife, a Crown, valued at an Hundred Talents of Gold, with other preſents. Whereby we ſee, that ſome Nations, and ſome Natures, are much the better for being well beaten. The Wars ended, and *Sicil* in peace, *Gelon* beautified the Temples of the Gods, and erected others in honour of them. So being exceedingly beloved and honoured of his Subjects, he left the world, and left for his ſucceſſor his Brother *Hiero*. *Philiſtus* and *Pliny* report, That when his Body was burnt, according to the cuſtome of that Age, a Dog of his, which alwayes waited on him, ran into the fire, and ſuffered himſelf to be burnt with him.

To *Gelon*, *Hiero* his Brother ſucceeded; a man Rude, Cruel, Covetous, and ſo Suſpicious of his Brethren *Polyzelus*, and *Thraſybulus*, as he ſought all means to deſtroy them. Notwithſtanding all this, by the converſation he had with *Simonides*, he became of better condition, and greatly delighted with the ſtudy of good Arts. Diverſe quarrels he had, as well with *Theron* of *Agrigentum*, as with other Cities: all which he ſhortly after compounded, and gave a notable overthrow to the *Carthaginians*, whom *Xerxes* had incited to invade *Sicil*, fearing the ſuccours which *Gelon* had prepared, to aid the *Grecians* againſt him. He alſo overthrew in battel *Thraſydæus*, the Son of *Theron*, and thereby reſtored the *Agrigentines* to their former liberty. But in the end, he loſt the love of the *Syracuſians*; and after he had reigned eleven years, he left the Kingdom to his Brother *Thraſybulus*, who became a moſt unjuſt and bloody Tyrant. *Thraſybulus* injoyed his Principality no longer than ten months. For, notwithſtanding the force of mercenary Souldiers; which he entertained for his Guards, he was beaten out of *Syracuſe* by the Citizens; to whom, being beſieged in *Acradina*, he reſtored the Government, and was baniſhed the Iſland. From whence he ſailed into *Greece*, where he died a private man, among the *Locrians*.

And now had the *Syracuſians* recovered again their former liberty, as all the reſt of the Cities did; after which they had never ſought, had the Succeſſors of *Gelon* inherited his vertue, as they did the Principality of *Syracuſe*. For in all changes of Eſtates, the preſervation ought to anſwer the acquiſition. When a liberal, valiant, and adviſed Prince, hath obtained any new Signiory, and added it to that of his own, or exalted himſelf from being a private man to the dignity of a Prince, it behoveth the Succeſſour to maintain it by the ſame way and art, by which it was gotten.

To conclude, *Syracuſe* (though not without blows, ere that ſhe could cleanſe her ſelf of the Creatures and Lovers of *Gelon*) was now again become Miſtreſs of her ſelf, and held her ſelf free, well-near threeſcore years, to the time of *Dionyſius*, though ſhe were in the mean while greatly endangered by a Citizen of her own, called *Tindario*.

Now, to prevent the greatneſs of any one among them, for the future, they deviſed a kind of baniſhment of ſuch among them, as were ſuſpected; taking pattern from the *Athenian Oſtraciſme*. They called this their new deviſed judgment of exile, *Petaliſmus*, wherein every one wrote upon an Olive-leaf (as at *Athens* they wrote upon ſhells) the name of him, whom he would have expelled the City. He that had moſt ſuffrages againſt him, was baniſhed for five years. Hereby in a ſhort time, it came to paſs that thoſe of judgment, and beſt able to govern the Common-weal, were, by the worſt able, either ſuppreſt, or thruſt out of the City. Yea, ſuch as feared this Law, though they had not yet felt it, withdrew themſelves as ſecretly as they could, ſeeking ſome place of more ſecurity, wherein to maintain themſelves. And good reaſon they had ſo to do; ſeeing that there is nothing ſo terrible in any State, as a powerful and authorized ignorance. But this Law laſted not very long: For their neceſſity taught them to aboliſh it, and reſtore again the wiſer ſort unto the Government; from which, the Nobility having practiced to baniſh one another, the State became altogether Popular. But after a while, being invaded by *Ducetius*, King of the *Sicilians*, that inhabited the inner part of the Iſland (who had already taken *Enna*, and ſome other of the *Grecian* Cities, and overthrown the Army of the *Agragentines*) the *Syracuſians* ſent Forces againſt him, commanded by an unworthy Citizen of theirs, called *Bolcon*. This their Captain made nothing ſo much haſte to find out *Ducetius*, againſt whom he was imployed, as he did to flee from the Army he led, as ſoon as *Ducetius* preſented him battel. So for want of conduct, the greateſt number of the *Syracuſians* periſhed.

But making better choice among thoſe whom they had baniſhed, they levy other Troops: by whom, in concluſion, *Ducetius* being beaten, ſubmitteth himſelf, and is conſtrained to leave the Iſland for a time. Yet it was not long ere he returned again, and built the City *Collatina* on the Sea-ſide.

Ducetius being dead, all the *Greek* Cities did in a ſort acknowledg *Syracuſe*, *Trinacria* excepted; which alſo by force of Arms, in the fourſcore and fifth Olympiad, they brought to reaſon.

But they do not long enjoy this their Superintendency. For the Citizens of *Leontium*, being oppreſt by them, ſeek aid from the *Athenians*, about the ſixth year of the *Peloponneſian* War. In this ſuit they prevailed by the Eloquence of *Gorgias* their Orator; and got an hundred *Athenian* Gallies to ſuccour them, under the leading of *Laches*, and *Charœodes*. To this Fleet, the *Leontines*, and their Partners, added one Hundred more; with which forces, and with ſome ſupplies brought by *Sophocles*, *Pythodorus*, *Eurymedon*, and other *Athenian* Captains, they invaded the Territories of the *Syracuſians*, and their Partiſans; wan and loſt diverſe places; took *Meſſana*; and, in the ſeventh year of the *Peloponneſian* War, loſt it again. They alſo at the ſame time attempted *Hymera*, but in vain. The fire of this quarrel took hold upon many Cities which did invade each others Territory with great violence. But when they had wearied themſelves on all hands, and yet could ſee none iſſue of the War, the *Leontines*, without the adviſe of the *Athenians*, came to an accord with the *Syracuſians*, and were admitted into their ſociety, with equal freedom. So the *Athenians*, who hoped to have greatned themſelves in *Sicil*, by the diviſion and civil War, were diſappointed of their expectation, by the good agreement of the *Sicilians*, and fain to be gone with the broken remainder of their Fleet. This they knew not how to amend; but (according to the cuſtome of popular Eſtates) by taking revenge upon their own Commanders. So they baniſhed *Pythodorus*, and *Sophocles*, and laid an heavy fine upon *Eurymedon*. Shortly after this, followed the moſt memorable War, that ever was made by the *Greeks* in *Sicil*: Which was that of the *Athenians*, againſt the *Selinuntines* and *Syracuſians*, in favour of the Cities of *Egeſta*, *Leontium*, and *Catana*. They of *Selinus* had oppreſt the *Egeſtans*; and

and they of *Syracuſe* the *Leontines*, and the *Catanians*: Which was the ground of the War. For the *Athenians* undertook the protection of their old friends: And, in hatred of the *Athenians*, aid from *Lacedæmon* was ſent to the *Syracuſians*. The *Lacedæmonians* dealt plainly, having none other end, than that which they pretended, namely, to help a people of their own Tribe, that craved their ſuccour, being in diſtreſs. The *Athenians* ſcarce knew what to pretend: For their preparations were ſo great, as diſcovered their intent to be none other, than the Conqueſt of the whole Iſland. Yet they which had called them in, were ſo blinded with their own paſſions, that they would not believe their own eyes; which preſented unto them a Fleet and Army, far greater than the terrible report of fame had made it.

In this expedition, the City of *Athens* had engaged all her power; as regarding not only the greatneſs of the enterpriſe, but the neceſſity of finiſhing it in a ſhort ſpace of time. For the *Lacedæmonians* (as hath already been ſhewed in due place) ſtood at that time in ſuch broken terms of peace with *Athens*, as differed not much with open War. Wherefore it was thought neceſſary, either to ſpare coſt in this great Expedition, or altogether to forbear it: Which was like to be hindred by Wars at home, if their proceedings were ſlack abroad. And ſurely, had not the deſire of the *Athenians* been over-paſſionate, the arguments of *Nicias* had cauſed them to abſtain from ſo chargeable a buſineſs, and to reſerve their forces for a more needful uſe. But young Counſels prevailed againſt the Authority of Ancient men, that were more regardful of ſafety than of honour.

Of this buſineſs, mention hath been already made, in that which we have written of the *Peloponneſian* War. But what was there delivered in general terms, as not concerning the affairs of *Greece*, otherwiſe than by conſequence, doth in this place require a more perfect relation, as a matter, wherein the whole State of *Sicil* was like to have felt a great converſion.

Though *Alcibiades* had prevailed againſt *Nicias*, in exhorting the people to this great voyage; yet *Nicias*, together with *Alcibiades* and *Lamachus*, was appointed to be one of the chief Commanders therein.

Theſe had commiſſion and direction, as well to ſuccour the *Segeſtans*, and to reeſtabliſh the *Leontines*, caſt out of their places by the *Syracuſians*, as alſo by force of Arms, to ſubject the *Syracuſians*, and all their adherents in *Sicil*, and compel them by tribute, to acknowledge the *Athenians* for their ſupream Lords. To effect which, the fore-named Captains were ſent off, with an Hundred and thirty Gallies, and five Thouſand one Hundred Souldiers, beſides the thirty Ships of burden, which tranſported their Victuals, Engines, and other munitions for the War: And theſe were *Athenians*, *Mantineans*, *Rhodians* and *Candians*: There were, beſides theſe, ſix Thouſand *Megarians* light-armed, with thirty Horſemen.

With theſe Troops and Fleets they arrive at *Rhegium*, where the *Rhegians* refuſe to give them entry; but ſell them victuals for their Money. From thence they ſent to the *Egeſtans*, to know what treaſure they would contribute towards the War, ſeeing for their ſakes they had entered thereinto. But they found by their anſwers, that theſe *Egeſtans* were poor, and that they had abuſed the *Athenian* Embaſſadours with falſe ſhews of Gold, having in all but thirty Talents. The *Athenians* further were diſcouraged, when they found that the *Rhegians* their ancient friends, and allied unto the *Leontines*, refuſed to truſt them within their Walls. Hereupon *Nicias* adviſeth to depart towards the *Selinuntines*, and to force them, or perſwade them to an agreement with the *Egeſtans*; as likewiſe to ſee what diſburſements the *Egeſtans* could make; and ſo return again into *Greece*, and not to waſte *Athens* in a needleſs War. *Alcibiades*, on the other ſide, would ſollicite the Cities of *Sicil* to confederacy againſt the *Syracuſians* and *Silinuntines*, whereby to force them unto reſtitution of all that they had taken from the *Leontines*. *Lamachus* he perſwades them to aſſail *Syracuſe* it ſelf, before it were prepared againſt them. But in the end (being excluded out of divers Cities) they ſurprize *Catana*: and there they take new counſel how to proceed. Thence they imployed *Nicias* to thoſe of *Egeſta*, who received from them thirty Talents towards his charges; and one hundred and twenty Talents more there were of the ſpoils they had gotten in the Iſland. Thus the Summer being ſpent in idle conſultations, and vain attempts, the *Athenians* prepare to aſſail *Syracuſe*. But *Alcibiades* having been accuſed at home, in his abſence, was ſent for back by the *Athenians* to make his anſwer: and the Army was left to the conduct of *Nicias* and *Lamachus*. Theſe Commanders obtain a Landing place very near unto *Syracuſe*, by this device.

They imploy to *Syracuſe* an inhabitant of *Catana*, whom they truſt; and inſtruct him, to promiſe unto the *Syracuſians*, that he would deliver into their hands all the *Athenians* within *Catana*. Hereupon the *Syracuſians* draw thitherward with their beſt forces. But in the mean while, the *Athenians*, ſetting ſail from *Catana*, arrive at *Syracuſe*, where they land at fair eaſe, and fortifie themſelves againſt the Town. Shortly after this, they fight, and the *Syracuſians* had the loſs: but the *Athenians*, wanting Horſe, could not purſue their victory to any great effect. They then retire themſelves, with a reſolution to refreſh their Army at *Catana*, for the Winter-ſeaſon. From thence they made an attempt upon *Meſſana*, hoping to have taken it by an intelligence, but in vain. For *Alcibiades* had diſcovered ſuch as were Traitors within the City to the *Meſſenians*. This he now did, in deſpight of his own Citizens, the *Athenians*, becauſe they had recalled him from his command, with a purpoſe either to have put him to death, or to have baniſhed him: whereof being aſſured by his friends, he took his way towards the *Lacedæmonians*, and to them he gave miſchievous counſel againſt his Country. While this Winter yet laſted, the *Syracuſians* ſent Embaſſadors to *Lacedæmon*, and *Corinth*, for aid: as likewiſe the *Athenian* Captains in *Sicil*, ſend to *Athens* for ſupplies. Which both the one and the other obtained.

In the Spring following (which was the beginning of the eighteenth year of the *Peloponneſian* War) the *Athenians* in *Sicil* ſail from the Port of *Catana* to *Megara*, forſaken of the Inhabitants; from whence, forraging the Country, they obtain ſome ſmall victories over the ſtragling *Syracuſians*: and at their return to *Catana*, they receive a ſupply of two hundred men at Arms, but without Horſe, which they hoped to furniſh in the Iſland from the *Segeſtans*, and other their adherents: They were alſo ſtrengthened with a company of Archers, and with three hundred Talents in Mony.

Hereupon they take courage, and incamp near *Syracuſe*, upon the banks of the great Port, repelling the *Syracuſians*, that ſallied to impeach their intrenchments.

Thucyd. l. 6. c. 9.

intrenchments. They also received from their Confederates four hundred other Horse-men, with two hundred other Horse, to mount their men at Arms. *Syracuse* was now in effect blockt up, so as hardly any succours could enter, but such as were able to force their passage: yet the *Athenians* receive divers losses: among which it was not the least, that *Lamachus*, one of their best Commanders, was slain.

In the mean while, *Gylippus* and *Python*, with the *Lacedæmonian* and *Corinthian* forces, arrive, and take land at *Hymera*. The Citizens of *Hymera*, and of *Gela*, together with the *Selinuntines*, joyn with them; so that with these and his own Troops, *Gylippus* adventured to march over-land toward *Syracuse*. The *Syracusians* send a part of their forces to meet him, and conduct him. The *Athenians* prepare to encounter them, expecting his arrival near unto the City upon a place of advantage. At the first encounter they had the better of their enemies, by reason that the *Syracusian* Horse-men could not come to fight in those streights: but soon after, *Gylippus* charging them again, brake them, and constrained *Nicias* to fortifie himself within his Camp. Whereupon *Nicias* made the state of his affairs known, by his Letters to the *Athenians*; shewing, that without great supplies by Sea and Land, the enterprise would be lost, together with the small Army remaining. These Letters received, the *Athenians* appoint two other Generals, *Eurymedon* and *Demosthenes*, to joyn with *Nicias*: the one they dispatch presently with some supplies; the other they send after him in the Spring following.

In the mean while, *Gylippus* at *Syracuse*, fights with the *Athenians* both by Sea and Land, sometimes with ill, and at other times with good success: but in conclusion, he took from their Fort, near unto *Syracuse*, the Promontory called *Plymmyrium*; wherein the *Athenians* lost their treasure, and a great part of all their provisions. Notwithstanding which loss, and that the *Athenians* themselves, in *Greece*, were (in effect) besieged within *Athens*, by the *Lacedæmonians*; yet were they most obstinate in prosecuting the War in *Sicil*, and dispatch away *Demosthenes* with new succours. *Demosthenes*, in his way towards *Sicil*, encountred with *Polyanthes* the *Corinthian*, with his Fleet: both the Captains being bound for *Sicil*, the one to succour *Nicias*, the other *Gylippus*. The loss between them was in effect equal; and neither so broken, but that each of them prosecuted the enterprise they had in hand. But before the succours arrived to either, *Gylippus* and *Ariston* had assailed the *Athenians* in the great Port of *Syracuse*, and in a Sea fight put them to the worst, to the great discouragement of the *Athenians*. On the neck of this, *Demosthenes* arrived with threescore and thirteen Gallies, charged with Foot-men; and (blaming the sloath of *Nicias*) he invaded the *Syracusians* the same day that he arrived. But he made more haste than he had good speed, being shamefully beaten, and repulsed with great loss. Hereupon *Demosthenes* and *Eurymedon* determine to rise up from before *Syracuse*, and return to the succour of *Athens*: but *Nicias* disputed to the contrary, pretending that he had good intelligence within *Syracuse*, whereby he learned, that the Town could not long hold out.

Whatsoever *Nicias* his intelligence was; upon the arrival of a new supply into the Town, the *Athenians* had all consented to depart, and to lodge at *Catana*: had not an Eclipse of the Moon, boding (as was thought) ill success, caused them to defer their departure. But this superstition cost them dear. For the *Syracusians*, *Lacedæmonians*, and *Corinthians*, with threescore and seventeen sail of Gallies, entred the great Port of *Syracuse*, wherein the *Athenians* kept their Fleet, and whereon they had fortified themselves. The *Athenians* in the same Port encountred them with fourscore and six Gallies, commanded by *Eurymedon*: in which the *Athenian* Fleet was beaten, by the lesser number, and *Eurymedon* slain. Now, though it were so, that the *Syracusians* received the more loss by Land (for the fight was general) yet when the *Athenians* were beaten by Sea, in which kind they thought themselves invincible, they were wonderfully cast down. For it was well said of *Gylippus*, to the *Syracusians*; *When any People do find themselves vanquished in that manner of fight, and with those weapons, in which they perswade themselves that they exceed all others, they not only lose their reputation, but their courage.* The *Athenians*, besides the Gallies sunk and wrackt, had seventeen taken, and possest by the Enemy: and with great labour and loss they defended the rest from being fired, having drawn them within a *Palisado*, in one corner of the Port, unadvisedly: for it is as contrary to a Sea-War, to thrust Ships into a streight room and corner, as it is to scatter Foot in a plain field against Horse; the one subsisting by being at large, the other by close imbattailing.

The *Syracusians*, having now weakned the *Athenian* Fleet, resolve to imprison them within the Port. And to that purpose they range all their Gallies in the mouth of the Haven, being about a Mile over, and there they came to *Anchor*; filling the out-let with all manner of Vessels; which they man most strongly, because the *Athenians*, being now made desperate, should not with double ranks of Gallies break through the *Syracusian* Fleet; which lay but single, because they were forc't to range themselves over all the Out-let of the Port. They therefore not only mored themselves strongly by their *Anchors*, but chained the sides of their Gallies together, and lay behind them again certain Ships, which served in the former War for Victuallers: to the end, that if any of their Gallies were sunk; or the chain, which joyned them to their fellows, broken; the *Athenians* might yet find themselves a second time, intangled and arrested. To disorder also those *Athenian* Gallies, which came on in form of a wedge, to break through, and force a passage, the *Syracusians* had left within these Gallies and Ships, inchained together, a certain number of loose ones, to stop their course and fury. For where the way of any Vessel, using Oar or Sails, is broken, and their speed foreslowed, they cannot force with any weight and violence the resistance opposing.

On the other side, the *Athenians* knew that they were utterly lost, except with an invincible resolution they could make their way, and break down this great Bridge of Boats; or (at least) force a passage through them in some part or other: which they resolve to hazard, with all their Shipping (to the number of one Hundred and Ten of all sorts) and with all the strength of their Land-Army, in them imbarqued. But the Gallies, which were within the Bridge of Boats, did so disorder the *Athenian* Fleet; ere they came to force the Bridge, as albeit some few of them had broken through the the chains, yet being stopt with the Ships without, and assailed by other loose Gallies of the *Syracusians*,

sians, which where purposely left at large in the Sea, they were either taken or sunk. Three great disadvantages, the *Athenians* had: the first, that fighting within a Haven, and (as it were) in a Streight, they had no room to turn themselves, nor to free themselves one from another, being intangled; the second, that having overpestered their Gallies with Souldiers, who used offensive Arms of Darts and Slings, they had not place upon the Decks to stretch their Arms; the third was, the discomfortable end for which they fought, namely, to force a passage, by which they might save themselves by running away. To be short, the fight was no less terrible then the confusion: the slaughter great on all sides; and the noise, and the cries, so lowd and lamentable, as that no direction could be heard. But in the end, the *Athenians*, as many as survived, were beaten back to the Land, with loss of Threescore of their Gallies, broken, and sunk, or abandoned. The *Syracusians* did also lose Twenty of theirs, with *Python*, Commander of the *Corinthians*. The rest of the *Athenian* Gallies, running themselves into the bottom of the Port, saved themselves by the help and countenance of the Land-Army there fortified. In this desperate estate, the *Athenian* Commanders go to Counsel. *Demosthenes* perswades them to furnish with fresh Souldiers those few Gallies which remained; and while the *Syracusians* were triumphing, and made secure by their present victory, to set upon them, and forcing their way out of the Port, to return to *Athens*. This was no ill counsel. For, as we have heard of many great Captains (yea, the greatest number of all that have been victorious) that have neglected the speedy prosecution of a beaten Enemy; so might we produce many examples of those, who having slept securely in the bosome of good success, have been suddenly awaked, by the re-allied Companies of a broken Army, and have thereby lost again all the honour and advantage formerly gotten. But *Nicias* opposeth the advice of *Demosthenes*: Others say, that the Seamen were against it. Whereupon abandoning their Gallies, they all resolve to march over Land to the Cities of their Confederates, till some more favourable fortune should call them thence. On the other side, *Gylippus*, and other the *Lacedæmonian* and *Corinthian* Captains, with *Hermocrates*, exhort the *Syracusians* to put themselves presently into the Field, and to stop all the passages, leading to those Cities of their Enemies, to which the *Athenians* might make retrait. But many were weary; and many were wounded, and many of them thought that they had done enough for the present. Which humour in some of our Commanders at *Cadez*, lost us both the *Indian* Fleet, and the spoils of many other neighbour places. *Hermocrates*, the *Syracusians*, finding it a lost labour, perswade his Countrymen to any hasty prosecution, devised this good stratagem, whereby to gain time; not doubting, but that after a day or two, he should draw them willingly out. He sent two or three Horse-men out of *Syracuse* by night, willing them to find *Nicias*, and after they had assured him, that they were of the *Athenians* faction) to give him advice not to march away over-hastily from the place, wherein he was fortified; alledging that the *Syracusians* had lodged their Army, which could not long stay there, upon the passages and places of advantage, leading towards the Cities of their Allies. These tidings *Nicias* easily believed, and put off his journey to the third day. For men newly beaten, are (for the most part) more fearful then wise; and to them, every Thistle in the Field appears, by night, a man at Arms.

The third day (leaving all their Gallies, and all their baggage) they remove; being pierced and pursued with the lamentable out-cries of those that were sick and hurt: whom they abandon to the cure of their Enemies Swords. The rest march away, to the number of Forty Thousand; and make their first passage by force, over the River of *Anapus*, notwithstanding the opposition of their Enemies. But being every day charged in their marches, and by the *Syracusian* Horse-men, beaten in from forraging and provision of food, they grow weak and heartless. The *Syracusians* also possess the Mountain *Lepas*, by which they were to pass towards *Camerina*, and thereby force them to fall back again towards the Sea-coast, and to take what way they could: being unable to proceed in their journey intended. Many hard shifts they made, in difficult passages, and blind marches by Night; which they were fain to endure, as having none other means to escape from the Enemy that pursued them and held them waking with continual skirmishing. To keep all in order, *Nicias* undertook the leading of the Vaunt-guard; and *Demosthenes* conducted the Rear. At the River *Erineus*, *Nicias* takes the start of a whole nights march; leaving *Demosthenes* to make the retreat: who being incompassed, and overpress with numbers, in the end renders himself. The conditions he obtained, were far better than he could have hoped for; and the faith of his enemies far worse than he suspected. For he was afterward, with *Nicias* murdered in prison. The Army of *Demosthenes* being dissolved, they pursued *Nicias* with the greater courage: who being utterly broken upon the passage of the River *Assinarus*, rendered himself to *Gylippus*, upon honest conditions. *Gylippus* fought to preserve him, and to have had the honour to have brought these two to *Sparta*; *Nicias*, as a noble Enemy to the *Lacedæmonians*, and who, at the overthrow which they received at *Pylus* by the *Athenians*, had saved the lives of the vanquished; *Demosthenes*, as one that had done to *Lacedæmon* the greatest hurt. *Hermocrates* also, the Commander of the *Syracusian* Army dissawded the rest, by all the art he had, from using any barbarous violence, after so noble a victory. But the cruel and cowardly sort, (cowardise and cruelty being inseparable passions) prevailed, and caused these brave Captains to be miserably murdered; one part of their Souldiers to be starved in loathsome Prisons; and the rest, sold for Slaves. This was the success of the *Sicilian* War: which took end at the River *Assinarus*, the Four and Twentieth Day of *May*, in the Fourscore and Eleventh Olympiad.

The *Athenian* being beaten out of *Sicil*; the *Egestans* (for whose defence against the *Selinuntines*, this late War had been taken in hand) fearing the victorious *Syracusians*, sought help from the *Carthaginians*; to whom they offered themselves, and their City, as their Vassals. The *Carthaginians*, though ambitious enough of enlarging their Dominion in *Sicil*, yet considering the prosperity of the *Syracusians*, and their late victories over the *Athenians*, they stayed a while to dispute of the matter, whether they should refuse or accept the offer made unto them: for the *Selinuntines* were straightly allied to the *Syracusians*, as may appear by what is past. In the end the *Senators* of *Carthage* resolve upon the enterprise; and (by a trick of their *Punick* wit) to separate the

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Syracuſians from the *Selinuntines* they ſend Embaſſadours to *Syracuſe*: praying that City, as in the behalf of the *Egeſtans*, to compel the *Selinuntines* to take reaſon, and to reſt content with ſo much of the Lands in queſtion, as they of *Syracuſe* ſhould think meet to allow them. The *Syracuſians* approved the motion; for it tended to their own honour. But the *Selinuntines* would make no ſuch appointment: rather they took it ill, that the *Syracuſians*, with whom they had run one courſe of fortune, in the *Athenian* War, ſhould offer to trouble them, by interpoſing as Arbitrators, in a buſineſs that themſelves could end by force. This was right as the *Carthaginians* would have it. For now could they of *Selinus* with an ill grace crave aid of *Syracuſe*; and the *Syracuſians* as ill grant it unto thoſe, that had refuſed to ſtand to the Arbitrament, which the *Carthaginians* would have put into their hands. Hereupon, an Army of three Hundred Thouſand men is ſet out from *Carthage*, under the Conduct of *Hannibal*, Nephew to that *Amilcar*, who (as you have heard before) was overthrown with the great *Carthaginian* Army at *Himera* by *Gelon*. *Hannibal* was exceeding greedy of this imployment, that he might take revenge as well of his Uncles, as of his Fathers death; the one of them having been ſlain by the *Himerans*, the other by thoſe of *Selinus*. Both the Cities, *Hannibal*, in this War, won by force of Arms, ſackt them, and burnt them; and having taken Three Thouſand of the *Himerans* Priſoners, he cauſed them to be led unto the place, where *Amilcar* was ſlain, and buried them there.

After this followed ſome trouble at *Syracuſe* occaſioned by the baniſhment of *Hermocrates*, who had lately been General of the *Syracuſian* Forces, againſt the *Athenians*. The malice of his Enemies had ſo far prevailed with the ungrateful Multitude, that he was condemned to exile for his meer vertue, at ſuch a time as he was aiding the *Lacedæmonians*, in their War againſt *Athens*: wherein he did great ſervice. All the honeſter ſort within *Syracuſe* were ſorry for their injury done unto him, and ſought to have him repealed. *Hermocrates* himſelf, returned into *Sicil*, gathered an Army of Six Thouſand; with which he began to repair *Selinus*; and by many noble actions laboured to win the love of his Citizens. But the faction that oppoſed him was the ſtronger. Wherefore he was adviſed to ſeize upon a Gate of *Syracuſe*, with ſome ſtrength of men; whereby his friends within the Town, might have the better means to riſe againſt the adverſe party. This he did: but preſently the Multitude fell to Arms, and ſet upon him; in which conflict he was ſlain. But his Son-in-law, *Dionyſius*, ſhall make them wiſh *Hermocrates* alive again.

†. IV.

Of Dionyſius *the Tyrant: and others, following him, in* Syracuſe.

THE *Syracuſians* had enjoyed their liberty about Threeſcore Years, from the death of *Thraſybulus*, to the death of *Hermocrates*: At which time *Dionyſius* was raiſed up by God, to take revenge, as well of their cruelty toward Strangers, as of their ingratitude towards their own beſt Citizens. For before the time of *Dionyſius*, they had made it their paſtime, to reward the vertue of their worthieſt Commanders with death, or diſgrace: Which cuſtom they muſt now be taught to amend.

Dionyſius obtained the principality of *Syracuſe*, by the ſame degrees, that many others, before him, had made themſelves Maſters of other Cities, and of *Syracuſe* it ſelf. For, being made *Prætor*, and commanding their Armies againſt the *Carthaginians*, and other their enemies, he behaved himſelf ſo well, that he got a general love among the People, and men of War. Then began he to follow the example of *Piſiſtratus*, that made himſelf Lord of *Athens*; obtaining a Band of Six Hundred men, to defend his Perſon: Under pretence, that his private Enemies, being traiterouſly affected to the State of *Syracuſe*, had laid plots how to Murder him, becauſe of his good ſervices. He doubled the pay of his Souldiers; alledging, that it would incourage them to fight manfully: But intending thereby to aſſure them to himſelf. He perſwaded the Citizens, to call home, out of exile, thoſe that had been baniſhed, which were the beſt men of *Syracuſe*; and theſe were afterwards at his devotion, as obliged unto him by ſo great a benefit. His firſt favour, among the *Syracuſians*, grew from his accuſation of the principal men. It is the delight of baſe People to reign over their betters: Wherefore, gladly did he help them to break down, as Fetters impriſoning their liberty, the Bars that held it under ſafe cuſtody. Long it was not, ere the chief Citizens had found whereat he aimed. But what they ſaw, the People would not ſee: And ſome that were needy, and knew not how to get Offices without his help, were willing to help him, though they knew his purpoſes to be ſuch, as would make all the City to ſmart. He began early to hunt after the Tyranny; being but Five and Twenty Years of age when he obtained it: Belike it was his deſire to reign long. His firſt work, of making himſelf abſolute Lord in *Syracuſe*, was, the poſſeſſion of the Citadel, wherein was much good Proviſion, and under it the Gallies were mored. This he obtained by allowance of the People; and having obtained this, he cared for no more, but declared himſelf without all ſhame or fear. The Army the chief Citizens reſtored by him from baniſhment; all the needy ſort within *Syracuſe*, that could not thrive by honeſt courſes; and ſome Neighbour-Towns, bound unto him, either for his help in War, or for eſtabliſhing the faction, reigning at that preſent; were wholly affected to his aſſiſtance. Having therefore gotten the Citadel into his hands, he needed no more, ſave to aſſure what he had already. He ſtrengthened himſelf by divers Marragies; taking firſt to Wife the Daughter of *Hermocrates*; and after her, two at once; the one a *Locrian*, *Doris*, by whom he had *Dionyſius*, his Succeſſor; the other, *Ariſtomache*, the Daughter of *Hipparinus*, and Siſter to *Dion*, honourable men in *Syracuſe*; which bare unto him many Children, that ſerved to fortifie him with new alliances.

Yet it was not long, ere ſome of the *Syracuſians* (envying his proſperity) incited the Multitude, and took Arms againſt him, even in the novelty of his Rule. But their enterpriſe was more paſſionately, than wiſely governed. He had ſhamefully been beaten by the *Carthaginians* at *Gela*: which, as it vexed the *Sicilian* men at Arms, making them ſuſpect that it was his purpoſe to let the *Carthaginians* waſte all, that he might afterwards take

take poſſeſſion of the deſolate places; ſo it inflamed them with a deſire to free themſelves from his tyranny. They departed therefore from him, and marched haſtily to *Syracuſe*, where they found friends to help them: There they forced his Pallace, ranſaked his treaſures, and ſo ſhamefully abuſed his Wife, that for the grief thereof ſhe poiſoned her ſelf. But he followed their heels apace; and firing a Gate of the City by Night, entered ſoon enough to take revenge, by making a ſpeedy riddance of them. For he ſpared none of his known, no nor of his ſuſpected Enemies. After that, he grew ſo doubtful of his life, as he never durſt truſt Barber to trim him, nor any Perſon, no ſo much as his Brother, to enter into his Chamber, unſtript and ſearched. He was the greateſt Robber of the People that ever reigned in any State, and withall the moſt unreſpectively cruel.

After this, he ſeperated with Fortification that part of the City, called the Iſland, from the reſt; like as the Spaniard did the Citadel of *Antwerp*: Therein he lodged his Treaſures, and his Guards.

He then began to make War upon the free Cities of *Sicil*: But while he lay before *Herbeſſe*, an in-land Town, the *Syracuſians* rebelled againſt him; ſo, as with great difficulty he recovered his Citadel: From whence, having allured the old Souldiers of the Companions, who forced their paſſage through the City, with One Thouſand and Two Hundred Horſe, he again recovered the Maſtery over the *Syracuſians*. And when a Multitude of them were buſied in gathering in their Harveſt, he diſarmed all the Towns-men remaining, and new ſtrengthened the Fort of the Iſland with a double Wall. He incloſed that part alſo, called *Epipoles*; which, with Threeſcore Thouſand Labourers, he finiſhed within Three Weeks, being two Leagues incompaſs. He then built Two Hundred new Gallies; and repaired one Hundred and Ten of the old; forged One Hundred and Forty Thouſand Targets, with as many Swords, and Head-pieces, with Fourteen Thouſand Corſlets, and all other ſutable Arms. Which done, he ſent word to the *Carthaginians* (greatly infeebled by the Plague) That except they would abandon the *Greek* Towns, which they held in *Sicil*, he would make War upon them: And, not ſtaying for anſwer, he took the ſpoil of all the *Phœnician* Ships, and Merchandize, within his Ports; as King *Philip* the Second did of our *Engliſh*, before the War in our late Queens time. He then goes to the Field with Fourſcore Thouſand Foot, and Three Thouſand Horſe, and ſends his Brother *Leptines* to Sea, with Two Hundred Gallies, and Five Hundred Ships of burden. Moſt of the Towns which held for *Carthage* yielded unto him; ſaving *Panormus*, *Segeſta* or *Egeſta*, *Ancyra*, *Motya*, and *Eutella*. Of theſe, he firſt wan *Motya* by aſſault, and put all therein to the Sword; but before *Egeſta* he loſt a great part of his Army, by a ſally of the Citizens. In the mean while *Himilco* arrives; but, ere he took Land, he loſt in a Fight at Sea, with *Leptines*, Fifty Ships of War, and Five Thouſand Souldiers, beſides many Ships of burthen. This notwithſtanding, he recovered again *Motya* upon his firſt deſcent. From thence marching towards *Meſſana*, he took *Lypara*, and (ſoon after) *Meſſana*, and razed it to the ground. Now began *Dionyſius* greatly to doubt his eſtate. He therefore fortified all the places he could, in the Territory of the *Leontines*, by which he ſuppoſed that *Himilco* would paſs toward *Syracuſe*; and he himſelf took the Field again, with Four and Thirty Thouſand Foot; and One Thouſand Horſe. Now, hearing that *Himilco* had divided his Army into two parts, marching with the one half over-land, and ſending *Mago* with the other by Sea: He ſent *Leptines*, his Brother, to encounter *Mago*. But *Leptines* was utterly beaten by the *Carthaginians*; Twenty Thouſand of his men were ſlain, and an Hundred of his Gallies loſt. It is very ſtrange, and hardly credible, which yet good Authors tell us; that one City ſhould be able to furniſh Five Hundred Sail of Ships, and two Hundred Gallies: (for, ſo many did *Syracuſe* Arm in this War) and more ſtrange it is, that in a Battail at Sea, without any great Artillery, or Muſquet-ſhot, Twenty Thouſand ſhould be ſlain in one Fight. In all our Fights againſt the *Turks*, of which that at *Lepanto* was the moſt notable, we hear of no ſuch number loſt; nor in any other Fight by Sea, that ever happened in our age, nor before us. When *Charles* the Fifth went to Beſiege *Algeir*, he had in all his Fleet, Tranſporters and others, but Two Hundred and Fifty Sail of Ships, and Threeſcore and Five Gallies: For the furniſhing of which Fleet, he ſought help from all the Cities and Ports of *Spain*, *Naples*, and the reſt of *Italy*. But in old times it was the manner to carry into the Field, upon extremity, as many as were needful, of all that could bear Arms, giving them little wages, or other allowance: In our dayes it is not ſo; neither indeed, is it often requiſite. Upon this overthrow, *Dionyſius* poſts away to *Syracuſe*, to ſtrengthen it: *Himilco* follows him, and Beſiegeth the Town by Land and Sea. But the Tyrant, having received aid from the *Lacedæmonians*, under the conduct of *Pharacidas*, puts himſelf to Sea, to make Proviſion for his Citizens, who, in his abſence, take Twenty of the *Carthaginian* Gallies, and ſink Four. Hereupon, finding their own ſucceſs proſperous, and that of the Tyrant exceeding ill, having alſo at the preſent Weapons in their hands, they conſult how to recover their liberty. And this they had done, had not *Pharacidas* the *Lacedæmonian* reſiſted them. It alſo fell out to his exceeding advantage, that the Plague was ſo increaſed, and ſo violent among the *Carthaginians*, as it is ſaid, that above an Hundred Thouſand of them died thereof. He therefore, with the power that he could gather together, ſets upon them both by Sea and Land; and having ſlain great numbers of them, forceth *Himilco* to deſire Peace. This Peace *Dionyſius* ſold him for ſo great Sum of Money; on condition, that he ſhould ſteal away with his *Carthaginians* only: which he baſely accepted, betraying the reſt of the *Africans* and *Spaniards*. Yet no faith was kept with him: For he was purſued, and left many of his *Carthaginians* behind him. The reſt of the *Africans* fell under the Swords of their Enemies; only the *Spaniards*, after they had a while bravely defended themſelves, were (after their ſubmiſſion) entertained, and ſerved the Conquerour.

May ſuch examples of perfidious dealing I have noted in other places, and can hardly forbear to deliver unto memory the like practices, when they meet with their matches: That which hapned unto *Monſieur de Piles*, was very ſutable to this treachery, wherewith *Dionyſius* purſued *Himilco*, I was preſent when *De Piles* related the injury done unto him. He had rendered St. *John d' Angelie* to the *French* King *Charles* the Ninth, who beſieged him therein. He rendered it, upon promiſe made by the faith of a King, that he ſhould be ſuffered

to depart in safety, with all his followers. Yet in presence of the King himself, of the Duke of *Anjou* his Brother, General of his Army, of the Queen Mother, and of divers Dukes and Marshals of *France*, he was set upon and broken in his March; spoiled of all that he had, and forced to save his life by flight; leaving the most of his Souldiers dead upon the place; the Kings hand and faith warranting him to march away with Ensigns displayd and with-all his Goods and Provisions, no whit availing him. It needs not therefore seem strange, that an Heathen Tyrant should thus break his faith, since Kings, professing Christianity, are bold to do the like, or command their Captains to do it for them.

Dionysius after this great victory, took care to re-edifie *Messana*. *Mago* who stayed in *Sicil*, to hold up the *Carthaginians* therein, is again beaten by *Dionysius*; who is also beaten by the *Tauromenians*. A new supply of Fourscore Thousand Souldiers is sent from *Carthage* to *Mago*, but these take Eggs for their Money, and make Peace with *Dionysius*, leaving the *Sicilians* in *Tauromenium*, to shift for themselves: Whom *Dionysius*, after a long Siege, overcame, and gave their City to the Mercenary Souldiers.

He then past into *Italy*, obtained divers Victories there, brought the *Rhegians* on their Knees, forced them to pay him one Hundred and Fourscore Thousand Crowns, to furnish him with Threescore Gallies, and put in an Hundred Pledges, for assurance of their future observance of Covenants. This he did, not with any purpose to perform unto them the Peace that they had so dearly bought; but that having taken from them their Gallies, he might Besiege them, and ruine them utterly, with the more ease. Now to the end he might not, without some colour, falsifie the faith that he had given to them; he pretended to want Victual for his Army, at such time as he seemed ready to depart out of *Italy*, and sent to them to furnish him therewith, promising to return them the like quantity at his coming home to *Syracuse*.

His resolution was, that if they refused to furnish him, he would then make their refusal the cause of his quarrel; If they yielded to aid him with the proportion which he desired, that then they should not be able, for want of Food, to endure a Siege any long time against him. For, to ruine them he had fully determined, at what price so ever. And great reason he had to take revenge of them, if he had done it fairly, and without breach of faith. For when in the beginning of his Reign, he desired them to bestow a Daughter of some of their Nobility upon him for a Wife; they answered that they had not any one fit for him, save the Hangmans Daughter. Princes do rather pardon ill deeds, than villanous words. *Alexander* the Great forgave many sharp Swords, but never any sharp Tongues; no, though they told him but truly of his errours. And certainly, it belongs to those that have warrant from God, to reprehend Princes; and to none else, especially in publick.

It is said, that *Henry* the Fourth of *France*, had his heart more inflamed against the Duke of *Biron*, for his over-bold and biting taunts, that he used against him before *Amiens*, than for his conspiracy with the *Spaniard* or *Savoyan*: for he had pardoned 10000 of such as had gone farther, and drawn their Swords against him. The contemptuous words that Sir *John Parrot* used of our late Queen *Elizabeth*, were his ruine; and not the counterfeit letter of the *Romish* Priest produced against him. So fared it with some other, greater than he, that thereby ran the same, and a worse fortune, soon after.

To be short, he made them know new Bread from old. He assaulted their Town on all sides, which he continued to do Eleven Months, till he won it by force. He used his Victory without mercy, specially against *Phyton*, who had commanded within it.

Some other Wars he made with the *Carthaginians*, after the taking and razing of this City; and those with variable success. For, as in one encounter he slew *Mago*, with Ten Thousand *Africans*: So the Son of *Mago* beat him, and slew his Brother *Leptines*, with Fourteen Thousand of his Souldiers. After which he bought his Peace of the *Carthaginians*, as they had formerly done of him; following therein the advice of Prosperity and Adversity, as all Kings and States do.

When he had Reigned Eight and Thirty Years, he died: Some say in his Bed, peaceably, which is the most likely, though others report it otherwise. A cruel man he was, and a faithless; a great Poet, but a foolish one. He entertained *Plato* a while, but afterward, for speaking against his Tyranny, he gave order to have him slain, or sold for a Slave. For he could endure no man that flattered him not beyond measure. His Parasites therefore stiled his cruelty, *The hate of evil men*; and his lawless slaughters, *The ornaments and effects of his justice*. True it is, that flatterers are a kind of Vermine, which poison all the Princes of the World; and yet they prosper better than the worthiest and valiantest men do: And I wonder not at it, for it is a World: And as our *Saviour Christ* hath told us, *The World will love her own*.

To this *Dionysius*, his Son of the same name succeeded, and inherited both his Kingdom and his Vices. To win the love of the People, he pardoned, and released out of Prison, a great number of Persons, by his Father lockt up and condemned. Withall, he remitted unto his Citizens divers payments, by his Father imposed upon them. Which done, and thereby hoping that he had fastned unto himself the Peoples affections; he cast off the Sheeps skin, and put on that of the Wolf. For being jealous of his own Brethren, as men of more vertue than himself, he caused them all to be slain; and all the kindred that they had by their Mothers side. For *Dionysius* his Father (as hath been said) had two Wives; *Doris* of *Locris*, and *Aristomache* a *Syracusian*, the Sister of *Dion*, which Brother-in-law of his he greatly enriched.

By *Doris* he had this *Dionysius*, who succeeded unto him: and by *Aristomache* he had two Sons and two Daughters, of which the elder, called *Sophrosayne*, he gave in Marriage to his eldest Son, and her half-Brother *Dionysius*; the younger, called *Areta*, he bestowed on his Brother *Theorides*: after whose death *Dion* took her to Wife, being his Neece.

This *Dion*, a just and valiant man, finding that *Dionysius* had abandoned all exercise of vertue, and that he was wholly given over to sensuality, prevailed so much with *Plato*, whose Disciple he had been, as he drew him into *Sicil*, to instruct the young King. And having perswaded the King to entertain him, he wrought so well with him, as

Dionysius

Dionyſius began to change condition; to change Tyranny into Monarchy: And to hold the Principality that he had, rather by the love of his People, and his National Laws, than by the violence of his Guards and Garisons. But this goodneſs of his laſted not long. For *Philiſtus* the Hiſtorian, and other his Paraſites; that hated *Dions* ſeverity, wrought him out of the Tyrants favour, and cauſed him ſoon after to be baniſhed out of *Sicil*, to the great grief of the whole Nation. For whereas *Dion* had made offer to the King, either to compound the quarrels between him and the *Carthaginians*, of whom *Dionyſius* ſtood in great fear; or (at leaſt) if they refuſed it, to furniſh him with Fifty Gallies at his own charge, during the War againſt them: His enemies found means, by ſiniſter interpretation, to convert his good will into matter of Treaſon. They told *Dionyſius*, that all the great commendations, given of *Plato*, had tended to none other end; than to ſoften his mind, and to make him neglect his own affairs, by the ſtudy of Philoſophy; whilſt *Dion* in the mean time having furniſhed Fifty Gallies under colour of the Kings ſervice, had it in his own power either to deliver to the *Syracuſians* their former liberty, or to make himſelf Lord and Soveraign of their State.

It is likely, that the honeſt and liberal offer which he made, to ſerve the King with ſo great a preparation, at his own charge, begot him many Enemies. For they that had ſerved the King for none other end than to raiſe and enrich themſelves, and had already been raiſed and enriched, thought themſelves bound to make the ſame offer that *Dion* had made, if the King had had the grace to conceive it aright. But the covetous and ignorant cowards, that had neither the knowledge, nor the daring that *Dion* had, were bold to ſtile his Love and Liberality, Pride and Preſumption; and heartned the young King in his oppreſſing, and eating up his own People, of whoſe ſpoils they themſelves ſhared no ſmall portion. I have heard it, That when *Charles* the Fifth had the repulſe at *Algier*, in *Africa*, *Ferdinando Corteſe*, one of the braveſt men that ever *Spain* brought forth, offered unto the Emperour, to continue the Siege at his own charge. But he had never good day after it. For they that envied his Victories, and his Conqueſt of *Mexico* in the *Weſt-Indies*, perſwaded the Emperour, that *Corteſe* ſought to value himſelf above him; and to have it ſaid, that what the Emperour could not, *Corteſe* had effected, and therefore was more worthy of the Empire, than he that had it.

When *Dion* was newly baniſhed, the Tyrant was contented at firſt to ſend him the Revenues of his Lands, and permit him to diſpoſe of his moveables at his own pleaſure: Not without giving hope to recal him in ſhort time. Had he continued in this good mood, like enough it is, that *Dion* would have been well pleaſed to live well, as he did, at *Athens*. But after ſome time, *Dionyſius* made Port-ſale of this Noble-mans goods, and thereby urged him to take another courſe, even to ſeek the reſtitution of his Country to liberty. The vertues of *Dion*, eſpecially his great Liberality, had purchaſed much Love in *Greece*. This Love made him ſuſpected and hated of the Tyrant: But it ſtood him in good ſtead, when he ſought to raiſe men, with whoſe help he might return into *Sicil*. Yet he got not above Eight Hundred (for he carried the matter cloſely) to follow him in his adventure. But many of them were men of quality, and fit to be Leaders. Neither did he doubt of finding in *Syracuſe*, as many as ſhould be needful, that would readily aſſiſt him. Therefore he landed boldly in *Sicil*, marched to *Syracuſe*, entered the City without reſiſtance, Armed the Multitude, and won all, ſave the Citadel.

Dionyſius was then abſent in *Italy*, but he quickly had advertiſement of his dangerous accident. Wherefore he returned haſtily to *Syracuſe*: Whence, after many vain Treaties of Peace, and ſome forceable attempts to recover the Town, he was fain to depart; leaving yet a Caſtle to the Cuſtody of *Apollocrates* his eldeſt Son. Yet ere he went, his Minion *Philiſtus*, coming with a ſtrength of men to aſſiſt him, was beaten, taken, and put to death by torment. But *Dion*, for the recovery of his Countries liberty, had the ſame reward that all worthy men have had from popular Eſtates. He was diſgraced, aſſaulted and forced to abandon the City. He retired himſelf to the *Leontines*, who received him with great joy. Soon after his departure from *Syracuſe*, new Troops enter the Caſtle: They ſally out, aſſail, ſpoil, and burn a great part of the City. *Dion* is ſent for, with humble requeſt: Yet, ere he could arrive, *Dionyſius* his Souldiers were retired; and the Towns-men thinking themſelves ſecure, ſhut the Gates againſt *Dion*. But the next Night they of the Caſtle ſally out again, with greater fury than ever; they kill Man, Woman, and Child, and ſet fire in all parts of the Town. In this their extremity *Dion* comes the ſecond time to their ſuccour; the love of his Countrey ſurmounting all the injuries that he had received. He ſets upon the Garriſon of the Caſtle, with the one part of his Army; and quencheth the fire every where kindled, with the other part. In concluſion, after he had Conquered both the Fire and the Sword, that had well near burnt to aſhes, and depopulated *Syracuſe*, he recovered the Caſtle, with the munition and furniture thereof, and ſent *Apollocrates* after *Dionyſius* his Father into *Italy*. But their malice, of whom he had beſt deſerved, and whom he had loved moſt, gave an untimely end to his dayes. For he was ſoon after his Victory, murdered by *Gylippus*; who after he had with ill ſucceſs, awhile governed *Syracuſe*, was ſlain with the ſame Dagger, with which he had murdered *Dion*.

Ten Years after the death of *Dion*, *Dionyſius*, with the aſſiſtance of his friends in *Italy*, recovers his Eſtate; and returns to *Syracuſe*, driving *Nyſæus* thence, whom he found Governour therein. The better ſort of the Citizens, fearing more then ever, his cruelty, flee to *Icetes*, a *Syracuſian* born, and then ruling the *Leontines*. *Icetes* enters into confederacy with the *Carthaginians*, hoping by their aſſiſtance, not only to prevail againſt *Dionyſius*; but by the hatred of the *Syracuſians* towards *Dionyſius*, to make him alſo Lord of their City. The *Syracuſians*, being deſervedly afflicted on all ſides, ſend to the *Corinthians* for ſuccour. *Icetes* alſo ſends thither, and diſſwades the *Corinthians*, as well as he can, from intermedling in the buſineſs. He tells them, by his Meſſengers, That he had entred into a League with the *Carthaginians*, who were ſo ſtrong by Sea, that it was not in the power of *Corinth*, to land an Army in *Sicil*. But the *Corinthians*, being by this Treaſon of *Icetes*, more inraged than diſſwaded, ſent *Timoleon* with Nineteen Gallies, to deliver *Syracuſe* from Tyranny. In the mean while, *Icetes* had entered *Syracuſe*, and

with the help of the *Carthaginians*, driven *Dionyſius* into the Caſtle, where he beſieged him.

Icetes, being himſelf a Tyrant in *Leontium*, rather ſought how to enlarge his power, than how to deliver his Countrey. Therefore, hearing that *Timoleon* was arrived at *Rhegium*, he ſent to perſwade him, to return his Fleet; for that all things were (in effect) eſtabliſhed in *Sicil*. The *Carthaginian* Gallies were alſo in the ſame Port of *Rhegium*, whoſe Captains adviſed *Timoleon* to get him gone in peace. They had far more Gallies there than he had, and were like to compel him, if he would not be perſwaded. *Timoleon*, finding himſelf over-maſtered, makes requeſt to the *Carthaginian* Captains, that they would be pleaſed to enter into *Rhegium*, and there, in an open aſſembly of the People, to deliver unto him thoſe arguments for his return, which they had uſed to him in private; that he might, by publick teſtimony, diſcharge himſelf to the Senate of *Corinth*.

The *Carthaginians*, perſwading themſelves, that a Victory obtained by a few fair words, was without loſs, and far more eaſie, than that of many blows, and wounds, yielded to *Timoleons* deſire. But while the Orations were delivering, *Timoleon*, favoured by the *Rhegians*, ſtole out of the preaſe; and having ſet Sail, before the Gates were opened to the *Carthaginians*, he recovered the Port of *Tauromenium*, where he was joyfully received by *Andromachus* the Governour. From thence he marched toward *Adranum*, where ſurpriſing *Icetes* his Army, he ſlew a part thereof, and put the reſt to run. It is the Nature of Victory to beget friends. The *Adranitans* joyned with him, and ſo did *Mamercus*, the Tyrant of *Catana*. *Dionyſius* alſo ſent to *Timoleon*, offering to ſurrender the Caſtle of *Syracuſe* into his hands, as thinking it better to yield up himſelf, and the places which he could not defend, unto the *Corinthians*, than either to *Icetes*, whom he diſdained, or to the *Carthaginians*, whom he hated. Now *Timoleon*, who, within Fifty Dayes after his arrival, had recovered the Caſtle of *Syracuſe*, and ſent *Dionyſius* to *Corinth*, to live there a private man, was ſtill invaded by the Armies, and moleſted by the practices of *Icetes*. For he Beſieged the *Corinthians* within the Caſtle of *Syracuſe*, and attempted (but in vain) the Murder of *Timoleon*.

The *Corinthians* ſend unto *Timoleon* a ſupply of Two Thouſand Foot, and Two Hundred Horſe, which are ſtayed in *Italy* by foul weather. *Icetes* is ſtrengthened with Threeſcore Thouſand *Africans*, brought unto him by *Mago* (all which he lodgeth within *Syracuſe*) and with an Hundred and Fifty Gallies, to keep the Port. This was the firſt time that ever the *Carthaginians* had Dominion within the Walls of that City. With this great Army *Icetes* aſſaileth the Caſtle: *Timoleon* ſends them Victuals, and ſuccour, in ſmall Boats, by Night, from *Catana*. *Mago* and *Icetes* do therefore reſolve to Beſiege *Catana*; but they were no ſooner on their way towards it, with part of their Forces, than *Leon*, Captain of the *Corinthians*, ſallied out of the Caſtle, and took that part of *Syracuſe*, called *Acradina*, which he fortified.

In the mean while, the Two Thouſand *Corinthians* arrive: with whom, and two Thouſand other Souldiers, *Timoleon* marched toward *Syracuſe*. *Mago* abandoneth *Icetes*, being frighted out of *Sicil* (which he might eaſily have conquered) with an idle rumour of Treaſon. This made him return to *Carthage*; where the general exclamation againſt his cowardiſe, did ſo much affright him, that for fear of further puniſhment he hanged himſelf. *Timoleon* enters the City, and beats down the Caſtle (which he called *The Neſt of Tyrants*) to the ground. But he found the City, when the ſtrangers were fled, in effect deſolate; ſo as their Horſes did feed on the Graſs growing in the Market-place. Therefore he writes to *Corinth* for People to reinhabit it. Ten Thouſand are ſent out of *Greece*, many come from *Italy*; others from other parts of the Iſland.

But a new ſtorm ariſeth. *Aſdrubal* and *Amilcar*, *Carthaginians*, arrive about *Lilibæum*, with Threeſcore and Ten Thouſand Souldiers, tranſported (with all their proviſions) in a Thouſand Ships of burden, and Two Hundred Gallies. *Timoleon* marcheth thither, and chargeth this great Army upon the paſſage of a River.

A Tempeſt of Rain, Hail, and Lightning, with boyſterous Winds, beating upon the faces of the *Carthaginians*, they are utterly broken, Ten Thouſand ſlain, Five Thouſand taken, with all their Carragies and Proviſions: Among which there were found a Thouſand Croſſets Guilt and Graven. After this, *Timoleon* gave an overthrow to *Icetes*, and following his Victory, took him, with his Son *Eupolemus*, and the General of his Horſe, Priſoners; whom he cauſed all to be ſlain: And afterwards (which was imputed to him for great cruelty) he ſuffered *Icetes* his Wives and Daughters to be put to death. But this was the revenge of God upon *Icetes*, who (after the Murder of *Dion*) had cauſed *Arete*, *Dions* Wife, and a young Child of his, with *Ariſtomache* his Siſter, to be caſt into the Sea.

He again prevailed againſt *Mamercus* Tyrant of *Catana*, and won *Catana* it ſelf. *Mamercus* fled to *Hippon* Tyrant of *Meſſena*: But *Timoleon*, purſued him, won the Town; delivering *Hippon* to his Citizens, who tormented him to death. The ſame end had *Mamercus*, and all other the Tyrants in *Sicil*.

Finally, he made Peace with the *Carthaginians*, on condition that they ſhould not paſs the River of *Lycus*. After this, he lived in great honour among the *Syracuſians*, till his death; and was ſolemnly buried by them in the Market-place of their City: The Day of his Funerals being for ever ordained to be kept holy among them.

After ſuch time as *Timoleon* had delivered *Syracuſe* from the Tyranny of *Dionyſius*, and brought Peace to the whole Iſland; the Inhabitants injoyed their liberty in Peace, about Twenty years. The Cities and Temples were repaired; the Trade renewed; the Marchant Sailed in ſafety; and the Labouring man injoyed the fruits of the Earth in quiet. But it was impoſſible that a Nation which neither knew how to govern, nor how to obey; which could neither endure Kings, nor men worthy to be Kings, to govern them; ſhould any long time ſubſiſt.

Twenty Years after the death of *Timoleon*, there ſtarted up one *Agathocles* among them, a man of baſe Birth, and of baſer condition: Who from a Begger, to a common Souldier; from a common Souldier to a Captain; and ſo from degree to degree, riſing to be a Prætor: Finally, became Lord and Soveraign of the *Syracuſians*. Many fortunes he ran, and under-went as many dangers, ere he obtained the Principality. For he had more than once attempted

attempted it, and was therein both beaten and baniſht. A paſſing valiant man he was, and did notable ſervice, as well for thoſe by whom he was imployed, as alſo for the *Syracuſians*, and againſt them. For in thoſe Wars againſt thoſe of *Enna*, and the *Campanes*, he did them memorable ſervice; and on the contrary, as memorable ſervice for the *Murgantines* againſt the *Syracuſians*. For being entertained by the people of *Murgantia*, and made General of their Forces, he ſackt *Leontium*; and beſieged *Syracuſe* ſo ſtraightly, that the Citizens were driven to crave aid, even from their antient and natural enemies, the *Carthaginians*. *Amilcar* was ſent by the *Carthaginians* to relieve *Syracuſe*. With him *Agathocles* wrought ſo well, that he got him to make peace between himſelf and the *Syracuſians*; binding himſelf by Promiſe and Oath to remain a Friend and Servant to the State of *Carthage*, for ever after. *Amilcar* entertained the buſineſs, and compounded the quarrels between *Agathocles* and the *Syracuſians*. *Agathocles* is choſen Prætor; he entertains five Thouſand *Africans*, and diverſe old Souldiers of the *Murgantines*, under colour of a purpoſe to beſiege *Herbita*. With theſe, and with the aſſiſtance of the poor and diſcontented *Syracuſians* (the City alſo being divided into many factions) he aſſails the Senators, kills all his enemies and oppoſites; divides the ſpoil of the rich among the poor; and gives liberty to his Souldiers, to Rob, to Raviſh, and to Murder, for two whole dayes and nights, without controulment: the third day, when they had blunted their barbarous appetites, and ſtrewed the ſtreets with ten Thouſand dead Carkaſſes, beſides thoſe that had broken their necks over the walls; their fury had no further ſubject to work on.

Agathocles, in an aſſembly of the people (being an eloquent Knave) perſwaded them, that, for the violent ſickneſs, by which the Common-wealth was utterly conſumed, he found no better than the violent remedies which he had adminiſtred: and that he affected no other thing than the reducing of the State from an Oligarchy, or the rule of a few tyrannous Magiſtrates, to the ancient and indifferent Democraty, by which it had been governed, from the firſt inſtitution, with ſo great glory and proſperity. This he did, to have the Crown clapt on his head (as it were) perforce. For, as he knew that he had left none living, within the City, fit or able to exerciſe the office of a Magiſtrate: ſo knew he right well, that all they which had aſſiſted in the murder and ſpoil of their fellow-Citizens, had no other hope of defence, than the ſupport of a lawleſs Lord, who had been partaker with them in their villanies and cruelties committed. So as this rable, his Oration ended, proclaimed him King: again and again ſaluting and adoring him, by that name, as if it had been given to him by ſome lawful election. Hence had our King *Richard* the third a piece of his pattern; but the one was of baſe, the other of Kingly Parents: the one took liberty from a Common-weal, the other ſought only to ſucceed in a Monarchy; the one continued his cruelty to the end, the other, after he had obtained the Crown, ſought, by making good Laws, to recover the love of his people.

The life of this Tyrant is briefly written by *Juſtine*; more largely and particularly by *Diodorus Siculus*: the ſumm whereof is this. The ſame *Amilcar* that had brought him into *Syracuſe*, and that had lent him five Thouſand men to help in the Maſſacre of the Citizens, was alſo content to wink at many wrongs that he did unto the confederates of the *Carthaginians*. It was the purpoſe of *Amilcar*, to ſettle *Agathocles* in his tyranny, and to let him vex and waſte the whole Iſland; becauſe it was thereby like to come to paſs, that he ſhould reduce all *Sicil* into ſuch terms as would make it become an eaſie prey to *Carthage*. But when the Cities, confederate with the *Carthaginians*, ſent their Embaſſadours, with complaint of this ill dealing, to *Carthage*; the *Punick* faith (ſo much taunted by the *Romans*, as no better then meer falſhood) ſhewed it ſelf very honourable in taking order for the redreſs. Embaſſadours were ſent to comfort the *Sicilians*, and to put *Agathocles* in mind of his Covenants; *Amilcar* was recalled home into *Africk*, and a new Captain appointed to ſucceed in his charge, with ſuch forces, as might compel *Agathocles* to reaſon, if otherwiſe he would not hearken to it. All this tended to ſave their Confederates, from ſuffering ſuch injuries in the future. For that which was paſt (ſince it could not be recalled) they took order to have it ſeverely puniſhed. *Amilcar* was accuſed ſecretly, and by way of ſcrutiny: the ſuffrages being given, but not calculated; and ſo reſerved until he ſhould return. This was not ſo cloſely handled, but that *Amilcar* had ſoon notice of it. In managing his buſineſs with *Agathocles*, it is likely that he had an eye to his own profit, as well as to the publick benefit of his Country. For he had made ſuch a compoſition with the *Syracuſian*, as gave him not only means to weaken others, but to ſtrengthen himſelf, both in Power and Authority, even againſt the *Carthaginians*. Such is commonly the cuſtome of thoſe, that hope to work their own ends by cunning practices, thinking to deal ſubtlely and finely, they ſpin their threads ſo ſmall, that they are broken with the very wind. *Amilcar* ſaw, that the *Carthaginians* had a purpoſe to deal ſubſtantially; and that therefore it would be hard for him, to make them follow his crooked devices: which if he could not do, it was to be expected, that their anger would break out into ſo much the greater extremity, by how much the more they had concealed it. Therefore he followed the example, which ſome of his fore-goers had taught him; and, for fear of ſuch a death as the Judges might award him, he ended his own life in what ſort he thought beſt. This deſperation of *Amilcar* ſerved to inform *Agathocles* of the *Carthaginians* intent. He ſaw they would not be deluded with words, and therefore reſolved to get the ſtart of them in action. He diſſembled no longer; but, inſtead of Spoil and Robery, made open War upon all their Adherents. He had made the better part of *Sicil* his own, ere the *Carthaginian* Forces arrived: which thinking to have incountred an ill-eſtabliſhed Tyrant, found him ready, as a King, to defend his own, and give them ſharp entertainment. They were beaten by him; and their Navy was ſo Tempeſt-beaten, that they could neither do good by Land, nor Sea, but were glad to leave their buſineſs undone, and return into *Africk*.

The *Carthaginians* prepare a new Fleet; which being very gallantly manned and furniſhed, was broken, by foul weather, and the beſt part of it caſt away, even whilſt it was yet within kenning of their City. But *Amilcar*, the Son of *Giſco*, gathering together the remainders of his Ship-wrack, was bold to paſs over into *Sicil*, and landed not far from *Gela*; where *Agathocles* was ſoon ready to examine the cauſe of their coming. Many Skirmiſhes paſſed between them, in which (commonly) the *Siracuſian* had the better. But his good ſucceſs begat preſumption; whereby he loſt a Battel more

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important than all the other fights. One adverſe chance is enough to overthrow the State of a Tyrant, if it be not upheld by great circumſpection. The War was ſoon transferred to the walls of *Syracuſe*; within which *Agathocles* was cloſed up, and driven to make his laſt defence by their help, who may be judged to have loved him not very greatly. But the Inhabitants of *Syracuſe*, after that great Maſſacre of the principal men, made in the beginning of this new Tyranny (were for the moſt part) ſuch, as had been either mercenary Souldiers, infranchiſed ſlaves, or baſe and needy people; helpers in eſtabliſhing the preſent government, and Executioners of the Murders, and Spoil committed in that change. If there were any other (as ſome there were) they were ſo well obſerved, and (withal) ſo fearful, that they durſt not ſtir. But it was enough that they all agreed in the common defence of themſelves and their City; Famine was likely to grow upon them, and inforce them to change their reſolution. In this neceſſity *Agathocles* adventured upon a ſtrange courſe, which the event commended as wiſe. He imbarqued as many as he thought meet, in thoſe Veſſels that rode in the Haven; and committing the Government of the City to his Brother *Antander*, willed the people to be of good courage, for that (as he told them) he had bethought himſelf of a mean, both to raiſe the ſiege, and to repair all other loſſes. A *Carthaginian* Fleet lay in the mouth of the Haven, both to hinder the entrance of victuallers, and to keep the beſieged from iſſuing forth.

Now, at ſuch time as *Agathocles* was ready to depart, advertiſement came, that many Ships of burden, laden with Corn, and other proviſions, were drawing near unto *Syracuſe*. To intercept theſe the *Carthaginians* hoiſe ſail, and lanch forth into the deep. They were not far gone, when they might behold *Agathocles* iſſuing forth of the Port, with purpoſe (as they thought) to give convoy unto his victuallers. Hereupon they wheel about, and make amain toward him, as thinking him the better booty. He neither abode their coming, nor fled back into the City, but made all ſpeed towards *Africk*; and was purſued by the *Carthaginians*, as long as the day would give them light. In the mean ſeaſon the Victuallers were gotten to *Syracuſe*; which was the more plentifully relieved by their coming, for that *Agathocles* had unburdened the place of no ſmall number. When the *Carthaginian* Admiral perceived, firſt, that by purſuing two Fleets at once, he had miſſed of them both: And ſecondly, that *Agathocles* returned not again, but was gone to ſeek his fortune elſewhere, he thought it good to purſue thoſe that were fled, and to attend ſo well upon them, that they ſhould not have leiſure to do miſchief in ſome other part.

The *Carthaginian* Navy followed *Agathocles* (whether by chance, or by relation of ſuch as had met with him at Sea) directly towards *Africk*, and overtook him after ſix dayes. He had (at the firſt) a great ſtart of them; ſo that (belike) they rowed hard, and wearied themſelves in ſeeking their own misfortune: For he fought with them, and beat them; and, having ſunk or taken many, drave the reſt to flye which way they could, laden with ſuch ſtrange tydings of his Voyage.

When *Agathocles* had landed his men in *Africk*, then did he diſcover unto them his project, letting them underſtand, that there was no better way to divert the *Carthaginians*, not only from *Syracuſe*, but from all the Iſle of *Sicil*, than by bringing the War to their own doors. For here (ſaid he) they have many that hate them, and that will readily take Arms againſt them, as ſoon as they perceive that there is an Army on foot, which dares to look upon their Walls. Their Towns are ill fortified, their people untrained, and experienced in dangers; the mercenary forces that they levy in thoſe parts, will rather follow us than them, if we offer greater wages than they can give: which we may better promiſe and make good, by letting them have ſome ſhare with us in all the wealth of the *Carthaginians*, than our enemies can do, by making ſome addition to their ſtipends. Thus he talked, as one already Maſter of all the riches in *Africk*; and with many brave words encouraged his men ſo well, that they were contented to ſet fire on all their Ships (reſerving one or two to uſe as Meſſengers) to the end that no hope ſhould remain, ſave only in victory. In this heat of reſolution, they win by force two Cities; which after they had throughly ſacked, they burnt to the ground: as a mark of terrour to all that ſhould make reſiſtance. The *Carthaginians* hearing this, are amazed; thinking that *Amilcar* is broken, and his whole Army deſtroyed in *Sicil*. This impreſſion ſo diſmayes them, that when they know the truth of all, by ſuch as had ſcaped in the late Sea-fight; yet ſtill they fear, and know not what. They ſuſpect *Amilcars* faith, who had ſuffered *Agathocles* to land in *Africk*: they ſuſpected their principal Citizens at home, of a meaning to betray *Carthage* unto the enemy; they raiſe a great Army, and know not to whoſe charge they may ſafely commit it.

There were at that time two famous Captains in the City, *Hanno* and *Bomilcar*, great enemies. And therefore the more unlikely to conſpire againſt the Common-wealth. Theſe are made Generals of the Army levied, which far exceed the forces of *Agathocles*. But it ſeldome happens, that diſſention between Commanders produceth any fortunate event. Neceſſity drave *Agathocles* to fight: and the courage of his men, reſolved to deal with the whole multitude of the *Carthaginians*, made eaſie the victory againſt the one half of them. For *Bomilcar* would not ſtir, but ſuffered *Hanno* to be cut in pieces.

The reputation of this great victory, brought over a King of the *Africans*, from the *Carthaginian* ſociety, to take part with *Agathocles*: who purſued his victory, winneth many Towns, and ſends word to *Syracuſe* of his good ſucceſs. The *Carthaginians* alſo ſend unto *Sicil*, willing *Amilcar*, their General, to ſuccour the State of *Africk*, which was in danger to be loſt, whilſt he was travelling in the Conqueſt of *Sicil*. *Amilcar* ſends them five Thouſand men: All his forces he thought it not needful to tranſport; as hoping rather to draw *Agathocles* back into *Sicil*, than to be drawn home by one, that could ſcarce retain his own Kingdom. But theſe good hopes had a bad iſſue. He ſpent ſome time in winning a few Towns that adhered unto the *Syracuſians*: And having brought his matters to ſome good order, he conceived a certain hope of taking *Syracuſe* by ſurpriſe. It was a pretty (though tragical) Accident, if it were true, as *Tully* relates it. *Amilcar* had a dream which told him that he ſhould ſup the next day within *Syracuſe*. His fancy begot this dream, and he verily believed it. He made more haſte than good ſpeed toward the City: And coming upon it on the ſudden, had good hope to carry it. But his enemies were prepared for him, and had laid an ambuſh to entrap him, whereinto he fell. So he was carried priſoner into the City; in which it was likely that he had no great

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chear to his supper: For they struck off his head, and sent it into *Africk* (a welcome present) to *Agathocles*.

This good success of things at home, did put such courage into the *Sicilian* Army, that *Agathocles* was bold to wear a Crown, and stile himself *King of Africk*. He had allured *Opellas*, King of the *Cyrenians*, to take his part, by promises to deliver the Country into his hands: For that (as is said) it was sufficient unto himself to have diverted the *Carthaginians* from *Sicil*, wherein (after this War ended) he might Reign quietly. *Opellas* came with a great Army, and was friendly entertained. But the traiterous *Silician*, taking an advantage, did murther this his assistant; and afterwards by good words, and great promises, drew all the *Cyrenean* Army to follow him in his Wars. Thus his villany found good success; and he so prevailed in *Africk*, that he got leisure to make a step into *Sicil*. Many Towns in *Sicil* had embraced a desire of recovering their liberty; thinking it high time to fight at length for their own freedom, after that they had so long been exposed (as a reward of victory) either unto Aliens, or to Tyrants of their own Country. These had prevailed far, and gotten many to take their parts, as in a common cause: when the coming of *Agathocles* abated their high Spirits; and his good success in many fights, compelled them to Obedience. Out of *Sicil* he returned into *Africk*, where his affairs stood in very bad terms. *Archagathus*, his Son had lost a Battel; and (which was worse) had ill means to help himself: His Army being in mutiny for lack of pay. But *Agathocles* pacified the Tumult, by the accustomed promises of great booty and spoil. It had now been time for him to offer peace to the *Carthaginians*: which to obtain, they would (questionless) have given to him both money enough to pay his Army, and all that they then held in *Sicil*. For their City had been distressed, not only by this his War, but by the Treason of *Bomilcar*, who failed not much of making himself Tyrant over them. But ambition is blind. *Agathocles* had all his thoughts fixed upon the conquest of *Carthage* it self: Out of which dream he was awakened, by the loss of a Battel, not so memorable in regard of any accident therein, as of the strange events following it. The *Carthaginians*, after their great misfortunes in this War, had renewed their old sacrifices of Children to *Saturn*: From which they had abstained ever since they made peace with *Gelon*. And now they made choice of some, the goodliest of their prisoners taken in the Battel, to offer unto the said Idol; in way of thankfulness to their victory. The fire, with which these unhappy men were consumed, caught hold upon the lodgings nearest unto the Altar, and spreading it self farther through the Camp, with the destruction of many men, caused such a Tumult as is usual in the like cases. At the same time, the like accident of fire burnt up the Pavilion of *Agathocles*. Hereupon both the Armies fled away, each of them believing, that the noise in the adverse Camp, was a sign of the enemies coming to invade it. But the *Carthaginians* had a safe retrait: *Agathocles*, by a second error, fell into a new calamity. In the beginning of this his flight in the dark, he met with his own *African* Souldiers; and thinking them to be enemies (as indeed the one half of them had revolted from him, to the *Carthaginians*, in the last Battel) he began to assail them, and was so stoutly resisted, that he lost in this blind fight above four Thousand of his men. This did so discourage his proud heart, that, being fallen from the near hope of taking the City of *Carthage*, unto some distrust of his own safety, he knew no more how to moderate his present weak fears, than lately he had known how to govern his ambition. Therefore he took the way that came next into his hand; which was to steal closely aboard his Ships, with his younger Son (the elder he suspected of Incest, and of Ambition) and so to flye into *Sicil*; thinking it the best course to shift for himself, as wanting Vessels wherein to transport his Army. His elder Son *Archagathus*, perceiving his drift, arrested him, and put him under custody: But by means of a sudden Tumult, he was let loose, escaped, and fled alone, leaving both his Sons behind him. His flight being noysed through the Army, all was in an uproar; and extremity of Rage caused not only the common Souldier, but even such as had been friends to the Tyrant, to lay hold upon his two Sons, and kill them. That this flight of *Agathocles* was extreamly base, I need not use words to prove: That his fear was truly, as all fear is said to be, a passion, depriving him of the succours which reason offered, the sequel doth manifest. His forsaken Souldiers, being now a headless company, and no longer an Army to be feared, obtained nevertheless a reasonable composition from the *Carthaginians*: To whom they sold those places, whereof they had possession, for nineteen Talents. Likewise *Agathocles* himself, having lost his Army, did nevertheless, by the reputation of this late War, make peace with *Carthage* upon equal terms.

After this, the Tyrant being delivered from forain enemies, discovered his bloody nature, in most abominable cruelties, among the *Sicilians*. His wants and his fears, urged him so violently, that he was not satisfied with the spoils of the rich, or the death of those whom he held suspected: But in a beastly rage depopulated whole Cities. He devised new Engines of Torment; wherein striving to exceed the Bull of *Phalaris*, he made a frame of Brass, that should serve to scorch mens Bodies, and withal give him leave to behold them in their misery. So devilish is the nature of man, when reason, that should be his guide, is become a slave to his brutish affections. In these mischiefs he was so outragious, that he neither spared Sex, nor Age; especially, when he was informed of the slaughter of his Children in *Africk*. But this was not the way to preserve his estate: It threw him into new dangers. They whom he had chased out of their Country took arms against him, and drave him into such fears, that he was fain to seek that love at *Carthage*, which by ruling well he might have had in *Sicil*. He freely delivered into the *Carthaginians* hands, all those Towns of the *Phœnicians* in *Sicil*, belonging unto them, which were in his possession. They requited him honourably, with great store of Corn, and with four Hundred Talents of Gold and Silver. So (though not without much trouble and hazard) he prevailed against the Rebels, and setled his estate. Having no further business left in *Sicil*, he made a voyage into *Italy*. There he subdued the *Brutians*, rather by terrour of his name than by any force, for they yielded at his first coming. This done, he went to the Isle of *Lipara*, and made the Inhabitants buy peace with one Hundred Talents of Gold. But when he had gotten this great summ, he would needs exact a greater; and finding plainly that they had no more left, he was bold to spoil the Temples of their Gods. Herein (me thinks) he did well enough. For how could he believe those to be Gods, that had

continually given deaf ears to his horrible perjuries? Then he returned richly home, with Eleven Ships loaden with Gold: All which, and all the reſt of the Fleet, were caſt away by foul weather at Sea; one Gally excepted, in which he himſelf eſcaped, to ſuffer a more miſerable end. A grievous ſickneſs fell upon him, that rotted his whole Body, ſpreading it ſelf through all his veins and ſinews. Whilſt he lay in this caſe, all deſiring his end, ſave only *Theogina* (a Wife that he had taken out of *Egypt*) and her ſmall Children: His Nephew, the Son of *Archagathus*, before mentioned, and a younger Son of his own, began to contend about the Kingdom. Neither did they ſeek to end the controverſie by the old Tyrants deciſion; they regarded him not ſo much. But each of them laid wait for the others life: Wherein the Nephew ſped ſo well, that he ſlew his Uncle, and got his Grandfathers Kingdom, without asking any leave. Theſe tydings wounded the heart of *Agathocles* with fear and ſorrow. He ſaw himſelf without help, like to become a prey to his ungracious Nephew, from whom he knew that no favour was to be expected, either himſelf, or by thoſe, whom only he now held dear, which were *Theogina* and her Children. Therefore he adviſed her and them to fly before they were ſurpriſed: For that otherwiſe they could by no means avoid, either death, or ſomewhat that would be worſe. He gave them all his Treaſures and Goods, wherewith he even compelled them (weeping to leave him deſolate in ſo wretched a caſe) to imbark themſelves haſtily, and make ſpeed into *Egypt*. After their departure, whether he threw himſelf into the Fire, or whether his diſeaſe conſumed him, there was none left that cared to attend him, but he ended his life as baſely, as obſcure, and in as much want as he firſt began it.

After the death of *Agathocles* it was, that the *Mamertines*, his Souldiers, traiterouſly occupied *Meſſana*, and infeſted a great part of the Iſland. Then alſo did the *Carthaginians* begin to renew their attempts of Conquering all *Sicil*. What the Nephew of *Agathocles* did, I cannot find. Likely it is that he quickly periſhed. For the *Sicilians* were driven to ſend for *Pyrrhus* to help them, who had Married with a Daughter of *Agathocles*. But *Pyrrhus* was ſoon weary of the Countrey (as hath been ſhewed before) and therefore left it; Prophecying that it would become a goodly champion Field, wherein *Rome* and *Carthage* ſhould fight for ſuperiority. In which buſineſs, how theſe two great Cities did ſpeed, the order of our ſtory will declare.

SECT. V.

A recontinuation of the Roman *War in* Sicil. *How* Hieron, *King of* Syracuſe, *forſook the* Carthaginians, *and made his peace with* Rome.

WHen *Appius Claudius*, following the advantage of his Victory gotten at *Meſſana*, brought the War unto the Gates of *Syracuſe*, and Beſieged that great City; *Hieron* found it high time for him to ſeek peace: Knowing that the *Carthaginians* had neither any reaſon to be offended with him, for helping himſelf by what means he could, when they were not in caſe to give him aſſiſtance; and foreſeeing withal, that when once he had purchaſed his quiet from the *Romans*, it would be free for him to ſit ſtill, without fear of moleſtation, whilſt *Rome* and *Carthage* were fighting for the maſtery. In this good mood the new *Roman* Conſuls, *M. Valerius*, and *C. Octacilius* found him, and readily embraced the offer of his friendſhip. Yet they made uſe of their preſent advantage, and ſold him peace for an Hundred (ſome ſay two Hundred) Talents.

Theſe Conſuls had brought a great Army into *Sicil*; yet did they nothing elſe in effect, than bring over *Hiero* to their ſide. If the *Syracuſian* held them buſied (which I find not, otherwiſe than by circumſtances, as, by the ſum of Money impoſed upon him, and by their performing none other piece of ſervice) all the whole time of their abode in the Iſland; then was his departure from the friendſhip of *Carthage*, no leſs to his honour than it was to his commodity. For by no reaſon could they require, that he ſhould ſuffer his own Kingdom to run into manifeſt peril of ſubverſion, for their ſakes that ſhould have received all the profit of the Victory: Seeing they did expoſe him to the whole danger without ſtraining themſelves to give him relief. But the *Carthaginians* had lately made good proof of the ſtrength of *Syracuſe*, in the days of *Agathocles*: And therefore knew, that it was able to bear a very ſtrong Siege. And hereupon it is like that they were the more ſlack, in ſending help: if (perhaps) it were not ſome part of their deſire, that both *Rome* and *Syracuſe* ſhould weaken one the other, whereby their own work might be the eaſier againſt them both. Yet indeed, the caſe of the Beſieged City was not the ſame, when the *Romans* lay before it, as it had been when the *Carthaginians* attempted it. For there was great reaſon to try the uttermoſt hazard of War againſt the *Carthaginians*, who ſought no other thing than to bring it into ſlavery: Not ſo againſt the *Romans*, who thought it ſufficient if they could withdraw it from the party of their enemies. Beſides, it was not all one to be governed by *Agathocles*, or by *Hiero*. The former of theſe cared not what the Citizens endured, ſo long as he might preſerve his own Tyranny: The latter, as a juſt and good Prince, had no greater deſire than to win the love of his People by ſeeking their commodity; but including his own felicity within the publick, laboured to uphold both, by honeſt and faithful dealing. Hereby it came to paſs that he enjoyed a long and happy Reign, living dear to his own Subjects, beloved of the *Romans*, and not greatly moleſted by the *Carthaginians*; whom, either the conſideration, *That they had left him to himſelf, ere he left their Society*, made unwilling to ſeek his ruine; or their more earneſt buſineſs with the *Romans*, made unable to compaſs it.

SECT VI.

How the Romans *Beſiege and win* Agrigentum. *Their beginning to maintain a Fleet. Their firſt loſs, and firſt victory by Sea. Of Sea-fight in general.*

HIeron, having ſided himſelf with the *Romans*, aideth them with Victuals and other neceſſaries;

saries: So that they, presuming upon his assistance, recal some part of their forces. The *Carthaginians* find it high time to bestir them; they send to the *Ligurians*, and to the Troops they had in *Spain*, to come to their aid; who being arrived, they made the City of *Agrigentum* the Seat of the War, against the *Romans*, filling it with all manner of munition.

* *Agrigentum* was a goodly City, built by the *Geloi*, under the conduct of *Ariston* and *Pylistus*. The compass was Ten Miles about the Walls; and it had sometimes in it Eight Hundred Thousand Inhabitants. This City, by reason of the fertility of the Soil, and the Neighbourhood of *Carthage*, grew in a short space from small beginnings, to great glory and riches. The plenty and luxury thereof was so great, as it caused *Empedocles* to say, that the *Agrigentines* built Palaces of such sumptuosity, as if they meant to live for ever; and made such feasts, as if they meant to dye the next day.

The *Roman* Consuls, having made Peace with *Hieron*, return into *Italy*, and, in their places, *Lucius Posthumus* and *Quintus Mamilius* arrive. They go on towards * *Agrigentum*: And finding no enemy in the Field, they Besiege it, though it were stuffed with Fifty Thousand Souldiers. After a while, the time of Harvest being come, a part of the *Roman* Army range the Country to gather Corn, and those at the Siege grow negligent; the *Carthaginians* sally furiously, and indanger the *Roman* Army, but are in the end repelled into the Town with great loss; but by the smart felt on both sides, the Assailants redoubled their Guards, and the Besieged kept within their Cover. Yet the *Romans*, the better to assure themselves, cut a deep Trench between the Walls of the City and their Camp: And another on the outside thereof; that neither the *Carthaginians* might force them suddenly, by a Sally; nor those of the Countrey without, break upon them unawares: Which double Defence kept the Besieged also from the receiving any relief of Victuals, and munitions, whilst the *Syracusian* supplies the assailants with what they want. The Besieged send for succor to *Carthage*, after they had been in this sort pent up Five Months. The *Carthaginians* imbark an Army, with certain Elephants, under the command of *Hanno*; who arrives with it at *Heraclea*, to the West of *Agrigentum*. *Hanno* put himself into the Field, and surpriseth *Erbesus*; a City wherein the *Romans* had bestowed all their Provision. By means hereof, the Famin without grew to be as great, as it was within *Agrigentum*; and the *Roman* Camp no less straightly assieged by *Hanno*, than the City was by the *Romans*: Insomuch, as if *Hieron* had not supplied them, they had been forced to abandon the Siege. But seeing that this distress was not enough to make them rise, *Hanno* determined to give them Battle. To which end departing from *Heraclea*, he makes approach unto the *Roman* Camp. The *Romans* resolve to sustain him, and put themselves in order. *Hanno* directs the *Numidian* Horsemen to change the Vant-guard, to the end to draw them further on; which done, he commands them to return as broken, till they came to the body of the Army, that lay shadowed behind some rising ground. The *Numidians* perform it accordingly; and while the *Romans* pursued the *Numidians*, *Hanno* gives upon them, and having slaughtered many, beats the rest into their Trenches.

After this encounter, the *Carthaginians* made no other attempt for two Months, but lay strongly encamped, waiting untill some opportunity should invite them. But *Annibal* that was Besieged in *Agrigentum*, as well by Signs as Messengers, made *Hanno* know how ill the extremity which he endured, was able to brook such dilatory courses. *Hanno* thereupon, a second time, provoked the Consuls to fight: But his Elephants being disordered by his own Vantguard, which was broken by the *Romans*, he lost the day: And with such as escaped, he recovered *Heraclea*. *Annibal* perceiving this, and remaining hopeless of succour, resolved to make his own way. Finding therefore that the *Romans*, after this dayes Victory, wearied with labour, and secured by their good fortune, kept negligent watch in the Night; he rusht out of the Town, with all the remainder of his Army, and past by the *Roman* Camp without resistance. The Consuls pursue him in the Morning, but in vain: Sure they were, that he could not carry the City with him, which with little a do the *Romans* entered, and pitifully spoiled. The *Romans*, proud of this Victory, pursued rather to follow the direction of their present good fortunes, than their first determinations. They had resolved in the beginning of this War, only to succour the *Mamertines*, and to keep the *Carthaginians* from their own Coasts: But now they determine to make themselves Lords of all *Sicil*; and from thence, being favoured with the Wind of good success, to Sail over into *Africk*. It is the disease of Kings, of States, and also of private men, to covet the greatest things, but not to enjoy the least; the desire of that which we neither have nor need, taking from us the true use and fruition of what we have already. This curse upon mortal men, was never taken from them since the beginning of the World unto this day.

To prosecute this War, *Lucius Valerius* and *Titus Octacilius*, two new Consuls, are sent into *Sicil*. Whereupon, the *Romans* being Masters of the Field, many in-land Towns gave themselves unto them. On the contrary, the *Carthaginians* keeping still the Lordship of the Sea, and many Maritime places became theirs. The *Romans* therefore, as well to secure their own Coasts, often invaded by the *African* Fleets, as to equal themselves in every kind of Warfare with their Enemies, determine to make a Fleet. And herein fortune favoured them with this accident, that being altogether ignorant in Ship-wrights Craft, a storm of Wind thrust one of the *Carthaginians* Gallies, of Five Banks, to the shore.

Now had the *Romans* a Pattern, and by it they began to set up an Hundred *Quinqueremes*, which were Gallies, rowed by Five on every Bank; and Twenty, of three on a Bank: And while these were in preparing, they exercised their men in the feat of Rowing. This they did after a strange fashion. They placed upon the Sea Sands many Seats, in order of the Banks in Gallies, whereon they placed their Water-men, and taught them to beat the Sand with long Poles, orderly, and as they were directed by the Master, that so they might learn the stroak of the Gally, and how to mount and draw their Oares.

But their greatest pomp and magnificence, was in their goodly Temples, and Theatres, Water-Conduits, and Fish-Ponds: The ruines whereof at this day are sufficient arguments, that *Rome* it self could never boast of the like. In the Porch of the Temple of *Jupiter Olympius*, (by which we may judge of the Temple it self) there was set out on one side the full proportion of the Giants, fighting with the gods, all cut out in polished Marble of divers colours; a work the most magnificent and rare that ever hath been seen: On the other side, the War of *Troy*, and the encounters which hapned at that Siege; with the Personages of the Heroes that were doers in that War; all of the like beautiful Stone, and of equal Stature to the Bodies of those men in Ancient times: In comparison of which, the latter works of that kind, are but petty things, and meer trifles. It would require a Volume to express the magnificence of the Temples of *Hercules*, *Aesculapius*, *Concord*, *Juno*, *Lutina*, *Chastity*, *Proserpina*, *Castor* and *Pollux*, wherein the Master-Pieces of those exquisite Painters and Carvers *Phidias*, *Zeuxis*, *Myron*, and *Polycletus*, were to be seen. But in process of time it ran the same fortune that all other great Cities have done, and was ruined by divers calamities of War: Whereof this War present brought unto it not the least.

When their Fleet was finiſhed, ſome Rigging and other implements excepted, *C. Cornelius*, one of the new Conſuls (for they changed every Year) was made Admiral: Who being more in love with this new kind of Warfare, then well adviſed, paſt over to *Meſſana* with Seventeen Gallies, leaving the reſt to follow him. There he ſtayed not, but would needs Row along the Coaſt to *Lipara*, hoping to do ſome piece of ſervice. *Hannibal* a *Carthaginian* was at the ſame time Governour in *Panormus*; who being advertiſed of this new Sea-mans arrival, ſent forth one *Boodes*, a Senator of *Carthage*, with Twenty Gallies, to entertain him, *Boodes*, falling upon the Conſul unawares, took both him and the Fleet he commanded. When *Hannibal* received this good news, together with the *Roman* Gallies, and their Conſul; he grew no leſs fooliſh hardy than *Cornelius* had been. For he, fancying to himſelf to ſurprize the reſt of the *Roman* Fleet, on their own Coaſt, ere they were yet in all points provided; ſought them out with a Fleet of Fifty Sail: Wherewith falling among them, he was well beaten, and leaving the greater number of his own behind him, made an hard eſcape with the reſt: For of One Hundred and Twenty Gallies, the *Romans* under *Cornelius* had loſt but Seaventeen, ſo as one Hundred and Three remained, which were ever not eaſily beaten by Fifty.

The *Romans*, being advertiſed of *Cornelius* his overthrow, make haſte to redeem him, but give the charge of their Fleet to his Colleague, *Duilius*. *Duilius*, conſidering that the *Roman* Veſſels were heavy and ſlow, the *African* Gallies having the ſpeed of them, deviſed a certain Engine in the prow of his Gallies, whereby they might faſten or grapple themſelves with their Enemies, when they were (as we call it) boord and boord, that is, when they brought the Gallies ſides together. This done, the weightier Ships had gotten the advantage, and the *Africans* loſt it. For neither did their ſwiftneſs ſerve them, nor their Marriners craft; the Veſſels wherein both Nations fought, being open: So that all was to be carryed by the advantage of weapon, and valour of the men. Beſides this, as the heavier Gallies were accidentally likely to cruſh, and crack the ſides of the lighter and weaker, ſo were they by the reaſon of their breadth, more ſteady; and thoſe that beſt kept their feet, could alſo beſt uſe their hands. The example may be given between one of the long Boats of his Majeſties great Ships, and a *London-Barge*.

Certainly, he that will happily perform a fight at Sea, muſt be skilful in making choice of Veſſels to fight in: He muſt believe that there is more belonging to a good man of War, upon the waters, than great daring; and muſt know, that there is a great deal of difference, between fighting looſe or at large, and grappling. The Guns of a ſlow Ship pierce as well, and make as great holes, as thoſe in a ſwift. To clap Ships together, without conſideration, belongs rather to a mad man than to a man of War: For by ſuch an ignorant bravery was *Peter Stroſſie* loſt at the *Azores*, when he fought againſt the *Marqueſs* of *Santa Cruz*. In like ſort, had the Lord *Charles Howard* Admiral of *England*, been loſt in the Year 1588. if he had not been better adviſed, than a great many malignant fools were, that found fault with his demeanour. The *Spaniards* had an Army aboard them; and he had none: They had more Ships than he had, and of higher building and charging; ſo that, had he intangled himſelf with thoſe great and powerful Veſſels, he had greatly endangered this Kingdom of *England*. For Twenty men upon the defences, are equal to an Hundred that boord and enter; whereas then, contrariwiſe, the *Spaniards* had an Hundred, for Twenty of ours to defend themſelves withall. But our Admiral knew his advantage, and held it: Which had he not done, he had not been worthy to have held his head. Here to ſpeak in general of Sea-fights (for particulars are fitter for private hands than for the Preſs,) I ſay, that a Fleet of Twenty Ships, all good Sailers, and good Ships, have the advantage, on the open Sea, of an Hundred as good Ships and of ſlower Sailing. For if the Fleet of an Hundred Sail keep themſelves near together, in a groſs Squadron; the Twenty Ships, charging them upon any angle, ſhall force them to give ground, and to fall back upon their own next fellows: Of which ſo many as intangle, are made unſerviceable or loſt. Force them they may eaſily, becauſe the Twenty Ships, which give themſelves ſcope, after they have given one broad ſide of Artillery, by clapping into the Wind, and ſtaying, they may give them the other: And ſo the Twenty Ships batter them in pieces with a perpetual volly; whereas thoſe that fight in a Troop, have no room to turn, and can alwayes uſe but one and the ſame beaten ſide. If the Fleet of an Hundred Sail give themſelves any diſtance, then ſhall the leſſer Fleet prevail, either againſt thoſe, that are arear and hindmoſt, or againſt thoſe, that by advantage of overſailing their follews keep the Wind: and if upon a Lee-ſhore, the Ships next the Wind, be conſtrained to fall back into their own Squadron, then it is all to nothing, the whole Fleet muſt ſuffer Shipwrack, or render it ſelf. That ſuch advantage may be taken upon a Fleet of unequal ſpeed, it hath been well enough conceived in old time; as by the Oration of *Hermocrates*, in *Thucydides*, which he made to the *Syracuſians*, when the *Athenians* invaded them, it may eaſily be obſerved.

Of the Art of War by Sea, I had written a Treatiſe, for the Lord *Henry*, *Prince of Wales*; a ſubject, to my knowledge, never handled by any man, Ancient or Modern: But God hath ſpared me the labour of finiſhing it, by his loſs; by the loſs of that brave Prince; of which, like an Eclipſe of the Sun, we ſhall find the effects hereafter. Impoſſible it is to equal words and ſorrows; I will therefore leave him in the hands of God that hath him. *Curæ leves loquuntur, ingentes ſtupent.*

But it is now time to return to the beaten *Carthaginians*; who by loſing their advantage of ſwift Boats, and boarding the *Romans*, have loſt Fifty Sail of their Gallies: As on the other ſide, there Enemies by commanding the Seas, have gotten liberty to Sail about the Weſt part of *Sicil*; where they raiſed the Siege laid unto *Segeſta* by the *Carthaginians*, and won the Town of *Marcella*, with ſome other places.

SECT.

SECT. VII.

Divers Enterfeats of War, between the Romans *and* Carthaginians, *with variable ſucceſs. The* Romans *prepare to invade* Africk: *And obtain a great Victory at Sea.*

THE Victory of *Duilius*, as it was honoured at *Rome*, with the firſt Naval Triumph, that was ever ſeen in that City; ſo gave it unto the *Romans* great incouragement, to proceed in their Wars by Sea; whereby they hoped, not only to get *Sicil*; but all the other Iſles between *Italy* and *Africk*, beginning with *Sardinia*, whither ſoon after they ſent a Fleet for that purpoſe. On the contrary ſide, *Amilcar*, the *Carthaginian*, lying in *Panormus*, carefully waited for all occaſions, that might help to recompence the late misfortune: and being advertiſed, that ſome quarrel was grown between the *Roman* Souldiers, and their Auxiliaries, being ſuch as cauſed them to incamp apart, he ſent forth *Hanno* to ſet upon them; who taking them unawares, buried Four Thouſand of them in the place. Now during the continuance of the Land-War in *Sicil*, *Hannibal*, who had lately been beaten by Sea, but eſcaped unto *Carthage*, meaning to make amends for his former erroûr, obtained the truſt of a new Fleet, wherewith he arrived at *Sardinia*: The Conqueſt of which Iſland, the *Romans* had entertained for their next enterpriſe. Now it fo fell out, that the *Romans*, croſſing the Sea from *Sicil*, arrived in the Port where *Hannibal* with his new Fleet Anchored. They ſet upon him unawares, and took the better part of the Fleet which he conducted; himſelf hardly eſcaping the danger. But it little availed him to have eſcaped from the *Romans*. His good friends the *Carthaginians*, were ſo ill pleaſed with this his ſecond unfortunate voyage, that they hanged him up for his diligence: For (as it hath been ſaid of old) *Non eſt bis in bello peccare*; *In War it is too much to offend twice*.

After this, it was long ere any thing of importance was done by the Conſuls, till * *Panormus* was Beſieged; where, when the *Romans* had fought in vain to draw the *Carthaginians* into the Field; being unable to force that great City, becauſe of the ſtrong Garriſon therein beſtowed: They then departed from thence, and took certain In-land Towns, as *Myciſtratum*, *Enna*, *Camerina*, *Hippana*, and others, between *Panormus* and *Meſſana*.

The Year following, *C. Atilius* the Conſul who commanded the *Roman* Fleet, diſcovered a company of the *Carthaginians* Gallies, ranging the Coaſt: And, not ſtaying for his whole number purſued them with Ten of his. But he was well beaten for the haſte he made, and loſt all, ſave the Gally which tranſported him: Wherein himſelf eſcaped with great labour. But ere all was done, the reſt of *Atilius* his Fleet was gotten up: Who renewing the fight, recovered from the *Carthaginians* a double number of theirs; by which the Victory remaining doubtful, both challenge it. Now to try at once, which of theſe two Nations ſhould command the Seas, they both prepare all they can. The *Romans* make a Fleet of three Hundred and Thirty *Gallies*; the *Carthaginians*, of Three Hundred and Fifty, * *Triremes*, *Quadriremes*, and *Quinqueremes*.

* The *Quinqueremes* are Gallies, wherein every Oar have five men to draw it: The *Quadriremes* had four to an Oar: And the *Triremes* three. Some have thought, that the *Quinqueremes* had five ranks of Oars, one over another; and the other Gallies (rateably) fewer. But had this been ſo, they muſt then have had five Decks each over other: Which hath ſeldome been ſeen in Ships of a Thouſand Tuns; neither could the third, fourth, and fifth ranks, have reached unto the Water with the Oars.

The *Romans* reſolve to tranſport the War into *Africk*; the *Carthaginians*, to arreſt them on the Coaſt of *Sicil*. The numbers, with which each of them filled their Fleet, was (perhaps) the greateſt that ever fought on the Waters. By *Polybius* his eſtimation, there were in the *Roman* Gallies an Hundred and Forty Thouſand men; and in thoſe of *Carthage*, an Hundred and Fifty Thouſand: Reckoning One Hundred and Twenty Souldiers, and Three Hundred Rowers to every Gally, one with the other. The *Roman* Fleet was divided into Four parts, of which the Three firſt made the form of a Wedge or Triangle; the two firſt Squadrons making the Flanks, and the Third Squadron, the Baſe: The point thereof (wherein were the Two Conſuls as Admirals) looking toward the Enemy, and the middle ſpace lying empty. Their Veſſels of carriage were towed by the Third Squadron. After all came up the Fourth, in form of a *Creſcent*; very well manned, but exceeding thin: So that the horns of it incloſed all the Third Squadron, together with the corner of the Firſt and Second. The order of the *Carthaginian* Fleet I cannot receive by relation; but, by the manner of the fight afterwards, I conjecture, that the Front of their Fleet was thin, and ſtretched in a great length, much like to that which the *French* call *Combat en haye*, a long Front of Horſe, and thin: which form, ſince the Piſtol prevailed over the Lance, they have changed. Behind this firſt outſtretched Front, their Battalions were more ſolid: For *Amilcar*, Admiral of the *Carthaginians* had thus ordered them, of purpoſe, (his Gallies having the ſpeed of the *Romans*) that, when the firſt Fleet of the *Romans* haſted to break through the firſt Gallies, they ſhould all turn tail, and the *Romans* purſuing them (as after a Victory) diſorder themſelves, and, for eagerneſs of taking the Run-awayes, leave their own Three Squadrons

* If we may give credit to Antiquities, which *Fazellus* a diligent Writer, hath left us in his Hiſtory of *Sicil. Panormus*, now called *Palermo*, is one of the firſt Cities that hath been built in all *Europ*. For whereas *Thucydides* ſeems to make it a Colony of the *Phœnicians*; *Ranzanus*, *in libello de Panormo*, *lib. 6.* affirms that it was firſt and long before the time which *Thucydides* ſet down, founded by the *Caldæans*, and *Damaſcenes*. To prove which, he tells us of two inſcriptions upon Marble in the *Hebrew* Character found at *Panormus*, in the time of *William* the Second, King of *Sicil*, that were then beheld of all the Citizens and other ſtrangers, which being tranſlated into Latine, ſay as followeth; *Vivente Iſaac filio Abrahæ, & regnante in Idumea, atque in valle Damaſcenæ, Eſau filio Iſaac, ingens Hebræorum manus, quibus adjuncti ſunt multi Damaſceni, atque Phœnices, profecti in hanc triangularem inſulam, ſedes perpetuas locaverunt in hoc amæniſſimo loco, quem Panormum nominaverunt.* In the other Marble are found theſe words; *Non eſt alius Deus præter unum Deum; non eſt alius potens præter eundem deum, &c. Hujus Turris Præfectus eſt Saphu filius Eliphaz, filii Eſau fratris Jacob filii Iſaac, filii Abraham: & Turri quidem ipſi nomen eſt Baych; ſed Turri huic proximæ nomen eſt Phaxab.* And this inſcription (ſaith *Fazellus*) was found intire in the Caſtle *Baych*, in the Year 1534. Now whether theſe inſcriptions were truly as ancient, as theſe men believe they were, I leave every man to his own faith. But that the City was of aged times, it appears by *Thucydides*, who affirmeth; when the *Greeks* paſt firſt into *Sicil*, that then the *Phœnicians*, inhabited *Panormus*: Which certain it is they did in the firſt *Punick* War; to wit, the *Carthaginians* who were *Phœnicians*, from whom the *Romans* (*A. Aquilius*, and *C. Cornelius*, commanding this Army) took it; And when *Marcellus* Beſieged *Syracuſe*, it ſent him in aid 3000 Souldiers. But it was rather confederate, than ſubject to the *Romans*. For *Cicero* againſt *Verres*, names it among the free Cities of *Sicil*. After *Syracuſe* was deſtroyed, it became the firſt City, and Regal Seat, as well of the *Goths* and *Sarazans* in that Iſland, as of the Emperours of *Conſtantinople*; of the *Normans*, *French*, and *Arragonians*, which honour it holds this Day, and is much frequented, for the excellent Wine which grows about it.

ſar behind them. For ſo it muſt needs fall out; ſeeing that the Third Squadron towed their Horſe-Boats and Victuallers; and the Fourth had the Rearward of all. According to *Amilcars* direction it ſucceeded. For when the *Romans* had charged, and broken the thin Front of the *Carthaginian* firſt Fleet, which ran away, they forth-with gave after them with all ſpeed poſſible, not ſo much as looking behind them for the Second Squadron. Hereby the *Romans* were drawn near unto the body of the *Carthaginian* Fleet, led by *Amilcar*, and by him (at the firſt) received a great loſs, until their Second Squadron came up, which forced *Amilcar* to betake him to his Oars. *Hanno* alſo who commanded the right wing of the *Carthaginian* Fleet, invaded the *Roman* Rearward, and prevailed againſt them. But *Amilcar* being beaten off, *Marcellus Atilius* fell back to their ſuccour, and put the *Carthaginians* to their heels; as not able to ſuſtain both Squadrons. The Rear being relieved, the Conſuls came to the aid of their Third Battalion, which towed their Victuallers, which were alſo in great danger of being beaten by the *Africans*: But the Conſuls, joyning their Squadrons to it, put the *Carthaginians* on that part alſo to running.

This Victory fell unto the *Romans*, partly by the hardineſs of their Souldiers; but principally, for that *Amilcar*, being firſt beaten, could never after joyn himſelf unto any of his other Squadrons, that remained, as yet in a fair likelihood of prevailing, ſo long as they fought upon equal terms, and but Squadron to Squadron. Bnt *Amilcar* forſaking the fight, thereby left a full Fourth part of the *Roman* Fleet uningaged, and ready to give ſuccour to any of the other parts that were oppreſt. So as in concluſion, the *Romans* got the honour of the day: For they loſt but Four and Twenty of theirs; whereas the *Africans* loſt Thirty that were ſunk, and Threeſcore and Three that were taken.

Now, if *Amilcar* who had more Gallies than the *Romans*, had alſo divided his Fleet into Four Squadrons, (beſides thoſe that he ranged in the Front to draw on the Enemies, and to ingage them) and that, whilſt he himſelf fought with One Squadron that charged him, all the reſt of the Enemies Fleet had been at the ſame time entertained, he had prevailed: But the Second Squadron, being free, came to the reſcue of the firſt, by which *Amilcar* was oppreſt: and *Amilcar*, being oppreſſed and ſcattered, the Conſuls had good leiſure to relieve both the Third and the Fourth Squadron, and got the Victory.

Charles the fifth, among other the Precepts to *Philip* the Second his Son, where he adviſed him concerning War againſt the *Turks*, tells him, that in all Battels between them and the *Chriſtians*, he ſhould never fail to charge the *Janiſars* in the beginning of the fight, and to ingage them at once with the reſt. For (ſaith he) the *Janiſars*, who are alwayes reſerved intire in the Rear of the Battle, and in whom the *Turk* repoſeth his greateſt confidence; come up, in a groſs body, when all the Troops on both ſides, are disbanded and in confuſion; whereby they carry the Victory before them without reſiſtance. By the ſame order of fight, and reſervation, did the *Romans* alſo prevail againſt other Nations. For they kept their *Triarii* in ſtore (who were the choice of their Army) for the up-ſhot and laſt blow. A great and Victorious advantage it hath ever been found, to keep ſome one or two good Troops to look on, when all elſe are disbanded and ingaged.

SECT VIII.

The Romans *prevail in* Africk. Atilius *the Conſul, propoundeth intolerable conditions of Peace to the* Carthaginians. *He is utterly beaten and made Priſoner.*

NOW the *Romans*, according to their former reſolution, after they had repaired and re-Victualled their Fleet, ſet Sail for *Africa*, and arrived at the *Promontory* of *Hercules*, a great Head-land, ſomewhat to the Eaſt of the Port of *Carthage*, and ſome Forty Leagues from *Heraclia* in *Sicil*, where *Amilcar* himſelf as yet ſtaid. From this Head-land (leaving the entrance into *Carthage*) they coaſted the Eaſt-ſide of the *Promontory*, till they came to *Clypea*, a Town about Fifty *Engliſh* Miles from it. There they diſ-embarked and prepared to Beſiege *Clypea*; which to eaſe them of labour, was yielded unto them. Now had they a Port of their own on *Africk* ſide; without which all invaſions are fooliſh. By this time were the *Africans* alſo arrived at their own *Carthage*, fearing that the *Roman* Fleet and Army had directed themſelves thither: But being advertiſed that they had taken *Clypea*, they made Proviſions of all ſorts, both by Sea and Land, for their defence. The *Romans* ſend to *Rome* for directions, and in the mean while waſt all round about them. The Order given for the Senate, was, That one of the Conſuls ſhould remain with the Army, and that the other ſhould return with the Fleet into *Italy*. According to this direction, *Manlius* the Conſul is ſent home to *Rome*; whither he carried with him Twenty Thouſand *African* Captains, with all the *Roman* Fleet and Army; except forty Ships, fifteen Thouſand Foot, and five Hundred Horſe, that were left with *Atilius*.

With theſe forces, *Regulus* eaſily wan ſome Towns and places that were unwalled, and laid Siege to others. But he performed no great matter before he came to *Adis*. Yet I hold it worthy of relation, that near unto the River of *Bragada*, he encountred with a Serpent of One Hundred and Twenty foot long, which he ſlew, not without loſs of many Souldiers, being driven to uſe againſt it ſuch Engines of War, as ſerved properly for the aſſaulting of Towns. At *Adis* he met with the *Carthaginian* Army, whereof the Captains were *Hanno* and *Boſtar*, together with *Amilcar*, who had brought over out of *Sicil* Five Thouſand Foot, and Five Hundred Horſe to ſuccour his Country. Theſe (belike) had an intent, rather to weary him out of *Africk*, by wary protraction of time, than to undergo the hazard of a main fight. They were careful to hold themſelves free from neceſſity of coming to blows: yet had they a great deſire to ſave the Town of *Adis* out of his hands. Intending therefore to follow their general purpoſe, and yet to diſturb him in the Siege of *Adis*, they incamp near unto him, and ſtrongly (as they think) on the top of an Hill: But thereby they loſe the ſervices both of their *Elephants*, and of their Horſe-men. This diſadvantage of theirs, *Regulus* diſcovers, and makes uſe of it. He aſſails them in their ſtrength, which they defend a while

while, but in fine the *Romans* prevail, and force them from the place, taking the spoil of their Camp. Following this their good fortune at the heels, they proceed to * *Tunis* a City within sixteen miles of *Carthage*, which they assault and take.

* This City was taken from the *Turks* by *Charles* the fifth in the year 1536. and was one of the three Keys, which he gave in charge to *Philip* the second his Son to keep safe; to wit, this *Tunis*, the Key of *Africa*: *Flushing*, the Key of the *Netherlands*: And *Kedez*, the Key of *Spain*. But two of these *Philip* so lost, that he never found them again; the third our *English* were bold, in the time of the renowned Queen *Elizabeth*, to wring out of his hand: where we stayed not to pick any lock, but brake open the doors, and having rifled all, threw it into the fire.

By the loss of this Battail at *Adis*, and more especially by the loss of *Tunis*, the *Carthaginians* were greatly dismayed. The *Numidians*, their next Neighbours towards the West, insult upon their misfortunes; invade, and spoil their Territory, and force those that Inhabit abroad, to forsake their Villages and Fields, and to hide themselves within the walls of *Carthage*. By reason hereof, a great Famine at hand threatens the Citizens. *Atilius* finds his own advantage, and assures himself that the City could not long hold out: Yet he feared least it might defend it self, until his time of Office, that was near expired, should be quite run out, whereby the new Consuls were like to reap the honour of obtaining it. Ambition therefore, that hath no respect but to it self, perswades him to treat of peace with the *Carthaginians*. But he propounded unto them so unworthy and base conditions, as thereby their hearts, formerly possessed with fear, became now so couragious and disdainful, that they resolved, either to defend their liberty, or dye to the last man. To strengthen this their resolution, there arrived at the same time a great troop of *Greeks*, whom they had formerly sent to entertain. Among these was a very expert Souldier, named *Xantippus*, a *Spartan*: who being informed of what had passed, and of the overthrow which the *Carthaginians* received near unto *Adis*, gave it out publickly; that the same was occasioned by default of the Commanders, and not of the Nation. This bruit, ran till it came to the Senate; *Xantippus* is sent for; gives the reason of his opinion; and in conclusion, being made General of the *African* Forces, he puts himself into the Field. The Army which he led, consisted of no more than twelve Thousand Foot, and four Thousand Horse, with an Hundred Elephants. No greater were the Forces wherewith the *Carthaginians* fought for all that they had, Liberties, Lives, Goods, Wives, and Children: which might well make it suspected, that the Armies by Sea, before spoken of, were mis-numbered; the one consisting of an Hundred and forty Thousand, and the other of an Hundred and fifty Thousand, were it not commonly found that they which use the service of mercenary Souldiers, are stronger abroad, than at their own doors.

Xantippus, taking the Field with his Army, marched directly towards the *Romans*; and ranging his Troops upon fair and level ground, fittest both for his Elephants and Horse, presented them Battel. The *Romans* wondred much, whence this new courage of their enemies might grow: But confident they were, that it should soon be abated. Their chief care was, how to resist the violence of the Elephants. Against them they placed the *Velites*, or light-armed Souldiers, as a *forlorn hope*; that these might either with darts and other casting-weapons, drive back the Beasts upon the enemies, or at least break their violence, and hinder them from rushing freely upon the Legions. To the same end, they made their Battails deeper in file, than they had been accustomed to do. By which means, as they were the less subject unto the impression of the Elephants; so were they so much the more exposed unto the violence of the Horse, wherein the enemy did far exceed them. The Elephants were placed by *Xantippus*, all in one rank, before his Army; which followed him at a reasonable distance: His Horsemen, and some light-armed Foot, of the *Carthaginians Auxiliaries*, were in the wings. The first onset was given by the Elephants, against which the *Velites* were so unable to make resistance, that they brake into the Battalions following, and put them into some disorder. In this case, the depth of the *Romans* Battail was helpful. For when the Beasts had spent their Force, in peircing through a few of the first Ranks; the Squadrons nevertheless persisted in their order, without opening. But the *Carthaginian* Horse, having at the first encounter, by reason of their advantage in number, driven those of *Atilius* out of the Field, began to charge the *Roman* Battalians in flank, and put them in great distress; who being forced to turn face every way, could neither pass forward nor yet retire; but had very much ado to make good the ground whereon they stood. In the mean while, such of the *Romans*, as had escaped the fury of the Elephants, and left them at their backs, fell upon the *Carthaginian* Army, that met them in very good array. It was no even match. The one were a disordered Company, wearied with labour and hurt; the other, fresh, and well prepared, to have dealt with the enemy upon equal terms. Here was therefore a great slaughter with little fight; the *Romans* hastily recoiled to the body of their Army, which being surrounded with the enemy, and spent with travail, fell all to rout, upon the defeat of these Troops, that open the way to a general overthrow. So the *Carthaginians* obtained a full Victory; destroying the whole *Roman* Army, save two Thousand, and taking five Hundred Prisoners, together with *Atilius* the Consul. Of their own they lost no more than eight Hundred Mercenaries, which were slain when the fight began, by two Thousand of the *Romans*: That wheeling about to avoid the Elephants, bare down all before them: And made way even to the *Carthaginian* Trenches. These were the two Thousand that escaped, when the whole Army behind them was routed. All the rest were either taken or slain. Hereby fortune made the *Romans* know, that they were no less her Vassals, than were the *Carthaginians*: How insolent soever they had been in their proposition of peace, as if they had purchased from her the inheritance of their prosperity, which she never gave nor sold to any mortal man. With what joys these news were welcomed, when they came to *Carthage*, we may easily conjecture; and what great things the vertue of one man hath often brought to pass in the World, there are many examples to prove, no less than this of *Xantippus*: All of them confirming that sentence of *Eurypedes*, *Mens una sapiens, plurimum vincit manus*; *Many mens hands equal not one wise mind.*

After this great service done to the *Carthaginians*, *Xantippus*, returned into *Greece*; whether for that he was more envied than honoured, or for what other cause, it is unknown.

The death of *Atilius Regulus* the Consul, was very memorable. He was sent from *Carthage* to *Rome*, about the exchange and ransom of Prisoners on both sides: Giving his faith to return if the business were not effected. When he came to *Rome*;

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and plainly saw that his Country should lose by the bargain: So far was he from urging the Senate unto compassion of his own misery, that he earnestly perswaded to have the Prisoners in *Africk*, left to their ill destines. This done, he returned to *Carthage*: where for his pains taken, he was rewarded with an horrible death. For this his constancy and faith, all Writers highly extol him. But the *Carthaginians* seem to have judged him an obstinate and malicious enemy, that neither in his prosperity would hearken to reason, nor yet in his calamity would have the natural care, to preserve himself and others, by yielding to such an office of humanity, as is common in all Wars (not grounded upon deadly hatred) only in regard of some small advantage. Whatsoever the *Carthaginians* thought of him; sure it is that his faithful observance of his word given, cannot be too much commended. But that grave speech, which he made in the Senate, against the exchange of Prisoners, appears, in all reason, to have proceeded from a vainglorious forwardness, rather than from any necessity of State. For the exchange was made soon after his death; wherein the *Romans* had the worse bargain, by so much as *Regulus* himself was worth. As for the authority of all Historians, that magnifie him in this point; we are to consider, that they lived under the *Roman* Empire: *Philinus*, the *Carthaginian*, perhaps did censure it otherwise. Yet the death which he suffered with extream torments, could not be more grievous to him, than it was dishonourable to *Carthage*. Neither do I think that the *Carthaginians* could excuse themselves herein; otherwise than by recrimination: Saying, that the *Romans* deserved to be no better intreated, for as much as it is their ordinary practice to use others in the like sort. Cruelty doth not become more warrantable, but rather more odious, by being customary. It was the *Roman* fashion, to whip almost to death, and then to behead the Captains of their enemies whom they took, yea, although they were such as had alwayes make fair Wars with them. Wherefore it seems not meet, in reason, that they should cry out against the like Tyrannical insolency in others, as if were lawful only in themselves.

The consideration both of this misfortune, that rewarded the pride of *Atilius* his intolerable demands; and of the sudden valour, whereinto the *Carthaginians* fear was changed by meer desperation; calls to remembrance, the like insolency of others in prosperity, that hath bred the like resolution in those, to whom all reasonable grace hath been denyed. In such cases I never hold it impertinent, to add unto one, more testimonies; approving the true rules, from which our passions carry us away.

In the year 1378. the *Genowaies* won so fast upon the *Venetians*, as they not only drave their Gallies out of the Sea, but they brought their own Fleet within two miles of *Venice* it self. This bred such an amazement in the City of *Venice*, that they offered unto the *Genowaies* (their state reserved) whatsoever they would demand. But *Peter Doria* blown up with many former Victories, would hearken to no composition; save the yielding of their City and State to his discretion. Hereupon the *Venetians*, being filled with disdain, thrust out to Sea with all their remaining power, and assail *Doria* with such desperate fury, that they break his Fleet, kill *Doria* himself, take nineteen of his *Gallies*, fourscore Boats of *Padoa*; and four Thousand Prisoners, recover *Chiozza*, and all the places taken from them; and following their Victory, enter the Port of *Genoa*, enforcing the *Genowaies* basely to beg peace, to their extream dishonour and disadvantage, being beaten: which, being Victorious, they might have commanded, to their greatest honour and advantage. The like hapned to the Earl of *Flanders*, in the year 1380. when having taken a notable, and withal an over-cruel revenge upon the *Gantois*, he refused mercy to the rest, who in all humility, submitting themselves to his obedience, offered their City, Goods, and Estates, to be disposed at his pleasure. This when he had unadvisedly refused, and was resolved to extinguish them utterly; they issue out of their City with five Thousand chosen men, and armed with a desperate resolution, they charge the Earl, break his Army, enter *Bruges* (*pell-mell*) with his vanquished followers; and enforce him to hide himself under an heap of straw, in a poor Cottage; out of which with great difficulty he escaped, and saved himself. Such are the fruits of Insolency.

SECT. IX.

How the affairs of Carthage *prospered after the Victory against* Atilius: *How the* Romans, *having lost their Fleet by Tempest, resolve to forsake the Seas: The great advantages of a good Fleet in War, between Nations divided by the Sea.*

BY the reputation of this late Victory, all places that had been lost in *Africk*, return to the obedience of *Carthage*. Only *Clypea* stands out; before which the *Carthaginians* sit down, and assail it, but in vain: For the *Romans*, hearing of the loss of *Atilius*, with their forces in *Africk*, and withal, that *Clypea* was besieged, make ready a gross Army, and transport it in a Fleet of three Hundred and fifty Gallies, commanded by *M. Emilius*, and *Ser. Fulvius*, their Consuls. At the *Promontory* of *Mercury*, two Hundred *Carthaginian* Gallies, set out of purpose, upon the bruit of their coming, encounter them: But greatly to their cost. For the *Romans* took by force an Hundred and fourteen of their Fleet, and drew them after them to *Clypea*; where they staid no longer, than to take in their own men that had been besieged: And this done they made amain toward *Sicil*, in hope to recover all that the *Carthaginians* held therein. In this hasty Voyage they despise the advise of the Pilots, who pray them to find harbour in time, for that the season threatned some violent Storms, which ever hapned between the rising of *Orion*, and of the * *Dog-star*. Now although the Pilots of the *Roman* Fleet had thus fore-warned them of the weather at hand, and certified them withal, that the South Coast of *Sicil* had no good Ports, wherein to save themselves upon such an accident: Yet this Victorious Nation was perswaded, that the Winds and Seas feared them no less, than did the *Africans*; and that they were able to Conquer Elements themselves. So refusing

* There is no part of the World, which hath not some times of outragious weather, beside their accidental storms. We have upon our Coast a *Michaelmas* flaw that seldome or never fails. In the West *Indies* in the Moneths of *August* and *September*, those most forcible Winds, which the *Spaniards* call the *Nortes*, or North-winds, are very fearful: And therefore they that Navigate in those parts, take harbour till those Moneths take end. *Charles* the Fifth being as ill advised, in passing the Seas towards *Algier*, in the Winter quarter contrary to the Consul of *A. Doria*; as he was in like unseasonable times to continue his siege before *Metz* in *Lorrain*, lost an Hundred and forty Ships by Tempests, and fifteen Gallies, with all in effect in them, of men, Victuallers, Horses, and munition: a loss no less great, than his retreat, both from before the one and the other, was extream dishonourable.

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to ſtay within ſome Port as they were adviſed, they would needs put out to Sea; thinking it a matter much helping their reputation, after this Victory againſt the *Carthaginian* Fleet, to take a few worthleſs Towns upon the Coaſt. The mercileſs winds in the mean while overtake them, and near unto *Camerina*, overturn and thruſt headlong on the Rocks, all but fourſcore of three Hundred and forty Ships, ſo as their former great Victory was devoured by the Seas, before the fame thereof recovered *Rome*.

The *Carthaginians*, hearing what had hapned, repair all their Warlike Veſſels, hoping once again to command the Seas: They are alſo as confident of their Land-forces ſince the overthrow of *Atilius*. They ſend *Aſdrubal* into *Sicil* with all their old Soulders, and an Hundred and forty Elephants imbarked in two Hundred Gallies. With this Army and Fleet he arrives at *Lilybæum*, where he begins to vex the *Partiſans* of *Rome*. But adverſity doth not diſcourage the *Romans*: They build in three moneths (a matter of great note) one Hundred and twenty Ships; with which, and the remainder of their late Ship-wrack, they row to *Panormus*, or *Palerma*, the chief City of the *Africans* in *Sicil*, and ſurround it by Land and Water: After a while they take it, and leaving a Garriſon therein, return to *Rome*.

Very deſirous the *Romans* were to be doing in *Africk*: To which purpoſe they imployed *C. Servilius*, and *C. Sempronius*, their Conſuls. But theſe wrought no wonders. Some ſpoil they made upon the Coaſts of *Africk*: But Fortune robbed them of all their gettings. For in their return, they were firſt ſet upon the Sands, and like to have had periſhed, near unto the leſſer *Syrtes*, where they were fain to heave all over-board, that ſo they might get off: Then, having with much ado doubled the Cape of *Lilybæum*, in their paſſage from *Panormus* towards *Italy*, they loſt an Hundred and fifty of their Ships by foul weather. A greater diſcouragement never Nation had; the god of the Wars favoured them no more, than the god of the waters afflicted them. Of all that *Mars* enricht them with upon the *Land*, *Neptune* robbed them upon the Seas. For they had now loſt, beſides what they loſt in fight, four Hundred and ſix Ships and Gallies, with all the munition and Souldiers tranſported in them.

The exceeding dammage hereby received, perſwaded them to give over their Navigation, and their fight by Sea, and to ſend only a Land-Army into *Sicil*, under *L. Cæcilius*, and *F. Furius*, their Conſuls. Theſe they tranſport in ſome threeſcore ordinary paſſage Boats, by the ſtraights of *Meſſana*, that are not above a mile and an half broad from land to land. In like ſort, the overthrow which *Atilius* received in *Africa*, occaſioned chiefly by the Elephants, made them leſs cholerick againſt the *Carthaginians*, than before; ſo that for two years after, they kept the high and woody grounds, not daring to fight in the fair and Champion Countreys. But this late reſolution of forſaking the Seas laſted not long. For it was impoſſible for them to ſuccour thoſe places which they held in *Sicil*, without a Navy, much leſs to maintain the War in *Africa*. For, whereas the *Romans* were to ſend Forces from *Meſſana* to *Egeſta*, to *Lilybæum*, and to other places in the extream Weſt parts of *Sicil*, making ſometime a march of above an Hundred and forty *Engliſh* mile by land, which could not be performed without an Army, and the proviſions that follow it, in leſs than fourteen dayes; the *Carthaginians* would paſs it with their Gallies, in eight and forty hours.

An old example we have, of that great advantage of tranſporting Armies by water, between *Canutus*, and *Edmund Ironſide*. For *Canutus*, when he had entred the *Thames* with his Navy and Army, and could not prevail againſt *London*; ſuddenly imbarqued; and ſailing to the Weſt, landed in *Darſet-ſhire*, ſo drawing *Edmund* and his Army thither. There finding ill entertainment, he again ſhipt his men, and entred the *Severn*, making *Edmund* to march after him, to the ſuccour of *Worceſter-ſhire*, by him greatly ſpoiled. But when he had *Edmund* there, he ſailed back again to *London*: By means whereof, he both wearied the King, and ſpoiled where he pleaſed, ere ſuccour could arrive. And this was not the leaſt help, which the *Netherlands* have had againſt the *Spaniards*, in the defence of their liberty, that being Maſters of the Sea, they could paſs their Army from place to place, unwearied, and entire; with all the Munition and Artillery belonging unto it, in the tenth part of the time, wherein their enemies have been able to do it. Of this an inſtance or two. The Count *Maurice* of *Naſſau*, now living, one of the greateſt Captains, and one of the worthieſt Princes, that either the preſent or preceeding Ages have brought forth, in the year 1590. carried his Army by Sea, with forty Cannons to *Breda*: Making countenance either to beſiege *Boiſleduc*, or *Gertreviden Berg*; which the enemy (in prevention) filled with Souldiers, and Victuals. But as ſoon as the wind ſerved, he ſuddenly ſet ſail, arriving in the mouth of the *Meuze*, turned up the *Rhine*, and thence to *Yſſel*, and ſate down before *Zutphen*. So before the *Spaniards* could march over land round about *Holland*, above fourſcore mile, and over many great Rivers, with their Cannon and carriage, *Zutphen* was taken. Again, when the *Spaniſh* Army had overcome this wearisome march, and were now far from home, Prince *Maurice*, making countenance to ſail up the *Rhine*, changed his courſe in the night, and ſailing down the ſtream, he was ſet down before *Hulſt* in *Brabant*, ere the *Spaniards* had knowledge what was become of him. So this Town he alſo took, before the *Spaniſh* Army could return. Laſtly, the *Spaniſh* Army was no ſooner arrived in *Brabant*, than the Prince of *Maurice*, well attended by his good Fleet, having fortified *Hulſt*, ſet ſail again, and preſented himſelf before *Nymegen* in *Gelders*, a City of notable importance, and maſtered it.

And to ſay the truth; it is impoſſible for any maritime Countrey, not having the Coaſts admirably fortified, to defend it ſelf againſt a powerful enemy, that is Maſter of the Sea. Hereof I had rather, that *Spain* than *England* ſhould be an example. Let it therefore be ſuppoſed, that King *Philip* the ſecond had fully reſolved to hinder Sir *John Norris* in the year 1589. from preſenting *Don Antonio*, King of *Portugal*, before the gates of *Lisborn*; and that he would have kept off the *Engliſh* by power of his Land-Forces; as being too weak at Sea, through the great overthrow of his mighty *Armado*, by the Fleet of Queen *Elizabeth*, in the year foregoing. Surely, it had not been hard for him, to prepare an Army, that ſhould be able to reſiſt our eleven Thouſand. But where ſhould this his Army have been beſtowed? If about *Lisborn*; then would it have been eaſie unto the *Engliſh*, to take, ranſack, and burn the Town of *Croin*, and to waſte the Countrey round about it. For the great and threatning preparations of the Earl of *Altemira*, the Marqueſs of *Seralba*, and others did not hinder them from performing all this. Neither did the haſty levy of eight Thouſand under the Earl of *Andradas*

drada, ſerve to more effect, than the increaſe of honour to Sir *John Norris*, and his Aſſociates: Conſidering that the *Engliſh* charged theſe, at *Puente de Burgos*, and paſſing the great Bridge, behind which they lay, that was flanked with ſhot, and barricadoed at the further end, routed them, took their Camp; took their General Standard with the Kings Arms, and purſued them over all the Countrey, which they fired. If a Royal Army, and not (as this was) a Company of private adventurers, had thus begun the War in *Galicia*; I think it would have made the *Spaniards* to quit the guard of *Portugal*, and make haſte to the defence of their St. *Jago*, whoſe Temple was not far from the danger. But, had they held their firſt reſolution, as knowing, that Sir *John Norris* his main intent was, to bring *Don Antonio*, with an Army into his Kingdom, whither coming ſtrong, he expected to be readily and joyfully welcomed: Could they have hindred his landing in *Portugal*? Did not he land at *Penicha*, and march over the Country to *Lisborn*, ſix dayes journey? Did not he (when all *Don Antonio* his promiſes failed) paſs along by the River of *Lisborn* to *Caſcaliz*, and there, having won the Fort, quietly imbarque his men, and depart? But theſe, though no more than an handful, yet were they *Engliſhmen*. Let us conſider of the matter it ſelf; what another Nation might do, even againſt *England*, in landing an Army, by advantage of a Fleet, if we had none. This queſtion, *Whether an invading Army may be riſiſted at their landing upon the Coaſt of* England, *were there no Fleet of ours at the Sea to impeach it*; is already handled by a learned Gentleman of our Nation, in his obſervations upon *Cæſars* Commentaries, that maintains the affirmative. This he holds only upon ſuppoſition; *in abſence of our ſhipping*: And comparatively, as that it is a more ſafe and eaſie courſe, to defend all the Coaſt of *England*, than to ſuffer any enemy to land, and afterwards to fight with him. Surely I hold with him, that it is the beſt way, to keep our enemies from treading upon our ground; wherein, if we fail, then muſt we ſeek to make him wiſh, that he had ſtayed at his own home. In ſuch a caſe, if it ſhould happen, our judgments are to weigh many particular circumſtances, that belongs not unto this diſcourſe. But making the queſtion general, and poſitive, *Whether* England, *without the help of her Fleet, be able to debar an enemy from landing*. I hold that it is unable ſo to do: And therefore I think it moſt dangerous to make the adventure. For the incouragement of a firſt Victory to an enemy, and the diſcouragement of being beaten to the invaded, may draw after it a moſt perilous conſequence.

It is true, that the Marſhal *Monluc*, in his Commentaries, doth greatly complain, that by his wanting Forces, wherewith to have kept the frontier of *Guyenne*, they of the *Proteſtant* Religion, after the Battel of *Moncontour*, entred that Country, and gathered great ſtrength and relief thence; for if the King (ſaith he) would have given me but reaſonable means, *j'euſſe bien garde a Monſieur l' Admiral de fair boire ſes Chevaux en la Garonne*; *I would have kept the Admiral from watering his Horſes in the River of* Garonne. *Monſieur de Langey*, on the contrary ſide, prefers the not fighting upon a frontier with an invading enemy, and commends the delay; which courſe the Conſtable of *France* held againſt the Emperour *Charles*, when he invaded *Provence*. Great difference I know there is, and a diverſe conſideration to be had, between ſuch a Country as *France* is, ſtrengthened with many fortified places: And this of ours where our Rampars are but of the bodies of men. And it was of invaſions upon firm land, that theſe great Captains ſpake: whoſe entrances cannot be uncertain. But our queſtion is an Army to be tranſported over Sea, and to be landed again in an enemies Countrey, and the place left to the choice of the invader. Hereunto I ſay, that ſuch an Army cannot be reſiſted on the Coaſt of *England*, without a Fleet to impeach it; no, nor on the Coaſt of *France*, or any other Countrey: Except every Creek, Port, or ſandy Bay, had a powerful Army, in each of them, to make oppoſition. For let his whole ſuppoſition be granted; that *Kent* is able to furniſh twelve Thouſand foot, and thoſe twelve Thouſand be layed in the three beſt landing places within that Countrey, to wit, three Thouſand at *Margat*, three Thouſand at the *Neſſe*, and ſix Thouſand at *Fulkſton*, that is ſomewhat equally diſtant from them both; as alſo that two of theſe Troops (unleſs ſome other order be thought more fit) be directed to ſtrengthen the third, when they ſhall ſee the enemies Fleet to bend towards it: I ſay, that notwithſtanding this proviſion, if the enemy, ſetting ſail from the Iſle of *Wight*, in the firſt watch of the night, and towing their long Boats at their Sterns, ſhall arrive by dawn of day at the *Neſſe*, and thruſt their Army on ſhore there; it will be hard for thoſe three thouſand that are at *Margat* (twenty and four long miles from thence) to come time enough to re-enforce their fellows at the *Neſſe*. Nay, how ſhould they at *Fulkſtone* be able to do it, who are nearer by more than half the way? ſeeing that the enemy, at his firſt arrival, will either make his entrance by force, with three or four Hundred ſhot of great Artillery, and quickly put the firſt three Thouſand, that were intrenched at the *Neſſe*, to run; or elſe give them ſo much to do, that they ſhall be glad to ſend for help to *Fulkſton*, and perhaps to *Margat*: whereby thoſe places will be left bare. Now let us ſuppoſe, that all the twelve Thouſand *Kentiſh* Souldiers arrive at the *Neſſe*, ere the enemy can be ready to diſ-embarque his Army, ſo that he will find it unſafe, to land in the face of ſo many, prepared to withſtand him; yet muſt we believe, that he will play the beſt of his own game; (having liberty to go which way he liſt) under covert of the night, ſet ſail towards the *Eaſt*, where what ſhall hinder him to take ground, either at *Margat*, the *Downes*, or elſewhere, before they at the *Neſſe* can be well aware of his departure? Certainly, there is nothing more eaſie than to do it. Yea, the like may be ſaid of *Waymouth*, *Purbeck*, *Poole*, and of all landing places on the South Coaſt. For there is no man ignorant, that Ships, without putting themſelves out of breath, will eaſily outrun the Souldiers that coaſt them. *Les armees ne volent point en poſte*; *Armies neither flye, nor run poſt*, ſaith a Marſhal of *France*. And I know it to be true, that a Fleet of Ships may be ſeen at Sun-ſet, and after it, at the *Lizard*; yet by the next morning they may recover *Portland*, whereas an Army of foot ſhall not be able to march it in ſix dayes. Again, when thoſe troops lodged on the Sea-ſhores, ſhall be forced to run from place to place in vain, after a Fleet of Ships; they will at length ſit down in the mid-way; and leave all at adventure. But ſay it were otherwiſe; that the invading enemy will offer to land in ſome ſuch place, where there ſhall be an Army of ours ready to receive him; yet it cannot be doubted, but that when the choice of all our Trained Bands, and the choice of our Commanders and Captains, ſhall be drawn together (as they were at *Tilbury* in the year 1588.) to attend the

the perſon of the Prince, and for the defence of the City of *London*: They that remain to guard the Coaſt can be of no ſuch force, as to encounter an Army like unto that wherewith it was intended that the Prince of *Parma* ſhould have landed in *England*.

The Iſle of *Tercera* hath taught us by experience, what to think in ſuch a caſe. There are not many Iſlands in the World, better fenced by nature, and ſtrengthened by Art: it being every where hard of acceſs; having no good harbour wherein to ſhelter a Navy of friends, and upon every cove or watering place a Fort erected, to forbid the approach of an enemies Boat. Yet when *Emanuel de Sylva*, and *Monſieur de Chattes*, that held it to the uſe of *Don Antonio*, with five or ſix Thouſand men, thought to have kept the *Marqueſs* of *Santa Cruz*, from ſetting foot on ground therein; the Marqueſs having ſhewed himſelf in the Road of *Angra*, did ſet ſail, ere any was aware of it, and arrived at the *Port des Moles*, far diſtant from thence; where he wan a Fort, and landed ere *Monſieur de Chattes*, running thither in vain, could come to hinder him. The example of *Philip Stroſſie*, ſlain the year before, without all regard of his worth, and of three Hundred *French* Priſoners murdered in cold bloed; had inſtructed *de Chattes*, and his followers, what they might expect at that Marqueſs his hands: Therefore it is not like, that they were ſlow in carrying in relief to *Port des Moles*. Whether our *Engliſh* would be perſwaded to make ſuch diligent haſte, from *Margat* to the *Neſſe*, and back again, it may be doubted. Sure I am, that it were a greater march than all the length of *Tercera*; whereof the *French-men* had not meaſured the one half when they found themſelves prevented by the more nimble Ships of *Spain*.

This may ſuffice to prove, that a ſtrong Army, in a good Fleet, which neither foot nor horſe is able to follow, cannot be denyed to land where it liſt, in *England*, *France*, or elſewhere, unleſs it be hindred, encountred, and ſhuffled together, by a Fleet of equal or anſwerable ſtrength.

The difficult landing of our *Engliſh*, at *Fayal*, in the year 1597. is alledged againſt this: which example moves me no way to think, that a large Coaſt may be defended againſt a ſtrong Fleet. I landed thoſe *Engliſh* in *Fayal* my ſelf, and therefore ought to take notice of this inſtance. For whereas I find an Action of mine cited, with omiſſion of my name; I may, by a civil interpretation, think, that there was no purpoſe to defraud me of any honour; but rather an opinion, that the enterprize was ſuch, or ſo ill managed, as that no honour could be due unto it. There were indeed ſome which were in that Voyage, who adviſed me not to undertake it: And I hearkned unto them ſomewhat longer than was requiſite, eſpecially, whilſt they deſired me to reſerve the title of ſuch an exploit (though it were not great) for a greater perſon. But when they began to tell me of difficulty; I gave them to underſtand, the ſame which I now maintain, that it was more difficult to defend a Coaſt, than to invade it. The truth is, that I could have landed my men with more eaſe than I did; yea without finding any reſiſtance, if I would have rowed to another place; yea even there where I landed, if I would have taken more company to help me. But, without fearing any imputation of raſhneſs, I may ſay, that I had more regard of reputation in that buſineſs, than of ſafety. For I thought it to belong unto the honour of our Prince and Nation, that a few Iſlanders ſhould not thing any advantage great enough, againſt a Fleet ſet forth by Q. *Elizabeth*: And further, I was unwilling, that ſome *Low-Country* Captains, and others, not of mine own ſquadron, whoſe aſſiſtance I had refuſed, ſhould pleaſe themſelves with a ſweet conceit (though it would have been ſhort, when I had landed in ſome other place) *That for want of their help I was driven to turn tail.* Therefore I took with me none, but men aſſured, Commanders of mine own ſquadron, with ſome of their followers, and a few other Gentlemen, Voluntaries, whom I could not refuſe; as, Sir *William Brook*, Sir *William Harvey*, Sir *Arthur Gorges*, Sir *John Skot*, Sir *Thomas Bridgeway*, Sir *Henry Tinnes*, Sir *Charles Morgan*, Sir *Walter Chute*, *Marcellus Throckmorton*, Captain *Laurence Kemis*, Captain *William Morgan*, and other ſuch as well underſtood themſelves and the enemy; By whoſe help, with Gods favour, I made good the enterprize I undertook. As for the *working of the Sea, the ſteepneſs of the Cliffs*, and other troubles that were not new to us, we overcame them well enough. And theſe (notwithſtanding) made five or ſix Companies of the enemies, that ſought to impeach our landing, abandon the wall, whereon their Musketiers lay on the Reſt for us, and won the place of them without any great loſs. This I could have done with leſs danger, ſo that it ſhould not have ſerved for example of a Rule, that failed even in this example: But the reaſons before alledged (together with other reaſons well known to ſome of the Gentlemen above named, though more private than to be here laid down) made me rather follow the way of bravery, and take the ſhorter courſe; having it ſtill in mine own power to fall off when I ſhould think it meet. It is eaſily ſaid, that *the Enemy was more then a Coward*; (which yet was more than we knew) neither will I magnifie ſuch a ſmall peice of ſervice, by ſeeking to prove him better: whom had I thought equal to mine own followers, I would otherwiſe have dealt with. But for ſo much as concerns the propoſition in hand; he that beheld this, may well remember that the ſame enemy troubled us more in our march towards *Fayal*, than in our taking the ſhore; that he ſought how to ſtop us in place of his advantage, that many of our men were ſlain or hurt by him, among whom Sir *Arthur Gorges* was ſhot in that march; and that ſuch, as (thinking all danger to be paſt, when he had won good footing) would needs follow us to the Town, were driven by him, to forſake the place of a man of War, and betake themſelves to an haſty trot.

For end of this Digreſſion, I hope that this queſtion ſhall never come to tryal; his Majeſties many moveable Forts will forbid the experience. And although the *Engliſh* will no leſs diſdain, than any Nation under Heaven can do, to be beaten upon their own ground, or elſewhere by a forain enemy; yet to entertain thoſe that ſhall aſſail us, with their own Bief in their bellies, and before they eat of our *Kentiſh* Capons, I take it to be the wiſeſt way. To do which, his Majeſty after God, will imploy his good Ships on the Sea, and not truſt to any intrenchment upon the ſhore.

SECT. X.

How the Romans *attempt again to get the Maſtery of the Seas. The Victory of* Cæcilius *the* Roman *Conſul at* Panormus *: The ſiege of* Lilybæum. *How a* Rhodian *Gally entred* Lilybæum *at pleaſure, in deſpight of the* Roman *Fleet. That it is a matter of great difficulty to ſtop the paſſage of good Ships. The* Romans, *by reaſon of grievous loſſes received under* Claudius *and* Junius *their Conſuls, abandon the Seas again.*

WHen without a ſtrong Navy, the *Romans* found it altogether impoſſible, either to keep what they had already gotten in *Sicil*, or to enlarge their Dominions in *Africa*, or elſewhere; they reſolved once again, notwithſtanding their late miſadventures, to ſtrengthen their Fleet and Ships of War. So cauſing fifty new Gallies to be built, and the old to be repaired, they gave them in charge (together with certain Legions of Souldiers) to the new Conſuls, *C. Atilius*, and *L. Manlius*. On the other ſide, *Aſdrubal* perceiving that the *Romans*, partly by reaſon of the Shipwrack which they had lately ſuffered, partly by reaſon of the overthrow which they received by *Xantippus* in *Africa*, were leſs daring than they had been in the beginning of the War: And withal, that one of the Conſuls was returned into *Italy*, with the one half of the Army, and that *Cæcilius*, with only the other half, remained at *Panormus*; he removed with the *Carthaginian* forces from *Lilybæum* towards it, hoping to provoke *Cæcilius* to fight. But the Conſul was better adviſed. For when *Aſdrubal* had made his approaches ſomewhat near the Town, *Cæcilius* cauſed a deep trench to be cut, a good diſtance without the ditch of the City: Between which and his trench he left ground ſufficient, to embattel a Legion of his Souldiers. To theſe he gave order that they ſhould advance themſelves, and paſs over the new trench, till ſuch time as the *African* Elephants were thruſt upon them. From thoſe Beaſts he commanded them to retire by ſlow degrees till they had drawn on the Elephants to the brink of the new trench, which they could by no means paſs. This they performed accordingly. For when the Elephants were at a ſtand, they were ſo gawled and beaten, both by thoſe Souldiers that were on the inſide of the trench, and by thoſe that lay in the trench it ſelf, that being inraged by their many wounds, they brake back furiouſly upon their own foot-men, and utterly diſordered them. *Cæcilius* eſpying his advantage; ſallied with all the force he had; and charging the other Troops, that ſtood embattailed, he utterly brake them, and put them to their heels; making a great ſlaughter of them, and taking all their Elephants.

The report of this Victory being brought to *Rome*; the whole State filled with courage, prepared a new Fleet of two Hundred ſail, which they ſent into *Sicil*, to give end to that War, that had now laſted fourteen years. With his Fleet and Army the *Romans* reſolved to attempt *Lilybæum*, the only place of importance which the *Carthaginians* held in *Sicil*; and all (indeed) ſave *Drepanum*, that was near adjoyning. They ſet down before it, and poſſeſs themſelves of all the places of advantage near unto it, eſpecially of ſuch as command the Haven, which had a very difficult entrance. They alſo beat to the ground ſix Towers of defence; and by forcible engines weaken ſo many other parts of the City, as the defendants begin to deſpair. Yet *Himilco*, Commander of the place, faileth not in all that belongs to a man of War. All that is broken he repaireth with admirable diligence; he maketh many furious ſallies, and giveth to the *Romans* all the affronts that poſſible could be made. He hath in Garriſon (beſides the Citizens) ten Thouſand Souldiers; among which there are certain Lieutenants, and other petty Officers, that conſpire to render and betray the Town. But the matter is revealed by an *Achæan*, called *Alexon*, who had formerly in danger of the like Treaſon, ſaved *Agrigentum*. *Himilco* uſeth the help of *Alexon*, to aſſure the hired Souldiers, and imploys *Hannibal* to appeaſe the Troops of the *Gaules*, which did waver, and had ſent their agents to the enemy. All promiſe conſtancy and truth; ſo that the Traitors, being unable to perform what they had undertaken, are fain to live in the *Roman* Camp as fugitives, that had wrought no good whereby to deſerve their bread. In the mean while, a ſupply of ten Thouſand Souldiers is ſent from *Carthage* to their relief, having *Hannibal* the Son of *Amilcar* for their Conductor: who, in deſpight of all reſiſtance, entred the Port and City, to the incredible joy of the beſieged. The old Souldiers, together with the new Companies (thereto perſwaded by *Himilco* with hope of great reward) reſolved to ſet upon the *Romans* in their trenches, and either force them to abandon the ſiege, or (at leaſt) to take from them, or ſet on fire their Engines of Battery. The attempt is preſently made, and purſued to the uttermoſt, with great ſlaughter on both ſides. But the *Romans*, being more in number, and having the advantage of the ground, hold ſtill their places, and with extream difficulty defend their Engines.

They of *Carthage* deſire greatly to underſtand the ſtate of things at *Lilybæum*; but know not how to ſend into the Town. A certain *Rhodian* undertakes the ſervice; and having received his diſpatch, ſails with one Gally to *Æguſa*, a little Iſland near *Lilybæum*. Thence, taking his time he ſteared directly with the Port; and having a paſſing ſwift Gally, he paſt through the beſt of the Channel, and recovered the water-gate ere any of thoſe which the *Romans* had to guard the Port, could thruſt from the ſhores on either ſide.

The next day, neither attending the covert of the dark night, nor dreading to be boarded by the *Roman* Gallies, who waited his return, he ſet ſail, and ſhipped his Oars (his Gally being exceeding quick of ſtearage, and himſelf expert in all parts of the Channel) recovered the Havens mouth, and the Sea, in deſpight of all the purſuit made after him. Then, finding himſelf out of danger of being encompaſſed by many, he turned again towards the mouth of the Haven, challenging any one, if any one durſt come forth to undertake him. This enterpriſe, and the well performing of it, was very remarkable, and much wondered at in thoſe dayes: And yet, where there was no great Artillery, nor any other weapons of fire, to kill afar off, the adventure which this *Rhodian* made was not greatly hazardous. For in this Age, a valiant and judicious man of War will not fear to paſs by the beſt appointed Fort of *Europe*, with the help of a good Tide, and a leading gale of wind: No, though forty pieces of great Artillery open their mouths againſt him, and threaten to tear him in pieces.

In the beginning of our late Queens time, when *Denmark* and *Sueden* were at War, our *Eaſt-land* Fleet, bound for *Leif-land*, was forbidden by the King

King of *Denmark* to trade with the subjects of his Enemies, and he threatned to sink their Ships if they came through the Streights of *Elsenour*. Notwithstanding this, our Merchants (having a Ship of her Majesties, called the *Minion*, to defend them) made the adventure, and sustaining some Vollies of shot, kept on their course. The King made all the Provision he could to stop them, or sink them at their return. But the *Minion*, commanded (as I take it) by *William Burrough*, leading the way, did not only pass out with little loss, but did beat down, with Artillery, a great part of the Fort of *Elsenour*; which at that time was not so well rampard, as now perhaps it is: And the Fleet of Merchants that followed him, went through without any wound received. Neither was it long since that the Duke of *Parma*, Besieging *Antwerp*, and finding no possibility to master it, otherwise than by Famin, laid his Cannon on Bank of the River, so well to purpose, and so even with the face of the Water, that he thought it impossible for the least Boat to pass by. Yet the *Hollanders* and *Zelanders*, not blown up by any wind of glory, but coming to find a good Market for their Butter and Cheese, even the poor men, attending their profit when all things were extream dear in *Antwerp*, passed in Boats of Ten or Twelve Tun, by the mouth of the Dukes Cannon, in despight of it; when a strong Westerly Wind, and a Tide of Flood favoured them; as also with a contrary Wind, and an Ebbing Water, they turned back again: So as he was forced, in the end, to build his Stockado overthwart the River, to his marvellous trouble and charge.

The Fort Saint *Philip* terrified not us in the Year 1596, when we entered the Port of *Caliz*, neither did the Fort at *Puntal*, when we were entred, beat us from our anchoring by it; though it plaid upon us with Four Demi-Cannons within point-blank, from six in the Morning till twelve at noon. The Siege of *Ostend*, and of many other places, may be given for proof, how hard a matter it is to stop the passage of a good Ship, without another as good to encounter it. Yet this is true, that where a Fort is so set, as that of *Angra* in *Tercera*, that there is no passage along beside it, or that the Ships are driven to turn upon a bow-line towards it, wanting all help of Wind and Tyde; there, and in such places, it is of great use, and fearful: otherwise not.

But to return to our adventrous *Rodian*: He arrives in safety at *Carthage*, and makes them know the estate of *Lilybæum*. Others also, after this, take upon them to do the like, and perform it with the same success. The *Romans* therefore labour to choak the Channel; and, for that purpose, fill many Merchants Ships with great Stones, and sink them therein. The force of the *Tydes* clear it again in part: But they grounded so many of those great bellied-Boats in the best of the entrance, as at last it made a manifest rising and heap, like a ragged Island in the passage. Hereby it came to pass, that a *Carthaginian* Galley, taking her course by Night, and not suspecting any such impediment, ran her self aground thereon, and was taken. Now comes that brave *Rhodian*, thinking to enter, as he had done before: But this *Carthaginian* Gally, a little before taken, gave him chase, and gathered upon him, he finds what she is, both by her form, and by her swiftness: And being not able to run from her, resolved to fight with her. But she is too well manned for him, so that he is beaten and taken.

Lilybæum, after this, is greatly distressed, the Souldiers being worn with labour and watching. But in this despair there rose so violent a Tempest, as some of the *Romans* Wooden-Towers, by which they over-topt the walls of *Lilybæum*, were overturned. A *Greek* Souldier undertakes to fire those that were fallen, and performs it: For the fire was no sooner kindled, but being blown unto by the bellows of a Tempest, it increased so fast, as it became resistless, and in the end burned all to ashes, and melted the Brazen heads of the battering Rams. Hereupon, despair and weariness hinder the *Romans* from repairing their Engines: So that they resolve, by a long Siege, to starve the defendants.

Upon relation of what had past, a supply of Ten Thousand Souldiers is sent from *Rome*, under *M. Claudius*, the Consul. He arrives at *Messana*, and marcheth over Land to *Lilybæum*: Where having re-inforced the Army, and supplied the Gallies with new Rowers, he propounds the surprise of *Drepanum*, a City on the other side of the Bay of *Lilybæum*. This service the Captains and Souldiers willingly embrace. So the Consul embarques his Troops, and arrives on the sudden in the mouth of the Port. *Adherbal* is Governour of the Town, a valiant and prudent man of War, who being ignorant of the new supply arrived at *Lilybæum*, was at first amazed at their sudden approach; but having recovered his Spirits, he perswades the Souldiers rather to fight abroad, than to be encloſed. Herewithal he promiseth great rewards to such, as by their valour shall deserve them; offering to lead them himself, and to fight in the head of his Fleet. Having sufficiently encouraged his men, he thrust into the Sea towards the *Romans*. The Consul, deceived of his expectation, calls back the foremost Gallies, that he might now marshal them for defence. Hereupon some row backward, some forward, in great confusion. *Adherbal* finds and follows his advantage, and forceth the Consul into a Bay at hand, wherein he rangeth himself, having the Land on his back: Hoping thereby to keep himself from being incompassed. But he was thereby, and for want of Sea-room, so straightned, as he could not turn himself any way from his Enemies, nor range himself in any order. Therefore when he found no hope of resistance, keeping the shore on his left hand, he thrust out of the Bay with Thirty Gallies, besides his own, and so fled away: All the rest of his Fleet, to the number of Ninety and Four Ships, were taken or sunk by the *Carthaginians*. *Adherbal* for his service is greatly honoured at *Carthage*; and *Claudius*, for his indiscretion and flight, as much disgraced at *Rome*.

The *Romans*, notwithstanding this great loss, arm Threescore Gallies, with which they send away *L. Junius*, their Consul, too take charge of their business in *Sicil*. *Junius* arrives at *Messana*, where he meets with the whole remainder of the *Roman* Fleet, those excepted which rode in the Port of *Lilybæum*. One Hundred and Twenty Gallies he had; and besides these, he had gotten together almost Eight Hundred Ships of burthen, which were laden with all necessary Provisions for the Army. With this great Fleet he arrives at *Syracuse*, where he stayes a while; partly to take in Corn, partly to wait for some that were too slow of Sail to keep company with him along from *Messana*. In the mean time he dispatcheth away towards *Lilybæum* his Questors or Treasurers; to whom he commits the one half of his Victuallers, with some Gallies for their Convoy.

Adherbal was not careless after his late Victory; But studied how to use it to the best advantage.

The Ships and Priſoners that he had taken, he ſent to *Carthage*. Of his own Gallies he delivered Thirty to *Carthalo*, who had Threeſcore and Ten more under his own charge; and ſent him to try what good might be done againſt the *Roman* Fleet in the Haven of *Lilybæum*. According to his direction, *Carthalo* ſuddenly enters the mouth of that Haven, where he finds the *Romans* more attentive to the keeping in of the Beſieged *Carthaginians*, than to the defence of their own againſt another Fleet. So he chargeth them, boords, and takes ſome, and fires the reſt. The *Romans* Camp takes alarm, and haſtens to the reſcue. But *Himilco*, Governour of the Town, is not behind hand; who ſallies out at the ſame time, and putting the *Romans* to great diſtreſs, gives *Carthalo* good leiſure to go through with his enterpriſe.

After this exploit, *Carthalo* ran all along the South Coaſt of *Sicil*, deviſing how to work miſchief to the Enemy; wherein Fortune preſented him with a fair occaſion, which he wiſely mannaged. He was advertiſed by his Scouts, that they had deſcryed, near at hand, a great Fleet, conſiſting of all manner of Veſſels. Theſe were the Victuallers, which the Conſul *Junius*, more haſtily than providently, had ſent before him towards *Lilybæum*. *Carthalo* was glad to hear of their coming: For he and his men were full of courage, by reaſon of their late victories. Accounting therefore the great Multitude of *Roman* Hulks, approaching, to be rather a prey then a Fleet likely to make ſtrong oppoſition, he haſtens to encounter them. It fell out according to his expectation. The *Romans* had no mind to fight: But were glad to ſeek ſhelter in an open Road, full of Rocks under the covert of a poor Town, belonging to their party; that could help to ſave them only from the preſent danger, by lending them Engins and other aid, wherewith to beat off the *Carthaginians* that aſſailed them. *Carthalo* therefore, having taken a few of them, lay waiting for the reſt, that could not long ride under thoſe Rocks, but would be forced by any great change of Wind, either to put out into the deep, or to ſave their men how they could, by taking land, with the loſs of all their Shipping. Whilſt he was buſie in this care, the Conſul *Junius* drew near, and was diſcovered. Againſt him *Carthalo* makes out, and finds him altogether unprepared to fight, as being wholly ignorant of that which had hapned. The Conſul had neither means to fly, nor ability to fight. Therefore he likewiſe ran into a very dangerous Creek; thinking no danger ſo great as that of the Enemy. The *Carthaginian* ſeeing this, betakes himſelf to a ſtation between the two *Roman* Fleets; where he watcheth, to ſee which of them would firſt ſtir, with a reſolution to aſſault that, which ſhould firſt dare to put it ſelf into the Sea. So as now all the Three Fleets were on the South Coaſt of *Sicil*, between the Promontory of *Pachinus* and *Lilybæum*; a Tract exceeding dangerous, when the Wind ſtormed at South. The *Carthaginians*, who knew the times of Tempeſt, and their ſignes, finding (belike) ſome ſwelling Billow (for ſo we do in the Weſt of *England*, before a Southernly Storm) haſted to double the Cape of *Pachinus*, thereby to cover themſelves from the rage at hand. But the *Romans*, who knew better how to fight than how to Navigate, and never found any foul weather in the entrails of their Beaſts, their South-ſayers being all Land-Prophets, were ſuddenly overtaken with a boiſterous South-wind, and all the Gallies forced againſt the Rocks, and utterly wrackt.

This calamity ſo diſcouraged the *Romans*, that they reſolved again to forſake the Seas, and truſt only to the ſervice of their Legions upon firm ground. But ſuch a reſolution cannot long hold. Either they muſt be ſtrong at Sea, or elſe they muſt not make War in an Iſland, againſt thoſe that have a mightier Fleet. Yet are they to be excuſed, in regard of the many great calamities which they had ſuffered through their want of skill. Here I cannot forbear to commend the patient vertue of the *Spaniards*. We ſeldom or never find, that any Nation hath endured ſo many miſadventures and miſeries, as the *Spaniards* have done, in their *Indian Diſcoveries*. Yet perſiſting in their enterpriſes with an invincible conſtancy, they have annexed to their Kingdom ſo many goodly Provinces, as bury the remembrance of all dangers paſt. Tempeſts and Shipwracks, Famin, Overthrows, Mutinies, Heat and Cold, Peſtilence, and all manner of diſeaſes both old and new, together with extream poverty, and want of all things needful, have been the Enemies wherewith every one of their moſt noble diſcoverers, at one time or other, hath encountred. Many Years have paſſed over ſome of their heads in the ſearch of not ſo many Leagues: Yea more than one or two have ſpent their labour, their wealth, and their lives, in ſearch of a Golden Kingdom, without getting further notice of it, than what they had at their firſt ſetting forth. All which notwithſtanding, the Third, Fourth, and Fifth undertakers, have not been diſheartned. Surely, they are worthily rewarded with thoſe Treaſuries and Paradiſes which they enjoy; and well they deſerve to hold them quietly, if they hinder not the like vertues in others, which (perhaps) will not be found.

SECT XI.

The City of Eryx *is ſurpriſed by the* Romans, *and recovered by* Amilcar, *who ſtoutly holds War with them Five Years. The* Romans, *having emptied their common Treaſury, build a new Fleet at the charges of private men. The great Victory at Sea of* Luctatius *the Conſul; whereby the* Carthaginians *are forced to crave Peace. The conditions of the Peace between* Rome *and* Carthage.

THE *Romans* were careful to ſupply with all induſtry, by Land, the want of ſtrength at Sea. Therefore they continue the Siege of *Lilybæum*, and ſeek to make ſure to themſelves all places, whither the Enemies Ships could not bring relief. The Conſul *Junius*, to cure the wound of diſhonour, which he had received, bethought him what enterpriſes to undertake. In the end he reſolved to attempt the Mountain and City of *Eryx*, with the Temple of *Venus Erycina*: Which was the faireſt and richeſt of all the Iſland; and of theſe, by cunning or Treaſon, he got poſſeſſion. *Eryx* was commodiouſly ſeated between *Drepanum* and *Panormus*; ſo that it ſeemed a fit place for a Garriſon, that ſhould reſtrain the *Carthaginians* from making Roads into the Country. Wherefore *Junius* fortified both the top of the Mountain, and the firſt entrance of the paſſage from the bottom, (both of which places were very defenſible) with

a good ſtrength of men. But ſhortly after, in the Eighteenth Year of this War, the *Carthaginians* ſet forth *Amilcar*, ſurnamed *Barcas*, Father of the great *Hannibal*, with a Fleet and Army, who ſailing to the Coaſt of *Italy*, did throughly repay the ſpoils which the *Romans* made in *Africa*. For he firſt of all waſted and deſtroyed the Territories of the *Locrians*, and of the *Brutians*, that were dependants of *Rome*. Then entred he into *Sicil*, and finding there no Walled City in the *Carthaginians* power, that ſerved fitly to infeſt the *Romans*, he occupied a piece of ground of great advantage, and lodged his Army thereon; to confront as well the *Romans*, that were in *Panormus*, as thoſe that kept about *Eryx*, putting himſelf between both Armies with admirable reſolution.

The place that *Amilcar* had ſeized upon, was not only very ſtrong by ſituation, but had the command of a Port: Whereby it gave him opportunity to ſcour all the Coaſt of *Italy* with his Fleet, waſting all along as far as to *Cuma*. In the Iſle of *Sicil* he held the *Romans* to hard work, lying near unto *Panormus*: Where in Three Years abode, he did many notable acts, though not of much conſequence, for that the Enemy could never be drawn to hazard the main chance. Having wearied himſelf and the *Romans* long enough about *Panormus*, he undertook a ſtrange piece of work at *Eryx*. The *Roman* Garriſons, placed there by *Junius*, on the top, and at the bottom of the Mountain, were very ſtrongly lodged. Nevertheleſs *Amilcar* found a way, lying towards the Sea-ſide, by which he conveighed his men into the City of *Eryx*, that was about the midſt of the aſcent, ere the Enemy knew of it. By this it came to paſs, that the *Romans* which kept the top of the Mountain, were ſtraightly held (as it were) Beſieged. And no leſs was *Amilcar* himſelf reſtrained by both of theſe Garriſons, and ſuch as came to relieve them. There he found them paſtime about Two Years more, hoping ſtill to weary out thoſe that lay over his head, as they on the contrary did their beſt, to thruſt him out of thoſe Quarters.

At this time, all the care, both of the *Romans* and of the *Carthaginians*, was bent unto the proſecuting of his buſineſs at *Eryx*. Wherein it ſeems true (as *Hannibal* in *Livie*, ſpake unto *Scipio*) that the affairs of *Carthage* never ſtood in better terms, ſince the beginning of the War, than now they did. For whereas the *Romans* had utterly forſaken the Seas, partly by reaſon of their great loſſes; partly upon confidence of their Land-Forces, which they held reſiſtleſs; *Amilcar*, with a ſmall Army, had ſo well acquitted himſelf, to the honour of his Country, that by the trial of Five Years War, the *Carthaginian* Souldier was judged equal, if not ſuperior to the *Roman*. Finally, when all that might be, had been deviſed and done, for the diſlodging of this obſtinate Warriour: No, way ſeemed better to the Senate of *Rome*, than once again to build a Fleet; whereby, if the maſtery of the Sea could once be gotten, it was likely that *Amilcar*, for lack of ſupply, ſhould not long be able to hold out. But in performing this, extream difficulty was found. The common Treaſury was exhauſted: And the coſt was not little, that was requiſite unto ſuch an enterpriſe. Wherefore there was none other way left, than to lay the burden upon private Purſes. Divers of the principal Citizens undertook to build (each at his own charges) One *Quinquereme*, which example wrought ſo well, that they, whoſe ability would not ſerve to do the like, joyned with ſome others, and laying their Monies together, concurred Two or Three of them, in building of another; with condition to be repayed, when the War was finiſhed. By this voluntary contribution, they made and finiſhed Two Hundred new *Quinqueremes*: Taking for their Pattern, that excellent ſwift rowing Gally which they had gotten from the *Rhodian*, in the Port of *Lilybæum*, as was ſhewed before. The charge of this Fleet was commited to *C. Luctatius Catulus*; who paſt with the ſame into *Sicil* the Spring following, and entred the Port of *Drepanum*; endeavouring by all means to have forced the City. But being advertiſed that the *Carthaginian* Fleet was at hand, and being mindful of the late loſſes which his Predeceſſors had received; he was careful to put himſelf in order, againſt their arrival.

Hanno was Admiral of the *Carthaginian* Fleet; a man (as his actions declare him) wiſe in picture, exceedingly formal, and skilful in the Art of ſeeming reverend. How his reputation was firſt bred, I do not find; but it was upheld by a factious contradiction, of things undertaken by men more worthy than himſelf. This quality procured unto him (as it hath done to many others) both good liking among the ancient ſort, whoſe cold temper is averſe from new enterpriſes; and therewithal an opinion of great foreſight, confirmed by very loſs received. More particularly, he was gracious among the People, for that he was one of the moſt grievous oppreſſors of their ſubject Provinces; whereby he procured unto the *Carthaginians* much wealth, but therewithal ſuch hatred, as turned it all to their great loſs. He had ere this been imployed againſt the *Numidians* and wild *Africans*, that were more like to Rovers than to Souldiers, in making War. Of thoſe fugitive Nations he learned to neglect more manly Enemies, to his own great diſhonour, and to the great hurt of *Carthage*; which loſt not more by his bad conduct, than by his malicious counſel, when, having ſhewed himſelf an unworthy Captain, he betook himſelf to the long Robe. Yet is he much commended in *Roman* Hiſtories, as a temperate man, and one that ſtudied how to preſerve the League between *Carthage* and *Rome*. In which regard, how well he deſerved of his own Country, it will appear hereafter: How beneficial he was to the *Romans*, it will appear, both hereafter, and in this preſent Voyage; wherein he reduced the *Carthaginians* to a miſerable neceſſity of accepting, upon hard conditions, that Peace which he thenceforth commended.

Hanno had very well furniſhed his Navy, with all needful Proviſions for the Souldiers at *Eryx* (for dexterity in making preparation was the beſt of his qualities): But he had neither been careful in training his Mariners, to the practice of Sea-fight, nor in manning his Gallies with ſtout fellows. He thought, that the fame of a *Carthaginian* Fleet was enough, to make the unexpert *Romans* give way: Forgetting, that rather the reſiſtleſs force of Tempeſts, than any other ſtrength of oppoſition, had made them to forſake the Seas. Yet in one thing he had either conceived aright, or elſe was ſent forth well inſtructed. It was his purpoſe, firſt of all to ſail to *Eryx*, and there to diſcharge his Ships of their lading: And having thus lightned himſelf, he meant to take aboard ſome part of the Land-Army, together with *Amilcar* himſelf, by whoſe help he doubted not, but that he ſhould be able to make his Enemy repent of his new adventure to Sea. This was

a good course, if it could have been performed. But *Catulus* used all possible diligence, to prevent the execution of this design: Not because he was informed of the Enemies purpose, but that he knew it to be the best for them, and for that he feared no danger so greatly, as to encounter with *Amilcar*. Wherefore although the weather was very rough, and the Seas went high, when the *Carthaginian* Fleet was descryed; yet he rather chose to fight with the Enemies, that had the Wind of him, than to suffer his Convoy to pass along to *Eryx*, upon unlikely hope of better opportunity in the future. All that *Hanno* should have done, *Catulus* had performed. He had carefully exercised his men in Rowing; he had lightned his Gallies of all unnecessary burthens; and he had taken aboard the choice men of the *Roman* Land-Souldiers. The *Carthaginians* therefore, at the first encounter were utterly broken and defeated, having Fifty of their Gallies stemmed and sunk, and Seventy taken, wherein were few less than Ten Thousand men, that were all made Prisoners: The rest, by a sudden change of Wind, escaping to the Isle of *Hieronesus*.

The state of *Carthage*, utterly discouraged by this change of fortune, knew not whereon to resolve. Means to repair their Fleet in any time, there were none left; their best men of War by Sea were consumed; and *Amilcar*, upon whose valour and judgment the honour and safety of the Common-weal rested, was now surrounded by his Enemies in *Sicil*, where he could not be relieved. In this extremity, they make dispatch unto *Amilcar* himself, and authorized him to take what course should seem best unto his excellent wisdom, leaving all conclusions to his election and sole counsel.

Amilcar, whom no adversity, accompanied with the least hope or possibility of recovery, had ever vanquished, looking over every promise, true or false, that the present time could make him, (for to attend any thing from the future he was not able) resolved to make trial, whether his necessity might be compounded upon any reasonable terms. He therefore sent to *Lutatius* the Consul an overture of Peace: Who considering it well, gathered so many arguments from the present poverty of the *Roman* State, wasted beyond expectation in the former War, that he readily harkened unto it. So, in conclusion, an accord was made, but with Provision, That it should hold none otherwise, than if the Senate and People of *Rome* would ratifie it with their allowance.

The conditions were: First, That the *Carthaginians* should clearly abandon the Isle of *Sicil*. Secondly, That they should never undertake upon *Hieron* King of *Syracuse*, nor invade any part of his Territories, nor the Territories of any of his Friends and Allies. Thirdly, That they should set at liberty, and send back in *Italy*, all the *Romans*, whom they held Prisoners, without Ransome. Lastly, That they should pay unto the *Romans* Two Thousand and Two Hundred Talents; which make, as the *French* reckon the Talent, Thirteen Hundred and Twenty Thousand Crowns, the same to be delivered with Twenty Years next following.

These Articles were sent to *Rome*, where they were not throughly approved: But Ten Commissioners were sent into *Sicil*, to make perfect the agreement. These Commissioners added a Thousand Talents to the former sum; and required a shorter time of payment. Further also they took order, that the *Carthaginians* should not only depart out of *Sicil* it self, but should also withdraw their Companies out of all other Islands between it and *Italy*, renouncing their whole interest therein.

Such was the end of the first *Punick War*, that had lasted about Twenty Four Years without intermission; in which time the *Romans* had lost, by fight or Shipwrack, about Seven Hundred *Quinqueremes*; and the *Carthaginians* about Five Hundred: The greatness of which losses, doth serve to prove the greatness both of these two Cities, and of the War it self; wherein I hold good the judgment of *Polybius*, That the *Romans*, in general, did shew themselves the braver Nation; and *Amilcar*, the most worthy Captain.

CHAP. II.

Of divers actions passing between the First and Second Punick Wars.

SECT. I.

Of the cruel War begun between the Carthaginians *and their own Mercenaries.*

THE *Romans* having partly by force, and partly by compolition, thrust the *Carthaginians* out of *Sicil*, and all the little Islands thereunto adjacent, gave them rather means and leisure to help themselves in a following War, than cause to hold themselves contented with the present Peace. It is an ancient and true rule, *Quod leges a victoribus dicuntur, accipiuntur a victis*; *That Laws are given by the Conquerors, and received of the Conquered.* But the *Romans* had either forgotten the answer that was made unto them, by one of the *Privernates*; or else had forgotten to follow it in this weighty business. For when one of *Privernum*, after a Rebellion, defending in the Senate the Cause of his City, was demanded by a Senator, *What Peace the* Romans *might hope for, or assure themselves of, if they quitted their present advantage over them*; he answered in those words, *Si bonam dederitis, & fidam & perpetuam*; *si malam, haud diuturnam*; *If the Peace be good and faithful that you give us, it will be perpetual*; *if it be ill, then of little continuance.* To this answer

answer the Senate, at that time gave such approbation, that it was said, *Viri & liberi vocem auditam; An credi posset, ullum populum, aut hominem deniq; in ea conditione, cujus eum pœniteat, diutius quam necesse sit mansurum? That was the speech of a manly and free man; for who could beleive, that any People, or indeed any one Man, would continue longer in an over-burdened estate, than meer necessity did enforce?* Now, if the *Romans* themselves could make this judgment of those Nations, who had little else besides their manly resolution, to defend their liberty; surely they grosly flattered themselves, in presuming that the *Carthaginians*, who neither in power nor in pride, were any way inferiour unto themselves, would sit down any longer by the loss and dishonour received, than untill they could recover their legs, and the strength which had a while failed them to take revenge. But occasion, by which (while well entertained) not only private men, but Kings and publick States, have more prevailed, than by any proper prowess or vertue, with-held the Tempest from the *Romans* for a time, and turned it most fearfully upon *Africa*, and the *Carthaginians* themselves.

For after the first *Punick* War was ended, *Amilcar*, leaving *Eryx*, went to *Lilybæum*, from whence most conveniently the Army might be transported into *Africk*: The care of which business he committed unto *Gesco*, to whom, as to a man of approved sufficiency, he delivered over his charge. *Gesco* had an especial consideration of the great sums, wherein *Carthage* was indebted unto these Mercenaries; and withal, of the great disability to make payment. Therefore he thought it the wisest way, to send them over (as it were) by handfuls, a few at a time; that so the first might have their dispatch, and be gone, ere the Second or Third Companies arrived. Herein he dealt providently. For it had not been hard to perswade any small number, lodged within so great a City as *Carthage*, unto some such reasonable composition, as the present emptiness of the common Treasury did require: so that the first might have been friendly discharged, and a good president left unto the Second and Third, whilst their dis-junction had made them unable to recover their whole due by force. But the *Carthaginians* were of a contrary opinion. They thought to find, in the whole Army, some that would be contented to gratifie the Publick State, by remitting a great part of their own due: And hoped, by such an example, to draw all the Multitude to the like agreement and capitulation. So they detained the first and second commers; telling them, that they would make an even reckoning with all together. Thus every day the number increased, and many disorders (a thing incident among Souldiers) were commited; which much disquieted the City, not accustomed unto the like. In this regard it was thought fit, to remove them all to some other place, where they might be less troublesome. This must be done by some colourable words of perswasion: For their number was already so great, that it was not safe to offend them too far. Wherefore it is devised, that they should all attend the coming of their fellows, at *Sicca*: Receiving every one a piece of Gold, to bear his charges in the mean while.

This motion is accepted, and the Souldiers began to dis-lodge; leaving behind them their Wives, their Children, and all their Baggage, as meaning shortly to fetch away all, when they came back for their pay. But the *Carthaginians* have no fancy to their returning into the Town; and therefore compel them to truss up their fardels, that they might have none occasion left to make any Errants thither. So to *Sicca* they removed, with all their goods: And there lay waiting for news of their fellows arrival, and their own pay. Business they had none to do, and therefore might easily be drawn to munity: The whole argument of their discourse inclining them to nothing else. Their daily talk was, how rich they should be, when all their mony came in; how much would fall to every single share, and for how long time the City was behind hand with them in reckoning. They were all grown Arithmeticians; and he was thought a man of worth, that could find most reason to increase their demands, to the very highest, even beyond their due. No part of their long service was forgotten; but the comfortable words and promises of their Captains, leading them forth to any dangerous Fight, were called to mind, and so many Obligations, not to be cancelled without satisfying their expectation by some unordinary largess.

Thus the time passeth away, untill the whole Army being arrived, and lodged in *Sicca*, *Hanno* comes thither to clear the accompt. Now is the day come, wherein they shall be all made rich; especially if they can hold together, in maintaining stoutly the common cause. So think they all; and assemble themselves to hear what good news this Messenger had brought; with a full resolution to help his memory, in case he should happen to forget any part of the many promises made to them; all which were to be considered in their Donative. *Hanno* begins a very formal Oration; wherein he bewails the poverty of *Carthage*, tells them how great a sum of Money is to be paid unto the *Romans*; reckons up the excessive charges whereat the Common-wealth had been in the late War; and finally desires them to hold themselves contented with part of their pay, and out of the love which they bare unto the City, to remit the rest. Few of them understood his discourse: For the *Carthaginian* Army was composed of sundry Nations, as *Greeks*, *Africans*, *Gaules*, *Ligurians*, *Spaniards*, and others; all of different Languages. Yet they stared upon him, and were (as I think) little pleased with his very gesture. But when such as conceived the whole tenour of his Speech, had informed the rest what cold comfort he brought; they were all inraged, and fared like mad-men, so that nothing would serve to appease them.

Hanno would fain have asswaged their fury, but he knew not how: For he less understood their dissonant loud noises, than they did his Oration. An Army collected out of so many Countries, that have no one Language common to all, or to the greater part of them, is neither easily stirred up to Mutiny, nor easily pacified, when once it is broken into out-rage. The best that *Hanno* can do, is to use the help of Interpreters and Messengers. But these Interpreters mistake his meaning; some for want of skil; others of set purpose; and such as deliver his Errants in the worst sence, are best believed. Finally, they think themselves much abused by the *Carthaginians*, and resolve to demand their own in peremptory terms, at a nearer distance. In this mood they leave *Sicca*, and march as far as *Tunis*, that is within a very little of *Carthage*, and there they encamp.

Now begin the *Carthaginians* to find their own errour. It is a good Rule,

Curandum imprimis, ne magna injuria fiat
Fortibus & miseris.

Have

Have ſpecial care, that valiant poverty
Be not oppreſt with too great injury.

But this proud City, having neglected the Rule, hath alſo been careleſs in providing to ſecure her ſelf againſt the inconvenience that might follow. She had ſuffered the whole Multitude, whereupon ſhe was like to give cauſe of diſcontent, to joyn it ſelf into one body, when the ſeveral Troops might eaſily have been diſperſed: She hath turned out of her Gates the Wives, Children, and goods of theſe poor men; which, had ſhe retained in ſhew of kindneſs, ſhe might have uſed them as Hoſtages for her own ſafety; and by imploying a miſerable penny-father, in her Negotiation with men of War, ſhe hath weakned the reputation of her braveſt Captains, that might beſt have ſerved to free her from the threatning danger. Yet likely it is, that *Amilcar* had no deſire to be uſed as an inſtrument in defrauding his own Souldiers of their wages: Eſpecially conſidering, that as he beſt could bear witneſs of their merits, ſo was he not ignorant, that means to content them were not wanting, if the Citizens had been willing thereunto. Hereupon may be added a probable conjecture that *Hanno*, with his complices, who at this very time was a bitter enemy to *Amilcar*, had the boldneſs to impoſe the blame of his own wretched counſel upon the liberal promiſes made by the Captains. *Amilcar* therefore did wiſely, in ſuffering thoſe that maligned him, to have the managing of their own plot, and to deal the Cards which themſelves had ſhuffled. This they continue to do as fooliſhly as they had at firſt begun. They furniſh a Market at *Tunis*, for the Souldiers; whom they ſuffer to buy what they liſt, and at what price they liſt. They ſend ever and anon ſome of their Senatours into the Camp; who promiſe to ſatisfie all demands, as far forth as it ſhould be poſſible. And thus by ſhifting from one extream to another, they make the Souldiers underſtand into what fear the City was driven; which cannot chuſe but add much inſolency to the paſſions already ſtirred up.

This ſudden change of weather, and the true cauſe of it, is quickly found by the Army, which thereupon grows wiſe, and finding the ſeaſon fit, labours to make a great Harveſt. Mony muſt be had, and without any abatement. This is granted. Many have loſt their Horſes in publick ſervice of the State. The State ſhall pay for them. They had lived ſome Years by making hard ſhift, without receiving their allowance of Victuals from *Carthage*. If they had lived, they wanted not meat; therefore what was this to the *Carthaginians?* Was it not all one, whether the Ships did bring in Proviſion, or their Captains direct them where to fetch it? But this would not ſerve. They ſaid that they had been ſometimes driven to buy; and that (ſince they could not remember how much, or at what rate they bought) they would be paid for their Proviſion during the whole time, and according to the deareſt price that Wheat had born, whilſt the War laſted. Such are now the demands of theſe Mutiners; who might eaſily have been ſatisfied with far leſs charges, and far more honour, by receiving their due at the firſt. But now they make no end of craving. For whilſt the *Carthaginians* are perplexed about this Corn-mony; the Souldiers have deviſed many more tricks, whereby to extort a greater ſum of Mony, without all regard of ſhame. Since therefore no good end could be found of theſe controverſies which daily did multiply, it was thought convenient, that one of the *Carthaginians*, which had commanded in *Sicil*, ſhould be choſen by the Souldiers to reconcile all differences. Hereunto the Army condeſcended, and made choice of *Geſco*: partly out of good liking to him, who had ſhewed himſelf at all times, a friendly man to them, and careful of their good, eſpecially when they were to be tranſported into *Africk*: partly out of a diſlike which they had conceived of *Amilcar*; for that he had not viſited them in all this buſie time. So *Geſco* comes among them; and to pleaſe them the better, comes not without Mony: Which might give better countenance to his proceedings, than barren eloquence had done to the Negotiation of *Hanno*. He calls unto him firſt of all the Captains, and then the ſeveral Nations apart, rebuking them gently for that which had paſſed; adviſing them temperately concerning the preſent; and exhorting them to continue their love unto their State, which had long entertained them, and would needs alwayes be mindful of their good ſervices. After this he began to put hand to his Purſe, offering to give them their whole pay in hand; and then after to conſider of other reckonings at a more convenient time. This had been well accepted, and might have ſerved to bring all to a quiet paſs, if two ſeditious Ring-leaders of the multitude had not ſtood againſt it.

There was in the Camp one *Spendius*, a ſturdy fellow, and audacious, but a Slave; that in the late War had fled from a *Roman*, who he ſerved, and therefore ſtood in fear, leſt he ſhould be delivered back to his Maſter; at whoſe hands he could expect no leſs, than to be Whipt and Crucified. This wretch could find no better way to prolong his own life, than by raiſing ſuch troubles as might ſerve to withdraw men from care of private matters, and make his own reſtitution impoſſible, were his Maſter never ſo importunate. With *Spendius* there aſſociated himſelf one *Matho*, an hot-headed man, that had been ſo forward in ſtirring up the Tumult, as he could not choſe but fear, leaſt his own death ſhould be made an example, to deter others from the like ſeditious behaviour. This *Matho* deals with his Country-men the *Africans*; telling them, that they were in far worſe condition, than either the *Gaules*, the *Greeks*, the *Spaniards*, or any foraign Mercenaries. For (ſaith he) *Theſe our companions have no more to do, than to receive their Wages, and ſo get them gone: But we that are to ſtay behind in* Africa, *ſhall be called to another manner of Accompt, when we are left alone; ſo that we ſhall have cauſe to wiſh that we had returned home Beggars, rather than loaden with the Money, which (little though it be) ſhall break our backs. Ye are not ignorant, how tyrannically thoſe our haughty Maſters of* Carthage *do Reign over us. They think it reaſonable, that our lives and goods ſhould be at their diſpoſition; which they have at other times been accuſtomed to take from us even without apparent cauſe, as it were to declare their ſoveraignty: What will they now do, ſeeing that we have demeaned our ſelves as Free-men, and been bold to ſet a good face on the matter, demanding our own, as others have done? Ye all do know, that it were a very ſhame for us, if having been as forward in every danger of War, as any other men, we ſhould now ſtand quaking like Slaves, and not dare to open our mouths, when others take liberty to require their due. This notwithſtanding ye may aſſure your ſelves, that we are like to be taught better manners, as ſoon as our fellows are gone: in regard of whom they are content to ſhadow their indignation with a good, but a forced countenance.*

Let

Let us therefore be wise, and consider that they hate and fear us: Their hatred will shew it self when their fear is once past: Unless we now take our time, and whilst we are the stronger, enfeeble them so greatly, that their hatred shall not be able to do us wrong. All their strength consisteth in money, wherewithal they have hired others against us, and us against others. At the present they have neither money nor friends. The best Army that ever served them, whereof we are no small part, lyes at their gates, ready to help us if we be men. A better opportunity cannot be expected; for were our Swords once drawn, all Africk *would rise on our side. As for the* Carthaginians, *whither can they send for help? The case it self is plain. But we must quickly resolve. Either we must prevent the diligence of* Gesco, *by incensing these* Gaules *and* Spaniards, *and procuring them to draw blood; or else it behoveth us to please our good Masters, by joyning with them against our fellows, yea by offering to forgive unto them all our wages, if so (peradventure) they may be won to forgive us, or not over-cruelly to punish our faults committed. He is most worthily a wretched Slave, that neither hath care to win his Masters love, nor the courage to attempt his own liberty.*

By such perswasions *Matho* wins the *African* Souldiers to his own purpose. They are not now so greedy of money, as of quarrel, which he that seeketh will not miss to find. When *Gesco* therefore offered to pay them their whole stipend presently, but referred their other demands, for Horses and Victuals, to some other more convenient time; they brake into great outrage, and say, that they will have all, even all at once, and that out of hand. In this tumult, the whole Army flock together about *Matho* and *Spendius*; whose diligence is not wanting to add more fuel to the fire already blazing. *Matho* and *Spendius* are the only men to whom the Souldiers will hearken: If any other stand up to make a speech, a showre of stones, flying about his ears, puts him to silence, that he shall never afterwards speak word more. Neither stay they to consider what it is that any man would say: enough hath been said already by those good spokes-men; so that no other word (though perhaps to the same purpose) can be heard, save only *throw, throw*.

Now the rebellion begins to take form. *Matho* and *Spendius* are chosen Captains; who, followed by a desperate crue of Ruffians, will suffer no man to make his own peace, but pursue their own ends, under fair pretence of the common cause. All which notwithstanding, *Gesco* is not wanting to the good of his Country, but adventures himself upon their fury. One while he deals with the Captains, and other principal men; taking them by the hand, and giving gentle words: Another while, he works with the several Nations; putting them all in hope of their own hearts desire, if any reason would content them. None of them are so sullen as the *Africans:* Indeed none of them had so good cause: They require him peremptorily to give them their own, and not to feed them with words. The truth is, that they are not so covetous as they seem: But will be more glad of an ill answer, than of a good payment. This is more than *Gesco* knows: He sees not that *Matho* hath any more than bare words to bestow upon them. Wherefore, as rebuking their inconsiderate heat, he tells them, that they may do well, if they stand in want of money, to seek it of their Captain *Matho*. This is enough. Shall he both defraud them and deride them? They stay no longer, but lay violent hands upon the treasure that he had brought; yea upon him also, and all that are with him: As intending to take this in part of payment, and, for the rest, to take another course. *Matho* and *Spendius* are glad of this. It had little pleased them to see their fellows begin to grow calm, by his fair language: Wherefore they cast into bonds both him, and all the *Carthaginians* that they can find; that so the Army may be freed from danger of good *admonition*, which they call Treason. After this follows open War. *Matho* solicites all *Africk*, and his Embassadors are every where well entertained. Neither is it needful to use perswasion: The very fame of this Rebellion sufficeth to draw the whole Country into it. Now must the *Carthaginians* be plagued for those oppressions, with which they have plagued others. It is true that adversity hath never been untold of her errours: And as she is ever assured to hear her own; so commonly with her own she undergoes those of other men. The *Africans* finding the *Carthaginians* hang under the wheel, tell them boldly, that their Impositions were mercilesse; that they took from them the one half of their Corn; that they doubled their Tributes in all things else; and that they inflicted upon their Vassals the greatest punishment for the least offences. These cruelties the *Carthaginians* themselves have forgotten: But the people, that have suffered so much, retain all in perfect memory. Wherefore not only such as can bear arms, are ready to do service in this great commotion; but the very women bring forth their Jewels, and other Ornaments, offering all to sail for the maintenance of so just a quarrel. By this great forwardness, and liberal contribution; *Matho* and *Spendius* are supplied with a strong aid of threescore and ten Thousand *Africans:* And are moreover furnished with money, not only to satisfie the present appetite of their men; but sufficient to continue the War begun, though it should be of long endurance.

SECT. II.

Divers Observations upon this War with the Mercenaries.

†. I.

Of Tyranny, and how Tyrants are fain to use the help of Mercenaries.

HEre let us rest a while, as in a convenient place, whence we may take a prospect of the subject, over which we travail. Behold a Tyrannical City, persecuted by her own Mercenaries with a deadly War. It is a common thing, as being almost necessary, that a Tyranny should be upheld by Mercenary forces: It is common that Mercenaries should be false: And it is common that all War made against Tyrants, should be exceeding full of hate and cruelty. Yet we seldome hear, that ever the ruine of a Tyranny is procured or sought by those that were hired to maintain the power of it: And seldome or never do we read of any War that hath been prosecuted with such inexpiable hatred, as this that is now in hand.

That which we properly call Tyranny, is, *A violent form of Government, not respecting the good of the subject, but only the pleasure of the Commander.* I purposely forbear to say that it is, the unjust rule

of one over many: For very truly doth *Cleon* in *Thucydides* tell the *Athenians*, that their dominion over their ſubjects, was none other, than a mear Tyranny; though it were ſo, that they themſelves were a great City, and a popular eſtate. Neither is it peradventure greatly needful, that I ſhould call this form of commanding, *violent*: ſince it may well and eaſily be conceived, that no man willingly performs obedience to one regardleſs of his life and welfare; unleſs himſelf be either a mad man, or (which is little better) wholly poſſeſſed with ſome extreme paſſion of love. The practice of Tyranny is not alwayes of a like extremity: For ſome Lords are more gentle than others, to their very Slaves; and he that is moſt cruel to ſome, is mild enough towards others, though it be but for his own advantage. Nevertheleſs, in large Dominions, wherein the Rulers diſcretion cannot extend it ſelf unto notice of the difference which might be found between the worth of ſeveral men, it is commonly ſeen, that the taſte of ſweetneſs drawn out of oppreſſion, hath ſo good a reliſh, as continually inflames the Tyrants appetite, and will not ſuffer it to be reſtrained with any limits of reſpect. Why ſhould he ſeek out bounds to preſcribe unto his deſires, who cannot endure the face of one ſo honeſt, as may put him in remembrance of any moderation? It is much that he hath gotten by extorting from ſome few: By ſparing none, he ſhould have riches in goodly abundance. He hath taken a great deal from every one: But every one could have ſpared more. He hath wrung all their Purſes, and now he hath enough: But (as Covetouſneſs is never ſatisfied) he thinks that all this is too little for a ſtock, though it were indeed a good yearly Income. Therefore he deviſeth new tricks of Robbery, and is not better pleaſed with the gains, than with the Art of getting. He is hated for this, and he knows it well: But he thinks by cruelty to change hatred into fear. So he makes it his exerciſe, to torment and murder all whom he ſuſpecteth: In which courſe, if he ſuſpect none unjuſtly, he may be ſaid to deal craftily; but if Innocency be not ſafe, how can all this make any Conſpirator to ſtand in fear, ſince the Traitor is no worſe rewarded than the quiet man? Wherefore he can think upon none other ſecurity, than to diſarm all his Subjects; to fortifie himſelf within ſome ſtrong place; and, for defence of his Perſon and State, to hire as many luſty Souldiers as ſhall be thought ſufficient. Theſe muſt not be of his own Country: For if not every one, yet ſome one or other may chance to have a feeling of the publick miſery. This conſidered, he allures unto him a deſperate rabble of ſtrangers, the moſt unhoneſt that can be found; ſuch as have neither wealth nor credit at home, and will therefore be careful to ſupport him, by whoſe only favour they are maintained. Now, leaſt any of theſe, either by deteſtation of his wickedneſs, or (which in wicked men is moſt likely) by promiſe of greater reward than he doth give, ſhould be drawn to turn his Sword againſt the Tyrant himſelf: They ſhall all be permitted to do as he doth; to Rob, to Raviſh, to Murder, and to ſatisfie their own appetites, in moſt outragious manner, being thought ſo much the more aſſured to their Maſter, by how much the more he ſees them grow hateful to all men elſe. Conſidering in what age, and in what language I write; I muſt be fain to ſay, that theſe are not dreams: Though ſome *Engliſh-man* perhaps that were unacquainted with Hiſtory, lighting upon this leaf, might ſuppoſe this diſcourſe to be but little better. This is to ſhew, both how Tyranny grows to ſtand in need of mercenary Souldiers, and how thoſe mercenaries are, by mutual obligation, firmly aſſured unto the Tyrant.

†. II.

That the Tyranny of a City over her Subjects is worſe than the Tyranny of one man: And that a Tyrannical City muſt likewiſe uſe mercenary Souldiers.

NOW concerning the Tyranny wherewith a City or State oppreſſeth her Subjects; it may appear ſome wayes to be more moderate, than that of one man: But in many things it is more intollerable. A City is jealous of her Dominion; but not (as is one man) fearful of her life: The leſs need hath ſhe therefore to ſecure her ſelf by cruelty. A City is not luxurious in conſuming her treaſures, and therefore needs the leſs to pluck from her Subjects. If War, or any other great occaſion drive her to neceſſity of taking from her Subjects more than ordinary ſumms of money; the ſame neceſſity makes either the contribution eaſie, or the taking excuſable. Indeed no wrongs are ſo grievous and hateful, as thoſe that are inſolent. *Remember* (ſaith *Caligula* the Emperour, to his Grandmother *Antonia*) *that I may do what I liſt, and to whom I liſt*: Theſe words were accounted horrible, though he did her no harm. And *Juvenal* [illegible]ons it, as the complement of all torments, inflicted by a cruel *Roman* Dame upon her Slaves, that whilſt ſhe was whipping them, ſhe painted her face, talked with her Goſſips, and uſed all ſigns of neglecting what thoſe wretches felt. Now ſeeing that the greateſt grievance wherewith a domineering State offendeth her Subjects, are free from all ſenſe of indignity; likely it is, that they will not extreamly hate her, although deſire of liberty make them weary of her Empire. In theſe reſpects it is not needful that ſhe ſhould keep a Guard of licentious cutthroats, and maintain them in all villany, as a *Dionyſius* or *Agathocles* muſt do: her own Citizens are able to terrifie and to hold perforce in obedience, all male-contents. Theſe things, conſidered alone by themſelves, may ſerve to prove, that a City is ſcarce able to deſerve the name of a Tyranneſs, in the proper ſignification.

All this notwithſtanding, it ſhall appear, that the miſeries wherewith a Tyrant loadeth his people, are not ſo heavy, as the burdens impoſed by a cruel City. Not without ſome appearance of truth, it may be ſaid, that Luſt, and many other private paſſions, are no way incident to a City or Corporation. But to make this good, we ſhall have need to uſe the help of ſuch diſtinctions, as the Argument in hand doth not require. Was not *Rome* laſcivious, when *Cato* was fain to riſe and leave the Theater, to the end, that the reverend regard of his gravity might not hinder the people from calling for a ſhew of naked Courtiſans, that were to be brought upon the open ſtage? By common practice, and general approved cuſtome, we are to cenſure the quality of a whole State; not by the private vertue or vice of any one man, nor by metaphyſical abſtraction of *the univerſal* from *the ſingular*; or of *the Corporation*, from *thoſe of whom it is compounded*: I ſay therefore (as I have ſaid elſewhere) that it were better to live under one pernicious Tyrant, than under many Thouſands. The reaſons proving this, are

are too many to set down, but a few may suffice. The desires of one man, how inordinate soever, if they cannot be satisfied, yet they may be wearied; he is not able to search all corners; his humour may be found, and soothed; age or good advise, yea, or some unexpected accident may reform him: All which failing, yet there is hope, that his successour may prove better.

Many Tyrants have been changed into worthy Kings: And many have ill used their ill-gotten Dominion, which, becoming hereditary to their posterity, hath grown into the most excellent form of Government, even a lawful Monarchy. But they that live under a Tyrannical City, have no such hope: Their Mistress is immortal, and will not slacken the reins, untill they be pulled out of her hands, and her own mouth receive the bridle of a more mightier Charriotter. This is woful: Yet their presents sufferings make them less mindful of the future. New flies, and hungry ones, fall upon the same sore, out of which others had already sucked their fill. A new Governour comes yearly among them, attended by all his poor kindred and friends, who mean not to return home empty of their hives, without a good lading of wax and honey. These fly into all quarters, and are quickly acquainted with every mans wealth, or whatsoever else, in all the Province, is worthy to be desired. They know all a mans enemies, and all his fears: Becoming themselves, within a little space, the enemies that he feareth most. To grow into acquaintance with these masterful guests, in hope to win their friendships, were an endless labour (yet it must be undergone) and such as every one hath not means to go about: But were this affected, what availeth it? The love of our Governour is purchased with gifts: The Successour of this man, he is more loving than could be wished in respect of a fair Wife or Daughter; then comes the third, perhaps of the contrary faction at home, a bitter enemy to both his fore-goers, who seeks the ruine of all that have been inward with them. So the misery of this Tyranny are not simple, but interlaced (as it were) with the calamities of civil War. The *Romans* had a Law *De Repetundis*, or, *Of Recovery*, against extorting-Magistrates: Yet we find, that it served not wholly to restain their Provincial Governours; who presuming on the favour of their own Citizens, and of their kindred and friends at home, were bold in their Provinces, to work all these inormities rehearsed; though somewhat the more sparingly, for fear of judgment. If the Subjects of *Rome* groaned under such oppressions, what must we think of those that were Vassals unto *Carthage*? The *Romans* imposed no burthensome Tributes; they loved not to hear, that their Empire was grievous; they condemned many noble Citizens for having been ill Governours. At *Carthage* all went quite contrary: The Rapines newly devised by one Magistrate, served as presidents to instruct another; every man resolved to do the like, when it should fall to his turn; and he was held a notable Statesman, whose Robberies had been such, as might afford a good share to the common treasure. Particular examples of this *Carthaginian* practice are not extant: The Governour of *Verres* the *Roman* in *Sicil*, that it is lively set out by *Tully*, may serve to inform us, what was the demeanour of these *Punick* Rulers, who stood in fear of no such condemnation, as *Verres* underwent. By prosecuting this discourse, I might infer a more general proposition; that a City cannot govern her subject Provinces so mildly as a King, But it is enough to have shewed, that the Tyranny of a City is far more intolerable, than that of any one most wicked man.

Sutable to the cruelty of such Lords, is the hatred of their subjects: And again, sutable to the hatred of the subjects, is the jealousie of their Lords. Hence it followed, that, in Wars abroad, the *Carthaginians* durst use the service of *African* Souldiers; in *Africk* it self they had rather be beholding to others, and were farther fetcht. For the same purpose did *Hannibal*, in the second *Punick War*, shift his Mercenaries out of their own Countries; *Ut Afri in Hispania, Hispani in Africa, melior procul ab domo futurus uterq; miles, velut mutuis pignoribus obligati stipendia facerent*; that the Africans might serve in Spain, the Spaniards in Africk, being each of them like to prove the better Souldiers, the farther they were from home, as if they were obliged by mutual pledges. It is disputable, I confess, whether these *African* and *Spanish* hirelings could properly be termed *Mercenaries*: For they were subject unto *Carthage*, and carried into the field, not only by reward, but by duty. Yet seeing their duty was no better than inforced, and that it was not any love to the State, but meer desire of gain, that made them fight; I will not nicely stand upon propriety of a word, but hold them, as *Polybius* also doth, no better than Mercenaries. *Liv. Dec. 3. l. 2.*

†. III.

The dangers growing from the use of mercenary Souldiers, and forrain Auxiliaries.

THE extream danger, growing from the imployment of such Souldiers, is well observed by *Machiael*: Who sheweth, that they are more terrible to those whom they serve, than to those against whom they serve. They are seditious, unfaithful, disobedient, devourers, and destroyers of all places and Countries, whereinto they are drawn; as being held by no other bond, than their own commodity. Yea, that which is most fearful among such hirelings, is, that they have often, and in time of greatest extremity, not only refused to fight, in their defence, who have entertained them, but revolted unto the contrary part; to the utter ruine of those Princes and States that have trusted them. Those mercenaries (saith *Machiavel*) which filled all *Italy* when *Charles* the Eighth of *France*, did pass the *Alpes*, were the cause that the said *French* King won the Realm of *Naples* with his Buckler without a Sword. Notable was the example of *Sforza* the Father of *Francis Sforza*, Duke of *Millan*; who being entertained by Queen *Joan* of *Naples*, abandoned her service on the sudden, and forced her to put her self into the hands of the King of *Aragon*. Like unto his Father *Francis Sforza*, the first of that Race, Duke of *Millan*; who being entertained by the *Millanois*, forced them to become his slaves, even with the very same Army which themselves had levied for their own defence. But *Lodowick Sforza*, the Son of this *Francis*, by the just judgment of God, was made a memorable example, unto posterity, in losing his whole estate by the treachery of such faithless Mercenaries, as his own Father had been. For having waged an Army of *Switzers*, and committed his Dutchy, together with his person, into their hands, he was by them delivered up unto his enemy the *French* King, by whom he was inclosed in the Castle of *Loches* unto his dying day.

The like inconvenience is found, in using the help of forrain Auxiliaries. We see, that when the Emperour of *Constantiople* had hired ten Thousand *Turks* against his neighbour Princes, he could never, either by perswasion or force, set them again over the Sea upon *Asia* side; which gave beginning to the Christian servitude, that soon after followed. *Alexander* the Son of *Cassander*, sought aid of the great *Demetrius*: But *Demetrius*, being entred into his Kingdom, slew the same *Alexander*, who had invited him, and made himself King of *Macedon*. *Syracon* the *Turk* was called into *Egypt* by *Sanor Soldan*, against his opposite: But the *Turk* did settle himself so surely in *Egypt*, that *Saladine* his successor became Lord thereof; and of all the *holy Land*, soon after. What need we look about for examples of this kind? Every Kingdom, in effect, can furnish us. The *Britains* drew the *Saxons* into this our Countrey; and *Mac Murrough* drew the *English* into *Ireland*; but the one and the other soon became Lords of those two Kingdoms.

Against all this, may be alledged the good success of the United Provinces of the *Netherlands*, using none other than such kind of Souldiers, in their late War. Indeed these *Low-Countreys* have many goodly and strong Cities, filled with Inhabitants that are wealthy, industrious, and valiant in their kind. They are stout Sea-men, and therein is their excellency; neither are they bad at the defence of a place well fortified: But in open Field they have seldome been able to stand against the *Spaniard*. Necessity therefore compelled them to seek help abroad: And the like necessity made them forbear to arm any great numbers of their own. For, with money raised by their Trade, they maintained the War: And therefore could ill spare unto the Pike and Musket, those hands, that were of more use in helping to fill the common purse. Yet what of this? They sped well. Surely they sped as ill as might be, whilest they had none other than mercenary Souldiers. Many fruitless attempts, made by the Prince of *Orenge*, can witness it: And that brave Commander Count *Lodowick* of *Nassau*, felt, to his grief, in his retrait from *Græningham*; when, in the very instance that required their service in fight, his Mercenaries cried out aloud for money, and so ran away. This was not the only time, when the hired Souldiers of the States, have either sought to hide their cowardize under a shew of greedines; or at least, by mear covetousnes, have ruined in one hour, the labour of many moneths. I will not stand to prove this by many examples: For they themselves will not deny it. Neither would I touch the honour of *Monsieur* the Duke of *Anjou*, brother to the *French* King; save that it is folly to conceal what all the World knows. He that would lay open the danger of forrain Auxiliaries, needeth no better pattern. It is commonly found, that such Aiders make themselves Lords over those, to whom they lend their succour: But where shall we meet with such another as this *Monsieur*, who, for his protection promised, being rewarded with the Lordship of the Countrey, made it his first work, to thrust by violence a galling yoak upon the peoples neck? Well, he lived to repent it, with grief enough. Even whilest he was counterfeiting unto those about him, that were ignorant of his plot, an imaginary sorrow for the poor Burghers of *Antwerpe*, as verily believing the the Town to be surprised and won; the death of the Count St. *Aignau*, who fell over the wall, and the Cannon of the City, discharged against his own Troops, informed him better what had hapned; shewing, that they were his own *French* who stood in need of the pity. Then was his feined passion changed into a very bitter anguish of mind, wherein, smiting his breast, and wringing his hands. he exclaimed, *Helas, mon dieu; que veux tu faire de moy? Alas, my God, what wilt thou do with me?* So, the affairs of the *Netherlands* will not serve to prove, that there is little danger in using Mercenaries Souldiers, or the help of forrain Auxiliaries, This notwithstanding, they were obedient unto necessity, and sought help of the *English*, *Scots*, and *French*: Wherein they did wisely, and prospered. For when there was in *France* a King, pertaker with them in the same danger; when the Queen of *England* refused to accept the Soveraignty of their Countrey, which they offered, yet being provoked by the *Spaniard* their enemy, pursued him with continual War: when the heir of *England* reigned in *Scotland*, a King too just and wise (though not engaged in any quarrel) either to make profit of his neighbours miseries, or to help those that had attempted the Conquest of his own Inheritance: Then might the *Netherlands* very safely repose confidence in the forces of these their Neighbour Countries. The Souldiers that came unto them from hence, were (to omit any other commendations) not only regardful of the pay that they should receive, but well affected unto the cause that they took in hand: Or, if any were cold in his devotion unto the side whereon he fought, yet was he kept in order, by remembrance of his own home, where the *English* would have rewarded him with death, if that his faith had been corrupted by the *Spaniards*. They were therefore trusted with the Custody of Cities; they were held as friends, and patrons; the necessity of the poorer sort was relieved, before the pay-day came, with *lendings*, and other helps, as well as the ability of the States could permit. When three such Princes, reigning at one time, shall agree so well, to maintain against the power of a fourth, injurious (or at the least so seeming) to them all, a Neighbour-Country of the same Religion, and to which they all are lovingly affected: Then may such a Country be secure of her Auxiliaries, and quietly intend her Trade, or other business, in hope of like success. But these circumstances meet so seldom, as it may well hold true in general: That *mercenary and forraign Auxiliary Forces are no less dangerous, than the enemy against whom they are entertained.*

†. IV.

That the moderate government of the Romans, *gave them assurance to use the service of their own subjects in their Wars. That in mans nature there is an affection breeding Tyranny, which hindereth the use and benefit of the like moderation.*

HEre it may be demanded, whether also the *Romans* were not compelled to use the service of other Souldiers in their many great Wars, but performed all by their own Citizens? For if it were their manner to arm their own subjects, how hapned it, that they feared no rebellion? If strangers, how then could they avoid the inconveniences above rehearsed? The answer is, that their Armies were compounded usually of their own Citizens, and of the *Latines* in equal number: To which they

they added, as occasion required, some companies of *Campanes*, *Hetrurians*, *Samnites*, or other of their subjects, as were either interessed in the quarrel, or might best be trusted. They had about these times (though seldom they did imploy so many) ten *Roman* Legions; a good strength, if all other help had been wanting; which served to keep in good order their Subjects, that were alwayes fewer in the Army than themselves. As for the *Latines*, if consanguinity were not a sufficient obligation; yet many priviledges and immunities, which they injoyed, made them assured unto the State of *Rome*: Under which they lived almost at liberty, as being bound to little else, than to serve it in War. It is true, that a yoke how easie soever, seems troublesome to the neck that hath been accustomed to freedom. Therefore many people of *Italy* have taken occasion of several advantages, to deliver themselves from the *Roman* subjection. But still they have been reclaimed by War, the Authors of rebellion have sharply been punished, and the people by degrees have obtained such liberty, as made them esteem none otherwise of *Rome*, than as the common City of all *Italy*. Yea, in process of time it was granted unto many Cities, and those far off removed, even to *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*, where St. *Paul* was born, that all the Burgesses should be free of *Rome* it self. This favour was conferred absolutely upon some, with restraint of giving notice in election of Magistrates, or with other such limitation as was thought fit. Hereunto may be added, that it was their manner, after a great Conquest, to release unto their new Subjects half of their Tribute which they had been wont to pay to their former Lords, which was a ready way to bring the multitude into good liking of their present condition; when the review of harder times past, should rather teach them to fear a relapse, than to hope for better in the future, by seeking innovation. Neither would it be forgotten, as a special note of the *Romans* good Government, that when some, for their well-deserving, have had the offer to be made Citizens at *Rome*, they have refused it, and held themselves better contented with their own present estate. Wherefore it is no marvel, that *Petellia*, a City of the *Brutians* in *Italy*, chose rather to endure all extremity of War, than, upon any condition, to forsake the *Romans*; even when the *Romans* themselves had confessed, that they were unable to help these their Subjects, and therefore willed them to look to their own good, as having been faithful to the utmost. Such love purchased these mild Governours, without impairing their Majesty thereby. The sum of all is; they had, of their own, a strong Army; they doubled it by adjoyning thereunto the *Latines*; and they further increased it, as need required, with other help of their own Subjects: All, or the most of their followers, accounting the prosperity of *Rome* to be the common good.

Liv. Dec. 1. lib. 3.

Liv. ibid.

The moderate use of soveraign power being so effectual, in assuring the people unto their Lords, and consequently in the establishment or inlargement of Dominion: It may seem strange, that the practice of Tyranny, whose effects are contrary, hath been so common in all ages. The like, I know, may be said of all Vice and Irregularity, whatsoever. For it is less difficult (whosoever thinks otherwise) and more safe, to keep the way of Justice and Honesty, than to turn aside from it; yet commonly our passions do lead us into by-paths. But where Lust, Anger, Fear, or any the like Affection, seduceth our reason; the same unruly appetite, either bringeth with it an excuse, or, at least-wise, taketh away all cause of wonder. In Tyranny it is not so: For as much as we can hardly descry the passion, that is of force to insinuate it self into the whole tenour of a Government. It must be confessed, that lawless desires have bred many Tyrants: Yet so that these desires have seldome been hereditary, or long-lasting, but have ended commonly with the Tyrants life, sometimes before his death; by which means the government hath been reduced to a better form. In such cases, the saying of *Aristotle* holds, *That Tyrannies are of a short continuance.* But this doth not satisfie the question in hand. Why did the *Carthaginians* exercise Tyranny? Why did the *Athenians*? Why have many other Cities done the like? If in respect of their general good; how could they be ignorant, that this was an ill course for the safety of the Weal publick? If they were led hereunto by any affection; what was that affection wherein so many Thousand Citizens, divided and subdivided within themselves by factions, did all concur, notwithstanding the much diversity of temper, and the vehemency of private hatred among them? Doubtless, we must be fain to say, that Tyranny is, by it self, a vice distinct from others. A man, we know, is *Animal politicum*, apt even by Nature, to command or to obey; every one in his proper degree, other desires of Mankind, are common likewise unto brute Beasts; and some of them, to Bodies wanting sense: But the desire of rule belongeth unto the nobler part of reason; whereunto is also answerable an aptness to yield obedience. Now as hunger and thirst are given by nature not only to Man and Beast, but unto all sorts of Vegetables, for the sustentation of their life: As Fear, Anger, Lust, and other affections are likewise natural, in convenient measure, both unto Mankind, and to all Creatures that have sense, for the shunning or repelling of harm, and seeking after that which is requisite: Even so is this desire of ruling or obeying, ingrafted by Nature in the race of Man, and in Man only as a reasonable Creature, for the ordering of his life, in a civil form of Justice. All these in-bred qualities are good and useful. Nevertheless, Hunger and Thirst are the Parents of Gluttony and Drunkenness, which, in reproach, are called beastly, by an unproper term: Since they grow from appetites, found in less worthy Creatures than Beasts, and are yet not so common in Beasts, as in Men. The effects of Anger, and of such other Passions as descend no lower than unto brute Beasts, are held less vile; and perhaps not without good reason: Yet are the more pernicious. But as no corruption is worse by sharper Laws, as being in general more horrible, and punished for grievously, than of that which is best; there is not any passion, that nourisheth a vice more hurtful unto Mankind, than that which issueth from the most noble root, even the depraved Affection of Ruling. Hence arise those two great mischiefs, of which hath been an old question in dispute, whether be the worse; that all things, or that nothing should be lawful. Of these a dull Spirit and overloaden by fortune with power, whereof it is not capable, occasioneth the one; the other proceedeth from a contrary distemper, whose vehemency the bounds of Reason cannot limit. Under the extremity of either, no Country is able to subsist, yet the defective dulness, that permitteth any thing, will also permit the execution of Law, to which meer necessity doth enforce the ordinary Magistrate; whereas Tyranny is more active and pleaseth it self in the excess, with a false colour of Justice. Examples of stupidity, and unaptness to rule, are not very frequent,

Arist. pol. l. 5. c. 1.

quent, though ſuch Natures are every where to be found: For this quality troubles not it ſelf in ſeeking Empire; or if by ſome errour of fortune, it encounter therewithal, (as when *Claudius*, hiding himſelf in a corner, found the Empire of *Rome*) ſome friend, or elſe a Wife, is not wanting to ſupply the defect, which alſo, cruelty doth help to ſhadow. Therefore this Vice, as a thing unknown, is without a name. Tyranny is more bold, and feareth not to be known, but would be reputed honourable: For it is *proſperum & fœlix ſcelus, a fortunate miſchief*, as long as it can ſubſiſt. *There is no reward or honour* (ſaith *Peter Charron*) *aſſigned unto thoſe, that know how to increaſe, or preſerve humane Nature: All Honours, Greatneſs, Riches, Dignities, Empires, Triumphs, Trophees, are appointed for thoſe, that know how to afflict, trouble, or deſtroy it. Cæſar* and *Alexander*, have un-made and ſlain, each of them, more than a Million of men: But they made none, nor left none behind them. Such is the errour of Mans judgment in valuing things according to the common opinion. But the true Name of Tyranny, when it grows to ripeneſs, is none other than *Feritie*: The ſame that *Ariſtotle* ſaith to be worſe than any Vice. It exceedeth indeed all other Vices, iſſuing from the paſſions incident both to Man and Beaſt; no leſs, than Perjury, Murder, Treaſon, and the like horrible crimes, exceed in villany, the faults of Gluttony and Drunkenneſs, that grow from more ignoble Appetites. Hereof *Sciron*, *Procruſtes*, and *Pityocamptes*, that uſed their bodily force to the deſtruction of Mankind, are not better examples, than *Phalaris*, *Dionyſius*, and *Agathocles*, whoſe miſchievous heads were aſſiſted by the hands of deteſtable Ruffians. The ſame barbarous deſire of Lordſhip, tranſported thoſe old examples of *Feritie*, and theſe latter Tyrants, beyond the bounds of Reaſon: Neither of them knew the uſe of Rule, nor the difference between Freemen and Slaves.

The Rule of the Husband over the Wife, and of Parents over their Children, is Natural, and appointed by God himſelf; ſo that it is alwayes, and ſimply, allowable and good. The former of theſe, is as the dominion of Reaſon over Appetite; the latter is the whole Authority, which one Freeman can have over another. The Rule of a King is no more, nor none other, than of a common Father over his whole Countrey: Which he that knows what the Power of a Father is, or ought to be, knows to be enough. But there is a greater and more Maſterly rule, which God gave unto *Adam*, when he ſaid; *Have dominion over the Fiſh of the* Gen. 2.28. *Sea, and over the Fowl of the Air, and every living thing that moveth upon the Earth*: Which alſo he continued unto *Noah* and his Children, ſaying, *The* Gen. 9. 2. *fear of you, and the dread of you, ſhall be upon every Beaſt of the Earth, and upon every Fowl of the Air, upon all that moveth upon the Earth; and upon all the Fiſhes of the Sea: Into your hands are they delivered.* He who gave this dominion unto Man, did give alſo an aptitude to uſe it. The excution of this power hath ſince extended it ſelf, over a very great part of Mankind. There are indeed no ſmall numbers of men, whoſe diſability to govern themſelves, proves them, according to *Ariſtotles* Doctrine, to be naturally Slaves. *Ariſt. pol. 1. c. 3.*

Yet find I not in Scripture any warrant to oppreſs men with bondage: unleſs the lawfulneſs thereof be ſufficiently intimated, where it is ſaid, That a man ſhall not be puniſhed for the death of a ſervant; whom he hath ſlain by correction, if the ſervant live a day or two, becauſe *he is his Money*: Exod. 21. 21
Or elſe by the Captivity of the *Midianitiſh* Girls, which were made Bond-ſlaves, and the Sanctuary had part of them for the *Lords Tribute*. Doubtleſs the cuſtom hath been very antient: For *Noah* laid this Curſe upon *Canaan*, that he ſhould be *a Servant of Servants*; and *Abraham* had of *Pharaoh*, among other gifts, *Men-ſervants and Maid-ſervants*, which were none other than Slaves. Chriſtian Religion is ſaid to have abrogated this old kind of ſervility: But ſurely they are deceived that think ſo. Saint *Paul* deſired the liberty of *Oneſimus*, whom he had won unto Chriſt: Yet wrote for this unto *Philemon* by way of requeſt, craving it as a benefit, not urging it as a duty. Agreeable hereto is the direction. which the ſame Saint *Paul* giveth unto Servants: *Let every man abide in the ſame calling wherein* 1 Cor. 7. 20, 21. *he was called: Art thou called, being a Servant? Care not for it, but if thou maiſt be made free, uſe it rather.* It is true, that Chriſtian Religion hath procured liberty unto many; not only in regard of piety, but for that the Chriſtian Maſters ſtood in fear of being diſcovered by their Slaves, unto the perſecutors of Religion. *Mahomet* likewiſe, by giving liberty to his followers, drew many unto his impiety: But whether he forbade it, as unlawful, unto his Sectators, to hold one another of them in Bondage, I cannot tell; ſave that by the practice of the *Turks* and *Moors*, it ſeems he did not. In *England* we had many Bond-ſervants, untill the time of our laſt civil Wars; and I think that the Laws concerning Villenage are ſtill in force, of which the lateſt are the ſharpeſt. And now, ſince Slaves were made free, which were of great uſe and ſervice, there are grown up a rabble of Rogues, Cut-purſes, and other the like Trades; Slaves in Nature, though not in Law.

Exod. 21. 21
Num. 30. 40.
Gen. 9. 25.
Gen. 12. 16.
Epiſt. to Phil. v. 14.

But whether this kind of dominion be lawful, or not; *Ariſtole* hath well proved, that it is Natural. And certainly, we find not ſuch a Latitude of difference in any Creature, as in the Nature of man; wherein (to omit the infinite diſtance in eſtate of the Elect and Reprobate) the wiſeſt excel the moſt fooliſh, by far greater degree, than the moſt fooliſh of men doth ſurpaſs the wiſeſt of Beaſts. Therefore when Commiſeration hath given way to reaſon, we ſhall find, that Nature is the ground even of Maſterly power, and of ſervile obedience, which is thereto correſpondent. But it maybe truly ſaid, that ſome Countries have ſubſiſted long without the uſe of any ſervility; as alſo it is true, that ſome Countries have not the uſe of any tame Cattle. Indeed the affections which uphold civil Rule, are (though more noble) not ſo ſimply needful, unto the ſuſtentation either of our kind, as are Luſt, and the like; or of every one, as are Hunger and Thirſt; which notwithſtanding are the loweſt in degree. But where moſt vile and ſervile diſpoſitions have liberty to ſhew themſelves begging in the Streets, there may we more juſtly wonder, how the dangerous toil of Seafaring men can find enough to undertake them, than how the ſwarm of idle Vagabonds ſhould increaſe, by acceſs of thoſe, that are weary of their own more painful condition. This may ſuffice to prove, that in Mankind there is found, ingraffed even by Nature, a deſire of abſolute dominion: Whereunto the general cuſtom of Nations doth ſubſcribe; together with the pleaſure which moſt men take in flatterers, that are the baſeſt of Slaves.

This being ſo, we find no cauſe to marvel, how Tyranny hath been ſo riſe in all Ages, and practiſed, not only in the ſingle rule of ſome vicious

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Prince, but ever by consent of whole Cities and Estates: since other Vices have likewise gotten head, and born a general sway, notwithstanding that the way of Vertue be more honourable, and commodious. Few there are that have used well the inferiour Passions: How then can we expect, that the most noble affections should not be disordered? In the Government of Wife and Children, some are utterly careless, and corrupt all by their dull connivency: others, by masterly rigour, hold their own blood under condition of slavery. To be a good Governour is a rare commendation: And to prefer the Weal publick above all respects whatsoever, is the Vertue justly termed *Heroical*. Of this Vertue many Ages afford not many examples. *Hector* is named by *Aristotle* as one of them; and deservedly, if this praise be due to extraordinary height of fortitude, used in defence of a mans own Country. But if we consider, that a love of the general good cannot be perfect, without reference unto *the fountain of all goodness*: We shall find, that no moral Vertue, how great soever, can by it self, deserve the commendation of *more than Vertue*, as the *Heroical* doth. Wherefore we must search the Scriptures, for patterns hereof; such as *David*, *Josaphat*, and *Josias* were. Of Christian Kings, if there were many such, the World would soon be happy. It is not my purpose wrong the worth of any, by denying the praise where it is due, or by preferring a less excellent. But he that can find a King Religious, and zealous in Gods cause, without enforcement, either of adversity, or of some regard of State; a procurer of general Peace and quiet; who not only useth his Authority, but adds the travel of his Eloquence, in admonishing his Judges to do justice; by the vigorous influence of whose Government, civility is infused, even into those places, that have been the Dens of savage Robbers and Cut-throats; one that hath quite abolished slavish *Brehon* Law, by which a whole Nation of his subjects were held in bondage; and one, whose higher vertue and wisdom doth make the praise not only of Nobility and other Ornaments, but of abstinence from the blood, the Wives, and the goods of those that are under his power, together with a world of chief commendations belonging unto some good Princes, to appear less regardable: He, I say, that can find such a King, findeth an example, worthy to add unto Vertue an honourable Title, if it were formerly wanting. Under such a King, it is likely, by Gods blessing, that a Land shall flourish, with increase of Trade, in Countries before unknown; that Civility and Religion shall be propagated, into barbarous and heathen Countries; and that the happiness of his Subjects, shall cause the Nations far off removed, to wish him their Soveraign. I need not add hereunto, that all the actions of such a King, even his bodily exercises, do partake of Vertue; since all things tending to the preservation of his life and health, or to the mollifying of his cares, (who fixing his contemplation upon God, seeketh how to imitate the unspeakable goodness, rather than the inaccessible Majesty, with both of which himself is indued, as far as humane Nature is capable) do also belong to the furtherance of that common good, which he procureth. Lest any man should think me transported with admiration, or other affection, beyond the bounds of reason; I add hereunto, that such a King is nevertheless a man, must dye, and may err: Yet wisdom and fame shall set him free, from *error*, and from death, both with and without the help of time. One thing I may not omit, as a singular benefit (though there be many other besides redounding unto this King, as the fruit of his goodness) The People that live under a pleasant Yoke, are not not only loving to their Soveraign Lord, but free of courage; and no greater in Muster of men, than of stout fighters, if need require: whereas on the contrary, he that ruleth as over Slaves, shall be attended in time of necessity, by slavish minds, neither loving his person, nor regarding his or their own honour. Cowards may be furious, and Slaves outragious, for a time: But among Spirits that have once yielded unto slavery, universally it is found true, what *Homer* saith, *God bereaveth a man of half his vertue, that day when he casteth him into bondage*.

Of these things, I might perhaps more seasonably have spoken, in general discourse of Government: but where so lively an example of the calamity following a tyrannical rule, and the use of Mercenaries, thereupon depending, did offer it self, as is this present business of the *Carthaginians*; I thought that the note would be more effectual, than being barely delivered, as out of a common place.

SECT. III.

How the War against the Mercenaries was diversly mannaged by Hanno *and* Amilcar, *with variable success. The bloody councels of the Mercenaries; and their final destruction.*

BEing now to return unto those Mercenaries, from whom I have thus far digressed, I cannot readily find, by what name henceforth I should call them. They are no longer in pay with the *Carthaginians*; neither care they to pretend, that they seek their wages already due; so that they are neither Mercenaries, nor Mutiners. Had they all been Subjects unto *Carthage*, then might they justly have been termed Rebels: But *Spendius*, and others, that were the principal part of them, ought none allegiance to that State, which they endeavoured to subvert. Wherefore I will borrow the name of their late occupation, and still call them Mercenaries, as *Polybius* also doth.

These, using the advantage of their present strength, Besieged * *Utica* and *Hippagreta*, Cities of great importance, as being seated upon the Western Haven of *Carthage*, where it is divided by a neck of Land; *Hippagreta* standing towards upon the great Lake, *Utica* further out upon the Sea. Neither was the Camp at *Tunis* abandoned, which lay fitly to hinder the *Carthaginians* from passing up into the Countrey: For *Matho* and *Spendius* wanted not men to follow the War in all parts at once.

* *Utica* is seated in the great Bay that enters towards *Carthage*, not far within the promontory of *Apollo*. At this time it is called *Porto Ferma*, or *Biserta*, and by the *Africans* themselves, *Geral Melha*. *Niger* saith, that the Town it self is ruined, and the place whereon it stood, now called *Mazachanes*. It was very ancient, and built before *Carthage*, saith *Silius*. As it flourished before *Carthage* was set up, so did it after *Carthage* was thrown down by the *Romans* in the third *Punick* War. Famous it was by the death of *Cato* the younger, who held it against *Cæsar*. *Victor* that worthy Divine, was Bishop thereof in the time of *Genserick* the *Arrian*, who lived all the time of that Tyrant, and hath written the story of his cruelties.

How the *Carthaginians* were amazed with this unexpected peril, any man may conceive. But the business it self awakes them hastily. They are hardly prest on all sides; and therefore travelled their brains the uttermost, how to shake off these furious Dogs from their shoulders, who sometimes by Night, sometimes by Day, came unto the very Walls of their City. In this exigent, *Hanno* was made their General: Who failed not in his accustomed diligence of making all good preparation:

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ing all offences paſt, and diſmiſſing as many as But had gotten together whatſoever was needful, as well to relieve a Town Beſieged, as to batter and and aſſail any place defended againſt him. With theſe Proviſions, and with an Hundred Elephants, he came to *Utica*, ſo ſuddenly, that the Enemies as men ſurpriſed, forſook their Trenches, and retired themſelves unto a riſing piece of Woody ground, where they might be ſafe againſt the violence of his Beaſts. *Hanno*, thinking that he had to do with the *Numidians*, whoſe cuſtome was after any loſs, to flie two or three whole dayes journy off; preſently entred the Town; to ſhew himſelf after this his Victory. But theſe good fellows, againſt whom he was to War, had learned of *Amilcar*, to retire and to fight again, many times in one day, as need required. Therefore as ſoon as they perceived, that he knew not how to uſe a Victory; they aſſailed their own Camp, and with great ſlaughter, drave the *Carthaginians* out of it, forced them to hide themſelves within *Utica*; and got poſſeſſion of all the ſtore that *Hanno* had brought for the relief of the Town. This bad beginning *Hanno* followed with ſutable indiſcretion; loſing the benefit of many fair opportunites, and ſuffering the Enemies to take poſſeſſion of all the entrance from *Carthage* to the firm Land.

The *Carthaginians* perceiving this, were exceedingly troubled, and did therefore let fall their Shete-Anchor; ſending to the Field their great Captain *Amilcar*, whom they furniſhed with ten Thouſand foot of ſupply, and Seventy Elephants. *Amilcar* had work enough to do, before he ſhould be able to meet with the Enemy upon equal ground. For, beſides other places of advantage that the Mercenaries had occupied. *Hanno* had ſuffered them to win the only Bridge, by which the River *Macra*, or *Bagradas*, was paſſable unto theſe, that were to travel into the Continent. This River had not many Foords, nor thoſe eaſie for a ſingle man to get over: But upon them all was kept ſuch Guard, as gave to *Amilcar* little hope of prevailing in ſeeking way by force. As for the Bridge it ſelf, *Matho* and his followers were there lodged: And had there built a Town, wherein to lye commodiouſly, intentive only to the cuſtody thereof. But *Amilcar* had obſerved, that the very mouth of *Bagradas* uſed to be ſometimes cloyed with Sand and Gravel, that was driven in by certain cuſtomary Winds, and could not be driven out again, by force of that ſlow River, till the Wind failing or changing, ſuffered the weight of the Waters, to disburden their channel. Hereof he made uſe; and taking his opportunity paſſed the River, contrary to all expectation, either of the Enemy, or of his own Citizens.

There was no need to bid *Spendius* look about him, when once it was heard, that *Amilcar* was come over *Bagradas*: All the Mercenaries were troubled with the news; knowing that they were no longer to deal with the improvident gravity of *Hanno*, but with an able Spirit, even with their own Maſter in the Art of War, whom they admired, though they hated him. But this fear was ſoon changed into preſumption; when more than Fifteen Thouſand of their own Society, were come from *Utica*, and other Ten Thouſand from the Guard of the Bridge. Their Army was far greater, than that of *Amilcar*; and they were in their own judgment, the better men; upon which confidence, they reſolved to charge him on all ſides, and beat him down, in deſpight of his worth and reputation. With this reſolution they attend upon him, watching for ſome advantage; and ſtill exhorting one another to play the men, and give the onſet. Eſpecially they that followed him in the Rear, had a great mind to begin the fight; whereunto their promptneſs was ſuch, as took from them their former circumſpection. *Amilcar* held his way toward the Bridge, keeping himſelf on plain grounds, that were fitteſt for the ſervice of his Elephants, which he placed in Front of his Army. Neither made he ſhew of any deſire to fight, but ſuffered the raſhneſs of his Enemies to encreaſe, till it ſhould break into ſome diſorder. At length perceiving, that with more boldneſs than good heed, they followed him ſo near, as would be little for their good, if he ſhould turn unto them, he haſted his march, even to ſuch a pace, as made a ſhew little differing from plain flight. The Mercenaries preſently fell upon his skirts; believing, that for fear of them he was ready to run away. But whilſt they confuſedly, as in ſudden opinion of victory, were driven at the heels of thoſe that had the Rear; *Amilcar* wheeled about, and met them in the face, charging them hotly, but in very good order; ſo that amazed, with the apprehenſion of un-expected danger, they fled without making any reſiſtance. In this overthrow there were Six Thouſand of the Mercenaries ſlain, and about Two Thouſand taken, the reſt fled, ſome to the Camp at *Utica*, others to the Town at the Bridge; whither *Amilcar* followed them ſo faſt, that he wan the place eaſily; the Enemies being thence alſo fled unto *Tunis*, as not having recollected their Spirits to make it good.

The fame of this Victory, together with the diligence of *Amilcar* in purſuing it, cauſed many Towns revolted, partly by fear, partly by force, to return to their former obedience. Yet was not *Matho* wanting to himſelf in this dangerous time. He ſent about *Numidia* and *Africk*, for new ſupplies; admoniſhing the People, now or never, to do their beſt, for the recovery of their freedom: He perſwaded *Spendius*, and *Autarius*, that was a Captain of the *Gaules*, to wait upon *Amilcar*, and always to keep the higher grounds, or at leaſt, the foot of ſome Hill, where they might be free from the Elephants; and he himſelf continued to preſs the Town of *Hippagreta* with an hard Siege. It was neceſſary for *Amilcar*, in paſſing from place to place, as his buſineſs required, to take ſuch wayes as there were: For all the Countrey lay not level. Therefore *Spendius*, who ſtill coaſted him, had once gotten a notable advantage of ground; the *Carthaginians* lying in a plain, ſurrounded with Hills, that were occupied by the Mercenaries, with their *Numidian* and *African* ſuccours. In this difficulty, the fame of *Amilcar* his perſonal worth did greatly benefit his Countrey. For *Naravaſus*, a young Gentleman commanding over the *Numidians*, was glad of this occaſion, ſerving to get the acquaintance and love of ſo brave a man, which he much deſired: And therefore came unto *Amilcar* ſignifying his good affection to him, with offer to do him all ſervice. *Amilcar* joyfully entertained this friend, promiſed unto him his own Daughter in Marriage; and ſo wan from the Enemies 2000 Horſe, that following *Naravaſus* turned unto the *Carthaginian* ſide. With this help he gave Battel unto *Spendius*: wherein the *Numidian* laboured to approve his own valour to his new friend. So the Victory was great: For there were ſlain Ten Thouſand of *Spendius* his fellows, and Four Thouſand taken Priſoners; but *Spendius* himſelf, with *Autarius* the *Gaul*, eſcaped to do more miſchief. *Amilcar* dealt very gently with his Priſoners: Pardon-

were

were unwilling to become his followers; yet with condition, that they ſhould never more bear Arms againſt the *Carthaginians*; threatning to take ſharp revenge upon all that ſhould break this Covenant.

This humanity was vehemently ſuſpected by *Matho*, *Spendius*, and *Autarius*, as attending to win from them the hearts of their Souldiers. Wherefore they reſolved to take ſuch order, that no man among them ſhould dare to truſt in the good Nature of *Amilcar*, nor to hope for any ſafety whilſt *Carthage* was able to do him hurt. The counterfeited Letters of advertiſement, wherein was contained, that ſome of their company, reſpective only of their private benefit, and careleſs of the general good, had a purpoſe to betray them all to the *Carthaginians*, with whom they held intelligence; and that it was needful to look well unto *Geſco*, and his companions, whom theſe Traitors had a purpoſe to inlarge. Upon this Theme *Spendius* makes an Oration to the Souldiers, exhorting them to fidelity; and ſhewing with many words, that the ſeeming humanity of *Amilcar*, toward ſome, was none other than a bait, wherewith to intrap them all at once together; as alſo telling them what a dangerous Enemy *Geſco* would prove, if he might eſcape their hands. Whilſt he is yet in the midſt of his tale, were letters come to the ſame purpoſe. Then ſteps forth *Autarius*, and ſpeaks his mind plainly: Saying, that it were the beſt, yea, the only way, for the common ſafety, to cut off all hope of reconciliation with *Carthage*; that if ſome were deviſing to make their own peace, it will go hard with thoſe that had a care of the War; that it were better to make an end of *Geſco* his life, than to trouble themſelves with looking to his cuſtody; that by ſuch a courſe every one ſhould be ingaged in the preſent Action, as having none other hope left, than in Victory alone; finally, that ſuch as would ſpeak here-againſt, were worthy to be reputed Traitors. This *Autarius* was in great credit with the Souldiers, and could ſpeak ſundry Languages, in ſuch ſort, that he was underſtood by all. According to his motion therefore it was agreed, that *Geſco*, and all the other Priſoners, ſhould forthwith be put to horrible death, by torments. Nevertheleſs therewere ſome, that for love of *Geſco* ſought to alter his intended cruelty; but they were forthwith ſtoned to death, as a Document unto others; and ſo the Decree was put in execution, Neither were they there withal contented, but further or- dained, that all *Carthaginian* Priſoners which they took, ſhould be ſerved in like ſort: and that the ſubjects or friends of *Carthage*, ſhould loſe their hands, and ſo be ſent home, which rule they obſerved ever afterwards.

Of this cruelty I need ſay no more, than that it was moſt execrable ferity. As for the councel of uſing it, it was like unto the councel of *Achitophel*; *All* Iſrael *ſhall hear, that thou art abhorred of thy Father; then ſhall the hands of all that are with thee be ſtrong*. Such are the fruits of deſperation. He that is paſt all hope of pardon, is afraid of his own fellows, if they be more innocent; and to avoid the puniſhment of leſs offences, committeth greater. The cowardize of offenders, and the revengeful Spirits of thoſe that have been wronged, are breeders of this deſperation: To which may be added ſome deficiency of Laws, in diſtinguiſhing the puniſhments of Malefactors, according to the degree of their ſeveral crimes. A coward thinks all proviſion too little for his own ſecurity. *If* Phocas *be a coward* (ſaid the Emperour *Mauritius*) *then he is murderous*. To be ſteadfaſt and ſure, in taking revenge, is thought a point of honour, and a defenſative againſt new injuries: But wrongfully: for it is oppoſite to the rule of Chriſtianity; and ſuch a quality diſcovered, makes them deadly Enemies, who otherwiſe would have repented, and ſought to make amends, for the wrong done in paſſion. This was it which wrought ſo much wo to the *Carthaginians*; teaching *Matho*, and his *Africans*, to ſuſpect even their gentleneſs, as the introduction to extream rigour. Like unto the errours of Princes and Governours, are the errours of Laws. Where one and the ſame puniſhment is awarded unto the leſſoffence, and unto the greater; he that hath adventured to rob a man, is eaſily tempted to kill him, for his own ſecurity.

Againſt theſe inconveniences, Mercy and Severity, uſed with due reſpect, are beſt remedies. In neither of which *Amilcar* failed. For as long as theſe his old Souldiers were any way likely to be reclaimed by gentle courſes, his humanity was ready to invite them But when they were tranſported with beaſtly outrage, beyond all regard of honeſty and ſhame, he rewarded their villany with anſwerable vengeance; caſting them unto wild Beaſts to be devoured.

Until this time *Hanno*, with the Army under his command, had kept himſelf apart from *Amilcar*, and done little as may ſeem, for that nothing is remembered of him ſince his late loſſes. Neither was *Amilcar* ſorry to want his help; as being able to do better without him. But when the War grew to ſuch extremity, as threatned utter ruine to the one or the other ſide: Then was *Hanno* ſent for, and came to *Amilcar*, with whom he joyned his Forces. By this acceſs of ſtrength *Amilcar* was not enabled to do more than in former times; rather he could now perform nothing: Such was the hatred between him and his unworthy Colleague. The Towns of *Utica* and *Hippagreta*, that had ſtood alwayes firm to the *Carthaginian* party, did now revolt unto the Enemy, murdering all the Souldiers that they had in Garriſon, and caſting their bodies forth, without ſuffering them to be buried. The Proviſions brought by Sea, for maintenance of the Army, were loſt in foul weather; and *Carthage* it ſelf ſtood in danger of being Beſieged, about which *Matho* and *Spendius* conſulted, whilſt one of the *Carthaginian* Generals did (as it were) bind the others hands.

It hath in all Ages been uſed as the ſafeſt courſe to ſend forth, in great Expeditions, two Generals of one Army. This was the common practice of thoſe two mighty Cities *Athens* and *Rome*, which other States and Princes have often imitated; perſwading themſelves, that great Armies are not ſo well conducted by one, as by two: Who out of emulation to excel each other, will uſe the greater diligence. They have alſo joyned Two chief Commanders in equal commiſſion, upon this further conſideration; the better to reſtrain the ambition of any one, that ſhould be truſted with ſo great a ſtrength. For hereof all Common-weals have been jealous, having been taught by their examples that have made themſelves Tyrants over thoſe Cities and States that have imployed them: In this point the *Venetians* having been ſo circumſpect, as they have, for the moſt part, truſted ſtrangers, and not their own in all the Wars which they have made. It is true, that the equal authority of Two commanding in chief, ſerveth well to bridle the ambition of one or both, from turning upon the Prince or State that hath given them truſt: But in managing the War it ſelf, it is commonly the cauſe of ill ſucceſs. In wars made near unto *Rome* it ſelf, when two good friends were Conſuls, or ſuch Two at leaſt, as concurred in one deſire of *Triumph*, which honour (the greateſt of any that

Rome could give) was to be obtained by that One Years ſervice; it is no marvel, though each of the Conſuls did his beſt, and inferred all his thoughts unto none other end than victory. Yet in all dangerous caſes, when the Conſuls proceeded otherwiſe than was deſired, one Dictator was appointed, whoſe power was neither hindred by any partner, nor by any great limitation. Neither was it indeed the manner, to ſend forth both the Conſuls to one War; but each went whither his lot called him, to his own Province; unleſs one buſineſs ſeemed to require them both, and they alſo ſeemed fit to be joyned in the adminiſtration. Now although it was, that the *Romans* did many times prevail with their joynt-Generals: Yet was this never ſo ſeldom, without as much concord, as any other vertue of the Commanders. For their modeſty hath often been ſuch, that the leſs able Captain, though of equal authority, hath willingly ſubmitted himſelf to the other, and obeyed his directions. This notwithſtanding, they have many times by ordaining Two Commanders of one Army, received great and moſt dangerous overthrows; wherefore in the Second *Punick* War we ſhall find examples. On the contrary ſide, in their Wars moſt remote, that were alwayes mannaged by one, they ſeldom failed to win exceeding honour, as hereafter ſhall appear. Now of thoſe Ten Generals, which ſerved the *Athenians* at the Battel of *Marathon*, it may be truly ſaid, that had not their temper been better than the judgment of the People that ſent them forth, and had not they ſubmitted themſelves to the conduction of *Miltiades*; their affairs had found the ſame ſucceſs which they found at other times, when they coupled *Nicias* and *Alcibiades* together in *Sicil*: The one being ſo over-wary, and the other ſo haſty, as all came to nought that they undertook: Whereas *Cimon* alone, as alſo *Ariſtides*, and others, having ſole charge of all, did their Country and Commonweal moſt remarkable ſervice. For it is hard to Two great Captains of equal diſcretion and valour; but that the one hath more of fury than of judgment, and ſo the contrary, by which the beſt occaſions are as often overſlipt, as at other times many actions are unſeaſonably undertaken. I remember it well, that when the Prince of *Conde* was ſlain after the Battle of *Jarnac*, (which Prince, together with the Admiral *Chaſtillan*, had the conduct of the Proteſtant Army) the *Proteſtants* did greatly bewail the loſs of the ſaid Prince, in reſpect of his Religion, Perſon, and Birth; yet comforting themſelves, they thought it rather an advancement, than an hinderance to their affairs. For ſo much did the Valour of the one outreach the adviſedneſs of the other, as whatſoever the Admiral intend to win by attending the advantage, the Prince adventured to loſe, by being over-confident in his own courage.

But we need no better example, than of the *Carthaginians* in this preſent buſineſs: Who, though they were ſtill ſick of their ill-grounded love to *Hanno*, and were unwilling to diſgrace him; yet ſeeing that all ran towards ruine, through the diſcord of the Generals, commited the deciſion of their Controverſies, unto the Army that ſerved under them. The judgment of the Army was, that *Hanno* ſhould depart the Camp: Which he did, and *Hannibal* was ſent in his ſtead, one that would be directed by *Amilcar*, and that was enough.

After this, the affairs of *Carthage* began to proſper ſomewhat better. *Matho* and *Spendius* had brought their Army near unto the City; and lay before it, as in a Siege. They might well be bold to hope and adventure much, having in their Camp above Fifty Thouſand, beſides thoſe that lay abroad in Garriſons. Nevertheleſs, the City was too ſtrong for them to win by aſſault: And the entrance of victuals they could not hinder, if any ſhould be ſent in by friends from abroad.

Hieron King of *Syracuſe*, though during the Wars in *Sicil* he aſſiſted the *Romans*, and ſtill continued in their alliance, yet now ſent ſuccours to the *Carthaginians*: Fearing their fall, and conſequently his own; becauſe if no other State gave the *Romans* ſomwhat to trouble their digeſtion, the Principality of *Syracuſe* would ſoon be devoured by them. The *Romans* alſo gave them ſome ſlender aſſiſtance, and, for the preſent, refuſed good offers made unto them by the Mercenaries. This they did to ſhew a noble kind of diſpoſition; which was indeed but counterfeit, as the ſequel manifeſtly proved.

Whilſt *Matho* and his followers were buſily preſſing the City, *Amilcar* was as diligent in waiting at their backs, and cutting off all that come to their ſupply: So that finding themſelves more ſtraightly Beſieged by him, than *Carthage* was by them, they purpoſed to deſiſt from their vain attempt, and try ſome other courſe. Hereupon they iſſued into the Field: When *Spendius*, and one *Zarxas*, an *African* Captain aſſiſting the Rebellion, take upon them to find *Amilcar* work; leaving *Matho* in *Tunis*, to negotiate with their friends, and take a general care of the buſineſs. The Elephants of *Carthage*, and Horſe of *Naravaſus*, made *Spendius* fearful to deſcend into the Plains. Wherefore he betook himſelf to his former method of War, keeping the Mountains, and rough grounds, or occupying the ſtraighteſt paſſages wherein the deſperate courage of his men might ſhew it ſelf, with little diſadvantage. But *Amilcar* had more skill in this Art, than could be matched by the labour of *Spendius*. He drew the Enemy to many skirmiſhes; in all which the ſucceſs was ſuch, as added courage to his own men, and abated the ſtrength and ſpirit of the Rebels. Thus he continued, provoking them Night and Day: Still intrapping ſome of them, and ſometimes giving them the over-throw in plain Battel: until at length he got them into a ſtraight, whence ere they ſhould get out, he meant to make of them a good account. Their judgment was enough to perceive their own diſadvantage; and therefore they had the leſs ſtomach to fight; but awaiting for help from *Tunis*. *Amilcar* prudently foreſeeing, that neceſſity might teach them to dare impoſſibilities, uſeth the benefit of their preſent fear, and ſhut them cloſe up with Trench and Rampart. There they waited miſerable, for ſuccour that came not: And having ſpent all their Victuals, were ſo pinched with hunger, that they fed upon the bodies of their Priſoners. This they ſuffered patiently, as knowing that they had not deſerved any favour from *Carthage*: And hoping that their friends at *Tunis* would not be unmindful of them. But when they were driven to ſuch extremity that they were fain to devour their own companions, and yet ſaw none appearance or likelihood of relief: Their obſtinacy was broken, and they threatned their Captains with what they deſerved, unleſs they would go forth to *Amilcar*, and ſeek ſuch Peace as might be gotten. So *Spendius*, *Zarxas*, and *Autarius*, fell to conſultation, wherein it was reſolved to obey the Multitude, and yield themſelves, if it were ſo required, unto the death, rather than periſh by the hands of their own companions. Hereupon they ſend to crave

crave Parly, which is granted; and these Three come forth to talk with *Amilcar* in person. What they could say unto him it is hard to conjecture: Yet by the condition which *Amilcar* granted, it seems that they took the blame upon themselves, and craved pardon for the multitude. The conditions were, that the *Carthaginians* should chuse, out of the whole number of these enemies, any ten whom they pleased, to remain at their discretion; and that the rest should all be dimissed, each in his shirt, or in one single Coat. When the peace was thus concluded, *Amilcar* told these Ring-leaders, that he chose them presently, as part of the ten, and so commanded to lay hands on them: The rest he forthwith went to fetch with his whole Army in order. The Rebels, who knew not that peace was concluded upon so gentle Articles, thought themselves betrayed: And therefore amazedly ran to Arms. But they wanted Captains to order them; and the same astonishment that made them break the Covenants of peace, whereof they were ignorant, gave unto *Amilcar* both colour of Justice, in accomplishing revenge, and ease in doing the execution. They were all Slain: Being forty Thousand, or more, in number.

This was a famous exploit: And the news thereof exceeding welcome to *Carthage*; and terrible to the revolted Cities of *Africk*. Henceforward *Amilcar*, with his *Naravasus*, and *Hannibal*, carried the War from Town to Town, and found all places ready to yield: *Utica* and *Hippagreta* only standing out, upon fear of deserved vengeance; and *Tunis*, being held by *Matho*, with the remainder of his Army. It was thought fit to begin with *Tunis*, wherein lay the chief strength of the enemy. Coming before this Town, they brought forth *Spendius*, with his fellows, in view of the defendants, and crucified them under the walls; to terrifie those of his old companions, that were still in Arms. With this rigour the Siege began; as if speedy victory had been assured. *Hannibal* quartered on that part of *Tunis*, which lay toward *Carthage*. *Amilcar* on the opposite side: Too far asunder to help one another in sudden accidents: And therefore it behoved each to be the more circumspect.

Matho from the walls beheld his own destiny, in the misery of his companion, and knew not how to avoid it otherwise than by a cast at dice with fortune. So he brake out upon that part of the *Carthaginian* Army, that lay secure, as if all danger were past, under the command of *Hannibal*; and with so great and unexpected fury he sallied, that after an exceeding slaughter, he took *Hannibal* prisoner: On whom, and thirty the most noble of the *Carthaginian* prisoners, he presently revenged the death of *Spendius*, by the same Torture. Of this, *Amilcar* knew nothing, till it was too late; neither had he strength enough remaining, after this great loss, to continue the Siege; but was fain to break it up, and remove unto the mouth of the River *Bagradis*, where he incamped.

The terrour was no less within *Carthage*, upon the fame of this loss, than had been the joy of the late great victory. All that could bear Arms, were sent into the Field, under *Hanno*; whom, it seems, they thought the most able of their Captains surviving the late accidents of War. If there were any Law among them forbidding the imployment of one sole General near unto their City (for they are known to have trusted one man abroad) the time did not permit, in this hasty exigent, to devise about repealing it. But thirty principal men are chosen by the Senate, to bring *Hanno* to *Amilcars* Camp, and by all good perswasions to reconcile them. This could not be effected in one day. It nearly touched *Amilcar* in his honour, that the carelesness of *Hannibal* seemed to be imputed unto him; by sending his enemy to moderate his proceedings. Nevertheless, after many conferences, the authority of the Senators prevailed; *Amilcar* and *Hanno* were made friends; and thenceforth, whilst this War lasted, *Hanno* took warning by *Hannibals* calamities, to follow good directions, though afterwards he returned to his old and deadly hatred.

In the mean season *Matho* was come abroad, as meaning to use the reputation of his late success, whilst it gave some life unto his business. He had reason to do as he did: But he wanted skill to deal with *Amilcar*. The skirmishes, and light exercises of War, wherein *Amilcar* trained his *Carthaginians*, did so far abate the strength, and withal diminish the credit of *Matho*; that he resolved to try the fortune of one Battel: Wherein either his own desire should be accomplished, or his cares ended. To this conclusion the *Carthaginians* were no less prone, than *Matho*: as being weary of these long troubles, and insupportable expences; confident in the valour of their own men, which had approved it self in many tryals; and well assured of *Amilcar* his great worth, whereunto the enemy hath not what to suppose. According to this determination, each part was diligent in making provision: Inviting their friends to help; and drawing forth into the Field, all that lay in Garrison.

The issue of this Battel might have been foretold, without help of witchcraft. *Matho* and his followers, had nothing whereon to presume, save their daring Spirits, which had been well cooled by the many late skirmishes, wherein they had learned how to run away. The *Carthaginians* had reason to dare, as having been often victorious: And in all points else they had the better of their enemies; especially (which is worth all the rest) they had such a Commander, as was not easily to be matched in that Age. Neither was it likely that the desire of liberty should work so much, in men accustomed to servitude; as the honour of their State would, in Citizens, whose future and present good lay all at once ingaged in that adventure. So the *Carthaginians* wan a great Victory, wherein most of the *Africans* their enemies were slain; the rest fled into a Town, which was not to be defended, and therefore they all yielded; and *Matho* himself was taken alive. Immediately upon this Victory, all the *Africans* that had rebelled, made submission to their old Masters: *Utica* only, and *Hippagreta* stood out, as knowing how little they deserved of favour. But they were soon forced to take what conditions best pleased the Victours. *Matho* and his fellows were led to *Carthage* in triumph; where they suffered all Torments that could be devised, in recompence of the mischiefs which they had wrought in this War. The War had lasted three years, and about four months, when it came to this good end: Which the *Carthaginians*, whose Subjects did not love them, should with less expence, by contenting their Mercenaries, have prevented in the beginning.

SECT. IV.

How the Mercenaries of the Carthaginians, *that were in* Sardinia, *rebelled: And were afterwards driven out by the Ilanders. The faithleſs dealing of the* Romans *with the* Carthaginians, *in taking from them* Sardinia, *contrary to the peace.*

WHilſt *Matho* and *Spendius* were making terrible combuſtion in *Africk*; other Mercenaries of the *Carthaginians* had kindled the like fire in *Sardinia*: Where murdering *Boſtar* the Governour, and other *Carthaginians*, they were in hope to get, and hold that Iſland to their own uſe. Againſt theſe, one *Hanno* was ſent with a ſmall Army (ſuch as could be ſpared in that buſie time) conſiſting likewiſe of Mercenaries, levied on the ſudden. But theſe Companies that followed *Hanno*, finding it more for their ſafety, and preſent profit, to joyn themſelves with thoſe that were already revolted, than to endanger themſelves by Battel, for the good of that Common-weal, of which they had no care; began to enter into practice with the *Sardinian* Rebels, offering to run one courſe of fortune with them in their enterpriſe. This their offer was kindly taken; but their faith was ſuſpected. Wherefore to take away all jealouſie and diſtruſt, they reſolved to hang up their Commander *Hanno*, and performed it. A common practice it hath been in all Ages, with thoſe that have undertaken the quarrel of an unjuſt War, to enjoyn the performance of ſome notorious and villainous act, to thoſe that come into them as ſeconds, with offer to partake, and to aſſiſt the impious purpoſes which they have in hand. It is indeed the beſt pawn, that deſperate men can deliver to each other, to perform ſome ſuch actions, as are equally unpardonable to all.

By ſuch a kind of cruelty did the ungrateful *Mantineans* murder a Garriſon of *Achaians*, ſent unto them for their defence againſt the *Lacedæmonians*, by *Aratus*; who, when he had formerly poſſeſt himſelf of their City, by right of War, did not only ſpare the ſack and ſpoil thereof, but gave them equal fredom, with the reſt of the Cities united. Theſe revolts are alſo common in our Court-wars; where, in the Conqueſt of new fortunes, and making of new parties, and factions, without the depreſſion or deſtruction of old friends, we cannot be received and truſted by old enemies. *Ceſont les coups de vieille eſcrime. Theſe* (ſay the *French*) *be the blows of the old Art of fencing.*

Theſe Mercenaries in *Sardinia* were no whit leſs violent in their purpoſe, than were *Spendius*, and his aſſociates: Only they wanted a *Matho* among them, to negotiate with the inhabitants of the Province. The Iſlanders were no leſs glad, than the Souldiers, that the *Carthaginians* were expelled the Country: But they could not agree about the profit of the victory. The *Sardinians* thought it was enough, if they rewarded the Souldiers for their pains taken. Contrariwiſe, the Souldiers were of opinion, that the title of the *Carthaginians* to that Iſle, was devolved unto themſelves, by right of Conqueſt. The ſame quarrel would (in likelihood) have riſen between *Spendius* with his Mercenaris, and their *African* friends; if the common deſire of both had once taken effect: Unleſs the riches of *Carthage* had ſerved to content them all. But in *Sardinia*, where there was none other valuable reward, than poſſeſſion and rule of the Country; the matter was not eaſily taken up. So they fell to blows; which how they were dealt, I know not; but finally the Mercenaries were driven out, and compelled to ſave themſelves in *Italy*. Before their departure out of *Sardinia*, they had invited the *Romans* into it; with as good right, as the *Mamertines* had called them into *Sicil*. Yet this offer was refuſed, upon reaſons that follow.

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THE injurious dealings of the *Romans*, expressing their desire to pick a quarrel; served to instruct the *Carthaginians* in a necessary lesson; that either they must make themselves the stronger, or else resolve to be obedient unto those that were more mighty. In a City long accustomed to rule, the braver determination easily took place: And the best means were thought upon, for the increase of Puissance and Empire. The strength, and the jealousie of the *Romans*, forbad all attempts upon the Mediterranean Sea; but the riches of *Spain*, that lay upon the *Ocean*, were unknown to *Rome*: Therefore that Province might serve both to exercise the *Carthaginians* in War, and to repair their decayed forces, with all needful supplies. Of the *Spanish* Expedition, the charge and soveraign trust was committed unto *Amilcar*: Upon whom his Country did wholly repose it self; in hope to recover strength by his means, that had saved it from ruine.

Hanno, with some other envious men that were of his faction, took little pleasure in the general love and honour, which daily increased towards *Amilcar* and his friends. Yet could they not deny him to be the most worthy of command in all the City: Only they commended peace and quietness; advising men to beware of provoking the *Romans*, in whose amity they said, that the felicity of *Carthage* did consist. By such discourses, harsh to the ears of good Citizens, who had feeling of the wrong done to their Common-weal, they got none other reputation, than of singularity: Which the ignorant sort suspected to be wisdom.

But the glory of *Amilcar* was continually upheld and enlarged, by many notable services that he did, to the singular benefit of his Country. He passed the straights of *Hercules* (now called the straights of *Gibralter*) and landed on the Western Coasts of *Spain*; in which Country, during nine years that he lived there, he subjected unto the State of *Carthage* the better part of all those Provinces. But finally in a Battel that he fought with a Nation in *Portugal*, called the *Vettones* (defending himself a long time with an admirable resolution) he was invironed and slain: Carrying with him to the grave the same great honour and fame, by which in many signal Victories, he had acquired the name of a second *Mars*.

After the death of *Amilcar*, *Asdrubal* his Son-in-law was made General of the *Carthaginian* Forces in *Spain*. This was a good man of War; but far better in practice and cunning than in deeds of arms. By his notable dexterity in matter of negotiation, he greatly enlarged the Dominion of *Carthage*: Adding so many subjects and confederates thereunto, that the *Romans* began to grow jealous again of this hasty increase. He built a goodly City upon a commodious Haven, in the Kingdom of *Granado*, opposite to that of *Oran* in *Africa*, and gave it the name of *New Carthage*, which to this day it nearly retaineth, being called now * *Carthagena*. With this success of the *Carthaginians* in *Spain*, the *Romans* were not a little troubled; but began to accuse their own negligence. For whereas they had formerly taken so much pains to beat them out of the Isle of *Sicil*, as suspecting their neighborhood there; they had now, by cumbering themselves in a War of far less importance, (whereof I shall speak anon) given them leisure without interruption, to recover upon their own Continent, a Dominion by far exceeding both in the Bodies of men, and in revenue, that which the *Romans* had taken from them. But now to help this, at the present they know not; for they dayly expected to be invaded by the *Gawles*, their ancient enemies, and nearest neighbours to the West. But he needeth little help of force, that knoweth himself to be feared: It is enough if he request, since his request, shall have the vertue of a command.

Yet were the *Romans* utterly destitute of all good colour, that might help them to intermeddle in *Spain*. The *Spaniards* were then unacquainted with *Rome*, whereof (in probability) they scarce had heard the name: So that there were no *Mamertines*, nor other such Rebels, to call in *Roman* succours; but in the enterprise of *Sardinia*, the *Romans* had learned an impudent pretence, that might also serve their turn in *Spain*. For though it were apparent, that the *Spanish* affairs had no relation to the peace between these two Cities; and though it were nothing likely, that *Asdrubal* had any purpose to extend his Victories unto the gates of *Rome*, or to any of the *Roman* frontiers: Yet (as if some such matter had been suspected) they sent unto him, requiring that he should forbear to proceed any further, than to the River of *Iberus*. In addressing their messengers, rather to *Asdrubal*, than to the City of *Carthage*; they seem to have hoped, that howsoever the generality of the *Carthaginians* had sweetly swallowed many bitter pills, to avoid all occasion of War with *Rome*, yet the bravery of one man might prove more fastidious, and resenting the injury, return such answer, as would intangle his whole Country in the quarrel, that they so much desired; and might embrace at leisure, when once they had found apparent cause. But *Asdrubal* finely deluded their expectation. He pretended no manner of dislike at all: And whereas they would have this insolent covenant inserted into the Articles of peace; he took upon him to do it of his own power, with such appearance of conformity to their will, that they went their wayes contented, and sought no further.

If it had been so, that the State of *Carthage*, thereunto passed by the *Romans*, for fear of present War, had ratified this new composition made by *Asdrubal*; yet should it not have stood bound in honour, to observe the same carefully, unless an oath had also been extorted, to make all sure. But since all passed quietly, under the bare authority of *Asdrubal*, this Capitulation was none other in effect than a second breach of peace; whereof the *Romans* might be accused more justly, than they could accuse the *Carthaginians* of perjury (as they after did) for refusing to stand to it.

By this Treaty with *Asdrubal*, the *Romans* wan some reputation in *Spain*. For when it was once conceived by the *Spaniards*, that the City which would needs be Mistress over them, stood in fear her self of receiving blows from a stouter Dame; there were soon found some, that by offering themselves to the protection of *Rome*, became (as they thought) fellow-servants with *Carthage*. But the *Carthaginians* will shortly teach them another lesson. The *Saguntines*, a people on the South-side of *Iberus*, entred into confederacy with the *Romans*, and were gladly accepted. Surely it was lawful unto the *Romans* to admit the *Saguntines*, or any other

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SECT. IV.

How the Mercenaries of the Carthaginians, *that were in* Sardinia, *rebelled: And were afterwards driven out by the Ilanders. The faithleſs dealing of the* Romans *with the* Carthaginians, *in taking from them* Sardinia, *contrary to the peace.*

WHilſt *Matho* and *Spendius* were making terrible combuſtion in *Africk*; other Mercenaries of the *Carthaginians* had kindled the like fire in *Sardinia*: Where murdering *Boſtar* the Governour, and other *Carthaginians*, they were in hope to get, and hold that Iſland to their own uſe. Againſt theſe, one *Hanno* was ſent with a ſmall Army (ſuch as could be ſpared in that buſie time) conſiſting likewiſe of Mercenaries, levied on the ſudden. But theſe Companies that followed *Hanno*, finding it more for their ſafety, and preſent profit, to joyn themſelves with thoſe that were already revolted, than to endanger themſelves by Battel, for the good of that Common-weal, of which they had no care; began to enter into practice with the *Sardinian* Rebels, offering to run one courſe of fortune with them in their enterprife. This their offer was kindly taken; but their faith was ſuſpected. Wherefore to take away all jealouſie and diſtruſt, they reſolved to hang up their Commander *Hanno*, and performed it. A common practice it hath been in all Ages, with thoſe that have undertaken the quarrel of an unjuſt War, to enjoyn the performance of ſome notorious and villainous act, to thoſe that come into them as ſeconds, with offer to partake, and to aſſiſt the impious purpoſes which they have in hand. It is indeed the beſt pawn, that deſperate men can deliver to each other, to perform ſome ſuch actions, as are equally unpardonable to all.

By ſuch a kind of cruelty did the ungrateful *Mantineans* murder a Garriſon of *Achaians*, ſent unto them for their defence againſt the *Lacedæmonians*, by *Aratus*; who, when he had formerly poſſeſt himſelf of their City, by right of War, did not only ſpare the ſack and ſpoil thereof, but gave them equal fredom, with the reſt of the Cities united. Theſe revolts are alſo common in our Court-wars; where, in the Conqueſt of new fortunes, and making of new parties, and factions, without the depreſſion or deſtruction of old friends, we cannot be received and truſted by old enemies. *Ceſont les coups de vieille eſcrime. Theſe* (ſay the *French*) *be the blows of the old Art of fencing.*

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other people (neither ſubject, nor open enemy in War to the *Carthaginians*) into their ſociety: And unlawful it was unto the *Carthaginians*, to uſe violence towards any that ſhould thus once become confederate with *Rome*. Nevertheleſs, if we conſider the late agreement made with *Aſdrubal*, we ſhall find that the *Romans* could have none other honeſt colour of requiring it, than an implicit Covenant of making the River *Iberus* a bound, over which they themſelves would not paſs, in any Diſcovery or Conqueſt by them intended to be made upon *Spain*: In which regard, they might have ſome honeſt pretence to require the like of the *Carthaginians*; though *Rome*, as yet, had no foot on the one ſide of *Iberus*, whereas *Carthage* on the other ſide of that River, held almoſt all the Country. Howſoever it were, this indignity was not ſo eaſily digeſted, as former injuries had been. For it was a matter of ill conſequence, that the Nations which had heard of no greater power than the *Carthaginian*, ſhould behold *Saguntum* reſting ſecurely among them, upon confidence of help from a more mighty City. Wherefore either in this reſpect, or for that the ſence is moſt feeling, of the lateſt injuries; or rather for that now the *Carthaginians* were of power to do themſelves right: War againſt *Saguntum* was generally thought upon, let the *Romans* take it how they liſt. In ſuch terms were the *Carthaginians*, when *Aſdrubal* dyed, after he had commanded in *Spain* eight years (being ſlain by a Slave, whoſe Maſter he had put to death) and the great *Hannibal*, Son of the great *Amilcar*, was choſen General in his ſtead.

SECT. VI.

The eſtate of Greece *from the death of* Pyrrhus, *to the reign of* Philip *the Son of* Demetrius *in* Macedon.

IN the long term of the firſt *Punick* War, and the vacation following, between it and the ſecond; the eſtate of *Greece*, after the death of *Pyrrhus*, was grown ſomewhat like unto that, wherein *Philip* of *Macedon* had found it; though far weaker, as the after-ſpring. The whole Country had recovered by degrees, a form of liberty: In petty Tyrannies (bred of thoſe inferiour Captains, which in the time of general combuſtion, had ſeiſed each upon ſuch Towns as he could get) were, by force or accident, extirpated, and reformed; and ſome States were riſen to ſuch greatneſs, as not only ſerved to defend themſelves, but to give protection to others. This converſion to the better, proceeded from the like diſſentions and tumults in *Macedon*, as had been in *Greece*, when *Philip* firſt began to encroach upon it. For after many quarrels and great Wars, about the Kingdom of *Macedon*, between *Antigonus* the elder, *Caſſander*, *Demetrius*, *Lyſimachus*, *Seleucus*, *Pyrrhus*, and the *Gaules*: *Antigonus* the Son of *Demetrius*, finally got and held it, reigning ſix and thirty years; yet ſo, that he was divers times thence expelled, not only by the *Gaules*, and by *Pyrrhus*, as hath been already ſhewed, but by *Alexander* the Son of *Pyrrhus* the *Epirot*, from whoſe father he had hardly won it. This happened unto him, by the revolt of his Souldiers, even at ſuch time, as having overthrown with great ſlaughter an Army of the *Gaules*, he was converting his Forces againſt the *Athenians*, whom he compelled to receive his Garriſons. But his young Son *Demetrius* raiſed an Army, wherewith he chaſed *Alexander*, not only out of *Macedon*, but out of his own *Epirus*, and reſtored his Father to the Kingdom.

By the help of this young Prince *Demetrius* (though in another kind) *Antigonus* got into his poſſeſſion the Citadel of *Corinth*; which was juſtly termed *the fetter of* Greece. This Citadel called *Acrocorinthus*, ſtood upon a ſteep Rocky Hill on the North Side of the Town, and was by Nature and Art ſo ſtrong, that it ſeemed impregnable. It commanded the Town, which was of much importance, as occupying the whole breadth of the *Iſthmus*, that running between the *Ægean* and *Ionique* Seas, joyneth *Peloponneſus* to the Main of *Greece*. Wherefore he that held poſſeſſion of this Caſtle was able to cut off all paſſage by land, from one half of *Greece* unto the other; beſides the commodity of the two Seas, upon both of which, this rich and goodly City had commodious Havens. *Alexander*, the Son of *Polyſperchon*; and after his death, *Crateſipolis* his Wife, had gotten *Corinth* in the great ſhuffling of Provinces and Towns, that was made between *Alexanders* Princes. Afterwards it paſſed from hand to hand, until it came, I know not how, to one *Alexander*; of whom I find nothing elſe, than that he was thought to be poiſned by this *Antigonus*, who deceived his Wife *Nicæa* thereof, and got it from her by a trick. The deviſe was this: *Antigonus* ſent his young Son *Demetrius* to *Corinth*, willing him to court *Nicæa*, and ſeek her marriage. The fooliſh old widow perceived not how unfit a match ſhe was for the young Prince, but entertained the fancy of marriage; whereto the old King was even as ready to conſent, as was his Son to deſire, and came thither in perſon to ſolemnize it. Hereupon all *Corinth* was filled with Sacrifices, Feaſts, Playes, and all ſorts of Games: In the midſt of which, *Antigonus* watched his time, and got into the Caſtle, beguiling the poor Lady, whoſe jealouſie had been exceeding diligent in keeping it. Of this purchaſe he was ſo glad, that he could not contain himſelf within the gravity beſeeming his old age. But as he had ſtollen it; ſo was it again ſtollen from him: Neither lived he to revenge the loſs of it, being already ſpent with age.

Demetrius, the Son of this *Antigonus*, ſucceeding unto his Father, Reigned ten years. He made greater proof of his vertue before he was King, than after. The *Dardanians*, *Ætolians*, and *Achæans*, held him continually buſied in War; wherein his fortune was variable, and for the moſt part ill. About theſe times the power of the *Macedonians* began to decay: And the *Græcians* to caſt off their yoke.

Philip, the only Son of *Demetrius*, was a young Child when his Father dyed; and therefore *Antigonus*, his Uncle, had the charge of the Kingdom, during the minority of the Prince; but he aſſumed the name and power of a King, though he reſpected *Philip* as his own Son, to whom he left the Crown at his death; this *Antigonus*, was called the *Tutor*, in regard of his Protectorſhip; and was alſo called *Doſon*, that is as much as, *Will-give*, becauſe he was ſlow in his liberality. He repreſſed the *Dardanians* and *Theſſalians*, which moleſted his Kingdom, in the beginning of his Reign. Upon confidence of this good ſervice, he took ſtate upon him, as one that rather were King in his own right, than only a Protector. Hereupon the people fell to mutiny; but were ſoon appeaſed by fair words, and a

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seeming unwillingness of his to meddle any more with the Government. The *Achaians* took from him the City of *Athens*, soon after *Demetrius* his death; and likely they were to have wrought him out of all, or most that he held in *Greece*, if their own estate had not been endangered by a nearer enemy. But civil dissention, which had overthrown the power of *Greece*, when it flourished most, overthrew it easily now again, when it had scarcely recovered strength after a long sickness; and gave to this *Antigonus* no less authority therein, than *Philip* the Father of *Alexander*, got by the like advantage.

These *Achaians*, from small beginnings, had increased in short time to great strength and fame: So that they grew the most redoubted Nation of all the *Greeks*. By the equality of their Laws, and by their clemency (notwithstanding that they were a long time held under by the *Macedonians* and *Spartans*) they did not only draw all others by their love and alliance, but induced, through their example, the rest of the Cities of *Peloponnesus*, to be governed by one Law, and to use one and the same sort of weights, measure, and money.

Aratus, the *Sicyonian*, was the first that united them again; and gave them courage, after that they had been by the *Macedonian* Captains divided into many Principalities. In elder times they were governed by Kings, as most of the great Cities of *Greece* were; to which kind of rule they first subjected themselves, after the descent of the *Heraclidæ*, when *Tisamenus* the Son of *Orestes* possest the Territory of *Achaia*. In this estate they continued to the time of *Gyges*; after whom, when his Sons sought to change the Legal Government of their Predecessors unto Tyranny, they expelled them, and made their State popular; as seeming most equal. This form of Common-weal had continuance, with some small changes according to the diversity of times, till the Reign of *Philip* and *Alexander*, Kings of *Macedon*: Who tempest-like overturned all things in that part of the World. For those twelve Cities, called *the Cities of Alliance* (whereof, *Helice*, and *Bura* or *Olenus*, the Sea had eaten up a little before the Battel of *Leuctres*) were, by disturbance of the *Macedonians*, divided from each other, and trained into a War, no less foolish than cruel, among themselves. But in the one Hundred and four and twentieth *Olympiad* (in which, or near it, *Ptolemy* the Son of *Lagus*, *Lysimachus*, *Seleucus*, and *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, left the World) two of ten remaining Cities and people, namely, the *Patrenses* and the *Dimæi*, united themselves, and laid the foundation of the general accord, and reunion, which after followed. For having been, some of them *Partisans* with sundry *Macedonian* Captains, and others having been governed by petty Kings; they began to fasten themselves in a strong league of amity, partly, in the *Olympiad* before spoken of, and partly, at such time as *Pyrrhus* made his first Voyage into *Italy*. Now after the uniting of the *Patrenses* and *Dimæi*, to whom also the Cities of *Titrea*, and *Phara*, joyned themselves; *Ægira* chased out her Garrisons: And the *Burians*, killing their Kings, entred with the *Ceraunians* into the same confederacy. These Cities, for twenty and five years, used the same form of Government with the *Achaians*; who by a Senatory and two Prætors, ordered all things in their Common-weal; and soon after by one Prætor, or Commander: Of which, *Marcus Carynensis* was the first, and *Aratus* the second.

This *Aratus* was a noble young Gentleman of *Sicyon*, who, living at *Argos* in exile, whilst his Country was oppressed by Tyrants, found means, through the help of other banished men, to enter their own City by night, with ladders; whence they chased the Tyrant, and restored the people to liberty. This was in the time of *Antigonus Gonatas* King of *Macedon*, a Prince more busie in watching what to get among the *Greeks*, than wise in looking to his own. For fear of *Antigonus*, the *Sicyonians* enter into the *Achaian* league: Which though at that time it received more increase by their accession than it added strength to them; yet the benefit of this conjunction served well enough against *Antigonus*, whose subtlety was somewhat greater than his valour. As the industry and counsel of *Aratus* delivered the Country from bondage, and fortified it by the *Achaian* league; so further, by his great liberality, with the exceeding great cost of 150. Talents, he pacified the inexplicable controversies, between the banished *Sicyonians*, which returned with him, and the other Citizens that had possession of these mens Lands; as also with the same money he drew many others to assist him in those enterprises following, that redounded to the singular good of all *Achaia*. The money he obtained of *Ptolemy Euergetes* King of *Ægypt*; who partly had a desire to hold some strong and sure friendship in *Greece*, partly was delighted with the conversation of *Aratus* himself, that made a dangerous Voyage to him into *Ægypt*, and fed his pleasure in goodly pictures, with the gift of many curious pieces, wherein the workmen of *Sicyon* excelled.

The first of *Aratus* his great attempts, was the surprize of the *Acrocorinthus* or Citadel of *Corinth*; which he wan by night, being thereinto guided by some Theeves that he had hired for the purpose, who living in the place, had practised to rob *Antigonus* his treasury, passing in and out by a secret path among the Rocks. Yet was he fain to fight for it, ere he could get it: Though indeed *Antigonus* his Souldiers were rather overcome by their own fear, than by any force of the assailants; as mistrusting least the *Achaians* were more in number, than in truth they were, and having lost the advantages of the place already, upon which they had presumed, before they were aware of any enemy.

In these kind of night-services, ambushments, surprises, and practices, *Aratus* was very cunning, adventurous, and valiant: In open Field, and plain Battail, he was as timorous. By this strange mixture of cowardize and courage, he ministred argument of disputation, to Philosophers and others; Whether a valiant man (as he was esteemed, and in some cases approved) might look pale and tremble, when he began to Battail; and whether the vertue of Fortitude were diversified, by the sundry natures of men, and in a manner confined unto several sorts of action. In resolving which doubts it may be said, that all vertue is perfected in men by exercise, wherein they are trained by occasion: Though a natural inclination standeth in need of little practice; whereas the defect hereof must be supplyed with much instruction, use, good success, and other help, yet hardly shall grow absolute in general. Such was *Aratus* in matter of War. In sincere affection to his Country he was unreproveable, and so acknowledged: As his following actions will truly testifie.

When *Acrocorinthus* was taken, and joyned unto the Common-wealth of *Achaia*, the *Megarians* revolted soon after from *Antigonus*, and entred into the

the ſame Corporation. So did the *Trazenians*, and the *Epidaurians*: Whereby this new erected State grew ſo powerful, that it adventured to take *Athens*, from the *Macedonians*, and *Argos* and *Megalopolis*, from Tyrants that held them. The enterpriſe upon the *Athenians* was of none effect. For though *Aratus* waſted the Iſle of *Salamis*, to ſhew his ſtrength, and ſent home the *Athenian* Priſoners, without ranſome, to allure the City by ſhew of love; yet the *Athenians* ſtirred neither againſt him, nor for him, as being now grown honeſt Slaves to *Macedonians*. Upon *Argos* the adventure was carryed more ſtrongly. The *Achaians* came ſometimes to the Gates of the City, but the People ſtirred not; once they entered it, and might have won it, if the Citizens would have lent any help to the recovery of their own freedom; ſundry times, and with divers events, they fought with the Tyrants, (who roſe up one after another in *Argos*) in open field, and ſlew one of them in Battail; but all ſufficed not: Until at length *Ariſtomachus* the Tyrant was ſo terrified, perſwaded, and hired by *Aratus*, that he conſented to reſign his Eſtate. The like did *Xenon* the Tyrant of *Hermione*, and *Cleonymus*, that had oppreſſed the *Phliaſians*.

Whilſt this buſineſs with the *Argives* was on foot, *Lyſiadas* the Tyrant of *Megalopolis*, was ſo well handled by *Aratus*, that, without compulſion, he have liberty to his City, and annexed it to the Council of *Achaia*: Whereby he got ſuch credit, that he was choſen General of their Forces (which was a Yearly Office, and might not be held two Years together by one man:) every Second Year, for a certain while, he and *Aratus* ſucceeded one another by turns. But thoſe late Tyrants, and new Citizens, *Lyſiadas* and *Ariſtomachus*, were were carried with private paſſion from care of the general good; in which courſes they oppoſed *Aratus*, to the great hurt of *Achaia*, as ſhall appear in due time.

The *Achæans* having obtained ſo much puiſſance and reputation, that *Ptolemy* King of *Egypt* was become Patron of their Alliance, and (in title of honour) General of their Forces by Sea and Land; made open War upon *Demetrius* the Son of *Antigonus Gonatus*, for the liberty of *Athens*. It is ſtrange and worthy of noting, That when *Aratus* in this quarrel had loſt a Battail, the *Athenians* wore Garlands, in ſign of joy, to flatter their good Lords the *Macedonians*, that had won the Victory. Such were now the *Athenians* become; in whom the rule was verified, that holds true in general of the Multitude, *Aut humiliter ſervit, aut ſuperbe dominatur*; *It is either baſe in ſervice, or inſolent in command.* Nevertheleſs when *Demetrius* was dead, *Aratus* performed that by Mony, which he could not by force: and corrupting the Captain of the *Macedonian* Garriſon, purchaſed liberty to the *Athenians*, who thenceforth held good correſpondence with the *Achæans*, loving them, and ſpeaking well of them, which was all that they could do: but into their Corporation they entred not, ſcorning it belike, in regard of their own outworn glory.

Now as the Common-wealth of *Achaia* daily increaſed with in *Peloponneſus*, by juſtice and honeſty; ſo did the *Ætolians*, in the utter part of *Greece*, yea and within *Peloponneſus* it ſelf, wax very powerful, by ſturdineſs of Body, and rude courage in fight, without help of any other vertue. They had ſtoutly defended themſelves againſt *Antipater* and *Craterus*; partly by daring to do and ſuffer much, partly by the Natural ſtrength and faſtneſs of their Country; but eſpecially by the benefit of the time, which called away theſe famous Caprains to other buſineſs, as hath been related. They had moleſted *Caſſander*, in favour of *Antigonus*, and were themſelves as much plauged by him, and by the *Acarnanians*, a little, but a ſtout Nation, that took his part. Afterwards they had to do with *Demetrius*, the Son of the Firſt *Antigonus*, and more or leſs with all the Kings of *Macedon* ſucceeding him. They likewiſe held often War with the *Acarnanians*, *Athamanians*, *Epirots*, and many Cities in *Peloponneſus*: So that they were hardened with a perpetual Travail; ſeldom putting off their Armour. But their hardineſs ill deſerved the name of valour, ſeeing they had no regard of honeſty or friendſhip, meaſuring all things by their own inſolent wills, and thinking all People baſe-minded, that were not as fierce and outragious as themſelves.

Theſe *Ætolians* had lately made great ſpoils in *Peloponneſus*, and occupied a good part of the Countrey. They had invaded the friends of the *Achæans*; taken and ſacked *Pallene*; where, although they were ſoundly beaten by *Aratus*, yet their deſire of gain made them make a new Voyage thither, as to a Countrey wherein ſomewhat was to be gotten. But they were forced to look another way, by *Demetrius* the Son of *Antigonus Gonatus*: Who preſſed them ſo hardly, that they were driven to ſeek help of the *Achæans*; which they obtained. The War which the *Achæans* made upon *Demetrius*, without *Peloponneſus*, in *Attica*, though it tended to expelling the *Macedons* out of *Greece*, yet the benefit thereof redounded chiefly unto the *Ætolians*, at whoſe inſtance it was ſet on foot: For thereby were the *Macedonian* Forces diverted from them. Neither was this good turn unacknowledged, though very baſely the *Ætolians*, giving thanks in words, deviſed how to requite the benefit with ſome great miſchief. They ſaw that the *Achæans* were deſirous to bring all *Peloponneſus* into their Alliance and Coporation: Of which intent, the *Lacedæmonians* were very jealous. Wherefore theſe *Ætolians* laboured earneſtly to ſet the *Lacedæmonianss* and *Achæans* together by the ears: hoping that if this might come to paſs, themſelves ſhould be called in to help (it skilled not on whatſide) and ſo get no ſmall ſhare, both in booty and Territory. Neither did they forbear to communicate this their device unto *Antigonus*; offering to make him partaker of their gain, whom they knew to be offended with the many loſſes, that this Kingdom hath ſuſtained by the *Achæans*. Of this plot *Aratus* was aware: who therefore determined to ſuffer many indignities, rather than to give the *Lacedæmonians* cauſe to take Arms. But this reſolution was taken ſomewhat too late: and not altogether in his own power to hold. He had been medling with the *Arcadians*, that were dependants of *Lacedæmon*: And thereby had provoked the *Lacedæmonians* to look about them; ſeeing that all *Peloponneſus*, excepting themſelves, the *Eleans*, and a few *Arcadians* their friends (who alſo were attempted) was already become *Achæan*.

The City of *Sparta* was in ill caſe about theſe times; and ſubject to the injuries of any ſtronger neighbour. *Pyrrhus* had greatly weakned it; The *Ætolians* entering *Liconia* with an Army, had carried away Fifty Thouſand Slaves; and, which was worſe, their diſcipline was corrupted, Avarice and Luxury reigned among them, the poor was oppreſſed by the rich, and the generoſity of Spirit, that

that had sometime been their general vertue, was hardly now to be found among the best of them. There was left in *Sparta* no more than Seven Hundred natural Citizens; of whom not above one Hundred had Lands: All the rest were needy People, and desirous of innovation. Hereupon followed intestine sedition; which endangered the City most of all. *Agis* a good King, who sought to reform the disorders of the State, exhorted the People to a strict Observation of *Lycurgus* his Laws. To which purpose he caused them to pass an Act, for the abolishing all debts, and equal division of Lands. All the younger, and poorer sort were glad of this: But the rich men opposed it. These had recourse unto *Leonidas* the other King, (for in *Sparta* were two Kings) who took their part: being himself a dissolute man, as one trained up in the Court of *Syria*, whence also he had his Wife. In this contention *Leonidas* was expelled the City, and a new King chosen in his stead. But *Agis* his friends and Counsellors in this enterprize, abused his good meaning to their own private commodity. They were hasty to take away all debts, and cancel all Bonds, for they themselves were deeply indebted: But the division of Lands they afterwards hindred, because their own possessions were great. Hence arose a Tumult in *Sparta*, which these men increased by their foul oppression of the poorer Citizens. So that in fine, *Leonidas* was brought home, and restored to his Kingdom, and the Two adverse Kings driven to take Sanctuary; out of which *Cleombrotus*, the late-made King, was dismissed into exile: But *Agis* was trained forth, drawn into Prison, and there by his Enemies condemned and strangled, together with his Mother, and his old Grand-Mother. The like to this was never known in *Sparta*: And (which is the more odious) this cruelty proceeded from the *Ephori*, Magistrates that should have given Patronage to the Laws, using their power, and more power than to them belonged, against a King, that had proceeded orderly in reforming the City as the Law required.

The death of *Agis* was much lamented by all good Citizens, and served to establish the impotent rule of a few Tyrannical Oppressors. In which case *Aratus* might well hope to adjoyn *Lacedæmon* to the *Achæans* Common-wealth: though it were great injustice to take such advantage; and attempt by force, that which would have redounded to the general good of *Peloponnesus*, and to the benefit of *Sparta* it self, if it could have been wrought by perswasion.

But the same man who redressed the disorders of *Sparta*, and revenged the death of *Agis*, did also requite the unjust attempts of the *Achæans*, even in their own kind: Obtruding upon them by force an union of all *Peloponnesus*, though little to their good liking, for that the *Lacedæmonians* and their King, should have been the principal; not they and their Prætor. *Leonidas* having thus caused *Agis* to be slain, took his Wife that was very rich and beautiful, and gave her in Marriage (perforce) to his own Son *Cleomenes*. This young Prince fell greatly inamoured on his Wife, and sought to win her affection, as well as he had her person. He discoursed much with her about the purpose of her former Husband *Agis*, and by pitying his misfortune, began to entertain a desire of accomplishing that, wherein *Agis* had failed. So coming himself to be King, whilst he was very young, he gladly embraced all occasions of War: For that he hoped by strong hand to effect that, which *Agis* by proceeding formally in so corrupt an estate of the City, had attempted to his own ruine. Therefore when the *Ephori* gave him in charge, to take and fortifie *Athenæum*, a Temple on the marches of *Liconia*, to which both they and the *Magalopolitans* pretended Title, he readily performed it. Hereof *Aratus* made no complaint, but sought to take by surprize *Tegea* and *Orchomenus*, Cities then Confederate with the *Lacedæmonians*: wherein, his intelligence failing, he lost the labour of a painful Night travel, and discovered his enmity to *Sparta*; of which *Cleomenes* was nothing sorry. By these degrees the War began. In the entrance whereto *Aratus* had discovered the *Ætolian* practice, and therefore would have stayed the quarrel from proceeding too far. But *Lysiadas* and *Aristomachus* would needs fight, and he could do none other than be ruled by them; especially seeing *Cleomenes* was so urgent. *Aristomachus* was at that time General of the *Achæans*, (he and *Lysiadas* being of great account, since they had abandoned their Tyranny) who sent unto *Aratus*, lying then in *Athens*, and required his assistance in a journey to be made into *Laconia*. No disswasions of *Aratus* would serve, therefore he came in person, and took part of a business, little pleasing him in the present, and less in the future. When he met with *Cleomenes*, he durst not fight; but opposed himself again *Aristomachus*, who desired to give Battel. Yet had the *Achæans* Twenty Thousand Foot, and One Thousand Horse, in their Army: Whereas *Cleomenes* had no more than Five Thousand in all. This gave reputation to the *Lacedæmonian*, and raised an ill report upon *Aratus*; which *Lysiadas* helped to make worse, by accusing his cowardize. Nevertheless the *Achæans* would not fall out with *Aratus* their Benefactor, but chose him their General the year following; against *Lysiadas* his accuser that sued for the place. Being General himself, it behoved him to confute with deeds, the slandrous words of *Lysiadas*. Therefore he purposed to set upon the *Eleans*: But was met withal on the way, near unto the Mount *Lycæus*, by *Cleomenes*, who vanquished him in a great Battel, and drave him to hide himself all Night for fear, so that he was thought to have been slain. This misadventure *Aratus* recompenced by a trick of his own more natural occupation: Performing with his broken Army, that which could hardly have been expected, had he been Victorious. For whilst there was no suspicion of any great matter that he could undertake, he suddenly wrought with some of the *Mantinæans*, who did let him into their City. These *Mantinæans*, (whom he had thus brought to his purpose) had once before joyned themselves with the *Achaians*; but shortly upon fear, or some other passion, they gave themselves to the *Ætolians*; and from the *Ætolians*, presently after this Victory, to *Cleomenes*, from whom immediately they were thus won. For this their levity they were not punished, but freely admitted now again into the *Achæan* Society. As this good success repaired the credit of *Aratus*; so another Battel almost ruined it. *Cleomenes* and he encountred near unto *Megalopolis*; where the *Achæans* had somewhat the better at the first, but their General durst not follow his advantage. Thereupon *Lysiadas*, of whom we spake before, grew somewhat impatient with anger; and taking with him all the Horse, brake upon the *Lacedæmonians* whom he routed at the beginning, but pursuing them too far into places of hard passage, he was slain by them; and his followers driven back upon their own Companions; in such sort, that finally all the Army was disordered and put to flight. This was a great loss; and incensed the *Achæans*

againſt *Aratus*: Yet their indignation proceeded no further, than that they refuſed to make any longer contribution, towards the pay of thoſe Mercenaries which he had waged. This *Aratus* took patiently, and followed the War nevertheleſs; wherein though *Cleomenes* wan ſome Towns, and *Aratus* got the better in one ſmall fight, yet little of importance was done; the *Achæans* being weary, and the *Spartan* King intentive to another buſineſs.

Cleomenes having led into the Field all that were like to hinder his purpoſe, and tired them with painful journeys, forſook the *Achæan* War on a ſudden, and came unexpected home to *Sparta*, where he ſlew the *Ephori*, and reſtored by force the ancient Diſcipline of *Lycurgus*. Then he gave an account of his doings; and ſhewing by what degrees the *Ephori* had incroached upon the power of Kings, and many diſorders had grown in the City; he juſtified his proceedings, and forthwith began to make equal diviſion of the Lands, reducing all to the firſt inſtitution. He alſo ſupplied the defect of Citizens, by chuſing new, out of ſuch as were freinds to the State, and valiant men: So that henceforth his Countrey might not altogether ſtand in need of Mercenary help, as it lately had done, to ſave it ſelf from the *Ætolians*, *Illyrians*, and ſuch other Enemies. All this was diſpatched in great haſte; the *Spartans* well ſatisfied, and *Cleomenes* himſelf ready in the Field, ere his Enemies could take any advantage of theſe his domeſtical troubles.

The *Achæans* hearing of this great alteration in in *Sparta*, thought that it would be long ere *Cleomenes* durſt iſſue forth of the City, for fear of ſome Rebellion. But it was not long ere they heard, that he had waſted all the Countrey of *Megalopolis*; had ranged over all *Arcadia* at his pleaſure; and was admitted into *Mantinæa*; and ready to take other places, even of *Achaia*. Theſe new diſpleaſed them not a little: But they muſt patiently endure to hear worſe. For when *Cleomenes* had ſhaken off the power of the *Ephori*, that curbed his Authority, he proceeded more roundly in his work, being better obeyed, and by better men. His *Lacedæmonians* reſumed their ancient courage; and he himſelf had the heart to demand the Principality of *Greece*. He did not therefore henceforth contend about the poſſeſſion of a few Towns: but adventured to win or loſe all. The *Ætolians*, in favour of his attempt, declared themſelves on his ſide: And whereas he had gotten *Mantinæa*, *Tegea*, and other places; to which they had ſome Title, they willingly renounced all their intereſt unto him.

Aratus did apprehend the danger of his Country, and ſaw that *Antigonus*, with the *Ætolians*, or perhaps without them, would ſhortly make an end of that, which *Cleomenes* had thus begun. Therefore he adviſed how to provide againſt the worſt, and either to repair all, or (if it could not be) to ſave all from utter ruine. The office of General, when it was next put upon him, he refus'd; fearing to be ſo far preſt, as to hazard in one Battel all the force of his Countrey, to which as he had never any affection, nor perchance courage, ſo was his manner of Warfare otherwiſe. For he commonly attempted by ſurpriſe, and defended upon the advantage of place, after the manner of the *Iriſh*, and of all other Nations, overcharged with numbers of men. Yet did he not forſake the care of the Weal-publick, though in aiming at the general good, it ſeems that private paſſion drew him into an ill courſe. He ſaw that *Megalopolis* could not be defended without making a dangerous hazard of Battel; that *Mantinæa* had not only opened her Gates unto *Cleomenes*, but ſlain the *Achæan* Garriſon that lay therein; that other Towns had yield unto him, without compulſion; and that *Ariſtomachus*, once Tyrant of *Argos*, and ſince General of the *Achæans*, was now revolted unto the Enemy following the fortune of *Cleomenes*. *Ptolomy* was too far off to help; and the nearneſs of *Antigonus* was very dangerous; yet might be uſefull, if this King would (as *Polybius* ſaith) like others, be friend or enemy, as ſhould beſt agree with his own profit. To make trial hereof, *Aratus* practiſed with ſome of *Megalopolis*, whom he found apt unto his purpoſe; and inſtructed them how to deal with *Antigonus*, and the *Achæans*.

The City of *Megalopolis* had been well affected to the *Macedonians*, ever ſince the time of *Philip* the Father of *Alexander*, who had obliged it unto him by ſome ſpecial benefits. At this time it lay neareſt unto the danger; was very faithful, and therefore deſerved ſuccour; yet could not well be relieved by the *Achæans*, with their own proper ſtrength. Wherefore it was thought meet, that Embaſſadours ſhould be ſent unto the General Council of *Achaia*, requeſting leave and good allowance to try the favour of *Antigonus*, in their neceſſity. This was granted for lack of what elſe to anſwer: and the ſame Embaſſadours diſpatched away to *Antigonus*. They did their own errant briefly; telling him of the good will and reſpect which their City had of long time born unto him and his Predeceſſors; of their preſent need; and how it would agree with his honour to give them aid. But when they delivered the more general matter, wherein *Aratus* had given them inſtruction; ſhewing how the ambition of *Cleomenes*, and violence of the *Ætolians*, might redound to his own great loſs or danger, if the one and the other were not in time prevented; how *Aratus* himſelf did ſtand affected; and what good likelihood there was of reducing the *Achæans* under the Patronage of *Macedon*: then began *Antigonus* to lend a more attentive ear to their diſcourſe. He embraced the motion: And to give it the more life, he wrote unto the *Megalopolitans*, that his help ſhould not be wanting, ſo far forth as might ſtand with the *Achæans* good-liking. Particularly he commended himſelf by theſe Meſſengers to *Aratus*, aſſuring them, that he thought himſelf highly bound to this honourable man, whoſe former actions he now perceived not to have been grounded upon any hatred to the *Macedonians*, but only upon a juſt and worthy love to his own Nation. With this anſwer they returned to *Megalopolis*: And are preſently ſent away to the Council of *Achaia*; there to make ſome ſpeedy concluſion, as the neceſſity of the time required. The *Achæans* were glad to hear, that *Antigonus* was ſo inclinable to their deſire; and therefore were ready to entertain his favour, with all good correſpondence. Hereunto *Aratus* gave his conſent; and praiſed the wiſdom of the Countrimen, that ſo well diſcerned the beſt and likelieſt means of their common ſafety: adding nevertheleſs, that it were not amiſs, firſt of all to try their own ability; which if it failed, then ſhould they do well to call in this gracious Prince, and make him their Patron and Protector. Thus he ſhewed himſelf moderate; in that which himſelf of all others did moſt wiſh: to the end, that he might not afterward ſuſtain the common reprehenſion, if any thing fell out amiſs; ſince it might appear, that he had not been Author of this Decree, but only followed, and that leiſurably, the general conſent.

Never

Nevertheleſs, in true eſtimation, this fineneſs of *Aratus* might have been uſed, with his greater commendation, in a contrary courſe. For it had been more honourable to make an end of the War, by yielding unto *Cleomenes* that power which they gave unto *Antigonus*: Since thereby he ſhould both have freed this Country from all further trouble; and withal, ſhould have reſtored unto the univerſal ſtate of *Greece*, that honourable condition, whereof the *Macedonians* had bereft it. But it is commonly found (which is great pity) that Vertue, having riſen to honour by degrees, and confirmed it ſelf (as it were) in the ſeat of principality, by length of time, and ſucceſs of many actions, can ill endure the haſty growth of any others reputation, wherewith it ſees it ſelf likely to be overtopped. Other cauſe to deſpiſe the *Lacedæmonians* there was none, than that they lately had been in dangerous caſe: Neither could any reaſon be found, why *Aratus* ſhould prefer *Antigonus* before *Cleomenes*, than that he had ſtood in doubt of the one, when he thought himſelf more mighty than the other. Wherefore he was juſtly plagued, when he ſaw his own honours reverſed by the inſolent *Macedonians*: and inſtead of living as a companion with *Cleomenes*, that was deſcended of a long race of Kings, the poſterity of *Hercules*, was fain to do ſacrifice unto *Antigonus*, as unto a God, and was finally poyſoned by *Philip*, whoſe Nobility was but of five deſcents, and whom perhaps he might have ſeen his fellows, if he had not made them his Lords. But by this inclination to the *Macedonians*, the love of *Ptolemy* was loſt: Who forthwith took part with *Cleomenes*, though he did not ſupply him with ſuch liberality, as he had uſed to the *Achæans*; being warned, as may ſeem, by their example, to be more wary both in truſting and disburſting. *Cleomenes* himſelf, whilſt this buſineſs with *Antigonus* was a-foot, paſſed through *Arcadia* with an Army, and laboured by all means to draw the *Achæans* to Battel. At the City of *Dymes* in *Achaia* were aſſembled all the remaining Forces of the Nation; with which it was concluded to make tryal; whether perhaps they might amend their eſtate, without ſeeking help of the *Macedonian*. Thither went *Cleomenes*, and there fought with them; where he had ſo great a Victory, that the Enemy was no longer able to keep the open Field. The calamity was ſuch, that *Aratus* himſelf durſt not take upon him to be their General, when his turn came in the next election. Wherefore the *Achæans* were compelled to ſue for peace; which was granted upon this eaſie condition: That they ſhould not arrogate unto themſelves the command of *Peloponneſus*, but ſuffer the *Lacedæmonians* (as in former ages) to be their Leader in War. Hereunto if they would condeſcend, he promiſed unto them, that he would preſently reſtore all places taken from them, and all his Priſoners ranſom-free: Alſo that they ſhould enjoy their own Laws and Liberties without moleſtation. This gentle offer of *Cleomenes* was very pleaſing to the *Achæans*: Who deſired him to come to the City of *Lerna*, where a Parliament ſhould be held, for the concluſion of the War.

Now ſeeming the affairs of *Greece* likely to be ſetled in better order, than they had ever been ſince the beginning of the *Peloponneſian* Wars, yea, or ſince the *Perſian* invaſion: When God, who had otherwiſe diſpoſed of theſe matters, hindred all with a draught of cold water, which *Cleomenes* drank in great heat, and thereupon fell extream ſick, and ſo could not be preſent at *Lerna*, but cauſed the Parliament to be deferred to another time. Nevertheleſs he ſent home the chief of his Priſoners, to ſhew that he meant none other than good faith. By this fair dealing he confirmed the *Achæans* in their deſire of his friendſhip; who aſſembled again at *Argos*, there to eſtabliſh the League. But *Aratus* was violently bent againſt it, and ſought by great words, and terrible threats, to make his Country-men afraid of reſolving. When all would not ſerve turn, he betook himſelf to his cunning; and ſent word to *Cleomenes*, that he ſhould do well to leave his Army behind him, and come alone into *Argos*, receiving hoſtages for ſafety of his perſon. *Cleomenes*, was already far on his way, when he met with this advertiſement; and took it in ill part, that he ſhould be thus deluded. For it had been an eaſie matter, to have told him ſo much at the firſt, and not have made him come ſo far with an Army, which afterwards he muſt diſmiſs. Yet that which chiefly ſeems to have troubled him, was the drift of his oppugners; who ſought thereby, either to make him wait without the gates, and deal only with themſelves and their Meſſengers, or if he would adventure himſelf into the City, then to deprive him of all Royal ſhew, that might breed reſpect of him in the multitude. This was that indeed which *Aratus* feared, and for which he ſought to hinder his coming thither in perſon; leaſt the people, hearing the promiſes of *Cleomenes* ratified by his own mouth, ſhould preſently be won with his gentle words, and finiſh the bargain without more ado. Therefore *Cleomenes* wrote unto the whole Councel, bitterly complaining againſt theſe juggling tricks: And *Aratus* was not far behind with him in as bitter an Oration. So between fear of the one, and reverence of the other, the Aſſembly knew not how to proceed, but abruptly brake up, leaving all, as it were to fortune. *Cleomenes* took his advantage of their preſent weakneſs, and renewed the War. Many Cities yielded unto him willingly; many he forced; and partly by force, partly by terror, he wan *Argos*, which never King of *Sparta* before him could do. In this caſe *Aratus* ſent his own Son to *Antigonus*, intreating him to defer no time, but come preſently to relieve the diſtreſſed *Achæans*. *Antigonus* gave good words as could be wiſhed: Saving that he utterly refuſed to do any thing, unleſs he might firſt have *Acrocorinthus* put into his hands. This demand was ſomewhat like unto that of the Hunter, who promiſed to help the Horſe againſt his Enemy the Stagg: But with condition, that the Horſe ſhould ſuffer him to be ſaddled and bridled. *Aratus* was herewithal contented, but wanting all honeſt colour to do it: Seeing the *Corinthians* had no way deſerved to be thus given away to the *Macedonians*. Yet at length an occaſion was found; for that the *Corinthians*, perceiving what he intended, were minded to arreſt him. So he withdrew himſelf out of their City, and ſent word to *Antigonus*, that their Caſtle ſhould be ready to let him in. The *Corinthians* on the other ſide ran to *Cleomenes*; who loſt no time, but made haſt with them to *Corinth*, where he ſought how to get poſſeſſion of their Caſtle, or at leaſt to ſave it from *Antigonus*, by ſurrounding it within Trenches, that none might iſſue nor enter without his leave. Whilſt this was doing, he took ſpecial order, that *Aratus* his Houſe and Goods, within the Town, ſhould be kept for the Owner; to whom he ſent Meſſenger after Meſſenger, deſiring him to come to agreement, and not to bring in the barbarous *Macedonians*, and *Illyrians*, to *Peloponneſus*; promiſing, that if he would hearken to theſe perſwaſions, then would he give him double the ſame

penſion, which he had been wont to receive of King *Ptolemy*. As for the Caſtle of *Corinth*, which was the gate of *Peloponneſus*, and without which none could hold aſſured ſoveraignty of the Country; he deſired that it might not be committed unto his own diſpoſition, but be joyntly kept by the *Lacedæmonians* and *Achæans*. All this entreaty ſerved to no purpoſe. For *Aratus*, rejecting utterly the motion, ſent his own Son as an Hoſtage to *Antigonus*; and laboured with the *Achæans*, to put *Acrocorinthus* into his hands. Which when *Cleomenes* underſtood, he ſeiſed upon the goods of *Aratus* in *Corinth*, and waſted all the Country of *Sicyon*, whereof this his Adverſary was native.

Antigonus in the mean time drew near to the *Iſthmus*; having paſſed with his Army through *Eubœa*, becauſe the *Ætolians* held the ſtraights of *Thermopylæ* againſt him. This they did, either in favour of *Cleomenes*, which they pretended; or in doubt of the greatneſs, whereunto the *Macedonians* might attain by the good ſucceſs of this journey. At his coming thither, he found the *Lacedæmonians* ready to forbid his entrance: And that with ſufficient ſtrength; yet with no purpoſe to hazard Battel, but rather to weary him thence with hunger; againſt which he came not well provided. *Antigonus* therefore laboured hard to make his way by force; but he was not able ſo to do: He ſecretly got into the *Corinthian* Haven; but was violently driven out again, with great loſs of men; finally he reſolved to turn aſide, and ſeek a paſſage over the gulf of *Corinth*, to *Sicyon*, or ſome other part of *Achaia*; but this required much time, and great preparation, which was not eaſily made.

In this perplexity, news from *Argos* came by Sea, that greatly comforted *Antigonus*, and no leſs troubled his enemies. The *Achæans* were gotten into that City; and the Garriſon which *Cleomenes* had left therein, though it was not driven out of the Citadel, yet was hardly diſtreſſed, and ſtood in need of preſent help. *Argos* had always been enemy to *Sparta*, and well affected to the King of *Macedon*. When *Cleomenes* took it, he forbare to chaſe out thoſe whom he moſt ſuſpected; partly, at the entreaty of friends, and partly, for that they all made ſhew to be glad of his proſperity. They were glad indeed of *Cleomenes* his Victories, both in *Argos* and elſewhere, as many as hoped that he would cauſe all Debters to be diſcharged from their Creditors, as he had lately done in *Sparta*. But that which *Cleomenes* had done in *Sparta* was agreeable to the *Spartan* inſtitution: In other places, where it would have been Tyrannical, he did not. Thereupon, ſuch as were diſappointed of their unjuſt hopes, began to turn good Common-wealths men; and called him Tyrant for his doings at home, becauſe he would not do the like abroad. So they took their time, invited the *Achæans*, aſſailed his Garriſon, cut in pieces the reſcue that he ſent, and compelled him at length to forſake the defence of *Corinth*, and look unto the Enemies that were behind his back. For when he underſtood by continual meſſengers, that his men which held the Citadel of *Argos* were almoſt loſt: He began to fear leaſt his labour in guarding the entry ſhould grow frivolous; the *Achæans* in the mean while ſpoiling all that lay within. Therefore he forſook his cuſtody of the *Iſthmus*, and made all haſte towards *Argos*: Which if he could ſave, he meant to truſt fortune with the reſt. And ſo far he prevailed at his coming to *Argos*, that both *Argives* and *Achæans* were glad to houſe themſelves, leaving him Maſter of the ſtreets; when the horſemen of *Antigonus* were diſcovered afar off, haſting to relieve the Citizens; and *Antigonus* himſelf (to whom *Corinth* was yielded, as ſoon as the *Spartan* had turned his back) following apace with the body of his Army, *Cleomenes* therefore had no more to do, then to make a ſafe retreat. This he did, and got him home into *Laconia*: Loſing in ſhort ſpace all, or moſt of that which he had been long in getting.

Antigonus having ſhewed himſelf at *Argos*, and commended the Citizens, went into *Arcadia*; where he wan ſuch Caſtles as were held for *Cleomenes*, and reſtored them to the old Poſſeſſors. This doing, he took his way to *Ægium*, where was held a Parliament by the *Achæans*; to whom he declared the cauſe of his coming, and ſpake brave words, that filled them with hope. The *Achæans* were not behind with him; but made him Captain-General over them and their Confederates: And further entred into Covenant with him, that they would not deal with any Prince or State, either by writing, or Embaſſadour, without his conſent. All this while and ſomewhat longer *Aratus* was the only man, that ſeemed to rule the Kings heart: Carrying him to *Sicyon* his own Town (for Winter was come on) where he not only feaſted him as a great Prince, but ſuffered more than humane honours, as Sacrifices and the like, to be done unto him. This example of *Aratus* and his *Sicyonians*, was followed by the reſt of *Achaia*: Which had made (forſooth) a very wiſe bargain, if inſtead of *Cleomenes* that would have been a King, it had obtained the protection of a God. But this god was poor, and wanting wherewith to pay his *Macedonians*, impoſed the burthen upon the *Achæans*. This was hardly taken: Yet worſe muſt be indured in hope of better. Neither was *Aratus* himſelf over-carefully reſpected; when the ſtatues of thoſe Tyrants, which he had thrown down in *Argos*, were again erected by *Antigonus*; or when the ſtatues which he had erected, of thoſe that had taken *Acrocorinthus* with him, were all thrown down by the ſame King, and one only left unto himſelf at his earneſt intreaty. It might therefore appear, that this god was alſo ſpiteful. Nevertheleſs in taking revenge upon thoſe that offended him, *Aratus* did ſatisfie his own paſſion by the aid of theſe *Macedonians*. For with extream Torments he did put *Ariſtomachus* to death, who had been once Tyrant of *Argos*, afterwards General of the *Achæans*, and from them revolting unto *Cleomenes*, did fall at length into their hands. In like ſort handled he (though not as yet) the *Mantineans*, for their ingratitude and cruelty ſhewed to the *Achæans*. For he ſlew all the principal Citizens, and ſold the reſt, Men, Women and Children, all for bond-ſlaves: Dividing the ſpoil; two parts to the *Macedonians*, and the third to the *Achæans*. The Town it ſelf was given by *Antigonus* to the *Argives*, who peopled it with a Colony of their own; and *Aratus* having charge of this buſineſs, cauſed it be new named *Antigonia*. Surely of this cruelty there can be no better excuſe, than even the flattery which *Aratus* was driven to uſe to *Antigonus*: Foraſmuch as it was a token of ſervility, whereinto they had urged and brought him; whom he, as in revenge thereof, did thus requite. But leaving to ſpeak of this change, which the coming in of the *Macedonian* wrought in the Civil State of the *Achæans*, let us return unto this War againſt the *Lacedæmonian*.

The next Summer *Antigonus* wan *Tegea*, *Mantinea*, *Orchomenus*, *Herea*, and *Telpuſſa*: *Mantinea*

tinæa he dispeopled, as was said before; in *Orchomenus* he placed a Garrison of his *Macedonians*; the rest he restored to the *Achæans*, with whom he wintred at *Ægeum*, where they held a Parliament. Once only *Cleomenes* had met him this year; and that was on the borders of *Laconia*, where he lay ready to defend his own Territory. The reason why he stirred no further, nor followed *Antigonus* to *Mantinæa*, and to those other Towns that he wan, was this: He had few Souldiers, and had not money enough to wage more. *Ptolemy* the *Egyptian* promised much, but would perform nothing, unless he might have *Cleomenes* his own Mother, and his Children in pledge. These were sent unto *Egypt*, yet the aid came not. For *Ptolemy* was slow; as dealing in the business of *Greece*, rather for his minds sake, than upon any apprehension of necessity. *Cleomenes* therefore provided for himself, as well as his own ability would serve. He manumised all the *Heilotes* which were the *Lacedæmonian* Slaves: Taking money for their liberty, and arming two Thousand of them after the *Macedonian* fashion. Having thus increased his Forces, he came on the sudden to *Megalopolis*, that lay secure, as having defended it self in more dangerous times, and having now *Antigonus* near at hand in *Ægium*. The Town he wan: But after he was entred, all that were fit to bear Arms rose hastily against him; and though they could not drive him out, yet saved the multitude, to whom they gave a Port free for their escape. He sent after the Citizens, offering their Town and Goods to them again; if they would be of his party. But they bravely refused his offer: Wherefore he sacked and ruined it, carrying with him to *Sparta* a great booty that he found therein. These news astonished the *Achæans* at *Ægium*: Who thereupon brake up their Parliament. *Antigonus* sent hastily for his *Macedonians*, out of their wintering-places: But they were so long in coming, that *Cleomenes* was safely gone home. Therefore he returned them back to their lodgings, and went himself to *Argos*, there to pass the rest of his unlucky winter, somewhat further from the eyes of the grieved *Achæans*. When he had lain a while at *Argos*, *Cleomenes* was at the gates, with no great number of men, yet with more than *Antigonus* had then about him. The *Argives* perceiving that their Country would be spoiled, if *Antigonus* did not issue into the Field, were very earnest with him to go forth and fight. But he was wiser than to be moved with their clamors, and suffered them to see their Villages burnt; to bid him resign his Office of Protector unto some that were more valiant; and to satisfie their passions with foolish words, rather than he would be overcome in fight, and thereby lose more honour than could easily be repaired. By this *Cleomenes* had his desire, in weakning the reputation of his Enemy: Though he hereby added neither followers, nor other strength unto *Lacedæmon*.

Afterwards, when the season was more fit for War, *Antigonus* gathered together all his Troops; meaning to requite these bravadoes of his Enemy, with the Conquest of *Sparta*. *Cleomenes*, on the other side laboured to keep the War from his own gates; and therefore entred upon the Country of *Argos*, where he made such a havock, as drew *Antigonus* thither; from his intended invasion of *Laconia*. Many great affronts the *Macedonian* was fain to endure, in coasting of the *Spartan* King; that ranging over the Country of the *Argives*, *Phliasians*, and *Orchomenians*, drave a Garrison of his out of *Oligyrtis*; and did sacrifice, as it were before his face, in the suburbs of *Argos*, without the Temple of *Juno*, that was shut up; sending to him in scorn, to borrow the keys. These were light things; yet served to dis-hearten the *Achæan* side, and to fill the Enemy with courage, which was no matter of light importance. Therefore he concluded to lay apart all other regard of things abroad, and to put all to hazard; by setting up his rest, without any more delay, upon *Sparta* it self. He had in his Army eight and twenty Thousand Foot, and twelve Hundred Horse, collected out of sundry Nations, as *Macedonians*, *Illyrians*, *Gaules*, *Epirots*, *Bœotians*, *Acarnanians*, and others; together with the *Achæans*; and their friends of *Peloponnesus*. *Cleomenes* had of all sorts twenty Thousand, with which he lay at *Selasia*: Fortifying slightly the other passages into *Laconia*, through which the *Macedonians* were not likely to seek entrance. *Antigonus* coming unto *Selasia*, found his Enemy so strongly encamped, upon and between the Hills of *Eva* and *Olympus*, that he was constrained to spend much time there, before he could advance any one foot: Neither lay it in his power to come hastily to blows, which he greatly desired, without the hazard of his whole Army, in assailing their well defended Camp. But at length (as it happens, when men are weary both of their hopes and fears) both Kings being resolved to make an end one way or other; *Antigonus* attempted with his *Illyrians*, to force that part which lay on the Hill *Eva*. But his *Illyrians* were so ill seconded by the *Achæan* Foot, that the *Spartan* Horse, and light-armed Foot, incamped in the straight valley between those Hills, issuing forth, fell upon their skirts, and not only disordered them, but were like to have endangered all the rest. If *Cleomenes* himself had stood in that part of the Battel, he would have made great use of such a fair beginning. But *Euclydas*, his Brother, a more valiant than skilful Souldier, commanded in that wing: Who neither followed this advantage, nor took such benefit as the ground afforded, whereon he lay. *Philopœmen* the *Arcadian* of *Megalopolis*, who afterwards proved a famous Captain, served then on Horse, as a private young man, among the *Achæans*. He seeing that all was like to go to rout, if their *Illyrians* were driven to fall back upon the Army following them; perswaded the Captains of the *Achæan* Horse, to break upon the *Spartan* Mercenaries. But they would not: Partly despising his youth and want of charge; partly, for that *Antigonus* had given order, that they should keep their places, until they received a sign from him, which was not as yet. *Philopœmen* perceiving them to be more orderly than well advised, intreated some of his own Country-men to follow him, gave a charge on the *Spartans*, and forced them, not only to leave the *Illyrians*, but seek how to save themselves. Being so far advanced, he found the place which the *Illyrians* had attempted, like enough to be won, through the unskilfulness of him that held it. Wherefore he alighted, and perswaded the men at Arms his Companions to do the like: The folly of *Euclydas* being manifest, who kept the top of the Hill, and stirred not to hinder those that ascended, but waited for them in a Plain, where they might fight upon even terms. So he recovered the Hill-top; where, though he was sore hurt, yet he made good the place that he had gotten, until the whole Army came up to him; by which the *Lacedæmonians* were beaten from it, with great slaughter of them in their descent. This overthrow, and death of *Euclydas*, made *Cleomenes* lose the day: Who fighting bravely on the other side,

upon

upon *Olympus*, againſt *Antigonus* himſelf, was like to have been ſurrounded and loſt, if he had not withdrawn himſelf with an extraordiry ſpeed. In this Battel ended the glory of *Lacedæmon*, which, as a light ready to go out, had with a great, but not long blaze, ſhined more brightly of late, than in many ages paſt.

Cleomenes fled unto *Sparta*; where he had no deſire to ſtay; finding only two Hundred left, of ſix Thouſand *Spartans* that he had led unto this Battel, and moſt of his hired Souldiers dead, or gone away. So he perſwaded his people to yield themſelves unto *Antigonus*; and promiſing to do all that ſhould at any time lye in his own power, for their good, he haſted away to the Sea-ſide (where he had ſhipping long before provided againſt all that might happen) and imbarked himſelf for *Egypt*. He was lovingly entertained by *Ptolemy Euergetes*; who undertook to reſtore him to his Kingdom, and (perhaps) meant no leſs, as being much delighted with his gallant behaviour, and qualities. In the mean ſeaſon, he had a Penſion allowed him, of four and twenty Talents, yearly. But this *Ptolemy* died; and his Son *Ptolemy Philopater* ſucceeded him: a vicious young Prince, wholly governed by lewd Women, and baſe Men, unmindful of all vertue, and hating any in whom it was found. When therefore *Cleomenes* was deſirous to return into *Greece*, whither the troubles in *Peloponneſus* did ſeem to invite him; *Ptolomy* and his Minions, would neither give him aid; nor yet dared to diſmiſs him (as he deſired) to try his own friends in *Greece*, becauſe he was too well acquainted with the weakneſs of *Egypt*: nor well knew how to detain him againſt his will. At length they deviſed matter againſt him, and made him Priſoner: the laſt act of him was, that with thirty of his Country-men, he undertook a deſperate enterprize: Breaking out of the Priſon, and provoking the *Alexandrians* to rebell and ſeek their liberty. In which attempt he ſlew ſome Enemies of his that he met; and having walked up and down the ſtreets without reſiſtance (no man offering to take his part, or, which is very ſtrange, to fight againſt him on the Kings behalf) he, and his Companions, agreed together to be miniſters of their own death. Upon his dead body *Ptolemy* was bold to ſhew his indignation: And Slew his Mother and Children, that had been ſent thither, as Hoſtages, together with the Wives of his Adherents, as many as were there, attending upon the old Queen. Such was the end of *Cleomenes*, a generous Prince, but Son of *Leonidas*, who had cauſed *Agis*, with his Mother and Grand-mother, to come to ſuch a bloody end, as now befell his own Wife, Son, and Grand children.

After the Victory at *Sellaſia*: *Antigonus* without reſiſtance entred *Sparta*: Whereinto never the force of any Enemy, before him, could make way. He kindly intreated the Citizens, and left them to their own Laws and Government: Tarrying there no longer than two or three dayes: After which he haſtened out of *Peloponneſus*, and never returned. The cauſe of this ſpeedyd eparture was an advertiſement that he received out of *Macedon*; how the *Illyrians* over-ran and deſtroyed the Country. Had theſe news come a little ſooner, or had *Cleomenes* either deferred the fight, a few dayes longer, or at leaſt-wiſe tarried a few dayes after the fight, in *Sparta*; the Kingdom of *Lacedæmon* would have ſtood, and perhaps have extended it ſelf over all *Greece*. But God had otherwiſe determined.

Antigonus fought a great Battail with the *Illyrians*, and overcame them. Yet therein he caught his bane: Not by any wound, but by over-ſtraining his voice; wherewith he brake a vein that bled inwardly, and in ſhort ſpace finiſhed his life, who was troubled before with a Conſumption of the Lungs. His Kingdom deſcended unto *Philip* the Son of *Demetrius*, being then a Boy: As alſo about the ſame time it was, that *Antiochus*, ſurnamed (I know not why) *the Great*; and *Ptolomy Philopater*, began to Reign in *Aſia* and *Egypt*; Boyes all. Of theſe, *Ptolomy*, though old enough to love Harlots, when he firſt was King, yet continued a Boy all the ſeventeen years of his Reign. The unripe age of *Philip* and *Antiochus*, bred ſuch inteſtine inconvenience to their Kingdoms, as is uſual in the minority of Princes: But their elder years brought them acquainted with the *Romans*; upon which occaſion, when it comes, we ſhall more ſeaſonably ſpeak of them, and of their Kingdoms, more at large.

SECT. VII.

How the Illyrians *infeſted the Coaſt of* Geece; *and how they were ſubdued by the* Romans.

WHilſt things thus paſſed in *Greece*, and whilſt the *Carthaginians* were buſie in their Conqueſt of *Spain*; the *Romans* had found themſelves work among the *Sardinians* and *Corſicans*, that were eaſily ſubdued at firſt, and eaſily vanquiſhed again, when they rebelled. They made alſo War with the *Illyrians*, wherein they got much honour with little pain. With the *Gaules* they had much ado, that laſted not long; being rather, as *Livy* ſaith, a Tumult than a War. So that by all theſe light exerciſes their valour was hardly kept from ruſt. How they got the Iſlands in the *Mediterranean* Sea, it hath been ſhewed before: Of their dealings with the *Illyrians* and *Gaules*, it is not meet to be utterly ſilent. *Liv. lib.21.*

The *Illyrians* inhabited the Country now called *Slavonia*, a troubleſome Nation, impatient of reſt, and continually making War for gain, without either regard of friend or foe. They were invited by *Demetrius*, King of *Macedon*, to help the *Mydionians* his friends, that were beſieged by the *Ætolians*, for that they refuſed to be of their ſociety. Before the *Illyrian* ſuccours came, the *Mydionians* were ſo far ſpent, that the *Ætolians* contended about the booty: The old Prætor, or chief Magiſtrate of their Nation, who was going out of his office, claiming to have the honour of the Victory, and the diviſion of the ſpoil to be referred unto him; for that he had in a manner brought the ſiege to an end, and won the Town: Others, that were in hope to be choſen into the Office, contradicting this, and deſiring that old Orders might be kept. It was a petty ſtrife, and ſomewhat like to that of the *French* in latter ages, who thought upon dividing the prey, before they had won the Victories, which anon they loſt, as *Poitiers* and *Agincourt*. The *Ætolians* wiſely compounded the difference, ordering it thus, that the old and the new Prætor ſhould be joyntly,

ly intituled in the victory, and have equal authority in distributing of the gettings. But the *Illyrians* finished the strife much more elegantly, and after another fashion. They arrived and landed ere any was aware of them; they fell upon the *Ætolians*, and though good resistance was made, yet got the victory, partly by force of their multitude, partly by the help of the *Mydionians*, that were not idle in their own business, but stoutly sallied out of the Town. Many of the *Ætolians* were slain, more were taken, their Camp and all their Baggage was lost: The *Illyrians* took the spoil, and went their way; the *Mydionians* erected a Trophie, inscribing the names both of their old and new Magistrates (for they also chose new Officers at the same time) as the *Ætolians* had directed them by example.

The success of this Voyage highly pleased *Agron* King of the *Illyrians*: Not only in regard of the money, wherewith *Demetrius* had hired his assistance; or of the booty that was gotten, but for that having vanquished the stoutest of the *Greeks*, he found it not uneasie to enrich himself by setting upon the less Warlike. For joy of this he feasted, and drank so immoderately, that he fell into a *Pleurisie*, which in few dayes ended his life. His Kingdom, together with his great hopes, he left unto *Teuta* his Wife.

Teuta gave her people free liberty to Rob all sorts at Sea, making no difference between friend and foe; as if she had been sole Mistress of the salt Waters. She Armed a Fleet and sent it into *Greece*; willing her Captains to make War where they found advantage, without any further respect. These fell on the Western Coast of *Peloponnesus*; where they invaded the *Eleans*, and *Messenians*. Afterwards they returned along by *Epirus*, and stayed at the City of *Phœnice*, to take in victuals and other necessaries. There lay in *Phœnice* eight Hundred *Gaules*, that having been Mercenaries of the *Carthaginians*, went about to betray, first *Agrigentum*, then *Eryx*, to the *Romans*; but failing to do either, they nevertheless revolted, and were for their misdeeds disarmed and sent to Sea by the *Romans*, yet entertained by these *Epirots*, and trusted to lye in Garrison within their Town. The *Gaules* were soon grown acquainted with the *Illyrians*, to whom they betrayed *Phœnice*; which deserved none other, in trusting them. All *Epirus* was presently in Arms, and hastned to drive out these unwelcome guests. But whilst the *Epirots* lay before the Town, there came news into their Camp, of another *Illyrian* Army, that was marching thitherward by the Land, under one *Scerdilaidas*, whom Queen *Tuta* had sent to help his fellows. Upon this advertisement, a part of them is sent away towards *Antigonia*, to make good that Town, and the straights adjoyning, by which these new comers must enter into their Country; another part of them remains at *Phœnice*, to continue the Siege. Neither the one nor the other speed well in their business. For *Scerdilaidas* found means to joyn with his fellows; and they that were besieged within *Phœnice*, sallied out of the Town, and gave such an overthrow to the *Epirots*, as made them despair of saving their Country, without great and speedy help from abroad. Wherefore Embassadours were sent to the *Achæans* and *Ætolians*: Craving their help, with very pitiful terms of intreaty. They obtained their suit: neither was it long, before an Army, sent by these two Nations, was ready in *Epirus* to present Battel unto *Scerdilaidas*. But *Scerdilaidas* was called home by letters from *Tuta* the Queen, that signified a rebellion of some *Illyrians* against her: So that he had no mind to put his Forces to hazard, but offered composition, which was accepted. The agreement was, that the *Epirots* might ransome their Town, and all their people that were prisoners; and that the *Illyrians* should quietly depart with all their booty and Slaves. Having made this profitable and honourable bargain, the *Illyrians* returned into their own Country by Land, sending their booty away by Sea.

At their coming home, they found no such great trouble, as that which they brought, or had occasioned in this Voyage. For, in fulfilling the commandment of their Queen, they had taken many *Italian* Merchants, whilst they lay at *Phœnice*, and made them good prize. Hereof the complaints made unto the *Roman* Senate, were so frequent, that Embassadours were sent to require of *Teuta*, that she should abstain from doing such injuries. These Embassadours found her very jolly; both for the riches which her Fleet had brought in; and for that she had, in a short space, tamed her Rebels, and brought all to good order, save only the Town *Issa*, which her Forces held straightly besieged. Swelling with this prosperity, she could hardly afford a good look to the *Romans*, that found fault with her doings, and, calling them by a true name, *Piracy*, required amends. Yet when their speech was ended, she vouchsafed to tell them, that injury in publick she would do them none: As for private matters, no account was to be made of them; neither was it the manner of Kings to forbid their Subjects to get commodity, how they best could by Sea. But (said the younger of the two Embassadours) we *Romans* have a manner, and a very laudable one, to take revenge in publick, of those private wrongs that are born out by publick Authority: Therefore we shall teach you, God willing, to reform your Kingly manners, and learn better of us. These words the Queen took so impatiently, that no revenge could satisfie her, but the death of him that had spoken them. Wherefore, without all regard of the common Law of Nations, she caused him to be Slain: As if that had been the way to set her heart at rest; which was indeed the mean to disquiet and afflict it ever after.

The *Romans*, provoked by this outrage, prepare two great Armies; the one by Sea, consisting of two Hundred sail, commanded by *C. Fulvius*; the other by Land, led by *A. Posthumus*. They trouble not themselves any more with requiring satisfaction: For this injury is of such nature, as must be required with mortal War. It is indeed contrary to all humane Law, to use violence towards Embassadours: The reason and ground whereof, seems to be this; that since without mediation, there would never be an end of War and Destruction, therefore it was equally received by all Nations, as a lesson taught by Nature, that Embassadours should pass freely, and in safety, between Enemies. Nevertheless, as I take it, this general Law is not without limitation. For if any King or State lay hold upon Embassadours sent by their Enemies, not unto themselves, but unto some third, whom they should draw into the quarrel; then it is as lawful to use violence to those Embassadours (thus employed to make the War more terrible) as it is to kill the men of War, and Subjects of an Enemy. And so might the *Athenians* have answered it when they slew the *Lacedæmonian* Embassadours, that were sent to *Xerxes*, to draw him into a War upon the *Athenians*. Neither are those Embassadours, which practise against the person of that Prince, in whose Countries they reside, warranted by any

Law

Law whatſoever. For whereas the true office of an Embaſſadour reſiding, is the maintenance of amity; if it be not lawful for one Prince to practice againſt the life of another; much leſs may an Embaſſadour do it without incurring juſtly the ſame danger of puniſhment, with other Traitors; in which caſe, his place gives him no priviledge at all. But we will leave this diſpute to the *Civilians*; and go on with the revenge, taken by the *Romans*, for the ſlaughter of their Embaſſadour *Coruncanus*.

The *Illyrian* Queen was ſecure of the *Romans*, as if they would not dare to ſtir againſt her. She was indeed in an errour, that hath undone many of all ſorts, greater and leſs than ſhe, both before and ſince: *Having more regard unto fame, than unto the ſubſtance of things.* The *Greeks* were at that time more famous than the *Romans*; the *Ætolians* and *Epirots* had the name of the moſt Warlike People in *Greece*; theſe had ſhe eaſily vanquiſhed, and therefore thought, that with the *Romans* ſhe ſhould be little troubled. Had ſhe conſidered that her whole Army, which wrought ſuch wonders in *Greece*, was not much greater than of Ten Thouſand men, and that neverleſs, it prevailed as much by odds of number, as by valour, or skill in Arms; ſhe would have continued to uſe her advantage againſt thoſe that were of more fame than ſtrength, with ſuch good caution, that ſhe ſhould not have needed to oppoſe her late-gotten reputation, againſt thoſe that were more mighty than her ſelf. But ſhe was a Woman, and did what ſhe liſted. She ſent forth a greater Fleet than before, under *Demetrius* of *Pharos*; with the like ample commiſſion to take all that could be gotten. This Fleet divided it ſelf, and one part of it fell with (a) *Dyrrachium*, the other with *Corcyra*. *Dyrrachium* was almoſt ſurpriſed by the *Illyrians*; yet was it reſcued by the ſtout Citizens. In (b) *Corcyra* the *Illyrians* landed, waſted the Iſle, and beſieged the Town. Hereupon the *Ætolians* and *Achæans* were called in to help; who came, and were beaten in a fight at Sea: Loſing, beſides others of leſs note, *Marcus Carynenſis*, the Firſt Prætor of *Achaia*, whom *Aratus* ſucceeded. The Town of *Corcyra*, diſmayed with this overthrow, opened the Gates unto *Demetrius Pharius*, who took poſſeſſion of it with an *Illyrian* Garriſon: Sending the reſt of his Forces to Beſiege *Dyrrachium*. In the mean ſeaſon, *Teuta* was angry with her Captain *Demetrius*: I know not why; but ſo, as he reſolved to try any other courſe, rather than to truſt her.

The *Romans* were even ready to put to Sea, though uncertain which way to take, when advertiſment was brought to *C. Fulvius* the Conſul, of *Demetrius* his fear and diſcontent. Likely it was that ſuch an occaſion might greatly help to advance the buſineſs in hand. Wherefore the Conſul ſailed thither; where he found the Town of *Corcyra* ſo well prepared to his hand by *Demetrius*, that it not only received him willingly, but delivered into his power the *Illyrian* Garriſon, and ſubmitted it ſelf unto the *Roman* protection.

After this good beginning, the Conſul ſailed along the Coaſt to (c) *Apollonia*; accompanied with *Demetrius*, whom he uſed henceforth as his Councellor and Guide. To *Apollonia* came alſo *Poſthumus*, the other Conſul, with the Land-Army, numbred at Twenty Thouſand Foot, and Two Thouſand Horſe. Thence they haſtened towards *Dyrrachium*, which the *Illyrians* had Beſieged; but upon news of the *Roman* Army they diſperſe themſelves. From thence the *Romans* enter *Illyria*, and take *Parthenia*; beat the *Illyrians* by Sea, take Twenty of their Ships, and enforce the Queen *Teuta* to forſake the Coaſt, and to cover her ſelf in *Riſon* far within the Land. In the end, part of the *Romans* haſte them homeward, and leave the beſt places of *Illyria* in the hands of *Demetrius*; another part ſtayes behind, and proſecutes the War, in ſuch ſort, that *Teuta* was forced to beg Peace; which ſhe obtained upon miſerable conditions; to wit, That ſhe ſhould quit the better part of *Illyria*, and pay Tribute for the reſt; and from thenceforth never ſend any of her Ships of War towards the Coaſts of *Greece*, beyond the Iſland of *Liſſa*: except it were ſome one or two Veſſels unarmed, and by way of Trade.

After this *Illyrian* War, the *Romans* ſent Embaſſadours into divers parts of *Greece*, ſignifying their love to their Country, and how, for good will thereunto, they had made War with good ſucceſs upon *Teuta*, and her People. They hoped, belike, that ſome diſtreſſed Cities would take this occaſion, to deſire their Patronage: Which if it hapned, they were wiſe enough to play their own games. But no ſuch matter fell out. The Embaſſadours were only rewarded with thanks, and a Decree made at *Corinth*, That the *Romans* thenceforth might be partakers of the *Iſthmian* paſtimes. This was an idle courteſie, but well meant by the vain *Greeks*, and therefore well taken by the *Romans*: Who by this *Illyrian* expedition got nothing in *Greece*, ſave a little acquaintance, that ſhall be more hereafter.

(a) *Dyrrachium*, ſometime called *Epidamus*, and now *Durazzo* ſeated upon the *Adriatick* Sea, between the Iſlands of *Pharos* and *Corcyra*.

(b) *Corcyra*, an Iſland of the *Adriatick* Sea, not far from *Durazzo*, called now *Corſu*, and in the poſſeſſion of the *Venetians*.

(c) *Apollonia*, a City near *Dyrrachium*, or *Durazzo*, upon the Sea-Coaſt *Pinetus* calls it *Siſſopolis*.

SECT VIII.

Of the War between the Romans *and* Gauls, *ſomewhat before the coming of* Hannibal *into* Italy.

THe *Gauls* that dwelt in *Lombardy* were the next, againſt whom the *Romans* took Arms. Theſe were a populous Nation, and often moleſted *Rome*; ſomtimes with their own Forces, and ſometimes with the aſſiſtance of thoſe that inhabited *France*. Once their fortune was good, when they took *Rome* and burnt it: Though the iſſue of that War proved not anſwerable to the beginning, if we may give credit unto *Roman* Hiſtorians. In following times their ſucceſs was variable, and commonly bad. Many overthrows they received; and if they got any victory, it yielded them no profit, but was ſoon extorted out of their hands. They were indeed more fierce than well adviſed: lightly ſtirred up to War, and lightly giving over. At the firſt brunt, they were ſaid to be more then Men; but when that was paſt, leſs than Woman. The *Romans* were acquainted with their temper, by long experience, and knew how to handle them: Yet gave alwayes careful heed to their approach, were it only bruited. For the danger of them was ſudden, and uncertain; by reaſon of their neighbourhood and want of intelligence among them. Few of their attempts upon *Rome* were

were called Wars, but *Tumultus Gallici*, *Tumults of the Gauls*: And rightly. For they gave many alarums to *Italy*, and used to rise with great Armies; but after a few days March, and sometimes before their setting forth, any small occasion served to disperse them. Having received an overthrow, they would rest Ten or Twelve Years, sometimes Twenty or Thirty: Till they were stirred up again, by younger heads, unacquainted with the danger. Whilst they rested, the State of *Rome*, that against these made only defensive War, had leisure to grow, by setting upon others. Herein God provided well for that Monarchy, which he intended to raise: That the *Gauls* never fell upon *Italy* with a mighty power, in the time of any other great and dangerous War. Had they attempted to Conquer it, whilst *Pyrrhus* was travelling in the same enterprize; or in either of the two former *Punick* Wars: It may be doubted what would have become of this Imperious City. But it seems that the *Gauls* had no better intelligence in the affairs of *Italy*, than strangers had in *Gaule*. At least, they knew not how to use their times: And were therefore like to smart, whensoever the Enemies, whom they had much provoked, and little hurt, should find leisure to visit them at their own home: which was now after the first *Punick* War. Once before this, the *Romans* had been bold, to set upon the *Gauls* in their own Countrey: And that was Three Years before the coming of *Pyrrhus* into *Italy*. At that time the *Senones*, a Tribe of the *Gauls*, invading *Hetruria*, and Besieging *Aretium*, had won a great Battle, and slain *L. Cælius*, with the most of his Army. *Manius Curius* the new Consul, sent Embassadours to them, to treat about Ransom of Prisoners. But these Embassadours they slew. Therefore when fortune turned to the better, the *Romans* followed it so well, that they expelled their *Senones* out of their Country, and sent a Colony of their own to inhabit it. This caused the (*a*) *Boji*, another People of *Gaul*, to fear the like measure: Who thereupon took Arms, and drew the *Hetrurians* to their side. But the *Romans* overthrew them in two great Battels; and thereby made them sue for Peace, which lasted until the end of this *Illyrian* War.

(*a*) There were divers Nations of the *Boji*, as in *Pannonia*, *Illyria* in *Germany*, in *Bourbonois*, in *France*, and in *Aquitain*; but these *Boji* were of *French* race, and dwelt at this time about the mouth of the River *Po*.

It vexed the *Gauls* to see a *Roman* Colony planted in their Countrey; who had been accustomed to enlarge their bounds, by driving out their Neighbours perforce. Wherefore they laboured with the *Transalpines* (so the *Romans* called those in *France*, as lying from them beyond the *Alpes*, though to us they were neerer; like as they called *Cisalpines*, or *by-hither* the *Alpes*, those who dwelt between them and the Mountains) to draw them to their party: Reasonably presuming, that as their disjunction had caused their loss, so their union might recompence it, with large amends. But the business was so foolishly carryed, that the *Cisalpines* and *Transalpines* fell together by the ears, putting the *Romans* only to *a Tumult*, without further trouble of War. Soon after they were urged by a greater indignity to go more substantially to work. For *C. Flaminius*, a popular man in *Rome* proposed a Decree, which was ratified by the People; That, besides one Colony already planted in the Territory of the *Senones*, as many more should be carried thither, as would serve to People the whole Countrey between *Ancona* and *Ariminum*: Exterminating utterly those *Gauls*. Such an offer were it made in *England*, concerning either *Virginia*, or *Guiana* it self, would not over-joy the Multitude. But the Commonalty of *Rome* took this in so good part, notwithstanding all danger joyned with the benefit, that *Flaminius* had ever after their good will.

This dreadful President extreamly displeased the *Boji*; who being neighbours to *Ariminum*, feared the like displantation. And because the rest of the *Gauls* had reason to resolve, that themselves also should be rooted out by degrees; the great Nation of the *Insubrians*, which inhabited the Dutchy of *Milan*, joyned with the *Boji*, and upon a common Purse entertained the *Gessates*, Nations about *Rhodanus*, wageable as the *Switzers* in these times. The *Gessates* having received a great impress, come to the Field under the conduct of their Kings *Concolitanus* and *Anoroestus*: Who with the *Boji*, and *Insubrians*, compound an Army of Fifty Thousand Foot, and Twenty Thousand Horse, and those of the best men, and best appointed, that ever invaded the *Roman* Territory; to whom the *Senogalli*, that had been beaten out of their possessions, gave a great increase of strength. On the contrary side, the *Venetians*, and the (*b*) *Cenomanni*, adhered to the *Romans*: As better believing in their prosperity and rising fortune. For fear of whose incursions therefore, the *Gauls* were forced to leave a good part of their Army, on the frontier of *Milan*: With the rest of their Forces they entred into *Tuscane*. The *Romans* hearing of this danger, send *Æmilius* to *Rimine* to stop their passage; and in the place of *C. Atilius* their other Consul, who then was in *Sardinia*, they imploy one of their Prætors, for the defence of *Tuscane*.

(*b*) *Cenomanni* are the People about *Bergamo*, on the North side of the River *Po* in *Italy*. There were also of these *Cenomanni* in *France*, and inhabited the Countrey of *Main*.

Being at this time greatly troubled with the consideration of this powerful Army, which the *Gauls* had assembled, they cause a view to be taken, as well of their own Forces, as those of their Allies: Who were no less willing than themselves, to oppose the incursions of the barbarous People; fearing, as they had cause, that their own destruction could not be prevented otherwise, than by the good fortune of *Rome*. The numbers, found in this Muster, deserve to be recorded: Because they sent out the power of the *Romans* in those dayes. With the Consuls they sent forth to the War Four Legions of their own: Every Legion consisting of Five Thousand Two Hundred Foot, and Three Hundred Horse; and of their Allies Thirteen Thousand Foot, and Two Hundred Horse. There were also appointed for supplies (if any misadventure came to these) of the *Sabines* and *Hetrurians* Fifty Thousand Foot, and Four Thousand Horse, which Army was to be lodged in the border of *Hetruria*. Of the *Umbri* and *Sarsinates*, which inhabited the *Apenines*, there were Twenty Thousand; and of the *Venetians* and *Cenomans*, other Twenty Thousand: which latter Armies were directed to invade the *Boji*, that forcing them to defend their own Territories, the General Army of the *Gauls* should be thereby greatly diminished. There were besides these; to be ready against all uncertain chances of War, Thirty Thousand Foot, and Fifteen Hundred Horse, Garrison'd in *Rome* it self, of their own People; and of their Allies, Thirty Thousand Foot, and Two Thousand Horse. Over and above these great Troops; in the Roll of the *Latines*, that was sent unto the Senate, there were numbred Fourscore Thousand

Foot, and Five Thousand Horse; in that of the *Samnites*, Seventy Thousand Foot, and of Horse Seven Thousand; in that of the (*g*) *Japyges* and *Messapyges*, Fifty Thousand Foot, and Sixteen Thousand Horse; the *Lucans* sent a List of Thirty Thousand foot, and Three Thousand Horse; the (*h*) *Marsi*, (*i*) *Marusini*, (*k*) *Ferrentani*, and the *Vestini*, of Twenty Thousand Foot, and Four Thousand Horse. The *Romans* had also Two Legions in *Sicil*, and about *Tarentum*, containing Eight Thousand Four Hundred Foot, and Four Hundred Horse. So as of the *Romans Campanes* joyntly, reckoning men Armed, and fit to bear Arms, there were Registered Two Hundred and Fifty Thousand Foot; and of Horse Three and Twenty Thousand: Of which, reckoning the *Romans* apart, there were an Hundred and Fifty Thousand Foot, and about Six Thousand Horse. Casting up the whole Forces of all the Provinces in *Italy*, both of the *Romans* and their Confederates, it amounted to Seven Hundred Thousand Foot, and Seventy Thousand Horse. But the number is somewhat mis-cast by *Polybius*; not with a purpose to inrich himself by the dead Payes; for where he reckons Nine Hundred Horse too many, he falls short Nine Thousand Two Hundred of the Foot.

How great soever this Muster was, it seems to have been like unto that, which *Lodowick Sforza* made, when *Lewis* the Twelfth invaded *Milan*: At what time, the better to encourage himself and his Subjects he took a Roll of all Persons able to bear Arms, within the Dutchy, though indeed he were never able to bring a Tenth part of them into the Field. Certain it is, that the Battels of *Trebia*, *Thrasymene*, and *Cannæ*, did not consume any such proportion, as was answerable to this large accompt. Yet were the *Romans* fain to Arm their Slaves, even for want of other Souldiers, after their overthrow at *Canna*. Wherefore the marvel is not great, that the *Carthaginians* and others were little terrified with report of such a Multitude. For all heads are not fit for Helmets: Though the *Roman* Citizens were, in general, as good fighting men, as elsewhere might be found.

Notwithstanding all these counter preparations, the *Gauls* keep on their way: And entring into *Tuscane*, destroy, and put to fire and Sword, all that lay before them. From thence they march directly towards *Rome*; hoping to find the *Romans* rather in deliberation, than in the Field. But their intelligence fails them. For the *Roman* Army, sent into *Tuscane*, having taken some other way than they did, and finding that it had missed of them, came again fast after them, to arrest them in their journey. Hereof when they heard the rumour, fearing to be charged on their backs, they turned head: And in the same evening discovered the *Roman* Army, by whom they incamped. It was now a matter of apparent necessity, that fight they must. Wherefore they helped themselves with a stratagem, that shewed no great fineness of Wit, but such as well beseemed those that had none other occupation than War; and stood them in good stead at the present. In the dead of the Night, they cause their Foot to march away, but not far, leaving their Horse in Guard; to whom they give order to come off at the first light of day, with such a speed, as might rather argue a running away, than a retreat; as if they had not dared to abide Battel. The *Romans*, interpreting this their hasty departure, as the *Gauls* desired they should, follow them in disorder. The *Gauls* return, charge them, and kill Six Thousand upon the place; the rest take a piece of ground of advantage, and defend themselves, till *L. Æmilius*, being at *Ariminum*, comes to their succour. Upon the coming of the Consul, the *Gauls* consult, whether they should give the *Romans* Battel, or forbear. In which dispute, *Aneoreστus*, one of their Kings, perswades them, rather to return into their own Countreys; where, after they had disposed of the great spoils and riches which they had gotten, they should then renew the War, being without carriage, pester or other impediment. This advice they all embrace; for, seeing they that were Mercenaries, had obtained what they came for, to wit, the spoils of their Enemies, they thought it wisdom, to hazard neither it, nor themselves any further.

This indeed had been a good resolution, if they had taken it, before the Enemy had been in sight. But as well in the Wars of these later Ages, as in former times, it hath ever been found extream dangerous to make a retreat in the Head of an Enemies Army. For although they that retire, do often turn head; yet in always going on from the pursuing Enemy, they find within few Miles, either Straight, Hedge, or Ditch, or place of disadvantage, which they are inforced to pass in disorder. In such cases, the Souldier knows it as well as the Captain, that he which forsakes the Field, perceives and fears some advantage of the Enemies. Fear, which is the betrayer of those succours that reason offereth, when it hath once possest the heart of man, it casteth thence both courage and understanding. They that make retreat, are alwayes in fear to be abandoned; they that lead the way, fear to be ingaged: And so the hindmost treads on his heels that is foremost, and consequently, all disband, run, and perish, if those that favour the retrait be not held to it by men of great courage. The miserable overthrow that the *French* received in *Naples*, in the Year 1503, upon a retreat made by the *Marquess* of *Sal*, doth testifie no less. For although a great Troop of *French* Horse sustained the pursuing Enemy a long time, and gave the Foot leasure to trot away; yet being retarded by often turnings, the *Spanish* Foot overtook and defeated them utterly. During the Wars between the *Imperials* and the *French*, *Baisi* and *Mont* were lost at *Brignolles*, who in a bravery would needs see the Enemy, before they left the Field. So was *Strosi* overthrown by the *Marquess Marignan*, because he could not be perswaded to dislodge the Night before the *Marquess* his arrival. Therefore did the *French* King *Francis* the First wisely: When without respect of *point of honour*, he dislodged from before *Landersey*, by Night, as many other the most advised Captains (not finding themselves in case to give Battel) have done. *Je ne trouve point* (saith the Marshal *Monluc*) *aut fait des armes chose si difficile, qu'une retraitte*; *I find nothing in the Art of War so difficult as to make a safe retreat.* A sure rule it is that there is less dishonour to dislodge in the dark, than to be beaten in the light. And hereof *M. de la Noue* gives this judgment of a days retreat, made in *France*, presently before the Battel at *Moncountour*. For (saith he) staying upon our reputation, in shew,

not

(*g*) *Japyges* and *Messapyges* seem to be one Nation; who are also called *Salentines*, *Peuzecians*, *Apulians*, and *Calabrians*. The Countrey is now *Apulia*, containing the Northermost head-land of *Calabria*.

(*h*) A people of the Kingdom of *Naples*.

(*i*) *Ptolomy* calls them a people of *Italy*.

(*k*) A People of *Campania*, called to this day *Ferentines*, saith *Leander*.

not to dislodge by Night; we lost our reputation indeed, by dislodging by day: Whereby we were forced to fight upon our disadvantage, and to our ruine. And yet did that worthy Gentleman *Count Lodowick* of *Nassau*, Brother to the late famous *Prince of Orange*, make the retreat at *Moncountour* with so great resolution, as he saved the one half of the *Protestant* Army, then broken and disbanded; of which my self was an eye-witness, and was one of them that had cause to thank him for it.

Now the *Gauls*, embracing the safe advice (as they take it) of one of their Kings, turn their backs to the Enemy, and their faces homeward. *Æmilius* follows them as near as he can, without ingaging himself, attending his advantage. In the mean while, *C. Atilius* the other Consul, with the Legions of *Sardinia*, lands at *Pisa*; so as the *Gauls* inclosed between to Armies, are forced to fight. They therefore equally strengthen their Rear and Front. To sustain *Æmilius*, they appoint the *Gessates*, and the *Milanois*; in the Front they range the *Piemontois*, and the rest of the *Gauls* inhabiting upon the River of *Po*. The manner of the fight *Polybius* describeth at large: Which was well fought of all hands. But in the end the *Gauls* fell; and so did *Atilius* the Consul: Who died in the place, accompanied with the two Kings of the *Gauls*, *Concolitanus* and *Aneroestus*; with Forty Thousand of their Vassals.

After this fatal overthrow, the *Gauls* lost courage; and, ere long, all that they held in *Italy*. For they were invaded the Year following this overthrow, by the new Consuls, *Fulvius* and *Manlius*. The *Romans* knew well how to use their Victory: They gave not Ten, Twenty, or Thirty Years time to the *Gauls*, to repair their Forces, as the *Gauls* had done to them. These new Consuls beat the *Boji*; but by reason of the great Rains that fell, and the great Pestilence that reigned, they were compelled for that present to surcease. In the Second Year, *Furius* and *Flaminius* invade the *Milanois*; and prevail very far, being strongly assisted by the *Cenomanni* and the *Venetians*. Nevertheless these Consuls were revoked out of their Province, by the Senate of *Rome*, and compelled to resign their Office; because the *Augures*, or *Soothsayers*, had found, that some token or other of the Birds (in which, and all sorts of their divination, the *Romans* were extreamly superstitious) had not only foreshewed little good, when they were chosen, but had also nullified the election. *C. Flaminius*, receiving Letters of this revocation from the Senate, and being otherwise advertised of the contents, was not hasty to open them: But first gave Battle unto the Enemies, vanquisht them, and spoiled their Countrey; then perused the Letters; and returning home obtained a Triumph, sore against the will of the Senate, and not altogether with good liking of the People, who yet bear him out, for that he sided in faction with the Commonalty, though a man of great Nobility.

This was that *Flaminius*, who had propounded the Decree, for dividing the Countrey of the *Senones* among the People of *Rome*. He was the first, or one of the first, that understanding the Majesty of *Rome* to be indeed wholly in the People, and no otherwise in the Senate, than by a way of Delegacy, or grand Commission; did not stand highly upon his Birth and Degree, but courted the Multitude, and taught them to know and use their power, over himself and his fellow Senators, in reforming their disorders. For this, the Commons highly esteemed him, and the Senators as deeply hated him. But he had the surer side, and found imitators, that rose by the same Art, which in process of time, grew the only or chief way to preferment.

Flaminius and his Colleague, being disposed, *M. Claudius Marcellus*, and *Cn. Cornelius Scipio*, were chosen Consuls, for the rest of that Year. The *Gauls* about this time desired Peace; and were like to have obtained it: Though the new Consuls were against it, as fearing to want work. But when Thirty Thousand of the *Gessates* following their King *Britomarus*, were come over the *Alpes*, and joyned with the *Insubrians*: All other discourse, than of present War, was at an end. So the Consuls hasted into their Province, where they Besieged *Acerræ*, a Town not far from *Navarro* (so far had the *Romans* pierced already in the Dutchy of *Milan*.) To divert them from this Siege, *Britomarus* sat down before *Clastidium*, a Town in the same Tract, with a great part of his Forces: Leaving the rest, with the *Insubrians*, to attend upon the Consuls at *Acerræ*; and to look to the defence of *Milan*. But this would not suffice, to make the *Romans* break up their Siege. *Marcellus*, taking with him the greatest part of the Horse, and Six Hundred Foot lightly Armed, thought to deal well enough with those at *Clastidium*. *Britomarus* heard of the Consuls coming, and met him upon the way: So suddenly, that the *Romans* had no leisure to rest themselves after their journey, but were compelled instantly to fight: Herein *Britomarus* had done well, if he had not forthwith, in a rash bravery, lost his Game at a cast. He had advantage enough in number; both of Horse and foot: But he thought so well of his own personal valour, that he rode out single before his Army, provoking any one to fight with him. *Marcellus* was no less daring, than the barbarous King: Whether more wise in this action, I will not dispute; he was more fortunate, and that sufficed to commend him. He slew and disarmed *Britomarus*, in the presence of both Armies: Whereby his own men took such courage, and his Enemies were so dismayed, that without much trouble of fight the *Romans* obtained a great Victory.

This was the Third and last time, that ever any *Roman* General slew the General of the Enemies, with his own hand. To this kind of Victory, belonged a peculiar Triumph; whereof only *Romulus*, *Cossus*, and this *Marcellus*, had the honour: Yet I dare say, that the Two *Scipio's*, and divers of the *Roman* Captains, especially *Cæsar*, were better men of War than any of these Three; though they never offered up to *Jupiter*, *Opima spolia*, *The Armour of a General slain by themselves, when they were Generals*, nor perhaps affected so to do.

After this Victory, *Acerræ* was yielded to the *Romans*; and *Milan* soon after: With all that belonged to the *Cisalpines*, or *Gauls*, that dwelt in *Lombardie*. Thus was that valiant and mighty Nation, that had so many Years vexed the State of *Rome*, and in former times taken the City it self, brought to nothing in a short time; their pleasant and fertile Territory possest by the *Romans*; and the remainder of their *Nation*, inhabiting *Italy*, so many as would not subject their necks to the *Roman* yoke, either forced to abandon

don their Countreys, or to hide themſelves in the cold and barren Mountains, like Outlawes and Thieves. And thus did the *Romans* ſpend the Three and Twenty Years following the Peace made with *Carthage*. In part of which time, they were at ſuch leiſure, that they cloſed up the Temple of *Janus*: Which they never did before, (it ſtanding alwayes open, when they had any War) ſave once in the Reign of *Numa*; nor in long time after, until the Reign of *Auguſtus*. But this their preſent happineſs was not to laſt long: A dangerous War, and perhaps the greateſt that had ever been, was to come unto their Gates; which being well ended, they might boldly undertake, to extend their Monarchy as far as their ambition could reach.

CHAP. III.

Of the Second Punick War.

SECT. I.

The Wars of Hannibal *in* Spain. *Quarrels between the* Romans *and* Carthaginians. Hannibal *Beſiegeth and taketh* Saguntum, *whilſt the* Romans *are buſied with the* Illyrians. *War proclaimed between* Rome *and* Carthage.

HANNIBAL, the Son of *Amilcar*, was about Six and Twenty Years old, when he was choſen General of the *Carthaginian* Forces in *Spain*. He was elected by the Army, as ſoon as *Aſdrubal* was dead: And the Election was ratified by the State of *Carthage*; wherewith *Hanno* and his Complices were nothing pleaſed. This was now the Third of the *Barchine* Family (ſo called of *Amilcar*, whoſe ſurname was *Barcas*) that had command in chief, over the men of War. Which honour would perhaps have been leſs envied by theſe Domeſtical Enemies, if the Allies and Friends of the *Bachine* Houſe, had not alſo born the whole ſway in Government, and been the only men regarded, both by the Senate and the People. This general good will, as it was firſt purchaſed by the moſt worthy deſerts of *Amilcar* in ſaving his Countrey from imminent ruine, inlarging the Dominion thereof, and inriching it with treaſures and great revenues; ſo was it retained, by the ſame good Arts, among his friends and followers. *Hanno* therefore, and his Partiſans, being neither able to tax the vertue of their Enemies, that was unreprovable; nor to perform the like ſervices unto the Common-weal; had nothing left whereby to value themſelves, excepting the general reprehenſion of War, and cautelous advice of not provoking the *Romans*. This they ſeaſoned other-whiles with detraction; ſaying, that the *Barchine* faction went about to oppreſs the liberty of the City. But their malicious words were unregarded; and if it were factious, to bear ill-will to *Rome*, then were all the Citizens (very few excepted) no leſs *Barchine*, than *Hannibal* himſelf. For it was long ſince apparent, that the Oath of the *Romans*, to the Articles of Peace, afforded no ſecurity to *Carthage*, were ſhe never ſo quiet, and officious; unleſs ſhe ſhould yield to become their ſubject. Since therefore the Peace was like to hold no longer, than until the *Romans* could find ſome good advantage, to renew the War: It was rather deſired by the *Carthaginians*, that whilſt their own eſtate was in good caſe, the War ſhould begin; than that in ſome unhappy time of Famin or Peſtilence, or after ſome great loſs of Army or Fleet, they ſhould be driven to yield unto the impudent demands of their Enemies; and to give away baſely their Lands and Treaſures, as they had lately done; or miſerably fight, upon terms of diſadvantage.

This diſpoſition of his Country-men, *Hannibal* well underſtood. Neither was he ignorant (for his Father, and other Friends, had long time deviſed of this buſineſs) that in making War with the *Romans*, it was no ſmall advantage to get the ſtart of them. If once he could bring an Army into *Italy*, without moleſtation; there was good hope that he ſhould find friends and aſſiſtance, even of thoſe People, that helped to increaſe the *Roman* Armies in foreign Wars. But this could never be effected, if the matter were openly diſputed at *Carthage*. For it was to be doubted, that the *Carthaginians*, how glad ſoever they would be, to hear that he had ſet the War on foot, would nevertheleſs be ſlow and timorous, as commonly men are in the beginning of great enterpriſes, if the matter were referred to their deliberation. Which if it ſhould happen, then were the *Romans* like to be made acquainted, not only with the generalities of his purpoſe, but with ſuch particulars as muſt be diſcourſed of, in procuring allowance to his deſign. This might ſuffice to diſorder the whole Project. Wherefore, he reſolved to lay Siege unto *Saguntum*, which might ſeem not greatly to concern the *Romans*, and would highly pleaſe the *Carthaginians*, that had freſh in mind the indignity of that *Spaniſh* Towns alliance with her half Friends. So ſhould he aſſay both the patience of his Enemies, and the diſpoſition of his own Citizens.

Having

Having thus concluded, he nevertheleſs went fair and orderly to work: and beginning with thoſe that lay next in his way, approaching unto *Saguntum* by degrees. This he did (ſaith *Livie*) to give ſome colour to his proceedings: as if he had not principally intended the war againſt *Saguntum*, but had been drawn thither by courſe of buſineſs. Yet reaſon teacheth plainly, that without regard of ſuch formalities, it was needful to finiſh the conqueſt of the reſt, before he did any thing that ſhould provoke the *Romans*. Firſt therefore he entred upon the Territory of the [a] *Olcades*; and having beſieged *Althæa* (*Livie* called it *Carteia*) their chief City, he became, in a few days, Maſter not only thereof, but of all the other Towns of their Country. This Nation which he firſt undertook, being ſubdued, and the winter at hand, he reſted his Army in new *Carthage*, or *Carthagena*; and imparted liberally to the Souldiers, the ſpoils he had gotten in his late Conqueſt.

In the Spring following, he purſued the war againſt the [b] *Vaccæi*; and without any great difficulty, wan firſt *Salmantica*, now called *Salamanca*; and after it, [c] *Arbucala*, by aſſault: though not without a long ſiege, and great difficulty. But in his return, he was put to the height, both of his courage, and of his Martial Judgment. For all ſuch of the *Vaccæi*, as were able to bear arms, being made deſperate by the ſpoil of their Country, with thoſe of *Salamanca*, and of the *Olcades*, that had eſcaped in the late overthrow, joyning themſelves with the *Toletans*; compounded an Army of an hundred thouſand able men: and ſtayed *Hannibal* on the banks of the River *Tagus*, which runneth to the Sea by *Lisbon* in *Portugal*. Theſe four Nations, having had experience of *Hannibals* invincible courage, and that he never ſaw an enemy, upon whom he durſt not give charge; were throughly reſolved, that his natural valour would at this time no leſs neglect the cold advice of diſcretion, than at other times it had ſeemed to do, when the like great occaſion perſwaded him to uſe it. But he that makes himſelf a body of Cryſtal, that all men may look thorow him, and diſcern all the parts of his diſpoſition, makes himſelf (withal) an Aſs: and thereby teacheth others, either how to ride, or drive him. Wiſe men, though they have ſingle hearts in all that is juſt and vertuous; yet they are like Coffers with double bottoms: which when others look into, being opened, they ſee not all that they hold, on the ſudden, and at once. It is true, that this ſubtle *Carthaginian*, when he ſerved under *Aſdrubal*, was, of all the men of mark in the Army, the moſt adventurous: but that which may beſeem a Captain, or inferiour Commander, doth not always become a Chief; though it hath ſometime ſucceeded well with ſuch great-ones, as have been found more fortunate than wiſe. At this time, our great Man of war knew as well how to diſſemble his courage, as at other times to make it good. For he with-drew himſelf from the River-ſide, as if fearful to foord it; thereby to draw over that great multitude from their banks of advantage. The *Spaniards*, apprehending this in ſuch ſort, as *Hannibal* deſired that they ſhould thruſt themſelves in fury and diſorder, into the ſwift ſtream, with a purpoſe to charge the *Charthaginians*, abandoning (as they thought for fear) the defences on the contrary ſide. But when *Hannibal* ſaw them in their way, and well-near over; he turned back his Elephants to entertain them at their landing, and thruſt his Horſe-men, both above and beneath them, into the River. Theſe carrying a kind of *Lance* [illegible], ſharp at both ends, which they held in the midſt of the [illegible], had ſuch an advantage over the foot, that were in the River, under their ſtrokes, clattered together, and unable to move or ſhift their bodies, as on firm ground, that they ſlew all thoſe (in a manner) without reſiſtance, which were already entered into the water; and purſued the reſt, that fled like men amazed; with ſo great a ſlaughter, as from that day forward, there was not any *Spaniard*, on that ſide the River of *Iberus*, (the *Saguntines* excepted) that had the daring to lift up their hands againſt the *Carthaginians*.

The *Saguntines* perceiving the danger towards them, cryed before they were hurt. They ſent Embaſſadours to *Rome*, and bemoaned themſelves, as likely to ſuffer that, which afterwards they ſuffered indeed; only becauſe of their alliance and friendſhip with this honourable City, which the *Carthaginians* hated. This tale moved the Senate, but much more a report, that *Saguntum* was already beſieged. Hereupon ſome cry out, that War ſhould be proclaimed by Land and Sea; as alſo that the two Conſuls ſhould be ſent with Armies, the one into *Spain*, the other into *Africk*. But others went more *Roman*-like to work, and carried it. So it was only concluded; that Embaſſadours ſhould be ſent into *Spain*, to view the ſtate of their confederates: which were indeed none other than the *Saguntines*. For if *Hannibal* intended war againſt *Rome*, it was likely that he ſhould give them, ere it were long, a more plauſible occaſion to take Arms againſt him: if he had no ſuch purpoſe, yet would it be in their power to determine what they liſted themſelves, upon the report of theſe Embaſſadours; and this their gravity, in being not too raſh at firſt, would ſerve to countenance their following Decree. Of theſe Embaſſadours *Livie* reports, that they found *Hannibal* before *Saguntum*, but could not get audience of him, and therefore went to *Carthage*, where alſo they were not regarded, nor heard. But *Polybius* an Hiſtorian of ſincerity leſs queſtionable, tells, that they found him at *Carthagena*, and had conference with him, though ſuch as left them doubtful. This is more agreeable to the reſt of *Hannibal* his whole courſe. And ſurely we might wonder, why the *Carthaginians* ſhould afterwards admit a more peremptory Embaſſage (as *Livie* confeſſeth) and fall to diſputation about the covenants of Peace; if they had rejected that which was ſent, upon none other pretence than prevention of war.

Whileſt the Embaſſadours paſſed to and fro, *Hannibal* prepared not only his forces, but ſome *Roman* pretences, againſt *Saguntum*. He found out *Mamertines*, or people that ſhould do as the *Mamertines* in *Sicily* had done for the *Romans*; and implore his help againſt the *Saguntines*. Theſe were the *Turdetani*, a Nation adjoyning to *Saguntum*, and having many quarrels with them (as happens commonly among neighbours) of which, *Hannibal* himſelf hatched ſome. Finding therefore ſuch an occaſion, whatſoever it was, as made him able to ſay, that the *Saguntines* had firſt provoked him ere he medled with them; he made no more ado, but ſate down with his whole power before their Town. He was now more ſecure, than he had formerly been of his own Citizens: for that they had not entertained the *Roman* Embaſſadours, with any trembling reverence, as of late years they had been wont. Nevertheleſs, he was glad of any handſome colour, to ſhadow his actions:

[a] A people (ſaith *Stephanus*) near the River of *Ibro*, but in the old deſcription of *Spain* in *Ortelius*, they are found near *Tagus*, and by *Suidas*, not far from New *Carthage*.
[b] A people on *Caſtile* the Old.
[c] *Albucala*, or *Albricala*, an in-land City of the *Vaccæi* in *Aragon*.

not only becauſe the War, which he ſo much deſired, was not proclaimed; but that he might not be checked in his courſe, as an open enemy, before he could ſet foot in *Italy*. The *Romans* had the like, though contrary deſire. They were glad of the quarrel; as hoping that *Carthage*, with all thereto belonging, ſhould thereby in ſhort ſpace become their own. Yet were they not haſty to threaten, before they were ready to ſtrike; but meant to temporize, until they had an Army in readineſs to be ſent into *Spain*, where they thought to make *Saguntum*, the ſeat of the War.

In the mean while, *Demetrius Pharius*, whom the *Romans* had made King over a great part of *Illyria*, rebelled againſt them: either for that he found himſelf over-ſtraitly tyed up by them, with hard conditions; or rather becauſe he was of an unthankful diſpoſition. The commotion of the *Gauls*, and afterward the fame of the *Carthaginian* war, emboldened him to deſpiſe his Benefactors and Patrons: whom he ought to have defended and aided, in all perils, even with the hazard of his whole eſtate, which he had received of their gift. But he was a Traitor to his own Queen; and therefore dealt according to his kind, with thoſe that had rewarded him for being ſuch. Firſt, he built ſhips, and ſpoiled the Iſles of *Greece*; againſt the covenants to which he was bound. Then he adventured further, and ſeized upon ſome places, that the *Romans* kept in their own hands. If he had begun ſooner, or rather if he had ſtayed ſomewhat longer, he might have ſped better. For the buſineſs with the *Gauls* was ended; with *Hannibal*, not throughly begun, when he declared himſelf by his doings, an enemy, and was vanquiſhed. The *Roman* Conſul, *Æmilius*, was ſent againſt him: who in ſeven daies wan the ſtrong Town of *Dimalum*; and thereby brought ſuch terrour upon the Country round about, that Embaſſadours were ſent from all places, to yield themſelves, without putting him to further paine. Only the City of *Pharus*, in which *Demetrius* lay, prepared to reſiſt: which he might have done long, if the hot-headed Rebel had not been too fooliſh. *Æmilius* Landed a great part of his Army in the Iſle of *Pharus*, by night; and beſtowed them in covert, preſenting himſelf the next morning with twenty ſhips before the Town, and offering to force the Haven. *Demetrius* with all his power iſſued out againſt the Conſul, and was ſoon intercluded from the Town, by thoſe that lay in ambuſh. Wherefore he fled away through by-paths to a Greek, where he had ſhipping ready for him, and imbarqued himſelf: leaving all his eſtate unto them, of whoſe liberality he firſt had it.

This buſineſs, though it were ſoon diſpatched, yet prevented it not the ſiege of *Saguntum*; before which *Hannibal* ſate down, ere *Æmilius* was Landed in *Illyria*. In the beginning of the ſiege, the *Carthaginians* were much diſcouraged, by reaſon of the brave ſallies made by the *Saguntines*; in one of which, their General received a dangerous wound in the thigh, that cauſed him to lie many daies unable to move. Nevertheleſs, he was not unmindful of his work in the mean while; but gave order to raiſe certain movable Towers, that might equal thoſe which were built on the walls of the City; and to prepare to batter the curtains, and make a breach. Theſe being finiſhed and applied, had ſoon wrought their effect. A great and large breach was made, by the fall of divers Towers, and a great length of wall; whereat an hot aſſault was given: but it was ſo well ſuſtained by the *Saguntines*, as the *Carthaginians* were not only beaten from the breach, and out of ſome ground within the Town, which upon the firſt fury they had won; but they were purſued even to their own trenches and camp. Nevertheleſs the *Carthaginian* Army, wherein were about an hundred and fifty thouſand men, did ſo weary the Townſ-men with continual travel, that at length it got within the walls; and was only hindred from taking full poſſeſſion of the City, by ſome counter-works of the *Saguntines*, that were alſo ready to be won. In this extremity, there was one *Alcon* a *Saguntine*, that conveyed himſelf out of the Town, to treat with *Hannibal* for ſome accord. But the conditions which the *Carthaginian* offered were ſo ſevere, and without all compaſs of honour, as *Alcon* durſt not return to propound them to his Country-men. For *Hannibal* demanded all that they had, gold, ſilver, plate, and other riches within the City: yea, the City it ſelf to be abandoned by the Citizens; promiſing, that he would aſſign ſome other place for their habitation: not allowing them to carry out with them any other thing, wherewith to ſuſtain themſelves, than the cloaths on their backs; or other arms, to defend them, than their nails and teeth. Yet might they far better have ſubmitted themſelves unto this miſerable appointment, (ſeeing thereby they might have enjoyed their lives, and ſaved the honour of their wives and daughters) than to have reſted at the diſcretion of the Conquerour, as ſoon after they did: by whom their wives and daughters were deflowred before their own faces; and all put to the ſword, that were above fourteen years of age. For it was a poor comfort, which a great number of them took; when not daring to fight, and ſell their blood at the deareſt rate, they ſhut themſelves up like moſt wretched creatures in their own houſes, and therein burnt themſelves with all that they had: ſo dying unrevenged. The treaſures found in *Saguntum*, which were very great, *Hannibal* kept wherewith to pay his Army: the ſlaves and other booty, he divided among his Souldiers, reſerving ſome things of choice, wherewith to preſent his friends at *Carthage*, and to animate them unto the War.

Theſe tydings exceedingly vexed the *Romans*, who had good cauſe to be angry at their own ſlowneſs, in ſorbearing to ſend help unto the *Saguntines*, that held out eight months, looking ſtill for ſuccour, but in vain. Wherefore they determined to repair their honour, by taking ſharp revenge. To this end they ſent Embaſſadours again to *Carthage*: demanding only, *Whether it were by general conſent and allowance of the* Carthaginians, *that* Hannibal *had made war upon* Saguntum: which if they granted (as it ſeemed they would) then to give them defiance. Hereunto anſwer was made, in the Senate of *Carthage*, to this effect; That this their ſecond Embaſſage, howſoever qualified with mild words, was indeed more inſolent than the former. For in that, they only required juſtice againſt *Hannibal*; but in this, the very State and Common-Wealth of *Carthage*, was urged to plead guilty, or not guilty. But (ſaid the *Carthaginian* ſpeaker) whether the General of our Army in *Spain*, in beſieging *Saguntum*, have only followed his own counſel; or whether he did it, by direction from us: it is not the queſtion which the *Romans* ought to ask us. That which is indeed worthy examination or diſpute, is; *Whether it were lawful or unlawful for* Hannibal *to do as he hath done*. For it belong to us, to call our

own

own Commanders in queſtion, and to puniſh them according to their faults and errours; to you, to challenge us, if we have done any thing contrary to our late League and contract. It is true, that in our negotiation with *Luctatius* the Conſul, the Allies of both Nations were comprehended: but the *Saguntines* were not then of your Allies, and therefore no parties to the peace then made; for of your Allies in the future, or of ours, there was no diſpute. As touching the laſt agreement between you and *Aſdrubal*, wherein you will ſay that the *Saguntines* were comprehended by name; it is you that have taught us how to anſwer that particular. For whatſoever you found in the Treaty between us and *Luctatius*, to your own diſadvantage, you caſt it upon your Conſuls preſumption as promiſing thoſe things, for which he had no warrant from the Senate and people of *Rome*. If then it be lawful for the *Romans*, to diſavow the actions of their Conſuls and Commanders, concluding any thing without punctual and preciſe warrant; the ſame liberty may we alſo aſſume, and hold our ſelves no way bound in honour to perform thoſe bargains which *Aſdrubal* hath made for us, without our commandment and conſent.

This was an impertinent anſwer, and little better than a meer cavil. For *Luctatius* the Conſul, in his Treaty of Peace with the *Carthaginians*, had expreſly referred the allowance thereof to the people of *Rome*. It had been therefore much better to have dealt plainly, and to have alledged, That after this League was made and confirmed on both parts, it was broken by the *Romans*, in robbing the *Carthaginians* of the Iſle of *Sardinia*, and withal of twelve hundred talents: which perjury the State of *Carthage*, being now grown able, would revenge with open War. As for the *Saguntines*, it little skilled that the *Romans* had admitted them into confederacy, and forthwith inſerted their names into the Treaty of Peace with *Aſdrubal*: ſeeing that the Treaty with *Aſdrubal*, and all other buſineſs between *Rome* and *Carthage*, following the violence and breach of Peace, in taking away *Sardinia*, were no better than *Roman* injuries, as implying this commination, *Do whatſoever we require; elſe will we make War, without regard of our Oath, which we have already broken.*

But this the *Carthaginians* did not alledge, forgetting, in heat of contention (as *Polybius* takes it) the beſt of their Plea. Yet ſince *Livie* himſelf doth remember and acknowledge, that the taking of *Sardinia* from the *Carthaginians*, did inflame the ſpirit of *Amilcar* with deſire of revenge: we may reaſonably think, that the mention of this injury was omitted, not ſo much upon forgetfulneſs, as for that it was not thought convenient, by ripping up ſuch ancient matter of quarrel, to ſhew that the war, now towards, had long been thought upon, and like to be made with extraordinary force, in other manner than heretofore. In concluſion, the *Carthaginian* Senate moved the *Roman* Embaſſadours, to deliver unto them in plain terms the purpoſes of thoſe that ſent them, and the worſt of that, which they had long determinated againſt them: as for the *Saguntines*, and the confining of their Armies within *Iberus*; thoſe were but their pretences. Whereupon *Q. Fabius* gathering up the skirt of his Gown, as if ſomewhat had been laid in the hollow thereof, made this ſhort reply: I have here (quoth he) in my Gown-skirt both Peace and War: make you (my Maſters of the Senate) election of theſe two, which of them you like beſt, and purpoſe to embrace. Hereat all cryed out at once; Even which of them you your ſelf have a fancy to offer us. Marry then (quoth *Fabius*) take the War, and ſhare it among you: Which the aſſembly willingly accepted.

This was plain dealing. To wrangle about pretences, when each part had reſolved to make War, it was meerly frivolous. For all theſe diſputes of breach of Peace, have ever been maintained by the party unwilling, or unable to ſuſtain the War. The ruſty ſword, and the empty purſe, do alwaies plead performance of Covenants. There have been few Kings or States in the World, that have otherwiſe underſtood the obligation of a Treaty, than with the condition of their own advantage: and commonly (ſeeing Peace between ambitious Princes and States, is but a kind of breathing) the beſt adviſed have rather begun with the ſword, than with the trumpet. So dealt the *Arragonois* with the *French* in *Naples*; *Henry* the ſecond of *France*, with the Imperials, when he wrote to *Briſac*, to ſurpriſe as many places as he could, ere the War brake out; *Don John*, with the Netherlands; and *Philip* the ſecond of *Spain*, with the *Engliſh*, when in the great *Imbarge* he took all our ſhips and goods in his Ports.

But *Hannibal*, beſides the preſent ſtrength of *Carthage*, and the common feeling of injuries received from theſe enemies, had another private and hereditary deſire, that violently carried him againſt the *Romans*. His Father *Amilcar*, at what time he did ſacrifice, being ready to take his journey into *Spain*, had ſolemnly bound him by Oath, to purſue them with immortal hatred, and to work them all poſſible miſchief, as ſoon as he ſhould be a man, and able. *Hannibal* was then about nine years old, when his Father cauſed him to lay his hand upon the Altar, and make this vow: ſo that it was no marvel if the impreſſion were ſtrong in him.

That it is inhumane, to bequeath hatred in this ſort, as it were by Legacy, it cannot be denyed. Yet for mine own part, I do not much doubt, but that ſome of thoſe Kings, with whom we are now in peace, have received the like charge of their Predeceſſors, that as ſoon as their Coffers ſhall be full, they ſhall declare themſelves enemies to the people of *England*.

SECT. II.

Hannibal *takes order for the defence of* Spain, *and* Africk. *His Journey into* Italy.

WAR being thus proclaimed, *Hannibal* reſolved not to put up his ſword which he had drawn againſt the *Saguntines*, until he had therewith opened his paſſage unto the gates of *Rome*. So began the ſecond Punick War; ſecond to none that ever the Senate and people of *Rome* ſuſtained. *Hannibal* wintred at *Carthagena*; where he licenſed his *Spaniſh* Souldiers to viſit their friends, and refreſh themſelves againſt the Spring. In the mean while he gave inſtructions to his Brother *Aſdrubal* for the Government of *Spain* in his abſence. He alſo took order, to ſend a great many Troops of *Spaniards* into *Africk*, to equal the number of *Africans* formerly drawn thence into *Spain*; to the end, that ſo the one Nation might remain as pledges and gages for the other. Of the *Spaniards*, he tranſported into *Africk* thirteen thouſand, eight hundred and fifty

foot, and twelve hundred horſe; alſo eight hundred ſlingers of the [a] *Beleares*. Beſides theſe, he ſelected four thouſand foot, all young men, and of quality, out of the beſt Cities of *Spain*; which he appointed to be gariſoned in *Carthage* it ſelf, not ſo much in regard of their forces, as that they might ſerve for hoſtages: for among thoſe four thouſand, the beſt of the *Spaniſh* Citizens, and thoſe that ſwayed moſt in their ſeveral States, had their Sons or Kinſmen. He alſo left with his Brother, to guard the Coaſts and Ports, fifty and ſeven Gallies; whereof thirty ſeven were preſently armed, and appointed for the war. Of *Africans* and other Nations, ſtrangers, he left with him above twelve thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe, beſides one and twenty Elephants.

[a] *Majorca, & Minorca.*

Having in this ſort taken order for the defence of *Spain* and *Africk*; he ſent diſcoverers before him, to view the Paſſages of the *Pyrenæan* Mountains, and of the *Alps*. He alſo ſent Embaſſadours to the Mountainers of the *Pyrenes*, and to the *Gauls*, to obtain a quiet paſſage: that he might bring his Army entire into *Italy*, and not be compelled to diminiſh his force, by any War in the way, till he came to encounter the *Romans*. His Embaſſadours and Diſcoverers being returned with good ſatisfaction; in the beginning of the Spring, he paſt over the River of *Iberus*, with an Army conſiſting of fourſcore and ten thouſand foot, and twelve thouſand horſe. All thoſe parts of *Spain* into which he had not entred before, he now ſubdued: and appointed *Hanno* (not that old enemy of his houſe, who ſate ſtill at *Carthage*) to govern *Spain* on the Eaſt ſide of *Iberus*; to whom he left an Army of ten thouſand foot, and one thouſand horſe. Being arrived at the borders of *Spain*, ſome of his *Spaniſh* Souldiers returned home without asking leave, which that others might not alſo do, or attempt, he courteouſly diſmiſſed many more that ſeemed willing to be gone. Hereby it came to paſs, that the Journey ſeemed the leſs tedious unto thoſe that accompanied him, as being not enforced by compulſion. With the reſt of his Army, conſiſting now but of fifty thouſand foot, and nine thouſand horſe, he paſt the *Pyrenes*, and entred into *Gaul*. He found the *Gauls* that bordered upon *Spain*, ready in Arms to forbid his entrance into their Countrey; but won them with gentle ſpeech, and rich preſents that he beſtowed upon their Leaders, to favour his Expedition. So without any moleſtation, he came to the bank of *Rhodanus*; where dwelt, on each ſide of the River a people called *Volcæ*, Theſe were unacquainted with the cauſe of his coming; and therefore ſought to keep him from paſſing over the water. But he was greatly aſſiſted by ſome of thoſe *Gauls*, that inhabited on the Weſt ſide of *Rhodanus*, to wit, by thoſe of *Vivaretz* and *Lyonnois*. For although many of them had tranſported themſelves and their goods, into the Countrey of *Dauphiné*, thinking to defend the further bank againſt him: yet ſuch as remained, being very deſirous to free their Countrey of ſo many ill gueſts, were better pleaſed to have their Countrey-men well beaten, which had abandoned them, than to have their own ſtore of corn and cattel waſted, by the long ſtay of ſo great an Army, as lay upon them. For which reaſon, they helped him to make boats; informed him of another more eaſie paſſage, higher up the River; and lent him Guides. When the Veſſels for tranſportation of his Army were in readineſs; he ſent *Hanno*, the ſon of *Bomilcar*, up the River; himſelf in the mean while making countenance to enter the Foord below. The end of this labour, was, that *Hanno* charging the *Gauls* unawares upon their own ſide, and *Hannibal*, at the ſame time, paſſing the River in their faces, the further bank was won, though with ſome difficulty; and the enemies diſperſed. Yet was he greatly troubled in conveying over his Elephants; who marvellouſly feared the water. He was therefore driven to make raffs of trees, and cover them with Earth and Turf; whereof he faſtened one to each bank, that might ſerve as a bridge, to and from another of the ſame ſort, but looſe, upon which the beaſts were towed over.

Having paſt this firſt brunt, and overcome both the rage of the River, and of thoſe that defended it, he was viſited by the Princes of the *Gauls Ciſalpines*, that inhabited *Piemont* and *Milan*, who lately had revolted from the *Romans*. Theſe informed him of the paſſages of the *Alps*; that they were not ſo difficult, as common report made them; and from theſe he received Guides, with many other encouragements. All which notwithſtanding, he found himſelf extreamly incumbred by the *Savoyans*; and loſt, both of his carriages, and of his *Carthaginians*, more than willingly he would, or had formerly thought that he ſhould. For he was twice mainly aſſailed by them, before he could recover the plain Countreys on the other ſide. And whereas his Journey over the Mountains coſt him fifteen days travel, he was every day, more or leſs, not only charged by thoſe Mountainers, but withal extreamly beaten with grievous weather and ſnow: it being the beginning of Winter, when he began, and overcame this paſſage. But the fair and fertile Plains, which were now ready to receive them; with the aſſiſtance and conduct of the *Ciſalpine Gauls* who by their proper forces had ſo often invaded the *Roman* Teritory; gave them great comfort and encouragement to go on: having nothing elſe of difficulty remaining, but that which from the beginning they made accompt to overcome, by their proper valour and reſolution; namely, the *Roman* Armies, and reſiſtance.

SECT. III.

How the Romans *in vain ſolicited the* Spaniards *and* Gauls *to take their part. The Rebellion of the* Ciſalpine-Gauls *againſt the* Romans.

THE Countries of *Spain* and *Gaul*, through which the *Carthaginians* marched thus far, had been ſolicited before, by the ſame *Roman* Embaſſadours, who had denounced the war at *Carthage*. Theſe, as they were inſtructed by the Senate, took *Spain* in their way, home-ward from *Carthage*, with a purpoſe to draw into the *Roman* Alliance, as many of the Cities and Princes as they could; at leaſt to diſſwade them from contracting any friendſhip with the *Carthaginians*. The firſt which they attempted were the *Volcians*, a people in *Spain* from whom, in open aſſembly, they received by one that ſpake for the reſt, this uncomfortable anſwer: With what face (ſaith he) can ye *Romans* perſwade us to value your Alliance, or to prefer it before the friendſhip of the *Carthaginians*; ſeeing we are taught by the example of the *Saguntines*, to be more wiſe than ſo? For they, relying on your faith and promiſed aſſiſtance, have

have been utterly rooted out, and destroyed by the *Carthaginians*; whom they might else have held their assured friends, and good neighbours, as we, and other the people of *Spain* have found them. Ye may therefore be gone, with this resolution from us, That for our parts (and so I think, I may answer for the rest of our Country-men) the *Romans* henceforth are not to expect any kindness at our hands; who are resolved, never to make account of their protection, nor amity. From the *Volcians*, the Embassadours took their way towards the *Gauls*; using their best arguments to perswade them not to suffer the *Carthaginians* to pass into *Italy* thorow their Territory: and withal greatly glorifying themselves, their strength, and large Dominion. But the *Gauls* laught them to scorn, and had hardly the patience to hear them speak. For shall we (said one of their Princes) by resisting *Hannibals* passage into *Italy*, entertain a war which is not meant to be made against us? Shall we hold the war among our selves, and in our own Territory, by force which marcheth with a speedy pace from us, toward our ancient enemies? Have the *Romans* deserved so well of us, and the *Carthaginians* so ill, that we should set fire on our own houses, to save theirs from burning? No, we know it well, that the *Romans* have already forced some Nations of ours, out of their proper Territory and inheritance: and constrained others, as free as themselves, to pay them tribute. We will not therefore make the *Carthaginians* our enemies, who have no way as yet offended us, nor we them.

With this unpleasing answer the Embassadours returned home, carrying no good news, of friends likely to help them; but rather some assurance from the people of *Massilia*, which were confederates with *Rome*, that the *Gauls* were determined to take part with their enemy. Of this inclination, the *Cisalpine-Gauls* gave hasty proof. For when the news was brought into *Italy*, that the *Carthaginians* had passed *Iberus*, and were on the way towards *Rome*; this alone sufficed to stir up the *Boji*, and *Insubrians*, against the *Romans*. These people were lately offended at the plantation of new *Roman* Colonies, at *Cremona*, and *Placentia*, within their Territories. Relying therefore upon the *Carthaginian* succour, which they supposed to be now at hand; they laid aside all regard of those hostages, which they had given to the *Romans*, and fell upon the new Colonies. The Towns it seems they could not win; for *Hannibal* shortly after failed to get them. But they forced the *Roman* Commissioners (who belike were abroad in the Country) to fly to *Modena*: where they besieged them. The siege of *Modena* had continued some small time; when the *Gauls*, having little skill in assaulting Cities, waxed weary, and seemed desirous to have peace, and to come to some good accord with the *Romans*. This they did of purpose, to draw on some meeting; that they might therein lay hand upon the *Roman* Deputies, thereby to redeem their Hostages in way of exchange. And it fell out, in part, according to their wish. For the *Romans* sent out Embassadours to treat with them, and to conclude a Peace; whom they detained. *Manlius* the Prætor, who lay in these quarters with an Army, hearing this outrage, marched in all haste, to the relief of the besieged. But the *Gauls*, having laid a strong ambush in a wood joyning to the way, fell upon he Prætor soopportunely, as he was utterly overthrown, and all his followers left dead in the place, a few excepted, that recovered by fast running to a little village, but defensible; upon the River of *Po*. When this was heard at *Rome*, *C. Atilius*, another of the Prætors, was hastily sent to relieve the besieged with a Legion, and five thousand of the *Roman* associates: which forces were taken out of the Consuls Army, and supplyed by a new levy.

As the *Gauls* were too rash and hasty, so were the *Romans* too slow, and indeed too ill-advised, in the beginning of this war. They were not perswaded that *Carthage*, which had almost servilely endured so many indignities in time of the late peace; would be so brave and couragious, on the sudden, as to attempt the conquest of *Italy* it self. Wherefore they appointed one of their Consuls to make war in *Spain*, the other in *Africk*: resting secure of all danger at home. *Titus Sempronius* took his way toward *Africk*, with an hundred and sixty *Quinqueremes*, or Gallies of five to an Oar, which preparation may seem to threaten even the City of *Carthage*, to which it shall not come near. *P. Cornelius Scipio*, the other Consul, made all possible haste, by the way of *Genoa*, into *Provence*; and used such diligence, having the wind also favourable, as in five days he recovered *Massilia*. There he was advertised of *Hannibal* his having passed the River of *Rhodanus*, whom he thought to have found busie yet a while in *Spain*. *Hannibal* had also news of the Consuls arrival: whereof he was neither, glad nor sorry, as not meaning to have to do with him. Each of them sent forth Scouts to discover the others number and doings: *Hannibal*, about five hundred *Numidians*; *Scipio*, three hundred of his better appointed *Roman* horse. These met and fought, and the *Numidians* were beaten: yet could not the *Romans* greatly brag, having slain only two hundred, and lost of their own, one hundred and forty. But when *Scipio* drew near, to have met with the *Carthaginians*; he found, that they were gone three days before; and that (as he then found assuredly true) with an intent to look upon the walls of *Rome*. This interrupted his intended Voyage into *Spain*. Nevertheless he sent away thither his Brother *Cn. Cornelius Scipio*, with the greatest part of his Fleet and Army, to try what might be done against *Asdrubal*, and the other *Carthaginian* Lieutenants in the Country. He himself, taking with him a few choice bands, returned by Sea, to *Pisa*; and so passing thorow *Tuscane* into *Lombardie*, drew together the broken troops of *Manlius* and *Atilius* that lately had been beaten by the *Gauls*: with which forces he made head against the enemy, thinking to find him over-laboured, with travel of his painful Journey.

SECT. IV.

Scipio *the* Roman *Consul overcome by* Hannibal *at* Ticinum. *Both of the* Roman *Consuls beaten by* Hannibal, *in a great battel at* Trebia.

FIve Months *Hannibal* had spent in his tedious Journey from *Carthagena*; what great muster he could make, when he had passed the *Alps*, it is not easily found. Some reckon his foot, at an hundred thousand, and his horse at twenty thousand; others report them to have been only twenty thousand foot and six hundred horse. *Hannibal* himself in his monument which he raised, in the

Temple

Temple of *Juno Lacinia*, agreeth with the latter ſumm. Yet the *Gaules*, *Ligurians*, and others that joyned with him, are likely to have mightily increaſed his Army, in ſhort ſpace. But when he marched Eaſtward from the Banks of *Rhodanus*, he had with him eight and thirty thouſand foot, and eight thouſand horſe; of which, all ſave thoſe remembred by himſelf in the Inſcription of his Altar in *Juno*'s Temple, are like to have periſhed by diſeaſes, enemies, Rivers and Mountains; which miſchiefs had devoured, each their ſeveral ſhares.

Having newly paſſed the *Alpes*, and ſcarce refreſhed his wearied Army in the Country of *Piemont*; he ſought to win the friendſhip of the [a] *Taurini*, who lay next in his way. But the *Taurini* held war at that time with the *Inſubrians*, which were his good friends; and refuſed (perhaps for the ſame cauſe) his amity. Wherefore he aſſaulted their Town; and wan it by force in three daies. Their ſpoil ſerved well to hearten his Army; and their calamity, to terrifie the Neighbour places. So the *Gauls*, without more ado, fell unto his ſide: many for fear, many alſo for good-will, according to their former inclination. This diſpoſition ran thorow the whole Country: which joyned, or was all in readineſs to joyn with the *Carthaginians*; when the news of *Scipio* the Conſul his arrival, made ſome to be more adviſed than the reſt. The name of the *Romans* was terrible in thoſe quarters; what was in the *Carthaginians*, experience had not yet laid open. Since therefore the *Roman* Conſul was already gotten throrow the moſt defenſible paſſages, ere any ſpeech had been heard of his approach; many ſate ſtill for very fear, who elſe would fain have concluded a League with theſe newcome friends; and ſome, for greater fear, offered their ſervice againſt the *Carthaginians*, whom nevertheleſs they had wiſhed well to ſpeed.

[a] Theſe dwelt about *Turine*, a goodly City, now ſubject unto the Duke of *Savoy*: which from them took the name of *Auguſta Taurinorum*.

This wavering affection of the Provinces, whereinto they were entred, made the two Generals haſten to the tryal of a battel. Their meeting was at *Ticinum*, now called *Pavia*; where each of them wondred at the others expedition: *Hannibal* thinking it ſtrange that the Conſul, whom he had left behind him on the other ſide of the *Alpes*, could meet him in the face, before he had well warmed himſelf in the Plains; *Scipio* admiring the ſtrange adventure of paſſing thoſe Mountains, and the great ſpirit of his Enemy. Neither were the Senate at *Rome* little amazed at *Hannibals* ſucceſs, and ſudden arrival. Wherefore they diſpatched a Meſſenger in all haſt unto *Sempronius*, the other Conſul, that was then in *Sicily*, giving him to underſtand hereof: and letting him further know, that whereas he had been directed to make the war in *Africa*, it was now their pleaſure that he ſhould forbear to proſecute any ſuch attempt, but that he ſhould return the Army under his charge, with all poſſible ſpeed, to ſave *Italy* it ſelf. According to this order, *Sempronius* ſent off his Fleet from *Lilybæum*; with direction to Land the Army at *Ariminum*, a Port Town not far from *Ravenna*: quite another way from *Carthage*, whither he was making haſt. In the mean while, *Scipio* and *Hannibal* were come ſo near, that fight they muſt, ere they could part aſunder. Hereupon both of them prepared the minds of their Souldiers, by the beſt arguments they had: unto which *Hannibal* added the Rhetorick of a preſent example, that he ſhewed upon certain priſoners of the *Savoians*, which he brought along with him, fitted for the purpoſe, into *Italy*. For theſe, having been no leſs miſerably fettered and chained, than ſparingly fed; and withal ſo often ſcourged on their naked bodies, as nothing was more in their deſire, than to be delivered from their miſeries by any kind of preſent death, were brought into the middle of the Army: where it was openly demanded, which of them would fight hand to hand with ſome other of his Companions, till the one of them were ſlain, with condition, being the Victor, to receive his liberty, and ſome ſmall reward. This was no ſooner propounded, than all of them together accepted the offer. Then did *Hannibal* cauſe lots to be caſt, which of them ſhould enter the Liſt, with ſuch weapons, as the Chieftains of the *Gauls* were wont to uſe in ſingle combats. Every one of thoſe unhappy men wiſhed, that his own lot might ſpeed; whereby it ſhould at leaſt be his good fortune, to end his miſeries by death, if not to get a reward by Victory. That couple, whoſe good hap it was to be choſen, fought reſolvedly: as rather deſiring, than fearing death; and having none other hope, than in vanquiſhing. Thus were ſome few couples matched, it skilled not how equally: for all theſe poor creatures were willing, upon whatſoever uneven terms, to rid themſelves out of ſlavery. The ſame affection that was in theſe Combatants, and in their fellows which beheld them, wrought alſo upon the *Carthaginians*, for whom the ſpectacle was ordained. For they deemed happy, not only him, that by winning the Victory had gotten his liberty, together with an horſe and armour: but even him alſo, who being ſlain in fight, had eſcaped that miſerable condition, unto which his Companions were returned. Their General perceiving what impreſſion this dumb ſhew had wrought in them, began to admoniſh them of their own condition, ſpeaking to this effect: That he had laid before them an example of their own eſtates: ſeeing the time was at hand, wherein they were all to run the ſame fortune, that theſe ſlaves had done; all to live victorious and rich; or all to die, or (which theſe priſoners eſteemed far more grievous) to live in a perpetual ſlavery: That none of them all, in whom was common ſenſe, could promiſe to himſelf any hope of life by flight; ſince the Mountains, the Rivers, the great diſtance from their own Countries, and the purſuit of mercileſs Enemies, muſt needs retrench all ſuch impotent imaginations. He therefore prayed them to remember, that they, who had even now praiſed the fortune both of the Victor, and of the vanquiſhed, would make it their own caſe; ſeeing that there was never any in the world, appointed with ſuch a reſolution, that had ever been broken, or beaten by their enemies. On the contrary, he told them that the *Romans*, who were to fight upon their own ſoil, and in view of their own Towns; who knew as many waies to ſave themſelves by flight, as they had bodies of men to fight withal, could no way entertain ſuch a reſolution as theirs: ſeeing the ſame Neceſſity, (to which nothing ſeems impoſſible) did no way preſs them, or conſtrain them. In this ſort did *Hannibal*, with one ſubſtantial Argument, *That there was no mean between Victory and Death*, encourage his Companions. For (ſaith a great Captain of *France*) *La commodite de la retraitte advance la fuite*; *The commodity of a retrait, doth greatly advance a flat running away.*

Scipio on the other ſide, after that he had given order for the laying of a bridge over the River of *Ticinus*, did not neglect to uſe the beſt arguments and reaſons he could, to encourage the Army he led: putting them in mind of the great conqueſts and

and victories of their Anceſtors; againſt how many Nations they had prevailed; and over how many Princes, their Enemies, they had triumphed. As for this Army commanded by *Hannibal*, although it were enough to tell them, that it was no better than of *Carthaginians*, whom in their late war they had ſo often beaten, by Land and Sea; yet he prayed them withal to conſider, that at this time it was not only ſo diminiſhed in numbers, as it rather ſeemed a Troop of Brigants and Thieves, than an Army likely to encounter the *Romans*, but ſo weather-beaten, and ſtarved, as neither the men, nor horſes, had ſtrength or courage to ſuſtain the firſt charge that ſhould be given upon them. Nay (ſaid he) ye your ſelves may make judgement what daring they have now remaining, after ſo many travels and miſeries; ſeeing when they were in their beſt ſtrength, after they had paſt the *Roan*, their horſemen were not only beaten by ours, and driven back to the very Trenches of their Camp, but *Hannibal* himſelf, fearing our approach, ran headlong towards the *Alps*: thinking it a leſs diſhonour, to die there by froſt, famine, and precipitation, than by the ſharp ſwords of the *Romans*, which had ſo often cut down his people, both in *Africa*, and in *Sicily*. It was not long after this, ere the two Generals met: each being ſan advanced before the groſs of his Army, with his Horſe; and the *Roman* having alſo with him ſome light-armed foot, to view the ground, and the enemies countenance. When they diſcovered the approach one of the other; *Scipio* ſent before him his horſe-men of the *Gauls*, to begin the fight, and beſtowing his Darters in the void ground between their Troops, to aſſiſt them: himſelf with his *Roman* men at arms, followed ſoftly in good order. The *Gauls* (whether deſirous to try the metal of the *Carthaginians*, or hoping thereby to get favour of the *Romans*) behaved themſelves couragiouſly, and were as couragiouſly oppoſed. Yet their foot that ſhould have aided them, ſhrank at the firſt brunt, or rather fled cowardly away, without caſting a Dart; for fear of being trodden down by the enemies horſe. This notwithſtanding, the *Gauls* maintained the fight. and did more hurt than they received; as preſuming that they were well backt. Neither was the Conſul unmindful to relieve them: their hardineſs deſerving his aid; and the haſty flight of thoſe that ſhould have ſtood by them, admoniſhing him that it was needful. Wherefore he adventured himſelf ſo far, that he received a dangerous wound; and had been left in the place, if his Son (afterward ſurnamed *Africanus*) had not brought him off: though others give the honour of this reſcue to a *Ligurian* ſlave. Whilſt the *Romans* were buſied in helping their Conſul; an unexpected ſtorm came driving at their backs, and made them look about how to help themſelves. *Hannibal* had appointed his *Numidian* light-horſe, to give upon the *Romans* in flank, and to compaſs them about, whilſt he with his men at Arms ſuſtained their charge, and met them in the face. The *Numidians* performed this very well: cutting in pieces the ſcattered foot, that ran away at the firſt encounter; and then falling on the backs of thoſe, whoſe looks were faſtened upon *Hannibal* and *Scipio*. By this impreſſion, the *Romans* were ſhuffled together, and routed: ſo that they all betook them to their ſpeed, and left unto their enemies the honour of the day.

When *Scipio* ſaw his horſe-men thus beaten, and the reſt of his Army thereby greatly diſcouraged; he thought it a point of wiſdom, having loſt ſo many of his Fleet upon the firſt puff of the wind, to take Port with the reſt, before the extremeſt of the tempeſt overtook him. For he ſaw by the lowring morning what manner of day it was like to prove. Therefore his battel of foot being yet unboken, he in a manner ſtole the retrait; and recovered the Bridge over *Ticinus*, which he had formerly built. But notwithſtanding all the haſte that he made, he left ſix hundred of his Rear behind him: who were the laſt that ſhould have paſſed, and ſtaid to break the Bridge. Herein he followed this rule of a good man of War, *Si certamen quandoq; dubium videatur, tacitam miles arripiat fugam: fuga enim aliquando laudanda*: which muſt be underſtood in this ſort: *If a General of an Army, by ſome unproſperous beginnings doubt the ſucceſs; or find his Army fearful or wavering, it is more profitable to ſteal a ſafe retrait, than to abide the uncertain event of battel.*

It was two daies after, ere *Hannibal* could paſs the River; *Scipio* the whileſt refreſhing his men, and eaſing himſelf of his wound in *Placentia*. But as ſoon as *Hannibal* preſented his Army before the Town, offering battel to the *Romans*, who durſt not accept it, nor iſſue forth of their Camp; the *Gauls*, that hitherto had followed *Scipio* for fear, gathered out of his fear, courage to forſake him. They thought that now the long-deſired time was come, in which better Chieftains and Souldiers, than *Ancroeſtus*, *Britomarus*, and *Geſſates*, were come to help them: if they had the hearts to help themſelves. Wherefore the ſame night they fell upon the *Roman* Camp; wounded and ſlew many, eſpecially of thoſe guards that kept watch at the gate; with whoſe heads in their hands, they fled over to the *Carthaginians*, and preſented their ſervice. *Hannibal* received them exceeding courteouſly, and diſmiſt them to their own places: as men likely to be of more uſe to him, in perſwading the reſt of their Nation to become his Confederates, than in any other ſervice at the preſent.

About the fourth watch of the night following, the Conſul ſtole a retrait, as he had done before; but not with the like eaſe and ſecurity. *Hannibal* had a good eye upon him, and ere he could get far, ſent the *Numidians* after him: following himſelf with all his Army. That night the *Romans* had received a great blow, if the *Numidians*, greedy of ſpoil, had not ſtaid to ranſack their Camp: and thereby given time to all (ſave ſome few in Rear, that were ſlain or taken) to paſs the River of *Trebia*, and ſave themſelves. *Scipio*, being both unable to travel by reaſon of his wound, and withal, finding it expedient to attend the coming of his fellow-Conſul; incamps himſelf ſtrongly upon the banks of *Trebia*. Neceſſity required that he ſhould ſo do; yet this diminiſhed his reputation. For every day more and more of the *Gauls* fell to the *Carthaginian* ſide; among whom came in the *Boji*, that brought with them the *Roman* Commiſſioners, which they had taken in the late Inſurrection. They had hitherto kept them as pledges, to redeem their own hoſtages: but now they deliver them up to *Hannibal*, as tokens and pledges of their affections towards him; by whoſe help they conceived better hope of recovering their own men and lands. In the mean while, *Hannibal*, being in great ſcarcity of victuals, attempted the taking of *Claſtidium*, a Town wherein the *Romans* had laid up all their ſtore and munition. But there needed no force; a *Brunduſian*, whom the *Romans* had truſted with keeping it, ſold it for a little money.

The

The news of these disasters, brought to *Rome*, filled the Senate and people, rather with a desire of hasty revenge, than any great sorrow for their loss received; seeing that in a manner, all their Foot, wherein their strength and hope consisted, were as yet entire. They therefore hasted away *Sempronius*, that was newly arrived, towards *Ariminum*, where the Army, by him sent out of *Sicily*, awaited his coming. He therefore hasted thither; and from thence he marched speedily towards his Colleague: who attended him upon the banks of *Trebia*. Both the Armies being joyned in one, the Consuls devised about that which remained to be done: *Sempronius* received from *Scipio* the relation of what had passed since *Hannibals* arrival; the fortune of the late fight; and by what errour or misadventure the *Romans* were therein foiled, which *Scipio* chiefly laid on the revolt and treason of the *Gauls*.

Sempronius, having received from *Scipio* the state of the affairs in those parts; sought by all means to try his fortune with *Hannibal*, before *Scipio* were recovered of his wounds, that thereby he might purchase to himself the sole glory of the victory, which he had already in his imagination, certainly obtained. He also feared the Election of the new Consuls: his own time being well-near expired. But *Scipio* perswaded the contrary; objecting the unskilfulness of the new-come Souldiers: and withall, gave him good reason, to assure him that the *Gauls*, naturally unconstant, were upon terms of abandoning the party of the *Carthaginians*; those of them inhabiting between the rivers of *Trebia* and *Po*, being already revolted. *Sempronius* knew all this as well as *Scipio*: but being both guided and blinded by his ambition, he made haste to find out the dishonour which he might otherwise easily have avoided. This resolution of *Sempronius* was exceeding pleasing to *Hannibal*: who feared nothing so much as delay and loss of time. For the strength of his Army, consisting in strangers, to wit, in *Spaniards* and *Gauls*; he no less feared the change of affection in the one, than the impatience of the other: who being far from their own home, had many passions moving them to turn their faces towards it. To further the desire of *Sempronius*, it fell out so, that about the same time, the *Gauls*, inhabiting near unto *Trebia*, complained of injuries done by the *Carthaginians*. They did not supply *Hannibal* with necessaries, as he supposed that they might have done; although he daily reprehended their negligence, telling them, that for their sakes, and to set them at liberty, he had undertaken this Expedition. Seeing therefore how little they regarded his words, he was bold to be his own Carver; and took from them by force, as much as he needed of that which they had. Hereupon they fly to the *Romans* for help: and, to make their tale the better, say that this wrong is done them, because they refused to joyn with *Hannibal*. *Scipio* cared not much for this: he suspected their falshood, and was assured of their mutability. But *Sempronius* affirmed, that it stood with the honour of *Rome*, to preserve their Confederates from suffering injury: and that hereby might be won the friendship of all the *Gauls*. Therefore he sent out a thousand Horse: which coming unlooked for upon *Hannibal* his forragers, and finding them heavy loaden, cut many of them in pieces, and chased the rest even into their own Camp. This indignity made the *Carthaginians* sally out against them, who caused them to retire faster than they came. *Sempronius* was ready to back his own men; and repelled the enemies. *Hannibal* did the like. So that at length all the *Roman* Army was drawn forth; and a battel ready to be fought, if the *Carthaginian* had not refused it.

This victory (for so the Consul would have it called) made the *Romans* in general desirous to try the main chance in open field: all the perswasions of *Scipio* to the contrary notwithstanding. Of this disposition *Hannibal* was advertised by the *Gauls*, his Spies, that were in the *Roman* Camp. Therefore he bethought himself how to help forward the victory by adding some stratagem to his forces: he found in the hollow of a water-course, over-grown with high reed, a fit trench to cover an ambush. Therein he cast his brother *Mago* with a thousand choice Horse, and as many foot. The rest of his Army, after they had well warmed, and well fed themselves in their Camp, he led into the field, and marched towards the Consul. Early in the morning he had sent over *Trebia* some companies of *Numidian* light-horse, to brave the enemy, and to draw him forth to a bad dinner, ere he had broken his fast. *Sempronius* was ready to take any opportunity to fight: and therefore not only issued out of his Camp, but foorded the River of *Trebia*, in a most cold and miserable day; his foot being wet almost to the arm-holes: which, together with the want of food, did so enfeeble and cool their courages, as they wanted force to handle the arms they bare. Strong they were in foot, as well of their own Nation, as of the *Latines*: having of the one sixteen, of the other twenty thousand. The mass of these they ranged in a gross Battalion, guarded on the flanks with three thousand horse; thrusting their Light-armed, and Darters, in loose troops in the head of the rest, in the nature of a Vantguard. The *Carthaginian* numbers of foot were in a manner equal to their enemies; in horse they had by far the better, both in number and goodness. When therefore the *Roman* horse ranged on the flanks of their foot, were broken by the *Numidians*; when their foot, were charged both in front and flank, by the *Spaniards*, *Gauls* and Elephants; when finally the whole Army was unawares prest in the Rear, by *Mago* and his two thousand, that rose out of their place of ambush; then fell the *Romans*, by heaps, under the enemies swords: and being beaten down, as well fighting in disorder, as flying towards the River, by the Horsemen that pursued them, there escaped no more of six and thirty thousand, than ten thousand of all sorts, Horse and Foot.

Three great errours *Sempronius* committed, of which every one deserved to be recompenced with the loss that followed. The first was, that he fought with *Hannibal* in a Champain, being by far inferiour in Horse and withal, thereby subject to the *African* Elephants, which in inclosed or uneven grounds and wood-lands, would have been of no use. His second errour was, that he made no discovery of the place upon which he fought; whereby he was grosly over-reacht, and insnared, by the ambush which *Hannibal* had laid for him. The third was, that he drencht his foot-men with empty stomachs, in the River of *Trebia*, even in a most cold and frosty day, whereby, in effect, they lost the use of their limbs. For, as one saith well, *There is nothing more inconvenient and perilous, than to present an Army tyred with travel, to an enemy fresh and fed; since where the strength of body faileth, the generosity of mind is but as an unprofitable vapour.*

The broken remainder of the *Roman* Army, was collected by *Scipio*, who got therewith into *Placentia*; stealing away the same night, which was exceeding

exceeding rainy, from the *Carthaginians*, who either perceived him not, because of the showrs; or would not perceive him, because they were overwearied. *Sempronius* escaped with extream danger, flying through the Country that was over-run by the enemies horse. He was attended by more than were requisite in a secret flight; yet by fewer than could have made resistance, if the enemy had met with him. Nevertheless he got away, and came to *Rome*; where he did his office in chusing new Consuls for the year following: and then returned into his Province, with a fresh supply against *Hannibal*.

SECT. V.

The departure of Hannibal *from the* Cisalpine Gauls *into* Hetruria. Flaminius *the* Roman *Consul slain, and his Army destroyed by the* Carthaginians, *at the Lake of* Thrasymene.

THE Winter growing on a-pace, was very sharp, and unfit for service: to the great contentment of the *Romans*, who being not able to keep the field, lay warm in *Placentia*, and *Cremona*. Yet *Hannibal* did not suffer them to rest very quiet; but vexed them with continual Alarms: assailed divers places, and taking some; beating the *Gauls* their adherents, and winning the *Ligurians* to his party, who presented him, in token of their faithful love, with two *Roman* Questors, or Treasurers, two Colonels, and five Gentlemen, the Sons of Senators, which they had intercepted. These, and in general all such prisoners as he had of the *Romans*, he held in straight places, loaden with Irons, and miserably fed: those of their followers he not only well intreated, but sent them to their Countries without ransom; with the protestation, That he therefore undertook the War in *Italy*, to free them from the oppression of the *Romans*. By these means he hoped, and not in vain, to draw many of them to his party and assistance. But the *Gauls* were not capable of such perswasions. They stood in fear, lest he should make their Country the seat of War, and perhaps take it from them. They were also more grieved than reason willed them, at his feeding upon them, and wasting their territory. Wherefore some of them conspired against his life; others admonished him of the danger: and these that gave him the advice, were ready soon after to practise against him; but were in like sort detected. He was therefore glad to use Periwigs of hair, and false beards of divers colours; to the end that he might not be descryed, nor known, to those that should undertake to make him away. Fain he would have passed the *Appennines*, upon the first appearance of Spring; but was compelled by the violence of weather, to tarry among the *Gauls*, till he had seen more swallows than one. At length, when the year was somewhat better opened, he resolved to take his leave of these giddy companions, and bring the war nearer to the gate of *Rome*. So away he went, having his Army greatly increased with *Ligurians* and *Gauls*; more serviceable friends abroad, than in their own Country. That the passage of the *Appennine* Mountains was troublesome, I hold it needless to make any doubt: Yet since the *Roman* Armies found no memorable impediment, in their marches that way: the great vexation which fell upon *Hannibal*, when he was travelling thorow and over them, ought in reason to be imputed rather to the extremity of winter, that makes all waies foul, than to any intolerable difficulty in that journey. Nevertheless, to avoid the length of war, together with the resistance and fortifications which may not improbably be thought to have been erected upon the ordinary passages towards *Rome*: he chose at this time, though it were with much trouble, to travel thorow the Fens and rotten grounds of *Tuscane*. In those Marishes and bogs, he lost all his Elephants, save one, together with the use of one of his eyes; by the moistness of the air, and by lodging on the cold ground, and wading thorow deep mire and water. In brief, after he had, with much ado, recovered the firm and fertile Plains, he lodged about *Aretium*; where he somewhat refreshed his wearied followers, and heard news of the *Roman* Consuls.

C. Flaminius, and *Cn. Servilius* had of late been chosen Consuls for this year: *Servilius* a tractable man, and wholly governed by advice of the Senate; *Flaminius* an hot-headed popular Orator; who having once been robbed (as he thought) of his Consulship, by a device of the Senators, was afraid to be served so again, unless he quickly finished the war. This jealous Consul thought it not best for him to be at *Rome*, when he entred into his Office, lest his adversaries, by feigning some religious impediment, should detain him within the City, or find other business for him at home, to disappoint him of the honour that he hoped to get in the war. Wherefore he departed secretly out of the Town, and meant to take possession of his Office when the day came at *Ariminum*. The Fathers (so the Senators were called) highly displeased with this, revoked him by Embassadours: but he neglected their injunction; and hastening to meet with the *Carthaginians*, took his way to *Aretium*, where he shortly found them.

The fiery disposition of this Consul, promised unto *Hannibal* great assurance of victory. Therefore he provoked, with many indignities, the vehement nature of the *Roman*; hoping thereby to draw him unto fight, ere *Servilius* came with the rest of the Army. All the Country between *Fesule* and *Aretium*, he put to fire and sword, even under the Consuls nose; which was enough to make him stir, that would not have sitten still, though *Hannibal* had been quiet. It is true that a great Captain of *France* hath said; *Pays gaste n'est pas perdu*; *A wasted Country is not thereby lost*; But by this waste of the Country, *Flaminius* thought his own honour to be much impaired; and therefore advanced towards the Enemy. Many advised him (which had indeed been best) to have patience a while, and stay for his Colleague. But of this he could not abide to hear; saying, that he came not to defend *Aretium*, whilst the *Carthaginians* went burning down all *Italy* before them, to the gates of *Rome*. Therefore he took horse, and commanded the Army to march. It is reported as ominous, that one of their Ensigns stuck so fast in the ground, as it could not be plucked up by the Ensign-bearer. Of this tale, whether true or false, *Tully* makes a jest, saying, That the cowardly knave did faintly pull at it (as going now to fight) having hardly pitched it into the earth. Neither was the answer of *Flaminius* (if it were true) disagreeable hereto: for he commanded that it should be digged up, if fear had made the hands too weak to lift it: asking withal, whether letters were not come from the Senate, to hinder his proceedings. Of this their jealousie, both he and the Senate that did give him cause, are likely to repent.

All the Territory of *Cortona*, as far as to the Lake of *Thraſymene*, was on a light fire; which while the Conſul thought to quench with his enemies blood, he purſued *Hannibal* ſo unadviſedly, that he fell with his whole Army into an ambuſh cunningly laid for him between the Mountains of *Cortona* and the Lake. There was he charged unawares, on all ſides, (ſave only where that great Lake of *Peruſia*, permitted neither his enemies to come at him, nor him to fly from them) knowing not which way to turn, or make reſiſtance. So was he ſlain in the place, accompanied with fifteen thouſand dead carkaſſes of his Country-men. About ſix thouſand of his men, that had the Vaunt-guard, took courage, as for the moſt part it happens, out of deſperation: and breaking thorow the enemies, that ſtood in their way, recovered the tops of the Mountains. If theſe had returned, and given charge upon the *Carthaginians* backs, it was thought that they might have greatly amended, if not wholly altered the fortune of the day. But that violence of their fear, which, kindled by neceſſity had wrought the effects of hardineſs, was well aſſwaged, when they ceaſed to deſpair of ſaving their lives by flight. They ſtood ſtill, in a cold ſweat, upon the Hill-top, hearing under them a terrible noiſe, but not any way diſcovering how things went, becauſe of the great fogg that held all that morning. When it grew toward noon, the Air was cleared, and they might plainly diſcern the lamentable ſlaughter of their fellows. But they ſtaid not to lament it; for it was high time they thought, to be gone ere they were deſcryed and attached by the enemies horſe. This they ſhould have thought upon ſooner, ſince they had no mind to return into the fight. For, deſcryed they were, and *Maharbal* ſent after them, who overtook them by night in a Village, which he ſurrounded with his horſe: and ſo they yielded the next day, rendring up their arms, upon his promiſe of their lives and liberties.

This accord *Hannibal* refuſed to confirm; ſaying, that it was made by *Maharbal* without ſufficient warrant, as wanting his authority to make it good. Herein he taught them (yet little to his own honour) what it was to keep no faith: and fitted them with a trick of their own. For if it were lawful unto the *Romans*, to alter covenants, or add unto them what they liſted; if the *Carthaginians* muſt be fain to pay certain hundreds, and yet more hundreds of talents, beſides their firſt bargains; as alſo to renounce their intereſt in *Sardinia*, and be limited in their *Spaniſh* Conqueſts, according to the good pleaſure of the *Romans*, whoſe preſent advantage is more ample, than the conditions of the late concluded Peace: then can *Hannibal* be as *Roman*, as themſelves; and make them know, that perfidiouſneſs gaineth no more in proſperity, than it loſeth in the change of fortune. Fifteen thouſand *Italian* priſoners, or thereabout, he had in his hands: of which, all that were not *Romans*, he ſet free without ranſom; proteſting, as he had done before, that it was for their ſakes, and to free them and others from the *Roman* tyranny, that he had undertaken this war. But the *Romans* he kept in ſtraight priſon, and in fetters, making them learn to eat hard meat. This was a good way to breed in the people of *Italy*, if not a love of *Carthage*, yet a contempt of *Rome*: as if this war had not concerned the general ſafety, but only the preſerving of her own neck from the yoke of ſlavery, which her over-ſtrong enemies would thruſt upon her in revenge of her oppreſſions. But an antient reputation confirmed by ſucceſs of many ages, is not loſt in one or two battles. Wherefore more is to be done, ere the *Carthaginians* can get any *Italian* Partiſans.

Preſently after the battle of *Thraſymene*, *C. Centronius*, with four thouſand *Roman* horſe, drew near unto the Camp of *Hannibal*. He was ſent from *Ariminum* by *Servilius* the other Conſul, to increaſe the ſtrength of *Flaminius*: but, coming two late, he increaſed only the miſadventure. *Maharbal* was employed by *Hannibal*, to intercept this company; who finding them amazed with report which they had newly heard of the great overthrow, charged them, and brake them: and killing almoſt half of them, drave the reſt unto a high piece of ground, where they came down, and ſimply yielded to mercy the next day. *Servilius* himſelf was in the mean time skirmiſhing with the *Gauls*; againſt whom he had wrought no matter of importance, when the news was brought him of his Colleagues overthrow and death in *Hetruria*; that made him haſten back to the defence of *Rome*.

In theſe paſſages, it is eaſie to diſcern the fruits of popular jealouſie, which perſwaded the *Romans* to the yearly change of their Commanders in the wars; which greatly endangered, and retarded the growth of that Empire. Certain it is, that all men are far better taught by their own errours, than by the examples of their foregoers. *Flaminius* had heard in what a trap *Sempronius* had been taken up but the year before, by this ſubtile *Carthaginian*; yet ſuffered he himſelf to be caught ſoon after in the ſame manner. He had alſo belike forgotten how *Sempronius*, fearing to be prevented by a new Conſul, and ambitious of the ſole honour of beating *Hannibal* in battle, without help of his companion *Scipio*, had been rewarded with ſhame and loſs; elſe would he not, contrary to all good advice, have been ſo haſty to fight, before the arrival of *Servilius*. If *Sempronius* had been continued in his charge, it is probable that he would have taken his companion with him the ſecond time, and have ſearched all ſuſpected places, proper to have ſhadowed an ambuſh: both which this new Conſul *Flaminius* neglected. We may boldly avow it, that by being continued in his Government of *France* ten years, *Caſar* brought that mighty Nation, together with the *Helvetians* and many of the *Germans*, under the *Roman* yoke; into which parts had there been every year a new Lieutenant ſent, they would hardly, if ever, have been ſubdued. For it is more than the beſt wit in the world can do, to inform it ſelf, within one years compaſs, of the nature of a great Nation, of the Factions, of the Places, Rivers, and of all good helps, whereby to proſecute a War to the beſt effect. Our Princes have commonly left their Deputies in *Ireland* three years; whence by reaſon of the ſhortneſs of that their time, many of them have returned as wiſe as they went out; others have profited more, and yet when they began but to know the firſt rudiments of War, and Government, fitting the Country, they have been called home, and new Apprentices ſent in their places, to the great prejudice both of this and that Eſtate. But it hath ever been the old courſe of the World rather to follow the errours, than to examine them: and of Princes and Governours to uphold their ſlothful ignorance, by the old examples and policy of other ages and people; though neither likeneſs of time, of occaſion, or of any other circumſtance, have perſwaded the imitation.

SECT.

SECT. VI.

How Q. Fabius *the* Roman *Dictator, sought to consume the force of* Hannibal, *by lingring war.* Minutius *the Master of the Horse, honoured and advanced by the People, for bold and successful attempting; adventures rashly upon* Hannibal, *and is like to perish with his Army, and rescued by* Fabius.

GReatly were the *Romans* amazed at this their ill success, and at the danger apparent; which threatned them in more terrible manner, than ever did war since *Rome* it self was taken. They were good Souldiers, and so little accustomed to receive an overthrow, that when *Pyrrhus* had beaten them, once and again, in open field, all *Italy* was strangely affected with his success, and held him in admiration, as one that could work wonders. But *Pyrrhus* his quarrel was not grounded upon hate: he only sought honour, and fought (as it were) upon a bravery; demeaning himself like a courteous enemy. This *Carthaginian* detested the whole *Roman* name; against which he burned with desire of revenge. *Ticinum*, *Trebia*, and *Thrasymene*, witnessed his purpose, and his ability; which to understand, they fled unto a remedy that had long been out of use, and created a Dictator. The Dictators power was greater than the Consuls, and scarcely subject unto controll of the whole City. Wherefore this Officer was seldom chosen, but upon some extremity, and for no longer time than six months. He was to be named by one of the Consuls, at the appointment of the Senate: though it were so, that the Consul (if he stood upon his prerogative) might name whom he pleased. At this time the one Consul being dead, and the other too far off, the people took upon them, as having supreme authority, to give the Dignity by their election, to *Q. Fabius Maximus*; the best reputed man of War in the City. *Novum factum novum consilium expetit, contrary winds, contrary courses.* *Q. Fabius* chose *M. Minutius Rufus* Master of the horse: which Officer was customarily as the Dictators Lieutenant; though this *Minutius* grew afterwards famous, by taking more upon him.

The first act of *Fabius*, was the reformation of somewhat amiss in matters of Religion: a good beginning and commendable, had the Religion been also good. But if it were true (as *Livie* reports it) that the Books of *Sibyl* were consulted, and gave direction in this business of devotion; then must we believe that those Books of *Sibyl*, preserved in *Rome*, were dictated by an evil spirit. For it was ordained, that some Vow, made in the beginning of this war to *Mars*, should be made anew, and amplified, as having not been rightly made before: also that great Plaies should be vowed unto *Jupiter*, and a Temple to *Venus*; with such other Trumpery. This vehemency of superstition, proceeds alwaies from vehemency of fear. And surely this was a time, when *Rome* was exceedingly distempered with passion; whereof that memorable accident, of two women that suddenly died, when they saw their Sons return alive from *Thrasymene*, may serve to bear witness, though it be more properly an example of motherly love. The Walls and Towers of the City were now repaired and fortified; the Bridges upon Rivers were broken down, and all care taken for defence of *Rome* it self. In this tumult, when the Dictator was newly set forth against *Hannibal*, word was brought that the *Carthaginian* Fleet had intercepted all the supply, that was going to *Cn. Scipio* in *Spain*. Against these *Carthaginians*, *Fabius* commanded *Servilius* the Consul to put to Sea; and taking up all the ships about *Rome* and *Ostia*, to pursue them: whilst he, with the Legions, attended upon *Hannibal*. Four Legions he had levyed in haste: and from *Ariminum* he received the Army which *Servilius* the Consul had conducted thither.

Liv. lib. 22.

With these forthwith he followed apace after *Hannibal*; not to fight, but to affront him. And knowing well, what advantage the *Numidian* horse had over the *Romans*, he alwaies lodged himself on high grounds, and of hard access. *Hannibal* in the mean while, pursuing his victory, had ranged over all the Country, and used all manner of cruelty towards the inhabitants; especially to those of the *Roman* Nation, of whom he did put to the sword all that were able to bear arms. Passing by *Spoletum* and *Ancona*, he encamped upon the *Adriatick* shores; refreshed his diseased, and over-travelled Companies, armed his *Africans* after the manner of the *Romans*, and made his dispatches from *Carthage*; presenting his friends, which were in effect all the Citizens, with part of the spoils that he had gotten. Having refreshed his Army, fed his horses, cured his wounded Souldiers, and (as *Polybius* hath it) healed his horses heels of the scratches, by washing their pasterns in old wine: he followed the coast of the *Adriatick* Sea towards *Apulia* a Northern Province of the Kingdom of *Naples*, spoiling the *Murrucini*, and all other Nations lying in his way. In all this ground that he over-ran, he had not taken any one City: only he had assailed *Spoletum* a Colony of the *Romans*; and finding it well defended, presently gave it over. The malice of a great Army is broken, and the force of it spent in a great siege. This the *Protestant* Army found true at *Poictiers*, a little before the battel of *Moncountour*; and their victorious enemies, anon after at *S. Jean d' Angely*. But *Hannibal* was more wise. He would not engage himself in any such enterprise, as should detain him, and give the *Romans* leave to take breath. All his care was to weaken them in force and reputation: knowing, that when once he was absolute Master of the field, it would not be long ere the walled Cities would open their gates, without expecting any engine of battery. To this end he presented *Fabius* with battle, as soon as he saw him; and provoked him with all manner of bravadoes. But *Fabius* would not bite. He knew well the differences between souldiers bred up, ever since they were boyes, in war and in blood, trained and hardened in *Spain*, made proud and adventurous by many victories there, and of late by some notable acts against the *Romans*; and such, as had no other seen the enemy, than been vanquished by him. Therefore he attended the *Carthaginian* so near, as he kept him from stragling too far; and preserved the Country from utter spoil. He inured his men by little and little, and made them acquainted with dangers by degrees, and he brought them first to look on the Lyon afar off, that in the end he might fit on his tail.

Now *Minutius* had a contrary disposition, and was as fiery as *Flaminius*: taxing *Fabius* with cowardize and fear. But all stirred not this well-advised Commander. For wise men are no more moved with such noise, than with wind bruised out of a bladder. There is nothing of more in-

discretion and danger, than to pursue misfortune: it wasteth it self sooner by sufferance, than by opposition. It is the invading Army that desires battel: and this of *Hannibal*, was both the invading and victorious. *Fabius* therefore suffered *Hannibal* to cross the *Appenines*, and to fall upon the most rich and pleasant Territory of *Campania*; neither could he by any arguments be perswaded, to adventure the *Roman* Army in battel: but being far too weak in horse, he alwaies kept the Hills and fast grounds. When *Hannibal* saw he could by no means draw this wary Dictator to fight, that the Winter came on, and that the Towns stood firm for the *Romans*, whose Legions were in sight, though afar off; he resolved to rest his Army, that was loaden with spoil, in some plentiful and assured place, till the following spring. But ere this can be done he must pass along by the Dictators Camp, that hung over his head upon the hills of *Collicula*, and *Casilinum*: for other way there was none, by which he might issue out of that goodly garden-countrey, which he had already wasted, into places more abundant of provision for his wintering. It was by meer errour of his guide, that he first entred within these streights. For he would have been directed unto *Cassinum*, whence he might both slay the fair City of *Capua*, which had made him friendly promises under-hand, and hinder the *Romans* from coming near it to prevent him. But his guide mis-understood the *Carthaginian* pronunciation, and conducted him awry another way, from *Cassinum* to *Casilinum*, whence *Fabius* hoped that he should not easily escape. Now began the wisdom of *Fabius* to grow into credit; as if he had taken the *Carthaginians* in a trap, and won the victory without blows. But *Hannibal* reformed this opinion, and freed himself, by a sleight invention, yet serving the turn as well as a better. In driving the country, he had gotten about two thousand Kine, whose horns he dressed with dry faggots, and setting fire to them in the dark night, caused them to be driven up the hills. The spectacle was strange, and therefore terrible; especially to those that knew it to be a work of a terrible enemy. What it should mean, *Fabius* could not tell; but thought it a device to circumvent him, and therefore kept within his Trenches. They that kept the hill tops were horribly afraid, when some of these fiery Monsters were gotten beyond them; and ran therefore hastily away, thinking the enemies were behind their backs; and fell among the light-armed *Carthaginians*, that were no less afraid of them. So *Hannibal*, with his whole Army recovered sure ground without molestation: where he staid till the next morning, and then brought off his light footmen, with some slaughter of the *Romans*, that began to hold them in skirmish. After this, *Hannibal* made semblance of taking his journey towards *Rome*: and the Dictator coasted him in the wonted manner; keeping still on high grounds, between him and the City, whilest the *Carthaginian* wasted all the Plains. The *Carthaginian* took *Geryon*, an old ruinous Town in *Apulia*, forsaken by the Inhabitants, which he turned into Barns and Store-houses for winter, and incamped under the broken wall. Other matter of importance he did none: but the time passed idly, till the Dictator was called away to *Rome*, about some business of Religion, and left the Army in charge with *Minutius* the Master of the horse.

Minutius was glad of this good occasion to shew his own sufficiency. He was fully perswaded, that his *Romans*, in plain field would be too hard for the *Africans* and *Spaniards*: by whom if they had been foiled already twice or thrice, it was not by open force, but by subtilty and ambush, which he thought himself wise enough to prevent. All the Army was of his opinion; and that so earnestly, as he was preferred, by judgement of the Souldiers, in worthiness to command, before the cold and wary *Fabius*. In this jollity of conceit, he determined to fight, Yet had he been peremptorily forbidden so to do, by the Dictator; the breach of whose command was extream peril of death. But the honor of the victory, which he held undoubtedly his own; and the love of the Army, and the friends that he had at home bearing office in *Rome*, were enought to save him from the Dictators rods and axes, took he the matter never so hainously. *Hannibal* on the other side was no less glad, that he should play with a more adventurous Gamester. Therefore he drew near, and to provoke the *Romans*, sent forth the third part of his Army to waste the Countrey. This was boldly done, seeing that *Minutius* incamped hard by him: but it seems, that he now despised those whom he had so often vanquished. There was a piece of high ground between the two Camps; which because it would be commodious to him that could occupy it, the *Carthaginians* seized upon by night with two thousand of their light armed. But *Minutius*, by plain force, wan it from them the next day; and intrenching himself thereupon, became their nearer neighbour.

The main business of *Hannibal* at this time was, to provide abundantly, not only for his men, but for his Horses, which he knew to be the chief of his strength; that he might keep them in good heart against the next Summer: if besides this he could give the *Romans* another blow, it would increase his reputation, incourage his own men, terrifie his enemies, and give him leave to forrage the Country at will. Since therefore *Minutius* did not in many daies issue forth of his Camp, the *Carthaginian* sent out (as before) a great number of his men, to fetch in harvest. This advantage *Minutius* wisely espied, and took. For he led forth his Army, and setting it in order, presented battel to *Hannibal*, that was not in case to accept it, even at his own Trenches. His horses, and all his light Armature, divided into many companies, he sent abroad against the forragers; who being dispersed over all the fields, and loaden with booty, could make no resistance. This angred *Hannibal*, that was not able to help them; but worse did it anger him, when the *Romans* took heart to assail his Trenches. They perceived that it was meer weakness, which held him within his Camp, and therefore were bold to despise his great name, that could not resist their present strength. But in the heat of the business, *Asdrubal* came from *Geryon* with four thousand men, being informed of the danger, by those that had escaped the *Roman* horse. This imboldened *Hannibal* to issue forth against the *Romans*; to whom nevertheless he did not so much hurt, as he had received.

For this piece of service *Minutius* was highly esteemed by the Army, and more highly by the people at *Rome*, to whom he sent the news, with somewhat greater boast than truth. It seemed no small matter, that the *Roman* Army had recovered spirit, so far forth that it dared to set upon *Hannibal* in his own Camp; and that in so doing, it came off with the better. Every man therefore praised the Master of the Horse, that had wrought this great alteration; and consequently, they grew

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as far out of liking with *Fabius* and his timerous proceedings, thinking that he had not done any thing wiſely, in all his Dictatorſhip: ſaving that he choſe ſuch a worthy Lieutenant; whereas indeed in no other thing he had ſo greatly erred. But the Dictator was not ſo joyful of a little good luck, as angry with the breach of diſcipline; and fearful of greater danger, thereon likely to enſue. He ſaid that he knew his own place, and what was to be done: that he would teach the Maſter of the Horſe to do ſo likewiſe; and make him give account of what he had done, if he were Dictator: ſpeaking it openly, That good ſucceſs iſſuing from bad counſel, was more to be feared, than calamity; for as much as the one bred a fooliſh confidence, the other taught men to be wary. Againſt theſe Sermons every one cryed out, eſpecially *Metellus*, a Tribune of the people: which office warranted him to ſpeak, and do what he liſt, without fear of the Dictator. Is it not enough (ſaid he) that this our only Man, choſen to be General, and Lord of the Town, in our greateſt neceſſity, hath done no manner of good, but ſuffered all *Italy* to be waſted before his eyes, to the utter ſhame of our State; unleſs he alſo hinder others, from doing better than himſelf can, or dares? It were good to conſider what he means by this. Into the place of *C. Flaminius* he hath not choſen any new Conſul all this while; *Servilius* is ſent away to Sea, I know not why; *Hannibal* and he, have as it were taken Truce; *Hannibal* ſparing the Dictators grounds: (for *Hannibal* had indeed forborn to ſpoil ſome grounds of *Fabius*, that ſo he might bring him into envy and ſuſpicion) and the Dictator giving him leave to ſpoil all others, without impeachment. Surely his drift is even this: he would have the War to laſt long, that he himſelf might be long in office, and have the ſole Government both of our City and Armies. But this muſt not be ſo. It were better, that the Commonalty of *Rome*, which gave him this authority, ſhould again take it from him and conferr it upon one more worthy. But leſt, in moving the people hereto, I ſhould ſeem to do him injury; thus far forth I will regard his honour: I will only propound, That the Maſter of the Horſe may be joined in equal authority with the Dictator; a thing not more new, nor leſs neceſſary, than was the election of this Dictator, by the people.

Though all men, even the Senators, were ill perſwaded of the courſe which *Fabius* had taken againſt *Hannibal*, as being neither plauſible, nor ſeeming beneficial at the preſent; yet was there none ſo injurious, as to think that his general intent, and care of the Weal-publique, was leſs than very honourable. Whereas therefore it was the manner, in paſſing of any act, that ſome man of credit and authority, beſides the propounder, ſhould ſtand up, and formally deliver his approbation, not one of the principal Citizens was found ſo impudent, as to offer that open diſgrace, both unto a worthy Perſonage, and (therewithal) unto that dignity, whoſe great power had freed the State at ſeveral times, from the greateſt dangers. Only *C. Terentius Varro*, who the year before had been Prætor, was glad of ſuch an opportunity, to win the favour of the Multitude. This fellow was the ſon of a Butcher, afterwards became a Shop-keeper; and being of a contentious ſpirit, grew by often brabling, to take upon him as a Pleader, dealing in poor mens cauſes. Thus by little and little he got into Office; and roſe by degrees, being advanced by thoſe, who in hatred of the Nobility favoured his very baſeneſs. And now he thought the time was come, for him to give a hard puſh at the Conſulſhip; by doing that, which none of the great men, fearing or favouring one another, either durſt or would. So he made an hot invective, not only againſt *Fabius*, but againſt all the Nobility; ſaying, That it grieved them to ſee the people do well, and take upon them what belonged unto them, in matter of Government; That they ſought to humble the Commons by poverty, and to impoveriſh them by War; eſpecially by War at their own doors, which would ſoon conſume every poor mans living, and find him other work to think upon, than matter of State. Therefore he bade them to be wiſe; and ſince they had found one (this worthy Maſter of the Horſe) that was better affected unto them and his Country, to reward him according to his good deſerts; and give him authority, according as was propounded by the Tribune, that ſo he might be encouraged and enabled to proceed as he had begun. So the Act paſſed.

Before this buſie day of contention, *Fabius* had diſpatched the election of new Conſul, which was *M. Atilius Regulus*, in the room of *C. Flaminius*: and, having finiſhed all requiſite buſineſs, went out of Town, perceiving well, that he ſhould not be able to withſtand the multitude in hindering the decree. The news of *Minutius* his advancement, was at the Camp as ſoon as *Fabius*: ſo that his old Lieutenant, and new Colleague, began to treat with him as a Companion; aſking him at the firſt, in what ſort he thought it beſt to divide their authority: whether that one, one day; and the other, the next; or each of them ſucceſſively, for ſome longer time, ſhould command in chief. *Fabius* briefly told him, That it was the pleaſure of the Citizens, to make the Maſter of the Horſe equal to the Dictator, but that he ſhould never be his ſuperiour: He would therefore divide the Legions with him by lot, according to the cuſtom. *Minutius* was not herewith greatly pleaſed; for that with half of the Army he could not work ſuch wonders as otherwiſe he hoped to accompliſh. Nevertheleſs he meant to do his beſt, and ſo taking his part of the Army, incamped about a mile and a half from the Dictator. Needful it was (though *Livy* ſeems to tax him for it) that he ſhould ſo do. For where two ſeveral Commanders are not ſubordinate one unto another, nor joined in Commiſſion, but have each intire and abſolute charge of his own followers, there are the forces (though belonging to one Prince or State) not one, but two diſtinct Armies: in which regard, one Camp ſhall not hold them both without great inconvenience. *Polybius* neither finds fault with this diſtinction, nor yet reports, that *Fabius* was unwilling to command in chief ſucceſſively (as the two Conſuls uſed) with *Minutius*, by turns. He ſaith that *Minutius* was very refractory, and ſo proud of his advancement, that continually he oppoſed the Dictator: who thereupon referred it to his choice, either to divide the forces between them, as is ſaid before, or elſe to have command over all by courſe. This is likely to be true. For Natures impatient of ſubjection, when once they have broken looſe from the rigour of authority, love nothing more, than to conteſt with it; as if herein conſiſted the proof and aſſurance of their liberty.

It behoved the Maſter of the horſe to make good the opinion which had thus advanced him. Therefore he was no leſs careful of getting occaſion to fight, than was *Fabius* of avoiding the neceſſity. That which *Minutius* and *Hannibal* equally deſired,

fired, could not long be wanting. The Country lying between them was open and bare, yet as fit for ambush, as could be wished: for that the sides of a naked valley adjoyning, had many and spacious caves; able some one of them, to hide two or three hundred men. In these lurking places *Hannibal* bestowed five hundred horse, and five thousand foot; thrusting them so close together, that they could not be discovered. But lest by any misadventure they should be found out, and buried in their holes; he made offer betimes in the morning, to seize upon a piece of ground that lay on the other hand: whereby he drew the eyes and the thoughts of the *Romans*, from their more needful care, to business little concerning them. Like unto this was the occasion, which not long before had provoked *Minutius* to adventure upon the *Carthaginians*. Hoping therefore to encrease his honour, in like sort as he got it; he sent first his light armature, then his horse, and at length (seeing that *Hannibal* seconded his own Troops with fresh companies) he followed in person with the Legions. He was soon caught, and so hotly charged on all sides, that he knew neither how to make resistance, nor any safe retrait. In this dangerous case, whilst the *Romans* defended themselves losing many, and those of their best men: *Fabius* drew near in very good order to relieve them. For this old Captain, perceiving afar off, into what extremity his new Colleague had rashly thrown himself and his followers, did the Office of a good Citizen; and regarding more the benefit of his Country, than the disgrace which he had wrongfully sustained, sought rather to improve himself by hasting to do good, than by suffering his enemy to feel the reward of doing ill. Upon *Fabius* his approach, *Hannibal* retired: fearing to be well wetted with a showre, from the cloud (as he termed the Dictator) that had hung so long on the Hill-tops. *Minutius* forthwith submitted himself to *Fabius*; by whose benefit he confessed his life to have been saved. So from this time forwards the war proceeded coldly, as the Dictator would have it; both whilst his Office lasted which was not long, and likewise afterwards, when he delivered up his charge unto the Consuls, that followed his instructions.

Servilius the Consul had pursued in vain a *Carthaginian* fleet, to which he came never within kenning. He ran along all the coast of *Italy*; took hostages of the *Sardinians* and *Corsicans*; passed over into *Africk*; and there negligently falling to spoil the Country, was shamefully beaten aboard his ships, with the loss of 1000. men. Weighing anchor therefore in all haste, he returned home by *Sicily*; and (being so required by the Dictators letters) repaired to the Camp, with his fellow-Consul, where they took charge of the Army.

SECT. VII.

The Roman *people, desirous to finish the war quickly, choose a rash and unworthy Consul. Great forces levied against* Hannibal. Hannibal *taketh the* Romans *provisions in the Castle of* Cannæ. *The new Consuls set forth against* Hannibal.

WIth little pleasure did they of the poorer sort in *Rome* hear the great commendations that were given to *Fabius* by the principal Citizens. He had indeed preserved them from receiving a great overthrow; but had neither finished the war, nor done any thing in appearance thereto tending. Rather it might seem that the reputation of this his one worthy act, was likely to countenance the slow proceedings or perhaps the cowardize (if it were no worse) of those that followed him, in protracting the work to a great length. Else, what meant the Consuls to sit idle the whole winter, contrary to all former custom; since it was never heard before, that any *Roman* General had willingly suffered the time of his command to run away without any performance: as if it were honourable to do just nothing? Thus they suspected they knew not what; and were ready every man to discharge the grief and anger of his own private loss, upon the ill administration of the publick.

This affection of the people, was very helpful to *C. Terentius Varro*, in his suit for the Consulship. It behoved him to strike, whilst the Iron was hot: his own worth being little or none; and his credit over-weak, to make way into that high Dignity. But the Commonalty were then in such a mood, as abundantly supplyed all his defects. Wherein to help, he had a kinsman, *Bibius Herennius*, then Tribune of the People; who spared not to use the liberty of his place, in saying what he listed, without all regard of truth, or modesty. This bold Orator stuck not to affirm, that *Hannibal* was drawn into *Italy*, and suffered therein to range at his pleasure, by the Noblemen; That *Minutius* indeed with his two Legions, was likely to have been overthrown, and was rescued by *Fabius* with the other two: but, had all been joyned together, what they might have done, it was apparent, by the victory of *Minutius* when he commanded over all as Master of the horse; That without a *Plebeian* Consul, the war would never be brought to an end; That such of the *Plebeians* as had long since been advanced to honour by the people, were grown as proud as the old Nobility, and contemned the meaner sort, ever since themselves were freed from contempt of the more mighty; That therefore it was needful to choose a Consul, who should be altogether a *Plebeian*, a meer new man, one that could boast of nothing but the Peoples love, nor could wish more, than to keep it, by well deserving of them. By such perswasions the Multitude was won, to be wholly for *Terentius*: to the great vexation of the Nobles, who could not endure to see a man raised for none other vertue, than his detracting from their honour; and therefore opposed him with all their might. To hinder the desire of the People, it fell out, or at least was alledged, that neither of the two present Consuls could well be spared from attending upon *Hannibal*, to hold the Election. Wherefore a Dictator was named for that purpose; and he again deposed either (as was pretended) for some religious impediment, or because the Fathers desired an *Inter-regnum*, wherein they might better hope to prevail in choice of the new Consuls. This *Inter-regnum* took name and being in *Rome*, at the death of *Romulus*: and was in use at the death of other Kings. The order of it was this. All the Fathers, or Senators, who at the first were an hundred, parted themselves into *Tens* or *Decuries*; and governed successively, by the space of five daies, one *Decurie* after another in order: yet so, that the *Lictors*, or *Virgers*, carrying the *Fasces*, or bundles of rods and axes, waited only upon the chief of them with those Ensigns of power. This custom was retained in times of the Consuls; and put in use, when by death, or any casualty, there wanted ordinary Magistrates of the

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old year, to substitute new for the year following. The advantage of the Fathers herein was, that if the election were not like to go as they would have it, there needed no more, than to slip five days, and then was all to begin anew: by which interruption, the heat of the multitude was commonly well asswaged. Upon such change of those, that were Presidents of the election, it was also lawful unto new Petitioners, to sue for the Magistracies that lay void: which otherwise was not allowed: but a time limited, wherein they should publickly declare themseves to seek those offices. But no device would serve against the general favour born unto *Terentius*. One *Inter-regnum* passed over, and the malice of the Fathers, against the vertue (as it was believed) of this mean, but worthy man, seemed so manifest, that when the People had urged the business to dispatch, only *Terentius* was chosen Consul: in whose hand it was left, to hold the election of his Colleague. Hereupon all the former Petitioners gave over. For whereas men of ordinary mark had stood for the place before, it was now thought meet, that, both to supply the defect, and to bridle the violence of this unexpert, and hot-heated man, one of great sufficiency and reputation, should be joyned with him, as both Companion and Opposite. So *L. Æmilius Paulus*, he who a few years had since overcome the *Illyrians*, and chased *Demetrius Pharius* out of his Kingdom, was urged by the Nobility to stand for the place; which he easily obtained, having no Competitor. It was not the desire of this honourable man, to trouble himself any more in such great business of the Common-wealth. For, notwithstanding his late good service, He, and *M. Livius* that had been his companion in office, were afterwards injuriously vexed by the people, and called unto judgment: wherein *Livius* was condemned, and *Æmilius* hardly escaped. But of this injustice they shall put the *Romans* well in mind each of them in his second Consulship wherein they shall honourably approve their worth; the one of them nobly dying, in the most grievous loss; the other bravely winning, in the most happy victory that ever befell that Common-wealth.

These new Consuls, *Varro* and *Paulus* omitted no part of their diligence in preparing for the war; wherein though *Varro* made the greater noise, by telling what wonders he would work, and that he would ask no more, than once to have a sight of *Hannibal*, whom he promised to vanquish the very first day: yet the providence and care of *Paulus* travelleth more earnestly toward the accomplishment of that, whereof his fellow vainly boasted. He wrote unto the two old Consuls *Servilius* and *Atilius*, desiring them to abstain from hazard of the main chance; but nevertheless, to ply the *Carthaginians* with daily skirmish, and weaken them by degrees: that when he and his Colleague should take the field, with the great Army which they were now levying, they might find the four old Legions well accustomed to the enemy, and the enemy well weakned to their hands. He was also very strict in his Musters; wherein the whole Senate assist him so carefully, as if in this action they meant to refute the slanders, with which *Terentius* and his adherents had burdened them. What number of men they raised, it is uncertain. Fourscore thousand foot, at the least, and six thousand horse, they were strong in the field, when the day came, which *Varro* had so greatly desired, of looking upon *Hannibal*.

Hiero the old King of *Syracuse*, as he had relieved the *Carthaginians*, when they were distressed by their own Mercenaries; so did he now send help to *Rome*, a thousand Archers, and Slingers, with great quantity of Wheat, Barly, and other provisions: fearing nothing more, than that one of these two mighty Cities should destroy the other, whereby his own estate would fall to ruine, that stood upright, by having them somewhat evenly ballanced. He gave them also counsel, to send forces into *Africa*; if (perhaps) by that means they might divert the war from home. His gifts, and good advice were lovingly accepted; and instructions were given to *Titus Octacilius* the Prætor, which was to go into *Sicily*, that he should accordingly pass over into *Africk*, if he found it expedient.

The great Levies, which the *Romans* made at this time, do much more serve to declare their puissance, than any, though larger accompt by Poll, of such as were not easily drawn into the field, and fitted for service. For, besides these Armies of the Consuls, and that which went into *Sicily*, twenty five thousand, with *L. Posthumius Albinus*, another of the Prætors, went against the *Gauls*, to reclaim that Province which the passage of *Hannibal* through it, had taken from them. The contemplation of this their present strength might well embolden them to do as they did. They sent Embassadours to *Philip*, the Son of *Demetrius*, King of *Macedon*, requiring him to deliver into their hands *Demetrius Pharius*: who, having been their subject, and rebel, was fled into his Kingdom. They also sent to the *Illyrians*, to demand their tribute; whereof the day of payment was already past. What answer they received, it is not known: only this is known, that *Demetrius Pharius* was not sent unto them; and that *Philip* henceforth began to have an eye upon them, little to their good. As for the *Illyrian* money, by the shifts that they were driven soon after to make, it will appear, that the one half of it (how little soever) would have been welcom to *Rome*, and accepted, without any cavil about forfeiture for *non-payment* of the whole.

Whilest the City was busied in these cares, the old Consuls lay as near unto *Hannibal* as possibly they could without incurring the necessity of a battel. Many skirmishes they had with him; wherein their success, for the most part, was rather good than great. Yet one mischance not only blemished the honour of their other services, but was indeed the occasion to draw on the misery following. *Hannibal* for the most part of that time, made his abode at *Geryon*; where lay all his store for the Winter. The *Romans* to be near him lodged about *Cannusium*; and, that they might not be driven to turn aside for all necessaries, to the loss of good opportunities, they bestowed much of their provisions in the Castle of *Cannæ*: for the Town was razed the year before. This place *Hannibal* wan, and thereby not only furnished himself, but compelled his enemies to want many needful things, unless they would be troubled with far carriage. Besides this, and more to his advantage, he enabled himself to abide in that open Country, fit for the service of his Horse, longer than the *Romans*, having so many mouths to feed, could well endure to tarry; without offering battel, which he most desired. Of this mishap when *Servilius* had informed the Senate, letting them understand how this Piece taken by *Hannibal*, would serve him to command no small part of the Country adjacent; it then seemed needful, even unto the Fathers themselves, to adventure a battel with the *Carthaginian*, rather than suffer him thus

to

to take root in the ground of *Italy*. Nevertheleſs anſwer was returned unto *Servilius*, that he ſhould have patience yet awile: for that the Conſuls would ſhortly be there, with a Power ſufficient to do as need required.

When all things were ready in the City, and the ſeaſon of the year commodious to take the field, the two Conſuls, with their Army, ſet forth againſt *Hannibal*. This was always done with great ſolemnity: eſpecially, whenſoever they went forth to war againſt any noble or redoubted enemy. For Sacrifices, and ſolemn Vows, were made unto *Jupiter*, and the reſt of their gods, for good ſucceſs and Victory: which being performed, the Generals in warlike attire, with an honourable train of the principal men, (not only ſuch as were of their kindred and alliance, or followed them to the war, as Voluntaries, for love, but a great number of others that meant to abide at home,) were accompanied on their way, and diſmiſſed with friendly leave-taking, and good wiſhes. At this time, all the Fathers, and the whole Nobility, waited upon *Æmilius Paulus*, as the only Man, whom they thought either worthy of this honour, or likely to do his Country remarkable ſervice. *Terentius* his Attendants were the whole multitude of the poorer Citizens; a troop no leſs in greatneſs, than the other was in dignity. At the parting, *Fabius* the late Dictator, is ſaid to have exhorted the Conſul *Paulus*, with many grave words, to ſhew his magnanimity, not only in dealing with the *Carthaginians*, but (which he thought harder) in bridling the outragious folly of his fellow-Conſul. The anſwer of *Paulus*, was, That he meant not again to run into danger of condemnation by offending the multitude; that he would do his beſt for his Country, but if he ſaw his beſt were likely to be ill taken, he would think it leſs raſhneſs to adventure upon the Enemies ſword, than upon the malice of his own Citizens.

SECT. VIII.

Diſſention between the two Roman *Conſuls. Whether it be likely, that* Hannibal *was upon point of flying out of* Italy, *when the* Romans *preſſed him to fight. The great battel of* Cannæ.

THeſe new Generals, arriving at the Camp, diſmiſſed *M. Atilius*, one of the laſt years Conſuls, requeſting it becauſe of his age and weakneſs: *Servilius* they retained with them, as their aſſiſtant. The firſt thing that *Æmilius* thought neceſſary, was, to hearten his Souldiers with good words; who out of their bad ſucceſs hitherto, had gathered, more cauſe of fear, than of courage. He willed them to conſider not only now, their victories in time paſt againſt the *Carthaginians*, and other more warlike Nations than were the *Carthaginians*, but even their own great numbers: which were no leſs than all that *Rome* at the preſent was able to ſet forth. He told them in what danger their Country ſtood; how the ſtate and ſafety thereof reſted upon their hands; uſing ſome ſuch other common matter of perſwaſion. But the moſt effectual part of this Oration, was, That *Hannibal* with this his terrible Army, had not yet obtained one victory by plain force and valour: but that only by deceit and ambuſh he had ſtoln the honour, which he had gotten at *Trebia* and *Thraſymene*. Herewithal he taxed the inconſiderate raſhneſs of *Sempronius* and *Flaminius*; of whom the one ſaw not his enemies, untill he was ſurrounded by them, the other ſcarce ſaw them, when they ſtruck off his head, by reaſon of the thick miſt, through the darkneſs whereof he went groping (as it were blind-fold) into their ſnares. Finally declaring what advantages they had againſt the Enemy; and how deſtitute the Enemy was of thoſe helps, by which he had hitherto prevailed againſt them; he exhorted them to play the men, and do their beſt. They were eaſily perſwaded: for the contemplation of their own multitude, and confidence of the *Roman* vertue in matter of Arms, gave them cauſe to think, that under a Captain ſo well experienced, and every way ſufficient, as *Æmilius* was known to be, they ſhould eaſily prevail againſt the *Carthaginians*, that came ſhort of them in all things elſe, ſave craft; which would not alwaies thrive. But in one thing they miſtook the meaning of their General. It was his deſire that they ſhould have heart to fight; not that they ſhould loſe the patience of awaiting a convenient ſeaſon. But they, having preconceived a victory, thought all delaies to be impediments: and thereby ſought to rob themſelves of their beſt helr; which was, Good conduct. They remembred what talk they had heard at *Rome*: and were themſelves affected with the vulgar deſire, of ending the war quickly, wherein ſince *Æmilius* had acknowledged, that the advantage was theirs, why did he make them forbear to uſe it? Thus thought the common Souldier: and thus alſo thought the Conſul *Terentius*; who was no leſs popular in the Camp, than he had been in the City. Expectation is alwaies tedious; and never more, than when the Event is of moſt importance. All men longed, both at *Rome*, and in the Army, to be freed from the doubtful paſſions of Hope and Fear: therefore *Terentius*, who haſtened their deſire to effect, was likely to win more thanks, than ſhould his Colleague, though greater in performance.

Thus while the *Romans* think themſelves to have the better of their enemies, they fall into an inconvenience, than which few are more danger ous; *Diſſention* of their chief Commanders. *Varro* would fight: *Æmilus* would ſo too, but ſaid that it was not yet time; why? becauſe the enemy muſt ſhortly diſlodge, and remove hence, into places leſs fit for his horſe. But ſhall the *Romans* wait, till *Hannibal*, having eaten up his laſt years proviſions, return into *Campania* to gather a ſecond Harveſt? This would (ſaid *Varro*) favour too much of *Q. Fabius*: And your haſte (ſaid *Paulus*) doth favour no leſs of *C. Flaminius*. Their deeds were like their words: for they commanded by turns interchangeably every day. *Æmilius* lodged ſix miles from *Hanibal*, where the ground was ſomewhat uneven. Thither if the *Carthaginians* would take pains to come, he doubted not to ſend them away in ſuch haſte, as they ſhould not leave running till they were out of *Italy*. But they came not. *Terentius* therefore the next day deſcended into the Plains; his Colleague holding him, and beſeeching him to ſtay. Nevertheleſs, he ſate down cloſe by *Hannibal*; who, as and unbidden gueſt, gave him but a rude welcom and entertainment. The *Carthaginian* Horſe, and light armature, fell upon the *Roman* Vant-courrers; and put the whole Army in tumult, whileſt it was yet in march: but they were beaten off, not without loſs, for that the *Romans* had among their *Velites*, ſome

ſome troops weightily armed, whereas the *Carthaginians* had none. The day following, *Æmilius*, who could not handſomely withdraw the Army out of that level ground, incamped upon the River *Aufidus*; ſending a third part of his forces over the water, to lye upon the Eaſtern bank, where they entrenched themſelves. He never was more unwilling to fight than at this preſent; becauſe the ground ſerved wholly for the advantage of his enemy; with whom he meant to deal, when occaſion ſhould draw him to more equal terms. Therefore he ſtirred not out of his Trenches, but fortified himſelf, expecting when *Hannibal* ſhould diſlodge, and remove towards *Geryon*, *Cannæ*, or ſome other place, where his ſtore lay, for want of neceſſaries: whereof an Army forraging the Countrey, was not likely to carry about with it ſufficient quantity, for any long time.

Here it would not be paſſed over with ſilence, That *Livie* differeth much in his relation from *Polybius*; telling many ſtrange tales, of the miſery into which *Hannibal* had been driven; and of baſe courſes that he deviſed to take, if the *Romans* could have retained their patience a little longer. He had (ſaith *Livie*) but ten daies proviſion of meat. He had not money to pay his ſouldiers. They were an unruly Rabble, gathered out of ſeveral Nations, ſo that he knew not how to keep them in order; but that from murmuring, they fell to flat exclamations, firſt, about their Pay, and Provant, and afterwards for very famine. Eſpecially the *Spaniards* were ready to forſake him, and run over to the *Romans* ſide. Yea *Hannibal* himſelf was once upon the point, to have ſtoln away into *Gaul* with all his horſe, and left his foot unto their miſerable deſtinies. At length for lack of all other counſel, he reſolved to get him as far as he could from the *Romans*, into the Southermoſt pars of *Apulia*; to the end, that both his unfaithful Souldiers might find the more difficulty in running from him; and that his hunger might be relieved with the more early harveſt. But whileſt he was about to put this device in execution, the *Romans* preſſed him ſo hard, that they even forced him to that, which he moſt deſired, even to fight a battel upon open Champain ground; wherein he was victorious. It was not uncommendable in *Livie*, to ſpeak the beſt of his own Citizens; and, where they did ill, to ſay, That, without their own great folly, they had done paſſing well. Further alſo he may be excuſed; as writing only by report. For thus he ſaith, *Hannibal de fuga in Galliam* [*dicitur*] *agitaſſe*; Hannibal [*is ſaid*] *to have bethought himſelf of flying into Gaul:* where he makes it no more than a matter of hearſay; as perhaps was all the reſt of this Relation. As for the proceſs it ſelf, it is cry incredible. For if *Hannibal*, coming out of *Gaul*, thorow the *Mariſhes* and *Bogs* of *Hetruria*, could find victuals enough, and all things needful unto his Army, the Summer fore going: what ſhould hinder him to do the like this year; eſpecially ſince he had plaid the careful Husband in making a great harveſt; ſince he had long been Maſter of the open field; and beſides, had gotten, by ſurpriſe, no ſmall part of the *Romans* proviſions? Suitable hereunto is all the reſt. If *Hannibal* had taken nothing but Corn and Cattel, his Souldiers might perhaps have fallen into mutiny for pay. But he brought gold with him into *Italy*: and had ſo well increaſed his ſtock, ſince he came into that Country, that he had armed his *African* Souldiers, all *Roman*-like, and loaded his followers with ſpoil: having left wherewith to redeem as many of his own, as were taken by the enemy; when the *Romans* were not willing, as finding it not eaſie to do the like. In this point therefore we are to attend the general agreement of Hiſtorians; who give it as a principal commendation unto *Hannibal*, That he always kept his Army free from ſedition, though it were compoſed of ſundry Nations, no leſs different in manners, Religion, and almoſt in Nature, than they were in languages: and well might he ſo do, having not only pronounced, That which of his men ſoever fought bravely with an enemy was thereby a *Carthaginian*; but ſolemnly proteſted and ſwore, (beſides other rewards) to make as many of them as ſhould deſerve and ſeek it, free Citizens of *Carthage*. The running away into *Gaul*, was a ſenſeleſs device. *Hannibal* being there with his whole Army, took ſo little pleaſure in the Country and people, that he made all haſte to get him out of it. And what ſhould he now do there with his horſe? or could he be truſted, either there, or elſewhere? yea, how could he deſire to live, having betrayed all his Army, and relinquiſhed his miſerable foot to the butchery of their enemies? This tale therefore *Plutarch* omitteth, who in writing the life of *Hannibal*, takes in a manner all his directions from *Livie*. But of this and the like it is enough to ſay, That all Hiſtorians love to extol their own Country-men; and where a loſs cannot be diſſembled, nor the honour of the victory taken from the enemy, and given unto blind Fortune, there to lay all the blame on ſome ſtrange miſ-government of their own forces: as if they might eaſily have won all, but loſt all through ſuch folly, as no Enemy can hope to find in them another time.

Now let us return back to the two Armies, where they lye incamped on the River *Aufidus*. *Varro* was perſwaded, that it concerned him in honour to make good his word unto the people of *Rome*: and ſince he had thus long waited in vain to get the conſent of *Paulus*, now at length to uſe his own authority; and, without any more diſputing of the matter, to fight when his own day came. When therefore it was his turn to command; at the firſt break of the day he began to paſs the River, without ſtaying to bid his Colleague good morrow. But *Paulus* came to him, and ſought, as in former times, to have diſſwaded him from putting the eſtate of his Countrey to a needleſs hazard. Againſt thoſe words and ſubſtantial arguments, *Terentius* could alledge none other than *point of honour*. *Hannibal* had preſented them battel at their Trenches: ſhould they endure this Bravado? He had ſent his *Numidians* over the River but even the day before; who fell upon the *Romans* that were fetching water to the leſſer Camp; and drave them ſhamefully to run within their defences; which alſo they made offer to aſſail: Muſt this alſo be ſuffered? He would not endure it: for it could not but weaken the ſpirit of the *Roman* Souldier; which as yet was lively, and full of ſuch courage, as promiſed aſſured victory. When *Æmilius* perceived that he could not hinder the obſtinate reſolution of his Companion, he took all care, that what he ſaw muſt be done, might be done well. Ten thouſand *Roman* foot he cauſed to be left behind, in the greater Camp oppoſite unto the *Carthaginian*, to the intent, that either *Hannibal* might be compelled to leave behind him ſome anſwerable number, for defence of his Trenches (which out of his paucity he was leſs able to

ſpare from the battel, than were the *Romans*) or that theſe ten thouſand, falling upon the *Carthaginian* Camp, when the fight began, and taking it with all the wealth therein, might thereby (as commonly do ſuch accidents) terrifie and diſtract the enemies in the heat of fight. This done, the two Conſuls went over the water with their Army to the leſſer Camp, whence alſo they drew forth their men, and raged them in order of battel: the ground on the Eaſt part of the River, ſeeming perhaps more fit for marſhalling of their Army. *Hannibal* was glad of this, as he had great cauſe; and without any delay, paſſed likewiſe over, ſomewhat higher up the ſtream, which ran from the South; leaving in his own Camp ſo many, as he thought would ſerve to defend it, and no more. To encourage his men; he bade them look about them, and view the ground well, upon which they were to fight. They did ſo. And could you (ſaid he) pray for any greater fortune, than to joyn battel with the *Romans* upon ſuch a level ground, where the ſtronger in horſe are ſure to prevail? They all aſſented to him; and ſhewed by their countenances, that they were very glad of it. Well then (ſaid he further) ye are firſt of all to thank the gods, that have brought them hither; and then Us, that have trained them along, and drawn them into neceſſity of playing for their lives, where they are ſure to loſe them. As for theſe *Romans*, I was fain to encourage you againſt them, when ye met them firſt: but now ye may even encourage your ſelves, by calling to mind that they are the men, whom ye have as often beaten as ſeen. Of one thing only I will put you in mind: That whereas hitherto you fought for other reſpects, as, to drive them before you out of *Gaul*; and to win the open Country, and fields of *Italy*; both of which ye have obtained: now are ye to fight for the Towns themſelves, and all the riches within them; which this victory ſhall make yours. Therefore play the ſtout Souldiers: and ere many hours paſs, ye ſhall be Lords of all that the *Romans* hold.

When he had ſaid this; his Brother *Mago* came to him, whom he had ſent to view the countenance of the enemy. *Hannibal* asked him, what news; and what work they were likely to have with theſe *Romans*? Work enough (anſwered *Mago*) for they are an horrible many. As horrible a many as they are (thus *Hannibal* replied) I tell thee, Brother, that among them all, ſearch them never ſo diligently, thou ſhalt not find one man, whoſe name is *Mago*. With that he fell a laughing, and ſo did all that ſtood about him; which gladded the Souldiers, who thought their General would not be ſo merry, without great aſſurance. Whether it were ſo, that *Hannibal*, in the pride of his victories already gotten, valued one *Mago* above many thouſand *Romans*; or whether he intimated, that the *Romans* were no leſs troubled with thinking upon *Mago* and his Companions, than was *Mago* with beholding their huge multitude; or whether he meant only to correct the ſad mood of his Brother with a jeſt, and ſhew himſelf merry unto the Souldiers: this his anſwer was more manly, than was the relation of his diſcoverer. But if *Hannibal* himſelf had been ſent forth by *Mago*, to view the *Romans*, he could not have returned with a more gallant report in his mouth, than that which Captain *Gam*, before the battel of *Agincourt*, made unto our King *Henry* the fifth: ſaying, That of the *Frenchmen*, there were enow to be killed; enow to be taken priſoners; and enow to run away. Even ſuch words as theſe, or ſuch pleaſant jeſts as this of *Hannibal*, are not without their moment; but ſerve many times, when battel is in hand, to work upon ſuch paſſions, as muſt govern more of the buſineſs: eſpecially, where other needful care is not wanting; without which they are but vain boaſts.

In this great day, the *Carthaginian* excelled himſelf, expreſſing no leſs perfection of his military skill, than was greatneſs in his ſpirit and undertakings. For to omit the commodiouſneſs of the place, into which he had long before conceived the means to draw his enemies to battel; he marſhalled his Army in ſuch convenient order, that all hands were brought to fight, where every one might do his beſt ſervice. His Darters, and Slingers of the *Baleares*, he ſent off before him, to encounter with the *Roman Velites*. Theſe were looſe Troops, anſwerable in a manner to thoſe, which we call now by a *French* name, *Enfans Perdues*; but when we uſe our own terms, *the forlorn-hope*. The groſs of his Army following them, he ordered thus. His *Africans*, armed after the *Roman* manner, with the ſpoils which they had gotten at *Trebia*, *Thraſymene*, or elſewhere; and well trained in the uſe of thoſe weapons that were of more advantage, than thoſe wherewith they had formerly ſerved; made the two wings very deep in File. Between theſe he ranged his *Gauls* and *Spaniards*, armed each after their own Country manner; their ſhields alike; but the *Gauls* uſing long broad ſwords, that were forcible in a down-right ſtroak; the *Spaniards*, ſhort and well pointed blades, either to ſtrike or thruſt; the *Gauls*, naked from their navel upwards, as confident in their own fierceneſs: the *Spaniards*, wearing white Caſſocks embroidered with Purple. This medley of two Nations, differing as well in habit and furniture, as in quality, made a gallant ſhew, and terrible, becauſe ſtrange. The *Gauls* were ſtrong of body, and furious in giving charge, but ſoon wearied, as accuſtomed to ſpend their violence at the firſt brunt, which diſpoſition all that come of them have inherited to this day. The *Spaniards* were leſs eager, but more wary; neither aſhamed to give ground, when they were over-preſſed; nor afraid to return, and renew the fight, upon any ſmall encouragement. As the roughneſs of the one, and patience of the other, ſerved mutually to reduce each of them to a good and firm temper; ſo the place which they held in this battel, added confidence joyntly unto them both. For they ſaw themſelves well and ſtrongly flanked with *Carthaginians* and other *Africans*; whoſe name was grown terrible in *Spain*, by their Conqueſts, and in *Gaul*, by this their preſent War. Since therefore it could not be feared, that any great calamity ſhould fall upon them, whilſt the wings on either ſide ſtood faſt: theſe *Barbarians* had no cauſe to ſhrink, or forbear to employ the uttermoſt of their hardineſs, as knowing that the enemy could not preſs far upon them, without further ingaging himſelf than diſcretion would allow. Hereunto may be added that great advantage, which the *Carthaginian* had in horſe; by which he was able, if the worſt had happened, to make a good retrait. The effect of contraries is many times alike. Deſperation begetteth courage; but no greater, nor ſo lively, as doth aſſured Confidence. *Hannibal* therefore cauſed the *Gauls* and *Spaniards* to advance, leaving void the place wherein they had ſtood, and into which they might fall back, when they ſhould be over-hardly preſſed. So, caſting them

them into the form of a *Creſcent*, He made them as it were his Vantguard: the two points of this great half Moon, that looked toward the empty ſpace from which he had drawn it, being narrow and thin, as ſerving only to guide it orderly back, when need ſhould require; the foremoſt part of the Ring, ſwelling out toward the enemies, being well ſtrengthened and thickned againſt all impreſſion. The circle hereof ſeemeth to have been ſo great, that it ſhadowed the *Africans*, who ſtood behind it: though ſuch figures, cut in braſs, as I have ſeen of this Battle, preſent it more narrow; with little reaſon, as ſhall anon appear: as alſo in the ſame figures it is omitted, That any Companies of *Africans*, or others, were left in the Rear, to ſecond the *Gauls* and *Spaniards* when they were driven to retrait; though it be manifeſt, that *Hannibal* in perſon ſtood between the laſt ranks of his long Battalions, and in the head of his Rear, doubtleſs well accompanied with the choice of his own Nation. Between the left Battalion and the River *Auſidus*, were the *Gauls* and *Spaniſh* horſe, under the command of *Aſdrubal*: On the right wing, toward the wide Plains, was *Hanno* (*Livie* ſaith *Maharbal*) with the *Numidian* light-horſe. *Hannibal* himſelf, with his brother *Mago*, and the leading of the Rear. The whole ſumm of *Hannibals* Army in the field this day, was ten thouſand horſe, and forty thouſand foot, his enemies having two to one againſt him in foot; and He, five to three againſt them in horſe.

The *Roman* Army was marſhalled in the uſual form: but ſomewhat more narrow, and deep than was accuſtomed; perhaps, becauſe this had been found convenient againſt the *Carthaginians*, in the former war. It was indeed no bad way of reſiſtance againſt Elephants, to make the Ranks *thick and ſhort*, but the Files long; as alſo to ſtrengthen well the Rear, that it might ſtand faſt compacted as a wall, under ſhelter whereof the diſordered troops might re-ally themſelves. Thus much it ſeems, that *Terentius* had learned of ſome old Souldiers; and therefore he now ordered his Battels accordingly, as meaning to ſhew more skill, than was in his underſtanding. But the *Carthaginians* had here no Elephants with them in the field: their advantage was in Horſe; againſt which this manner of imbattailing was very unprofitable, foraſmuch as their charge is better ſuſtained in front, than upon a long flank. As for *Æmilius*, it was not his day of command: He was but an Aſſiſtant; and in ſuch caſes it happens often, that wiſe men yield for very wearineſs unto the more contentious. Upon the right hand, and toward the River, were the *Roman* horſemen, under the Conſul *Paulus*: On the left wing, was *C. Terentius Varro* the other Conſul, with the reſt of the horſe, which were of the *Latines*, and other aſſociates: *Cn. Servilius* the former years Conſul, had the leading of the battel. The Sun was newly riſen, and offended neither part; the *Carthaginians* having their faces Northward, the *Romans* toward the South.

After ſome light skirmiſh, between the *Roman Velites*, and *Hannibal* his Darters and Slingers of the Baleares; *Aſdrubal* brake upon the Conſul *Paulus*, and was roughly encountred: not after the manner of ſervice on horſe-back, uſed in thoſe times, wheeling about *Alman-like*; but each giving on in a right line, Pouldron to Pouldron, as having the River on the one hand, and the ſhoulder of the foot on the other hand; ſo that there was no way left, but to pierce and break thorow. Wherefore they not only uſed their Lances and Swords; but ruſhing violently amongſt the Enemies, graſped one another: and ſo their horſes running from under them, fell many to the ground; where ſtarting up again, they began to deal blows like foot-men. In concluſion, the *Roman* horſe were over-born, and driven by plain force to a ſtaggering recoil. This the Conſul *Paulus* could not remedy. For *Aſdrubal*, with his boiſterous *Gauls* and *Spaniards*, were not to be reſiſted by theſe *Roman* Gentleman, unequal both in number, and in horſemanſhip. When the battels came to joyning, the *Roman* Legionaries found work enough, and ſomewhat more than enough, to break that great *Creſcent*, upon which they firſt fell: ſo ſtrongly for the while, did the *Gauls* and *Spaniſh* foot make reſiſtance. Wherefore the two points of their battel drew towards the midſt; by whoſe aid, theſe oppoſites were forced to disband, and fly back to their firſt place. This they did in great haſte and fear: and were with no leſs haſte, and folly purſued. Upon the *Africans* that ſtood behind them, they needed not to fall foul; both for that there was void room enough; and for as much as the Rear, or Horns of this Moon, pointed into the ſafe retrait, where *Hannibal* with his *Carthaginians* was ready to re-enforce them, when time ſhould require. In this haſty retrait, or flight of the *Gauls* and *Spaniards*, it hapned, as was neceſſary, that they who had ſtood in the limb or utter compaſs of the half Moon, made the innermoſt or concave ſurface thereof (diſordered and broken though it were) when it was forced to turn the inſide outward: the horns or points thereof, as yet, untouched, only turning round, and recoyling very little. So the *Romans*, in purſuing them, were incloſed in an half circle; which they ſhould not have needed greatly to regard, (for that the ſides of it were exceeding thin and broken; and the bottom of it, none other than a throng of men routed, and ſeeming unable to make reſiſtance) had all the enemies foot been caſt into this one great body, that was in a manner diſſolved. But whileſt the Legions, following their ſuppoſed victory, ruſhed on upon thoſe that ſtood before them, and thereby unwittingly engaged themſelves deeply within the principal ſtrength of the Enemies, hedging them in on both hands; the two *African* Battalions on either ſide advanced ſo far, that getting beyond the Rear of them, they encloſed them, in a manner, behind: and forward they could not paſs far, without removing *Hannibal* and *Mago*; which made that way the leaſt eaſie. Hereby it is apparent, That the great *Creſcent*, before ſpoken of, was of ſuch extent, as covered the *Africans*, who lay behind it undiſcerned, until now. For it is agreed, that the *Romans* were thus empaled *unawares*; and that they behaved themſelves, as men that thought upon no other work, than what was found them by the *Gauls*. Neither is it credible, that they would have been ſo mad, as to run head-long, with the whole bulk of their Army, into the throat of ſlaughter; had they ſeen thoſe weapons bent againſt them at the firſt, which when they did ſee, they had little hope to eſcape. Much might be imputed to their heat of fight, and raſhneſs of inferiour Captains: but ſince the Conſul *Paulus*, a man ſo expert in war, being vanquiſhed in horſe, had put himſelf among the Legions; it cannot be ſuppoſed, that he and they did willfully thus engage themſelves. *Aſdrubal*, having broken the Troops of *Roman* horſe, that were led by the Conſul *Paulus*, followed upon them along the River ſide, beating down and killing, as many as he could, (which were almoſt all of them) without

regard of taking prisoners. The Consul himself was either driven upon his own Legions, or willingly did cast himself among them; as hoping by them to make good the day, notwithstanding the defeat of his horse. But he failed of this his expectation. Nevertheless he cheared up his men as well as he could, both with comfortable words, and with the example of his own stout behaviour: beating down and killing many of the enemies with his own hand. The like did *Hannibal* among his *Carthaginians*, in the same part of the battle; and with better success. For the Consul received a blow from a sling, that did him great hurt: and though a Troop of *Roman* Gentlemen, riding about him, did their best to save him from further harm; yet was he so hardly laid at, that he was compelled, by wounds and weakness, to forsake his horse. Hereupon all his company alighted, thinking that the Consul had given order so to do: as in many battels, the *Roman* men at arms had left their horses, to help their foot in distress. When *Hannibal* (for he was near at hand) perceived this, and understood that the Consul had willed his horsemen to dismount; He was very glad of it, and pleasantly said, *I had rather he would have delivered them unto me, bound hand and foot:* meaning that he had them now almost as safe, as if they were so bound. All this while *C. Terentius Varro*, with the horse of his associates, in the left wing, was marvellously troubled by *Hanno* (or *Maharbal*) and the *Numidians:* who beating up and down about that great sandy Plain, raised a foul dust; which a strong South wind, blowing there accustomarily, drave into the eyes and mouthes of the *Romans*. These, using their advantage both of number and of lightness, wearied the Consul and his followers exceedingly: neither giving, nor sustaining any charge, but continually making offers, and wheeling about. Yet at the first they seemed to promise him an happy day of it. For when the battels were even ready to joyn; five hundred of these *Numidians* came pricking away from their fellows, with their shields cast behind their backs, (as was the manner of those which yielded) and throwing down their arms, rendred themselves. This was good luck to begin withal, if there had been good meaning. *Varro* had not leisure to examine them; but caused them, unweaponed as they were, to get them behind the Army, where he bade them rest quietly till all was done. These crafty adventurers did as he bade them, for a while; till they found opportunity to put in execution the purpose, for which they had thus yielded. Under their Jackets they had short swords and poniards; besides which, they found other scattered weapons about the field of such as were slain, and therewithal flew upon the hindmost of the *Romans*, whilest all eyes and thoughts were bent another way: so that they did great mischief, and raised yet a greater terrour. Thus *Hannibal*, in a plain level ground, found means to lay an ambush at the back of his enemies. The last blow, that ended all fight and resistance, was given by the same hand which gave the first. *Asdrubal* (having in short space broken the *Roman* Troops of horse, and cut in pieces all, save the Company of *Æmilius* that rushed into the gross of his foot, and a very few besides, that recovered some narrow passage, between the River and their own Battalions) did not stay to charge upon the face of the Legions, but fell back behind the Rear of his own, and fetching about, came up to the *Numidians:* with whom he joyned, and gave upon *Terentius*.

This fearful Cloud, as it shewed at the first appearance what weather it had left behind it, on the other side: so did it prognosticate a dismal storm unto those upon whom it was ready now to fall. Wherefore *Terentius* his followers, having wearied themselves much in doing little, and seeing more work toward, than they could hope to sustain; thought it the best way, to avoid the danger by present flight. The Consul was no less wise than they, in apprehending the greatness of his own peril: nor more desperate, in striving to work impossibilities: it being impossible, when so many shrank from him, to sustain the impression alone, which he could not have indured with their assistance. Now he found that it was one thing to talk of *Hannibal* at *Rome*; and another, to incounter him. But of this, or of ought else, excepting hasty flight, his present leisure would not serve him to consider. Close at the heels of him and his flying Troops, followed the light *Numidians*, appointed by *Asdrubal* unto the pursuit, as fittest for that service. *Asdrubal* himself, with the *Gauls* and *Spanish* horse, compassing about, fell upon the backs of the *Romans*; that were ere this hardly distressed, and in a manner surrounded on all parts else: He brake them easily; who before made ill resistance, being inclosed, and laid at on every side, not knowing which way to turn. Here began a pitiful slaughter: the vanquished multitude thronging up and down, they knew not whither or which way, whileſt every one sought to avoid those enemies, whom he saw nearest. Some of the *Roman* Gentlemen that were about *Æmilius*, got up to horse, and saved themselves: which though it is hardly understood how they could do; yet I will rather believe it, than suppose that *Livie* so reporteth, to grace thereby his History with this following Tale: *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus, galloping along by a place where he saw the Consul sitting all blooddied upon a stone, intreated him to rise and save himself; offering him his assistance and horse. But* Paulus *refused it; willing* Lentulus *to shift for himself, and not to lose time: saying, That it was not his purpose to be brought again into judgment by the People, either as an accuser of his Colleague, or as guilty himself of that daies loss. Further, he willed* Lentulus *to commend him to the Senate, and in particular to* Fabius: *willing them to fortifie* Rome, *as fast as well they could; and telling* Fabius, *that he lived and died mindful of his wholesome counsel.* These words (peradventure) or some to like purpose, the Consul uttered to *Lentulus*, either when against his will he was drawn to that battel, or when he beheld the first defeat of his horse; at what time he put himself in the head of his Legions. For I doubt not, but *Hannibal* knew what he said a good while before this; when he thought the Consul and his Troop, in little better case than if they had been bound. The whole Gross of the *Romans*, was inclosed indeed as within a sack; whereof the *African* Battalions made the sides; the *Spaniards*, *Gauls*, and *Hannibal* with his *Carthaginians*, the bottom; and *Asdrubal* with his horse, closed up the mouth: in which part, they first of all were shuffled together, and began the Rout, wherein all the rest followed. *Æmilius* therefore, who could not sit his horse, whileſt the battel yet lasted, and whileſt the spaces were somewhat open, by which he might have withdrawn himself; was now (had he never so well been mounted) unable to fly, having in his way so close a throng of his own miserable

rable followers, and so many heaps of bodies, as fell apace in that great Carnage. It sufficeth unto his honour, That in the Battel he fought no less valiantly, than he had warily before, both abstained himself, and disswaded his fellow-Consul, from fighting at all. If, when the day was utterly lost, it had lien in his power to save his own life unto the good of his Country, never more needing it; I should think, that he either too much disesteemed himself; or being too faintly minded, was weary of the World, and his unthankful Citizens. But if such a resolution were praise-worthy in *Æmilius*, as proceeding out of *Roman* valour; then was the *English* vertue of the Lord *John Talbot*, Viscount *Lisle*, son to that famous Earl of *Shrewsbury*, who died in the Battel of *Chastillon*, more highly to be honoured. For *Æmilius* was old, grievously, if not mortally wounded, and accomptable for the overthrow received: *Talbot* was in the flowre of his youth, unhurt, easily able to have escaped, and not answerable for that dayes misfortune, when he refused to forsake his Father; who foreseeing the loss of the battel, and not meaning to stain his actions past by flying in his old age, exhorted this his noble son to be gone and leave him.

In this terrible overthrow died all the *Roman* foot, save two or three thousand, who (as *Livie* saith) escaped into the lesser Camp; whence the same night, about six hundred of them brake forth, and joyning with such of those in the greater Camp, as were willing to try their fortune, conveyed themselves away ere morning, about four thousand foot, and two hundred horse, partly in whole troops, partly dispersed into *Cannusium*: the next day the *Roman* Camps, both less and greater, were yielded unto *Hannibal* by those that remained in them. *Polybius* hath no mention of this escape: only he reports, that the ten thousand, whom *Æmilius* had left on the West side of *Ausidus* (as was shewed before) to set upon the Camp of *Hannibal*, did as they were appointed; but ere they could effect their desire, which they had well-near done, the battel was lost: and *Hannibal*, coming over the water to them, drave them into their own Camp; which they quickly yielded, having lost two thousand of their number. Like enough it is, that at the first sight of *Hannibal*, coming upon them with his victorious Army, a greater number of these did fly, and thereby escaped, whilest their fellows, making defence in vain, retired into their Camp, and held the enemy busied. For about two Legions they were (perhaps not half full, but made up by addition of others, whose fault or fortune was like) that having served at *Cannæ*, were afterwards extremely disgraced by the State of *Rome*, for that they had abandoned their companions fighting. Of the *Roman* horse what numbers escaped, it is uncertain: but very few they were that saved themselves in the first charge, by getting behind the River; and *Terentius* the Consul recovered *Venusia*, with threescore and ten at the most in his company. That he was so ill attended, it is no marvel; for *Venusia* lay many miles off to the Southward; so that his neareſt way thither, had been through the midst of *Hannibals* Army, if the passage had been open. Therefore it must needs be, that when once he got out of sight, he turned up some by-way; so disappointing the *Numidians* that hunted *contre*. Of such as could not hold pace with the Consul, but took other ways, and were scattered over the fields, 2000 or there about, were gathered up by the *Numidians*, and made prisoners: the rest were slain, all save 300, who dispersed themselves in flight, as chance led them, and got into sundry Towns. There died in this great Battel of *Cannæ*, besides *L. Æmilius Paulus* the Consul, two of the *Roman* Quæstors or Treasurers, and 21 Colonels or Tribunes of the Souldiers, 80 Senators, or such as had born office, out of which they were to be chosen into the Senate. Many of these were of special mark, as having been *Ædiles*, Prætors or Consuls: among whom was *Cn. Servilius*, the last years Consul, and *Minutius*, late Master of the horse. The number of prisoners, taken in this battel, *Livie* makes no greater than 3000 foot, and 300 horse: too few to have defended for the space of one half hour, both the *Roman* Camps, which yet the same *Livie* saith, to have been over-cowardly yielded up. We may therefore do better, to give credit unto one of the prisoners, whom the same Historian shortly after introduceth, speaking in the Senate, and saying, That they were no less than 8000. It may therefore be, that these 3000 were only such as the Enemy spared, when the fury of Execution was past: but to these must be added about 5000 more, who yielded in the greater Camp, when their company were either slain or fled. So the reckoning falls out right: which the *Romans*, especially the Consul *Varro*, had before cast up (as we say) without their Host; nothing so chargeable, as now they find it. On the side of *Hannibal* there died some 4000 *Gauls*, 1500 *Spaniards* and *Africans*, and 200 Horse, or thereabouts: a loss not sensible, in the joy of so great a victory; which if he had pursued, as *Maharbal* advised him, and forthwith marched away towards *Rome*; it is little doubted, but that the war had presently been at an end. But he believed not so far in his own prosperity; and was therefore told, That *he knew how to get, not how to use a victory.*

SECT. IX.

Of things following the Battel at Cannæ.

NOt without good cause doth *Polybius* reprehend those two Historians, *Fabius* the *Roman*, and *Philinus* the *Carthaginian*; who, regarding more the pleasure of them unto whose honour they consecrated their travels, than the truth of things, and information of posterity, magnified indifferently, whether good or bad, all actions and proceedings, the one of his *Carthaginians*, the other of his *Roman* Quirites and Fathers conscript. No man of sound judgement will condemn this liberty of censure, which *Polybius* hath used. For, to recompence his juniority (such as it was) he produceth substantial arguments, to justifie his own Relation; and confuteth the vanity of those former Authors, out of their own writings, by conference of places ill cohering: which pains is to be suspected, that he would not have taken, had he been born in either of these two Cities, but have spared some part of his diligence, and been contented to have all men think better and more honourably than he deserved, of his own Country. The like disease it is to be feared, that we shall hereafter find in others; and shall have some cause to wish, that either they were somewhat less *Roman*, or else, that some works of their opposite Writers were extant, that so we might at least hear both sides speak: being henceforth destitute of *Polybius* his help, that was a man indifferent. But since this cannot be, we must be sometimes bold, to observe the coherence of things; and believe so much only to be true, as dependeth upon good reason, or (at least) fair probability. This attentive

tive circumſpection is needful at the preſent: ſuch is the repugnancy, or forgetfulneſs, which we find in the beſt narration of things following the Battel of *Cannæ*. For it is ſaid, that four thouſand foot and horſe gathered together about the Conſul *Terentius* at *Venuſia*; that others to the number of ten thouſand got into *Cannuſium*, chuſing for their Captains, young *P. Scipio*, and *Ap. Claudius*; yet that the Conſul *Terentius Varro*, joyning his company unto thoſe of *Scipio* at *Cannuſium*, wrote unto the Senate, that he had now well near ten thouſand men about him; that theſe letters of the Conſul were brought to *Rome*, when the Senate was newly riſen, that had been taking order for pacifying thoſe tumults in the City, which grew upon the firſt bruit of the overthrow; and yet, that Embaſſadours from *Capua* (after ſome conſultation, whether it were meet to ſend any, or without further circumſtance, to ſide with *Hannibal*) were ſent unto *Terentius*, and found him at *Venuſia*, a pretty while before he wrote thoſe letters, which overtook (in a manner) at *Rome* the firſt news of the overthrow. Among ſuch incoherences, I hold it the beſt way, to omit ſo much as hath not ſome particular connexion with matter enſuing: mutual dependency in things of this nature, being no ſmall argument of truth.

When *Hannibal* had ſacked the *Roman* Camp, and truſſed up the ſpoils, forthwith he diſlodged, and marched away into *Samnium*; finding a diſpoſition in the *Hirpines*, and many other people thereabout, to forſake the *Roman* party, and make alliance with *Carthage*. The firſt Town that opened the gates unto him, was *Coſſa*, where he laid up his baggage: and leaving his Brother *Mago* to take in other places, he haſted into *Campania*. The general affection of the multitude, in all the Cities of *Italy*, was inclinable unto him; not only in regard of their grievous loſſes ſuſtained abroad in the fields, which the *Romans* themſelves, who could not hinder him from ſpoiling the Countrey, eſpecially the poorer ſort of them, did hardly indure; but in a loving reſpect unto that great courteſie (as it ſeemed) which he uſed unto ſuch of them as became his priſoners. For as at other times, ſo now after this great victory at *Cannæ*, he had lovingly diſmiſſed as many of the *Italian* Confederates of *Rome*, as fell into his hands; rebuking them gently for being ſo obſtinate againſt him that had ſought to deliver them from bondage. Neither ſpared he to win their love by gifts, pretending to admire their valour; but ſeeking indeed, by all wayes and means, to make them his, whileſt all other motives were concurrent. At this time alſo he began to deal kindly (though againſt his nature) with the *Roman* priſoners; telling them that he bore no mortal hatred unto their Eſtate; but being provoked by injuries, ſought to right himſelf and his Countrey; and fought with them, to try which of theſe two Cities, *Rome* or *Carthage* ſhould bear ſoveraign Rule, not which of them ſhould be deſtroyed. So he gave them leave to chuſe ten of their number, that ſhould be ſent home to treat with the Fathers about their ranſome: and together with theſe he ſent *Carthalo* a Nobleman of *Carthage*, and General of his Horſe, to feel the diſpoſition of the Senate, whether it were bowed as yet by ſo much adverſity, and could ſtoop unto deſire of peace. But with the *Romans* theſe Arts prevailed not, as ſhall be ſhewed in due place. The people of *Italy*, all, or moſt of them, ſave the *Roman* Colonies, or the *Latines*, were not only weary of their loſſes paſt, but entertained a deceivable hope, of changing their old Society for a better. Wherefore not only the *Samnites*, *Lucans*, *Brutians*, and *Apulians*, ancient enemies of *Rome*, and not until the former Generation utterly ſubdued, began to re-aſſume their wonted ſpirits: but the *Campans*, a Nation of all in *Italy* moſt bound unto the State of *Rome*, and by many mutual affinities therewith as ſtraightly conjoyned, as were any ſave the *Latines*, changed on a ſudden their love into hatred, without any other cauſe found, than change of fortune.

Campania is the moſt goodly and fruitful Province of *Italy*, if not (as ſome then thought) of all the Earth: and the City of *Capua*, anſwerable unto the Countrey, whereof it was Head; ſo great, fair, and wealthy, that it ſeemed no leſs convenient a ſeat of the Empire, than was either *Rome* or *Carthage*. But of all qualities, Bravery is the leaſt requiſite unto ſoveraign command. The *Campans* were luxurious, idle, and proud: and valuing themſelves like Jayes by their feathers, deſpiſed the unfortunate vertue of the *Romans* their Patrons and Benefactors. Yet were there ſome of the principal among them, as in other Cities, that bore eſpecial regard unto the Majeſty of *Rome*, and could not indure to hear of Innovation. But the *Plebeian* faction had lately ſo prevailed within *Capua*, that all was governed by the pleaſure of the Multitude; which wholly followed the direction of *Pacuvius Calavius* an ambitious Noble-man, whoſe credit grew, and was upheld by furthering all popular deſires; whereof, the conjunction with *Hannibal* was not the leaſt. Some of the *Capuans* had offered their City to the *Carthaginians* ſhortly after the battel of *Thraſymene*: whereupon chiefly it was, that *Hannibal* made his journey into *Campania*: the Dictatour *Fabius* waiting upon him. At that time, either the nearneſs of the *Roman* Army, or ſome other fear of the *Capuans* hindred them from breaking into actual rebellion. They had indeed no leiſure to treat about any article of new Confederacy: or, had leiſure ſerved, yet were the multitude (whoſe inconſtant love *Hannibal* had won from the *Romans*, by gentle uſage, and free diſmiſſing of ſome priſoners in good account among them) unable to hold any ſuch negotiation, without advice of the Senate, which mainly impugned it. So they that had promiſed to yield up their Town to *Hannibal*, and meet him on the way, with ſome of their Nobility that ſhould aſſure him of all faithful meaning, were driven to ſit ſtill in a great perplexity: as having failed to let in this their new friend, yet ſufficiently diſcovered themſelves to draw upon them the hatred of the *Romans*. In this caſe were no ſmall number of the Citizens; who thereupon grew the more incenſed againſt their Senate, on whom they caſt all the blame, eaſily pardoning their own cowardize. The people holding ſo tender a regard of liberty, that even the lawful government of Magiſtrates grieved them, with an imaginary oppreſſion; had now good cauſe to fear leſt the Senators would become the Lords indeed, and by help of the *Romans* bring them under a more ſtraight ſubjection, than ever they had endured. This fear being ready to break into ſome outrage, *Pacuvius* made uſe of, to ſerve his own ambition. He diſcourſed unto the Senate, as they ſate in Council, about thoſe motions troubling the City: and ſaid, That he himſelf had both married a *Roman* Lady, and given his Daughter in marriage to a *Roman*: but, that the danger of forſaking of the *Roman* party was not now the greateſt: for that the people were violently

bent

bent to murder all the Senate, and after to joyn themſelves with *Hannibal*, who ſhould countenance the fact, and ſave them harmleſs. This he ſpake as a man well known to be beloved himſelf by the people, and privy unto their deſigns. Having throughly terrified the Senate, by laying open the danger hanging over them: he promiſed nevertheleſs to deliver them all, and to ſet things in quiet, if they would freely put themſelves into his hands; offering his oath, or any other aſſurance that they ſhould demand for his faithful meaning. They all agreed. Then ſhutting up the Court, and placing a guard of his own followers about it, that none might enter, nor iſſue forth, without his leave; he called the people to aſſembly: and ſpeaking as much ill of the Senate, as he knew they would be glad to hear, he told them, that theſe wicked Governours were ſurpriſed by his policy, and all faſt, ready to abide what ſentence they would lay upon them. Only thus much he adviſed them, as a thing which neceſſity required, That they ſhould chuſe a new Senate, before they ſatisfied their anger upon the old. So rehearſing unto them the names of one or two Senators; he asked what the judgement was of thoſe. All cryed out, That they were worthy of death. Chuſe then (ſaid he) firſt of all ſome new ones into their places. Hereat the multitude, unprovided for ſuch an election, was ſilent, until at laſt ſome one or other adventured to name whom he thought fit. The men ſo nominated, were utterly diſliked by the whole Aſſembly; either for ſome known fault, baſeneſs and inſufficiency; or elſe even becauſe they were unknown, and therefore held unworthy. This difficulty in the new Election appearing more and more, whileſt more were to be choſen; (the fitteſt man to be ſubſtituted, having been named among the firſt, and not thought fit enough) *Pacuvius* intreated, and eaſily prevail'd with the people, that the preſent Senate might for this time be ſpared, in hope of amends hereafter; which (doubtleſs) they would make, having thus obtained pardon of all offences paſt. Henceforth, not only the people, as in former times, honoured *Pacuvius*, and eſteemed him their Patron; but the Senators alſo were governed by him, to whom they acknowledged themſelves indebted, for ſaving all their lives. Neither did the Senate fail after this by all obſequiouſneſs, to court the people, giving the reins unto their lawleſs Will, who elſe were likely to caſt them down. All the City being thus of one mind; only fear of the *Romans* kept them from opening their gates to *Hannibal*. But after the Battel at *Canna*, this impediment was removed; and few there were that would open their mouths to ſpeak againſt the rebellion. Yet forasmuch as three hundred principal Gentlemen of the *Campans*, did then ſerve the *Romans* in the Iſle of *Sicily*: the Parents and Kinſmen of theſe prevailed ſo far, that Embaſſadours were ſent unto *Terentius* the Conſul, to ſee his preſent caſe, and what it could miniſter of Hope or Fear. Theſe, whereſoever they found him, found him weakly attended, and as weak in ſpirit, as in followers. Yet they offered him formally the ſervice of their State; and deſired to know what he would command them. But he moſt baſely lamented unto them the greatneſs of the *Romans* misfortune: ſaying, That all was loſt; and that the *Campans* muſt now not help the *Romans*, who had nothing left wherewith to help themſelves, but make war in their defence againſt the *Carthaginians*; as the *Romans* had ſometimes done for the *Campans* againſt the *Samnites*. Hereunto he is ſaid to have added a fooliſh Invective againſt *Hannibal* and his *Carthaginians*: telling, how he had taught them to make bridges of ſlaughtered carkaſſes, and to feed upon mans fleſh, with ſuch other ſtuff, as only bewrayed his own fear. As for the *Campans* themſelves, he put them in mind of their preſent ſtrength: they having thirty thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe; with money, and all proviſions, in abundance. Thus he diſmiſſed them prouder than they came; and filled them with conceit of getting a great Lordſhip; whereas before they were ſomewhat timorous in adventuring to ſeek their own liberty. Having reported this at *Capua*; the ſame Embaſſadors were diſpatched away to *Hannibal*, with whom they eaſily made alliance, upon theſe conditions, that the *Campans* ſhould be abſolutely free, and ruled by their own Laws; That no Citizens of theirs ſhould be ſubject unto any *Carthaginian* Magiſtrate, in what caſe ſoever, whether in War or Peace; and that *Hannibal* ſhould deliver unto the *Campans* three hundred *Roman* priſoners, ſuch as themſelves would chuſe, whom they might exchange for their Gentlemen which were in *Sicily*.

Againſt all this Negotiation, *Decius Magius*, an honourable Citizen, oppoſed himſelf earneſtly; uſing, in vain, many perſwaſions, to the wilful and head-ſtrong Multitude; whom he put in mind of *Pyrrhus* and the *Tarentines*, wiſhing them not to change old friends for new acquaintance. This did he, when they were ſending Embaſſadors to *Hannibal*; and this alſo did he, when the new alliance was concluded; but moſt earneſtly, when a *Carthaginian* Garriſon was entring the Town: at which time he gave advice, either to keep it out, or to fall upon it, and to cut it in pieces, that by ſuch a notable piece of ſervice, they might make amends unto the *Romans*, whom they had forſaken.

Advertiſement hereof was given to *Hannibal*: who lying about *Naples* not far off, ſent for *Magius* to come ſpeak with him in the Camp. This *Magius* refuſed: alledging, that he was by the late concluded Articles, free from ſubjection unto any *Carthaginians*; and therefore would not come. *Hannibal* thereupon haſted himſelf towards *Capua*; forbearing to attempt any further upon *Naples*, which he thought to have taken in his way by *Scalado*, but found the walls too high, and was not well provided to lay ſiege unto it. At *Capua* he was entertained with great ſolemnity and pomp: all the people iſſuing forth of the Town, to behold the great Commander, which had won ſo many noble victories. Having taken his pleaſure in the ſight of that goodly City, and paſſed over his firſt entertainments, he came into their Senate, wher he commended their reſolution, in ſhaking off the *Roman* yoke; promiſing, that ere long all *Italy* and *Rome* it ſelf, ſhould be driven to acknowledge *Capua* as chief, and receive Law from thence. As for *Decius Magius*, who openly took part with the *Romans* their enemies; he prayed them, that they would not uſe him as a *Campan*, but a Traitor to the State, and uſe him accordingly, giving ſentence out of hand upon him, as he deſerved. This was granted: and *Magius* delivered unto *Hannibal*; who unwilling to offend the *Capuans*, at his firſt coming, by putting ſo great a man to death, yet fearing that they might ſue for his liberty, if he kept him alive, thought it beſt to ſend him away to *Carthage*. Thus *Hannibal* ſettled his friendſhip with the *Campanes*: among whom, only this *Decius Magius* had openly dared to ſpeak againſt him; being aſſiſted by *Perolla* the Son of *Pacuvius*. This *Perolla* would have murdered *Hannibal*, whileſt he was at ſupper, the firſt night of his coming, had not his Fathers authority kept him from attempting any ſuch attempt. All the Town (beſides)

were

were so earnest in the love of their new Society, that they are said to have murdered all the *Romans*, upon whom at the present they could lay hand; or (which is all one) to have smothered them to death in an hot Bath.

The same course of fortune, with those of *Capua*, ran some other Towns thereabouts which depended on this, as their Mother City. *Nola*, *Nuceria*, *Naples*, *Casiline*, and *Acerræ*, where the Cities next adjoyning, that stood out for the *Romans*. Against these *Hannibal* went, thinking to find them weakly manned; as they were indeed, though stoutly defended.

The *Romans* at this time were not in case, to put Garrisons into all their walled Towns; but were fain to leave all places, except a few of the most suspected, unto the faith and courage of the inhabitants. *Rome* it self was in extream fear of *Hannibals* coming, at the first report of the overthrow at *Cannæ*: and the grief of that loss was so general, and immoderate, that it much disturbed the provision against apparent danger. It was hard to judge, whether the loss already received, or the fear of destruction presently threatning, were the more terrible. All the Senators found work enough, to stint the noise and lamentable bewailings, whereof the streets were full. Courriers were sent forth, to bring assured tidings how all went: whereof when Letters from the Consul *Varro* had throughly informed them, they were so amazed, that they ran into barbarous superstition; and taking direction (as was said) from their fatal books, buried alive two men and women, *Gaules* and *Greeks*, in their Oxe-market. If the books of *Sibyl* gave them such instructions, we may justly think that *Sibyl* her self was instructed by the Devil. Yet it is not improbable, that extremity of fear caused them to hearken to wicked South-sayers; whose detestable counsels they afterwards for their own honour (as ashamed of such Authors) imputed to the books of *Sibyl*. An Embassadour was sent to *Delphi*, to consult with the oracle of *Apollo*; and enquire with what prayers and supplications they might pacifie the gods, and obtain an end of these calamities. This is enough to discover the greatness of their fear; though not serving to give remedy. At that time came Letters out of *Sicily*, from the Prætor of *Otacilius*; whom the Senate had appointed, if he found it meet, to pass over into *Africk*. In these were contained news of one *Carthaginian* fleet that wasted the Kingdom of *Hieron* their good friend and confederate; and of another fleet, riding among the Isles *Agateis*, which was in readiness to set upon *Lilybæum*, and the rest of the *Roman* Province, if the Prætor stirred aside to the rescue of *Hieron*.

In the midst of these extremities, it was thought needful to call home *Terentius* the Consul, that he might name a Dictator, to take soveraign charge of the Weal-publick, with absolute power, as necessity required. It must needs seem strange, that all sorts of people went forth to meet the Consul, and bid him welcome home, giving him thanks *for that he had not despaired of the Weal-publick*. But this was done (as may seem) by order from the Senate: which therein (doubtless) provided wisely for upholding the general reputation. If this coming into the City had renewed the lamentations and outcries of the people: what else would have followed, than a contempt of their wretchedness, among those that were subject unto their Dominion? Now in finding this occasion (though indeed he gave it not) of bestowing upon him their welcome, and thanks; they noised abroad a fame, which came perhaps unto the ears of *Hannibal*, of their Magnanimity and Confidence: that might seem grounded on their remaining strength. This therefore was wisely done. But whereas *Livie* would have us think, that it was done generously, and out of great spirit; let me be pardoned, if I believe him not. It was done fearfully, and to cover their grief: had they dared to shew their indignation, they would have struck off his head; as in few years after, *Cn. Fulvius* had his life brought into question, and was banished by them, being less blameworthy, for a smaller offence. *M. Junius*, by appointment of the Senate, was nominated Dictator; and *T. Sempronius*, Master of the horse. These fell presently to mustering of Souldiers, of whom they raised four new Legions, and one thousand horse: though with much difficulty; as being fain to take up some that were very boyes. These four Legions are elsewhere forgotten in account of the forces levied by this Dictator; and two Legions only set down, that had been enrolled in the beginning of the year for the custody of the City. So it may be, that these two Legions being drawn into the field; four new ones of *Prætextati*, or striplings were left in their places. In such raw Souldiers, and so few, little confidence was to be reposed; for which reason they increased their number, by adding unto them eight thousand sturdy slaves, that were put in hope of liberty, if they should deserve it by manful service. This not sufficing, the Dictator proclaimed, that whosoever ought money and could not pay it, or had committed any capital offence, should forthwith be discharged of his debt or punishment, if he would serve in the War. To arm these Companies, they were fain to take down out of their Temples and Porches, the spoils of their enemies that had been there set up: among which, were 6000 Armours of the *Gauls*, that had been carried in the Triumph of *C. Flaminius*, a little before the beginning of this War. To such mockery had God brought the pride of the *Romans*, as a due reward of their insolent oppressions, that they were fain to issue forth of their own gates, in the habit of strangers, when *Hannibal* was ready to encounter them with his *Africans*, armed *Roman*-like.

Liv. l. 26.

Liv. l. 22.

Liv. l. 23.

About the same time it was that *Carthalo* with the Agents of the prisoners taken at *Cannæ*, came to *Rome*. *Carthalo* was not admitted into the City, but commanded, whil'st he was on the way, to be gone ere night out of the *Roman* Territory. To the messengers of the captives audience was given by the Senate. They made earnest Petition to be ransomed at the publick charge; not only the tears and lamentation of their poor kinsfolk but the great need, wherein the City then stood, of able Souldiers, commending their suit; which yet they obtained not. Besides the general custom of the *Romans* (held by long Tradition, and strengthened by a notable Precedent, when *Regulus* was overthrown, and taken prisoner in the former War) not to be too tender of such as had yielded to the enemy, much was alledged against those who now craved ransom: but the special point was, that they were wilfully lost, since they might have saved themselves, as others did. It sufficed not unto these poor men, to say, that their offence was no greater than the Consuls; they were told, that this was great presumption. The truth was, the State wanted money; and therefore could not want excuses; whereby to avoid the disbursement: whether it were so, or not, that any such Plea was held about this matter of redemption, as we find recorded. Neither must we regard it, that the slaves which were armed for the war, are said to have cost more, than the summ did amount unto, that would have ransomed these prisoners. For this is but a tale, devised to countenance

tenance the *Roman* proceedings, as if they had been ſevere; when as indeed they were ſuitable to the preſent fortune, poor and ſomewhat beggerly. Hereof it is no little proof, That *Hannibal* valued thoſe *Roman* ſlaves, whom he had taken in the Camp among their Maſters, at no more, than every one the third part of a common Souldiers ranſom: and likely it is, that he offered them at the price, whereat he thought them current. But if we ſhould ſuppoſe, that by trading with *Hannibal*, a better bargain for ſlaves might have been made, than was by the State at home, in dealing with private men; yet muſt we withal conſider, that theſe private men did only lend theſe ſlaves for a while unto the Common-wealth, and were afterwards contented *to forbear the price of them* (when by order of the Senate they were enfranchiſed) until the war ſhould be ended. If *Hannibal* would have given ſuch long day of payment, it is likely that the *Romans* would have been his Chapmen: but, ſeeing he dealt only for ready money, they choſe ratherto ſay, We will not give, than, We cannot. The like auſteritity, upon the ſame reaſon, but contrary pretence, was uſed toward the Souldiers that eſcaped from that great battel. Theſe were charged for having fled: as the priſoners were for not flying, when they might have done ſo. True it is, that in ſuch caſes (if ever) that which they call *Raggione del Stato*, may ſerve for an excuſe: when the Common-wealth, being driven to a miſerable exigent, is fain to help it ſelf, by doing injuries to private men. And ſo dealt the *Romans* now: condemning all thoſe that had ſerved at *Cannæ*, to be tranſported into *Sicily*; and there to ſerve, not as others did, until they had fulfilled twenty years in the Wars, or elſe were fifty years of age, but until this War ſhould be ended, how long ſoever it laſted, and that without reward. The ſame thrifty cenſure was afterwards laid upon others, for their miſ-behaviour: but never upon any man of quality, ſave only (a good while after this, at better leiſure) upon *Cecilius Metellus*, and a few other hare-brain'd fools his companions; who, being frighted out of their wits, with the terrour of ſo great a loſs, were deviſing, after the battel, which way to run out of *Italy*, when *Hannibal* as yet had ſcarce one Town within it. The inequality of this rigour grew ſhortly diſtaſteful to the Commonalty: and was openly blamed by *a Tribune of the people*; nevertheleſs it was quietly digeſted, the excuſe being no leſs apparent than the fault.

Liv. lib. 25.

Liv. lib. 24.

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were so earnest in the love of their new Society, that they are said to have murdered all the *Romans*, upon whom at the present they could lay hand; or (which is all one) to have smothered them to death in an hot Bath.

The same course of fortune, with those of *Capua*, ran some other Towns thereabouts which depended on this, as their Mother City. *Nola*, *Nuceria*, *Naples*, *Casiline*, and *Acerræ*, where the Cities next adjoyning, that stood out for the *Romans*. Against these *Hannibal* went, thinking to find them weakly manned; as they were indeed, though stoutly defended.

The *Romans* at this time were not in case, to put Garrisons into all their walled Towns; but were fain to leave all places, except a few of the most suspected, unto the faith and courage of the inhabitants. *Rome* it self was in extream fear of *Hannibals* coming, at the first report of the overthrow at *Cannæ*: and the grief of that loss was so general, and immoderate, that it much disturbed the provision against apparent danger. It was hard to judge, whether the loss already received, or the fear of destruction presently threatning, were the more terrible. All the Senators found work enough, to stint the noise and lamentable bewailings, whereof the streets were full. Courriers were sent forth, to bring assured tidings how all went: whereof when Letters from the Consul *Varro* had throughly informed them, they were so amazed, that they ran into barbarous superstition; and taking direction (as was said) from their fatal books, buried alive two men and women, *Gaules* and *Greeks*, in their Oxe-market. If the books of *Sibyl* gave them such instructions, we may justly think that *Sibyl* her self was instructed by the Devil. Yet it is not improbable, that extremity of fear caused them to hearken to wicked South-sayers; whose detestable counsels they afterwards for their own honour (as ashamed of such Authors) imputed to the books of *Sibyl*. An Embassadour was sent to *Delphi*, to consult with the oracle of *Apollo*; and enquire with what prayers and supplications they might pacifie the gods, and obtain an end of these calamities. This is enough to discover the greatness of their fear; though not serving to give remedy. At that time came Letters out of *Sicily*, from the Prætor of *Otacilius*; whom the Senate had appointed, if he found it meet, to pass over into *Africk*. In these were contained news of one *Carthaginian* fleet that wasted the Kingdom of *Hieron* their good friend and confederate; and of another fleet, riding among the Isles *Agatei*, which was in readiness to set upon *Lilybæum*, and the rest of the *Roman* Province, if the Prætor stirred aside to the rescue of *Hieron*.

In the midst of these extremities, it was thought needful to call home *Terentius* the Consul, that he might name a Dictator, to take soveraign charge of the Weal-publick, with absolute power, as necessity required. It must needs seem strange, that all sorts of people went forth to meet the Consul, and bid him welcome home, giving him thanks *for that he had not despaired of the Weal-publick*. But this was done (as may seem) by order from the Senate: which therein (doubtless) provided wisely for upholding the general reputation. If this coming into the City had renewed the lamentations and outcries of the people: what else would have followed, than a contempt of their wretchedness, among those that were subject unto their Dominion? Now in finding this occasion (though indeed he gave it not) of bestowing upon him their welcome, and thanks; they noised abroad a fame, which came perhaps unto the ears of *Hannibal*, of their Magnanimity and Confidence: that might seem grounded on their remaining strength. This therefore was wisely done. But whereas *Livie* would have us think, that it was done generously, and out of great spirit; let me be pardoned, if I believe him not. It was done fearfully, and to cover their grief: had they dared to shew their indignation, they would have struck off his head; as in few years after, *Cn. Fulvius* had his life brought into question, and was banished by them, being less blameworthy, for a smaller offence. *M. Junius*, by appointment of the Senate, was nominated Dictator; and *T. Sempronius*, Master of the horse. These fell presently to mustering of Souldiers, of whom they raised four new Legions, and one thousand horse: though with much difficulty; as being fain to take up some that were very boyes. These four Legions are elsewhere forgotten in account of the forces levied by this Dictator; and two Legions only set down, that had been enrolled in the beginning of the year for the custody of the City. So it may be, that these two Legions being drawn into the field; four new ones of *Prætextati*, or striplings were left in their places. In such raw Souldiers, and so few, little confidence was to be reposed; for which reason they increased their number, by adding unto them eight thousand sturdy slaves, that were put in hope of liberty, if they should deserve it by manful service. This not sufficing, the Dictator proclaimed, that whosoever ought money and could not pay it, or had committed any capital offence, should forthwith be discharged of his debt or punishment, if he would serve in the War. To arm these Companies, they were fain to take down out of their Temples and Porches, the spoils of their enemies that had been there set up: among which, were 6000 Armours of the *Gauls*, that had been carried in the Triumph of *C. Flaminius*, a little before the beginning of this War. To such mockery had God brought the pride of the *Romans*, as a due reward of their insolent oppressions, that they were fain to issue forth of their own gates, in the habit of strangers, when *Hannibal* was ready to encounter them with his *Africans*, armed *Roman*-like.

Liv. l. 26.

Liv. l. 22.

Liv. l. 23.

About the same time it was that *Carthalo* with the Agents of the prisoners taken at *Cannæ*, came to *Rome*. *Carthalo* was not admitted into the City, but commanded, whil'st he was on the way, to be gone ere night out of the *Roman* Territory. To the messengers of the captives audience was given by the Senate. They made earnest Petition to be ransomed at the publick charge; not only the tears and lamentation of their poor kinsfolk but the great need, wherein the City then stood, of able Souldiers, commending their suit; which yet they obtained not. Besides the general custom of the *Romans* (held by long Tradition, and strengthened by a notable Precedent, when *Regulus* was overthrown, and taken prisoner in the former War) not to be too tender of such as had yielded to the enemy, much was alledged against those who now craved ransom: but the special point was, that they were wilfully lost, since they might have saved themselves, as others did. It sufficed not unto these poor men, to say, that their offence was no greater than the Consuls; they were told, that this was great presumption. The truth was, the State wanted money; and therefore could not want excuses; whereby to avoid the disbursement: whether it were so, or not, that any such Plea was held about this matter of redemption, as we find recorded. Neither must we regard it, that the slaves which were armed for the war, are said to have cost more, than the summ did amount unto, that would have ransomed these prisoners. For this is but a tale, devised to countenance

tenance the *Roman* proceedings, as if they had been ſevere; when as indeed they were ſuitable to the preſent fortune, poor and ſomewhat beggerly. Hereof it is no little proof, That *Hannibal* valued thoſe *Roman* ſlaves, whom he had taken in the Camp among their Maſters, at no more, than every one the third part of a common Souldiers ranſom: and likely it is, that he offered them at the price, whereat he thought them current. But if we ſhould ſuppoſe, that by trading with *Hannibal*, a better bargain for ſlaves might have been made, than was by the State at home, in dealing with private men; yet muſt we withal conſider, that theſe private men did only lend theſe ſlaves for a while unto the Common-wealth, and were afterwards contented *to forbear the price of them* (when by order of the Senate they were enfranchiſed) until the war ſhould be ended. If *Hannibal* would have given ſuch long day of payment, it is likely that the *Romans* would have been his Chapmen: but, ſeeing he dealt only for ready money, they choſe rather to ſay, We will not give, than, We cannot. The like auſteritity, upon the ſame reaſon, but contrary pretence, was uſed toward the Souldiers that eſcaped from that great battel. Theſe were charged for having fled: as the priſoners were for not flying, when they might have done ſo. True it is, that in ſuch caſes (if ever) that which they call *Raggione del Stato*, may ſerve for an excuſe: when the Common-wealth, being driven to a miſerable exigent, is fain to help it ſelf, by doing injuries to private men. And ſo dealt the *Romans* now: condemning all thoſe that had ſerved at *Cannæ*, to be tranſported into *Sicily*; and there to ſerve, not as others did, until they had fulfilled twenty years in the Wars, or elſe were fifty years of age, but until this War ſhould be ended, how long ſoever it laſted, and that without reward. The ſame thrifty cenſure was afterwards laid upon others, for their miſ-behaviour: but never upon any man of quality, ſave only (a good while after this, at better leiſure) upon *Cecilius Metellus*, and a few other hare-brain'd fools his companions; who, being frighted out of their wits, with the terrour of ſo great a loſs, were deviſing, after the battel, which way to run out of *Italy*, when *Hannibal* as yet had ſcarce one Town within it. The inequality of this rigour grew ſhortly diſtaſteful to the Commonalty: and was openly blamed by *a Tribune of the people*; nevertheleſs it was quietly digeſted, the excuſe being no leſs apparent than the fault.

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cut off the Enemies hope, and ſend him away betimes. Wherefore ordering his men in three companies, within three ſeveral gates, looking towards the enemy: he gave a ſtraight command, that all the Citizens ſhould keep their houſes. Thus he lay cloſe a good part of the day, to the enemies great wonder, againſt whom he had cuſtomarily iſſued forth before more early, every day, to skirmiſh. But when it was further noted, that the walls were bare, and not a man appearing on them; then thought *Hannibal*, that ſurely all was diſcovered, and *Marcellus* now buſied with the Citizens. Whereupon he bad his men bring ladders, and make ready for the aſſault: which was done in all haſte. But when the *Carthaginians* were at the very walls, and thought nothing leſs, than that the *Romans* would meet them in the field: ſuddenly the middle gate was opened, whereat *Marcellus*, with the beſt and oldeſt of his Souldiers, brake forth upon them, with a great noiſe, to make his unexpected ſally the more terrible. Whileſt the *Carthaginians*, much out of order, were ſome of them flying before *Marcellus*, the reſt making head againſt him: the other two gates opened, whereat in like ſort iſſued they of the new levied Companies, upon the enemies backs. The ſudden terrour was more available unto the *Romans*, than their force; yet the Execution was ſo great, that this was accounted as a victory, and reputed one of the braveſt Acts performed in all that War, foraſmuch as hereby it was firſt proved, that *Hannibal* might be overcome. After this, *Marcellus* being freed from his enemies that were departed, took a ſtrict account of the Citizens of *Nola*; condemning above threeſcore and ten of high Treaſon, whoſe heads he ſtruck off; and ſo leaving the Town in quiet obedience unto their Senate, went and incamped hard by about *Sueſſula*. *Hannibal* in the mean ſeaſon was gone to *Acerræ*: where being excluded; he thought it no wiſdom to loſe time in perſwaſions, but laid ſiege unto it, and began on all ſides to cloſe it up. This terrified the People, who knew themſelves unable to hold out. Therefore before his Works were finiſhed, and they quite ſurrounded; they ſtole out by night, and left him the Town empty: which he ſacked and burnt. Then hearing news of the Dictator, that he was about *Caſiline*, thither went *Hannibal*; as being unwilling that an enemy ſo near ſhould diſquiet him at *Capua*; where he meant to Winter. It ſeems, or rather indeed it is plain, that the late victory of *Marcellus* had nothing abated the ſpirit of the *Carthaginian*: who durſt with a ſmall part of his Army ſeek out the Dictator, that had with him the heart of the *Roman* ſtrength. Wherefore the joy of his Enemies, upon ſo ſlight an occaſion as the death of ſome two thouſand of his men, at the moſt, and thoſe not ſlain in plain battel, but by a ſudden eruption; witneſſeth chiefly, in what great fear they ſtood of *Hannibal*, and how Creſt-fallen they were: that having three years ſince demanded at *Carthage* the body of *Hannibal*, to be delivered unto their pleaſure, by his own Citizens; could now pleaſe themſelves, as with good news, to hear, That in a skirmiſh not far from *Rome*, he appeared to be a man, and not reſiſtleſs. At *Caſilinum* the Dictator was not: but many Companies of *Italians*, Confederates of *Rome*, were gotten into the Town, and held it. Five hundred of the *Præneſtines* there were, and about four hundred of *Peruſia*, with ſome of the *Latines*. All theſe had the good hap, to come too late to the battel at *Cannæ*, being ſent by their ſeveral States to the Camp: whither whileſt they were marching, the tidings of that great misfortune encountred them, and ſent them back ſorrowful; for they loved well their Lords the *Romans*, under whoſe government they lived happily. So came they all, one after another to *Caſiline*, where they met and ſtayed. Neither had they ſtayed there long, ere they heard news from *Capua*, How that great City became the Ring-leader of all the *Campanes* into rebellion. The people of *Caſiline* were effected as they of *Capua*: and therefore ſought how to rid their hands of thoſe *Præneſtines* and their fellows; but the Souldiers were too hard for them, and after many trains laid one for another, at laſt they ſlew all the Townſmen in a night, and fortified the Weſtern part of the Town (for it was divided by the River *Vulturnus*) againſt the Enemy. If they had run away with the goods, and pretended, that theſe of *Caſiline* were as the reſt of the *Campanes*, all Traitors; they themſelves might have been reputed, as no better than the *Mamertines*, But their conſtancy in defence of the place witneſſeth, upon what honeſt reaſons they ſurpriſed it. *Hannibal* came thither, thinking to have encountred with greater forces: but theſe few found him more work than he expected. Divers aſſaults he gave, but was ſtill repelled with loſs: and many ſallies they made, with variable event. The Enemy mined; and they countermined: oppoſing ſo much induſtry to his force, that he was driven to cloſe them up, and ſeek to win them by famine. *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, that was Maſter of the Horſe, lay with the *Roman* Army higher up the River: who fain would have relieved *Caſiline*, but that the Dictator being gone to *Rome* about ſome matters of Religion, had given him an expreſs charge not to fight till his return. *Marcellus* from *Sueſſula* could not come: his way being ſtopped by the over-flowings of *Vulturnus*; the *Nolans* alſo beſeeching him not to leave them, who were in danger of the *Campanes*, if he departed. Thus it is reported: but if the water ſtayed his journey, ſuch intreaties were needleſs. Neither is it like that the Dictator tarried at *Rome* ſo long, as till extreme famine had conſumed the Garriſon in *Caſiline*. Wherefore it may be thought, that the Town was loſt, becauſe the *Romans* durſt not adventure to raiſe the ſiege. Barrels of Corn were ſent by night, floating down the River; and when ſome of theſe, being carried awry by an Eddie of water, ſtuck among the Willows on the bank, whereby this manner of relief was diſcovered and prevented; *Gracchus* caſt a great quantity of Nuts into the ſtream, which faintly ſuſtained the poor beſieged men. At length when all food was ſpent, and whatſoever grew green under the Walls was gathered for Sallets, the *Carthaginians* ploughed up the ground; whereon the beſieged preſently ſowed Rapeſeed. *Hannibal* ſeeing this, admired their patience; and ſaid, That he meant not to ſtay at *Caſiline* until the Rapes were grown. Wherefore though hitherto he had refuſed to hearken unto any Compoſition, as intending to make them an example to all others, by puniſhing their obſtinacy; yet now he was content, to grant them their lives at an indifferent ranſom; which when they had paid, he quietly diſmiſſed them, according to his promiſe. Seven hundred *Carthaginians* he placed in *Caſiline*, as a Garriſon for defence of the *Campanes*; unto whom he reſtored it. To the *Præneſtine* Souldiers great thanks were given, and loving rewards; among which they had offer, in regard of their vertue, to be made Citizens of *Rome*. But thier preſent condition pleaſed them ſo well, that they choſe rather to continue, as they were in *Præneſte*:

which

which is no weak proof, of the good estate wherein the Cities flourished, that were subject to the *Roman* Government. This siege of *Casiline* was not a little beneficial to the *Romans*; as having long detained *Hannibal*, and consumed much of his time, that might otherwise have been better spent. For winter overtook him long before he could dispatch the business: which how to quit with his honor he knew not, when he was once engaged. Therefore he wintered at *Capua*: where he refreshed his Army, or rather corrupted it, as all Historians report, and made it effeminate; though effeminate as it was, He therewithal did often beat the *Romans* in following times, as shall appear hereafter.

SECT. X.

Of the great supply that was decreed at Carthage, *to be sent to* Hannibal *into* Italy. *How by the malice of* Hanno, *and sloth or parsimony of the* Carthaginians, *the supply was too long deferred. That the riches of the* Carthaginians *grew faster, than of the* Romans. *Of* Fabius *and other old* Romans *Historians, how partial they were in their writings.*

WHen *Mago*, the son of *Amilcar* had spent some time about the taking in such *Italians*, as fell from the *Romans* after the battel at *Canne*; his brother *Hannibal* sent for him to *Capua*, and thence dispatched him away to *Carthage*, with the joyful message of Victory. He told the *Carthaginian* Senate with how many *Roman* Generals his brother had fought, what Consuls he had chased, wounded or slain; how the stout *Romans*, that in the former war never shunned any occasion of fight, were now grown so calm, that they thought their Dictator *Fabius* the only good Captain, because he never durst adventure to come to battel; That not without reason their spirits were thus abated, since *Hannibal* had slain of them above 200000. and taken above fifty thousand prisoners. He further told them of the *Brutians*, *Apulians*, *Samnites*, *Lucans*, and other people of *Italy*, that followed the fortune of those great victories, and revolted unto the *Carthaginians*. Among the rest he magnified *Capua*, as a goodly City, and fit to be not only (as already it was) Head of all the *Capuans*, but the chief seat of their Dominion in *Italy*: and there he informed them, how lovingly his brother had been entertained, where he meant to rest that winter attending their supply. As for the war, He said it was even at an end, if they would now pursue it closely, and not give the *Romans* any breathing time, wherein to re-collect themselves, and repair their broken forces. He willed them to consider, that the war was far from home, in the Enemies Country: that so many battels had much diminished his brothers Army: that the Souldiers, who had so well deserved, ought to be considered with liberal rewards; and that it was not good to burden their new *Italian* friends, with exactions of money, Corn, and other necessaries; but that these things must be sent from *Carthage*; which the victory would requite with large amends. Finally, he caused the golden rings, taken from the fingers of the *Roman* Knights that were slain, to be poured out openly in the Court: which being measured, filled (as some say) three bushels; or (as others would rather have it) no more than one; adding, that by this might appear the greatness of the *Roman* calamity, forasmuch as none but the * principal of that order, were accustomed to wear that ornament.

* Thus *Livy* reports it; and credible it is, that while *Rome* was poor, the bravery of private men was not altogether so great, as the Law would have permitted, though otherwise *Jus Annuli*, *The wearing of the Ring*, was the general priviledge of the *Roman Equites*.

Who so considers the former *Punick War*, may easily find, that the State of *Carthage* never did receive, in all the durance thereof, any such hopeful advertisements from their Captains abroad. Wherefore it is no marvel, if the errand of *Mago* found extraordinary welcom. In the vehemency of this joy, *Himilco*, a Senator adverse to the faction of *Hanno*, is said to have demanded of that great perswader unto peace with *Rome*, Whether he were still of opinion, that *Hannibal* should be yielded up unto the *Romans*; or whether he would forbid them to give thanks unto the gods, for this their good success. Hereunto though it be not likely that *Hanno* made the same formal answer, which *Livie* puts into his mouth, calling the *Carthaginian* Senators *Patres Conscripti*, by a term proper to the *Romans*; and putting them in mind of his own shameful overthrow received at the Islands *Ægateis*: yet the summ of his speech appears to have been no less malicious than is set down, forasmuch as *Hannibal* himself, at his departure out of *Italy*, exclaimed against the wickedness of this *Hanno*; saying, that his hatred against the *Barchines*, had oppressed their Family, when otherwise it could not, with the ruine of *Carthage*. Therefore it may well be, that he made such a jest of these victories, as is reported: saying, It ill beseemed him, who had vanquished the *Romans*, to call for more help as if he had been beaten; or him, that had taken their Camp, filled forsooth with spoil, to make requeest for meat and money. To these cavils, if answer were needful, it might be said, That other booty than of horses and slaves, little was to be found in the *Roman* Camp: the best of the Souldiers carrying no other wealth into the field, than a few * silver studs in the bridles and trappings of their horses. If *Hannibal* had taken any main convoy of money and provisions, going to supply all wants of a great Army in some other Province, (as the two *Scipio's* are afterwards said to have done, when they wan the Camp of *Asdrubal*, that carryed along with him all the wealth of *Spain*, in his journey towards *Italy*) then might such an objection more justly have been made unto his demand of a supply. But the most likely part of *Hanno* his Oration, and wherein he best might hope to prevail, contained a perswasion to use their fortune with moderation; and now to seek peace, whilst they had so much the better in war.

* *Liv. l.* 22.

What would have been the issue of this counsel, if it had been followed, it were not easie to say. For though it be likely, that the *Roman* pride would have brooked much indignity, in freeing *Italy* from the danger of war; yet it is not likely that the faith, so often broken to the *Carthaginians* in former times, would have been kept entire, when any opinion of good advantage had called for revenge of so many shameful overthrows; since after this war ended, and a new league concluded, no submissive behaviour could preserve *Carthage* from ruine, longer, than until such time as *Rome* was at leisure from all other wars. This counsel therefore of *Hanno*, though it might seem temperate, was indeed very pestilent; and served only to hinder the performance of a noble resolution. For it was concluded by a main consent of the Senate, that forty thousand

Numidians, forty Elephants, and great abundance of ſilver, ſhould be ſent over to *Hannibal*: and that, beſides theſe, twenty thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe, ſhould be levied in *Spain*; not only to ſupply, as need ſhould require, the Armies in their Provincce, but to be tranſported into *Italy*.

This great Aid, had it been as carefully ſent, as it was readily decreed; the *Roman* Hiſtorians would not have found cauſe, to tax the retchleſs improvidence of *Hannibal*, in forbearing to march directly from *Canna* to *Rome*, or in refreſhing his Army among the delights of *Capua*: the next years work would have finiſhed the buſineſs, with leſs dangerous adventure; and the pleaſures, which his men enjoyed among the *Campanes*, would have been commended, as rewards by him well thought upon, wherewith to animate both them and others, that were to be employed in the following War. But either the too much careleſneſs of thoſe, that were loth to make haſte in laying out their money, before extreme neceſſity required it; or the crafty malice of *Hanno*, and his fellows, working upon the private humours of men, that had more feeling of their own commodity, than ſenſe of the publick need; utterly perverted, and made unprofitable in the performance, the order that had been ſo well ſet down. The * Elephants were ſent: and ſome money peradventure, uncertain it is how long after. But thoſe great forces of threeſcore thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe, came not into *Italy*, till much was loſt of that which already had been gotten, and a great part of the old *Carthaginian* Army, was firſt conſumed by time, and ſundry accidents of war. Only ſome ſmall numbers, no way anſwering unto the proportion decreed, were ſent into *Spain*; and the journey of *Aſdrubal* thence through *France* into *Italy* much talked of, but he not enabled thereunto, till many years were paſt, and the *Romans* had recovered their ſtrength.

* *Liv. l. 26.*

Here we may note, what great riches the *Carthaginians* drew into their City, both by the Tributes received from their ſubjects, and by their wealthy Trade of Merchandize. For it is not long, ſince the War of the Mercenaries, and the perfidious tyranny of the *Romans*, extorting in time of greateſt neceſſity twelve hundred talents; had exceedingly impoveriſhed *Carthage*: which was before brought into great want, even by the expence of ſo much money, as was to be diſburſed for redeeming of peace, after the loſs of *Ægateis*. Yet we ſee, what great Armies of *Numidians*, and *Spaniards*, beſides thoſe already on foot, are appointed to the ſervice in *Italy*, and how little the *Carthaginians* fear the want of money in theſe chargeable undertakings: whereas the *Romans* on the other ſide, having three or four years together been forced to ſome extraordinary coſt, are fain to go upon credit; even for the price of thoſe ſlaves, which they bought of their own Citizens to arm for their defence. Such advantage in means to enrich their Treaſury, had the wealthy Merchants of *Carthage*, trading in all parts of the *Mediterranean* Sea, even from *Tyrus* their Mother-City in the bottom of the Streights unto the great Ocean, above the *Romans*: who lived on the fruits of their ground, and received their Tributes from people following the ſame courſe of life. When the time therefore was come, that the hatred of *Rome* found leiſure to ſhew it ſelf, in the deſtruction of *Carthage*; the impudence of *Roman* falſhood, in ſeeking an honeſt colour wherewith to ſhadow the intended breach of Faith, diſcovered plainly whence the jealouſie was bred, that this mighty City would again rebell. For the *Carthaginians*, having given up hoſtages, even before the *Roman* Army did ſet forth, to perform whatſoever ſhould be enjoyned them, with condition, that their City might not be deſtroyed; and having accordingly, when they were ſo required, yielded up all their weapons, and engines of War; the *Romans* told them plainly, That the City of *Carthage*, which was the body of the Citizens, ſhould be friendly dealt withal, but the Town muſt needs be demoliſhed, and removed into ſome other place, that ſhould be twelve miles diſtant from the Sea. For (ſaid the *Romans*) This Trade of Merchandiſe, by which ye now live, is not fit for peaceable men, ſuch as ye promiſe to become hereafter, as is the Trade of Huſbandry; an wholſom kind of life, and enduing men with many laudable qualities which enable their bodies, and make them very apt for converſation. This villanous dealing of the *Romans*, though ſugred with gloſing words, plainly ſhews, what good obſervations the elder *Cato* had made of the haſty growth of *Carthage* in riches. For, when being demanded his opinion in the Senate about any matter whatſoever it were, he added ſtill this concluſion, *Thus I think*, and *that* Carthage *ſhould be deſtroyed*; He may ſeem, not only to have had regard unto that preſent wealth, which at his being there he had found in the City, but much more unto theſe times, and the great height whereunto it roſe, even ſuddenly as we ſee, out of many calamities, whileſt the *Romans* thought, that it had not been in caſe to dare ſo terrible a War.

But as the *Carthaginians*, in gathering wealth, were more induſtrious and skilful than the *Romans*; ſo came they far ſhort of them in the honourable care of the publick good: having every one, or moſt of them, a more principal regard of his own private benefit. This made them (beſides the negligence commonly found in victors) when the firſt heat of their affection (wherein they concluded to purſue the war ſtrongly) was over-paſt, go more leiſurely to work, than had been requiſite, in the execution. It was eaſie for *Hanno* to perſwade covetous men, that they ſhould firſt of all defend their own in *Spain*. This might be done with little charges. Afterwards, when that Province was ſecured, they might ſend an Army into *Italy*; ſo going to work orderly by degrees. For it were no wiſdom to commit all the ſtrength of the Common-wealth to one hazard of fortune, againſt the enemies, or (which perhaps were worſe) to the government of an ambitious man, and his brethren; who having once (if they could do ſo) finiſhed the war, might eaſily make * *Hannibal* a King, and ſubdue *Carthage*, with the forces that they had given him to the conqueſt of *Rome*.

* Of ſuch ambition *Hanno* directly accuſed *Hannibal*, ſaying, that he made war, that ſo he might live compaſſed with Legions, as knowing no other way to make himſelf a King.

By ſuch malicious working of *Hanno*, and by their own ſlackneſs, incredulity, dullneſs, or niggardize, the *Carthaginians* were perſwaded rather to make ſmall diſburſments in *Spain*, than to ſet up all their reſt at once in *Italy*. Yet was it indeed impoſſible to hold a Country of ſo large extent, and ſo open a coaſt as that of *Spain*, free from all incurſion of the Enemy: eſpecially the affection of the Naturals being (as in a new conqueſt) ill eſtabliſhed. A better way therefore it had been, to make a running War, by which the *Romans* might have been found occupied, even with the ordinary *Carthaginian* Garriſons or ſome little addition thereunto. For if it were thought meet, to defer the proſecution of their main intendment againſt *Rome* it ſelf, until ſuch time as every little thorn were pulled out of the ſides of ſo great a Province, then muſt *Emporia* have been beſieged and forced: which, by reaſon of alliance with

with the *Massilians*, gave unto the *Romans*, at all times when they pleased, a ready and secure Harbour. But the Town of *Emporiæ*, was too strong to be won in haste: it had long defended it self against the *Barbarians*; having not above four hundred paces of wall to the main Land, and exceedingly well fortified: a great *Spanish* Town of the same name, lying without it, that was three miles in compass, very strong likewise, and friend unto the *Gracians*, though not over-much trusted. Wherefore to force this Town of *Emporiæ*, that was, besides the proper strength, like to be so well assisted by the *Massilians*, *Romans*, and some *Spaniards*, would have been a work of little less difficulty, than was the *Romans* war (in appearance) after the battel at *Cannæ*: yea, it had been in effect none other, than to alter the seat of the war; which *Hannibal* had already fixed, with better judgement, near unto the gates of *Rome*. The difficulty of this attempt, being such as caused it altogether to be forborn; great folly it was to be much troubled about expelling the *Romans* utterly out of *Spain*: whom they might more easily have diverted thence, and drawn home to their own doors, by making strong war upon their City. For even so the *Romans* afterwards removed *Hannibal* into *Africk*, by sending an Army to *Carthage*; and by taking the like course, they now endeavoured to change the seat of the war transferring it out of *Italy* into *Spain*. But the private affections of men, regarding the common good no otherwise, than as it is accessary to their own purposes, did make them easily wink at opportunities, and hope that somewhat would fall out well of it self, though they set not to their helping hands. *Hanno* was a malicious wretch: yet they that thought him so, were well enough contented to hearken unto his discourses, as long as they were plausible, and tended to keep the purse full. In the mean while they suffered *Hannibal*, and all the noble house of *Amilcar*, to weary themselves in travel for the Common-wealth: which all *Carthage* in general highly commended, but weakly assisted; as if the industry of these *Barchines* had been somewhat more than needful. Surely the *Carthaginians*, in general, were far less honourable than the people of *Rome*: not only in government of their subject Provinces, but in administration of their own estate; few of them preferring the respect of the Weal-publick above their private interest. But as they thrived little in the end, by their parsimony used toward their own Mercenaries, when the former *Roman* war was finished: so the conclusion of this war present, will make them complain, with feeling sighs, of their negligence in supplying *Hannibal*, after the victory at *Cannæ*; when gladly they would give all their Treasures, to redeem the opportunity, that now they let pass, as if it were cost enough to send a few handfuls into *Spain*.

That both the *Spanish* business, and the state of *Africk* it self, depended wholly, or for the most part, upon success of things in *Italy*, the course of actions following will make manifest. Particularly, how matters were ordered in *Spain* by the *Carthaginian* Governours, it is very hard and almost impossible to set down. For, though we must not reprehend, in that worthy Historian *Livy*, the tender love of his own Country, which made him give credit unto *Fabius* and others; yet must we not, for his sake, believe those lies, which the unpartial judgement of *Polybius* hath condemned, in the Writers that gave them original. It were needless to rehearse all that may be found in *Polybius*, concerning the untruth of that *Roman* Historian *Fabius*. One example may suffice. He saith of *Amilcar* and his men at *Eryx*, in the former war, That, having clean spent their strength, and being even broken with many miseries, they were glad to submit themselves unto the *Romans*. Contrary hereunto we find in *the life of* Amilcar, set down by *Æmilius Probus*; That *Eryx* was in such sort held by the *Carthaginians*, that it seemed to be in as good condition, as if in those parts there had not been any war. These words, being referred to the brave resolution of the *Carthaginian* souldiers, and the singular vertue of their General, infusing such spirit into them, may be taken as not over liberal. For in the treaty of peace between *Amilcar* and *Catulus*, when the *Roman* first of all required, that this Garrison of *Eryx* should lay down their arms and forsake *Sicily*, theatning, that otherwise he would not talk of any composition: *Amilcar* boldly bade him chuse, whether he would talk of it or no; for that the Arms which his Country had put into his hands to use against her enemies, it was not his purpose to yield up unto them. Now since the *Romans*, contrary to their custom upon like advantages, were content to let *Amilcar* have his will, and not to stand with him upon point of honour, whilst otherwise they might quietly rid their hands of him; plain enough it is, that they were far from thinking him a man consumed with miseries, as *Fabius* would have him seem. Hereunto agrees the relation of *Polybius*: who flatly, and by name, chargeth *Fabius* with untruth; saying, That howsoever *Amilcar* and his Souldiers had endured all extremity, yet they behaved themselves as men that had no sense thereof; and were as far from being either vanquished or tyred, as were their Enemies. Such being the difference between *Fabius* (as also perhaps between other old Writers of the *Roman* story) and those that had more regard of truth, than of flattering the mighty City of *Rome*: we must take it in good part, that howsoever *Livie* introduceth *Hanno*, in one place, joyning very foolishly his own shameful overthrow at the Islands * *Ægateis*, with the great services of *Amilcar* at *Eryx*, as if both of them had had a like event; yet † elsewhere he forbeareth not to put a more likely tale (though with as impudent a commemoration of his own unhappy conduct) into the same *Hanno* his mouth, making him say, That the affairs of *Carthage* went never better, than a little before the loss of their Fleet in that battel at Sea; wherein himself was General. Now, concerning the doings of the *Scipio's* in *Spain*, there is cause to wish, that this *Fabius*, with *Val. Antias*, and others of the like stamp, had either written (if they could not write more temperately) nothing at all; or that the tender affection of *Livie* to his *Rome*, had not caused him to think too well of thier relations; which are such as follow.

* *Ægatis insulas Erycemque ante oculos proponite, &c.* *Liv. l. 21.*
† *Liv. 23.*

Pol. lib. 1.

SECT. XI.

Strange reports of the Rom. *victories in* Spain, *before* Asdrubal *the Son of* Amilcar *followed thence his Brother* Hannibal *into* Italy.

IT hath been shewed already, how *P. Cornelius Scipio* the Consul returning from *Gaul* into *Italy*, to encounter with *Hannibal* at his descent from the *Alps*, sent before him his Brother *Cneus*, with part of his Fleet and Army, into *Spain*. Two *Roman* Legions, with 14000. foot of the Confederates, and 1200. horse, had been allotted unto the Consul, therewith to make war in *Spain* against *Hannibal*; who, since he was marching into *Italy* with

with the ſtrength of his Army, *P. Scipio* believed, that a good part of theſe his own forces might well be ſpared from the *Spaniſh* Expedition; and therefore made bold to carry ſome of the number back with him, ſending on his brother with the reſt, as his Lieutenant. *Publius* himſelf remained in *Italy* all the time of his Conſulſhip; which being expired, he was ſent Proconſul into *Spain* by the Senate, with an Army of 8000. men, and a Fleet of thirty Gallies.

The Acts of theſe two Brethren in their Province, were very great; and, as they are reported, ſomewhat marvellous. For they continually prevailed in *Spain* againſt the *Carthaginians*; whom they vanquiſhed in ſo many battels, and withdrew from their Alliance ſo many of the *Spaniards* their Confederates, that we have cauſe to wonder how the enemy could ſo often find means to repair his forces, and return ſtrong into the field. But as the *Romans*, by pretending to deliver the Country from the tyranny of *Carthage*, might eaſily win unto their Confederacy, as many as were galled with the *African* yoke, and durſt adventure to break it: ſo the ancient reputation of the firſt Conquerours might ſerve to arm the Naturals againſt theſe Invaders, and to reclaim thoſe that had revolted unto the *Romans*, were it only by the memory of ſuch ill ſucceſs, as the like rebellions in former times had found. Hereto may be added the *Carthaginian* Treaſure; which eaſily raiſed Souldiers, among thoſe valiant (but in that Age) poor, and gold-thirſty Nations. Neither was it of ſmall importance, that ſo many of the *Spaniards* had their children, kinſmen, and friends, abroad with *Hannibal* in his *Italian* Wars; or ſerving the *Carthaginians* in *Africk*. And peradventure, if we durſt be bold to ſay it; the victories of the *Scipio*'s were neither ſo many, nor ſo great as they are ſet out by *Livie*. This we may be bold to ſay, that the great Captain *Fabius*, or *Livie* in his perſon, maketh an objection unto *Scipio*, which neither *Scipio*, nor *Livie* for him, doth anſwer. That *if* Aſdrubal *were vanquiſhed, as* Scipio *would ſay by him in* Spain*: ſtrange it was, and as little to his honour, as it had been extreamly dangerous to* Rome, *that the ſame vanquiſhed man ſhould invade* Italy. And it is indeed an incredible narration, That *Aſdrubal*, being encloſed on all ſides, and not knowing how to eſcape out of battel, ſave only by the ſteep deſcent of Rocks, over a great River that lay at his back, ran away with all his money, Elephants and broken Troops, over *Tagus*, directly towards the *Pyrenees*, and ſo toward *Italy*; upon which he fell with more than threeſcore thouſand armed Souldiers. Neither do I ſee, how it hangs well together, That he choſe a piece of ground very defenſible, but moſt incommodious for his retrait, if he ſhould happen to be vanquiſhed; and yet, that he ſent all his money and Elephants away before him, as not intending to abide the enemy: Or how it could be true, that theſe his Elephants being ſo ſent before, could hinder the *Romans* (for ſo are they ſaid to have done in the laſt battel between him and *Scipio*) from breaking into his Camp. Wherefore we can no more than be ſorry, that all *Carthaginian* records of this War, and *Spaniſh*, (if there were any) being utterly loſt, we can know no more thereof, than what it hath pleaſed the *Romans* to tell us; unto whom it were no wiſdom to give too much credit. In this regard, I will ſummarily run over the doings of the *Scipio*'s in *Spain*, not greatly inſiſting on particulars, whereof there is no great certainty.

Cn. Cornelius landed at *Emporiæ*, an Haven Town, not far within the *Pyrenees*, retaining ſtill the ſame name with little inflexion. That by the flame of his clemency he allured many Nations to become ſubject unto *Rome*, as the ſtory begins of him, I could eaſily believe, if I underſtood by what occaſion they had need to uſe his clemency, or he to give ſuch famous example thereof, being a meer ſtranger, and having no juriſdiction in the Country. Yet it is certain, that he was a man very courteous, and one that could well inſinuate himſelf into the love of the *Barbarians*, among whom, his dexterity in practice had the better ſucceſs, for that he ſeemed to have none other errand than ſetting them at liberty. This pretext availed with ſome: others were to be hired with money: and ſome he compelled to yield by force or fear; eſpecially when he had won a battel againſt *Hanno*. Into all Treaties of Accord, made with theſe people, likely it is, that he remembred to inſert this Article, which the *Romans* in their Alliances never forgat, unleſs in long times paſt, and when they dealt with the *Carthaginians*, or their Superiours; *Majeſtatem Pop. Rom. comiter conſervent*, which is, as *Tully* interprets it, *That they ſhould gently* (or *kindly*) *uphold the Majeſty of the people of* Rome. This was in apppearance nothing troubleſome; yet implyedit indeed an obſcure covenant of ſubjection. And in this reſpect it may be true, That the *Spaniards* became *ditionis Romanæ, of the Roman juriſdiction*; though hereafter they will ſay, they had no ſuch meaning. That part of the Country wherein *Scipio* landed, was newly ſubdued by *Hannibal* in his paſſage toward *Italy*; and therefore the more eaſily ſhaken out of obedience, particularly in the *Bargutians*; *Hannibal* had found at his coming among them ſuch an apprehenſion of the *Roman* greatneſs, as made him ſuſpect, that any light occaſion would make them ſtart from the *Carthaginians*. Wherefore he not only appointed *Hanno* Governour over them, as over the reſt of the Province between *Iberus* and the *Pyrenees*, but made him alſo their *Lord*; that is, (as I conceive it; for I do not think he gave the Principality of their Country unto *Hanno* and his Heirs) he made him not only Lieutenant-General over them, in matters of War, and things concerning the holding them in obedience to *Carthage*; but took from them all inferiour Officers of their own, leaving them to be governed by *Hanno* at his diſcretion. Theſe therefore had good cauſe to rejoyce at the coming of *Scipio*; with whom, others alſo (no doubt) found reaſons to joyn, it being the cuſtom of all conquered Nations in hatred of their preſent Lords, to throw themſelves indiſcreetly into the protection of others, that many times prove worſe than the former. So were the *Neapolitans*, and *Milanois*, in the age of our Grand-fathers, weary by turns of the *Spaniards* and *French*; as more ſenſible ſtill of the preſent evil which they felt, than regardful of the greater miſchief, whereinto they ran by ſeeking to avoid it. This bad affection of this Province, would not ſuffer *Hanno* to temporize. Ten thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe, *Hannibal* had left unto him: beſides which, it is like, that ſome forces he was able to raiſe out of his Province. Therefore he adventured a battel with *Scipio*, wherein he was overthrown and taken. Following this victory, *Scipio* beſieged *Stiſſum*, a Town hard by, and won it. But *Aſdrubal* having paſſed *Iberus*, and coming too late to the relief of *Hanno*, with eight thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe, fell upon the *Roman* Sea-forces, that lay not far from *Tarracon*, whom he found careleſs, as after a victory, roving abroad in the Country; and with great ſlaughter drave them aboard their ſhips.

Orat. pro Cor. Balbo.

Liv. lib. 21.

Pol. lib. 3.

ſhips. This done, he ran up into the Country, where he withdrew the *Ilergetes* from the *Roman* party, though they had given Hoſtages to *Scipio*. *Scipio* in the mean ſeaſon was gone to viſit and aid his Fleet; where having ſet things in order, he returned back, and made towards *Aſdrubal*; who durſt not abide his coming, but withdr ew himſelf again over *Iberus*. So the *Ilergetes* were compelled by force, having loſt *Athanagia* their chief City, to pay a fine to the *Romans*, and increaſe the number of their Hoſtages. The *Auſetani* likewiſe Confederates of the *Carthaginians*, were beſieged in their chief Town; which they defended thirty daies hoping in vain, that the ſharp Winter and great abundance of Snow that fell, would have made the *Romans* to diſlodge. But they were fain at length to yield; and for this their obſtinacy, they were amerced twenty talents of ſilver. During the ſiege, the *Lacetani* came to help their diſtreſſed neighbours; and were beaten home by *Scipio*, leaving twelve thouſand of their Company dead behind them. I cannot but wonder how theſe *Lacetani*, that are ſaid to be the firſt which embraced the friendſhip of *Scipio*, ſhould, without any cauſe remembred, become *Carthaginian* on the ſudden, in the next news that we hear of them. As alſo it is ſtrange, that all the Sea-coaſt Northward of *Iberus*, having lately become voluntarily *ditionis Romanæ*, *ſubject unto Rome*, ſhould, in continuance of the Story, after a few lines, hold war againſt *Scipio*, without any reſiſtance of the *Carthaginians*. Neither can I believe, that *Aſdrubal*, as it were by a charm, ſtirred up the *Ilergetes*, making them lay aſide all care of their Hoſtages, and take Arms in his quarrel; whilſt himſelf had not the daring to ſtand againſt *Scipio*, but ran away, and ſaved himſelf beyond *Iberus*. *Philinus* perhaps or ſome *Carthaginian* Writer, would have told it thus: That *Scipio* adventuring too far into the Country, was beaten by *Aſdrubal* back to his ſhips, whence he durſt not ſtir until Winter came on: at what time the *Carthaginian* returned into the heart of his Province, leaving ſome few Garriſons to defend thoſe places, that after *Scipio* won, by returning upon them, unlooked for through a deep Snow. As for the *Lacetani*, *Ilergetes*, and the reſt, we may reaſonably think, that they ſought their own benefit; helping themſelves one while by the *Romans* againſt the *Carthaginians*; and contrariwiſe, upon ſenſe of injuries received, or apprehenſion of more grievous tyranny, under which theyſ eared to be brought by theſe new Maſters, hearkening again unto the comfortable promiſes of thoſe that had ruled them before. For that it was their intent to live under their own Country Laws, and not under Governours ſent from *Rome* or *Carthage*, their demeanour in all Ages following may teſtifie: even from henceforth unto the daies of *Auguſtus Ceſar*, till when they were never thorowly conquered.

Liv. lib. 21.

The year following this, *Cn. Scipio* had a victory againſt the *Carthaginians* in fight at Sea; or rather came upon them unlooked for, while they rode at Ancor, moſt of their men being on ſhore. All their ſhips that ran not too far on ground, he took; and thereby grew Maſter of the whole Coaſt; landing at pleaſure, and doing great hurt in all places that were not well defenced. After this victory, above one hundred and twenty Nations, or petty eſtates in *Spain*, are ſaid to have ſubmitted themſelves unto the *Romans*, or given Hoſtages; whereby *Aſdrubal* was compelled to flye into the uttermoſt corners of the Land, and hide himſelf in *Luſitania*. Yet it follows, that the *Ilergetes* did again rebel; that *Aſdrubal* hereupon came over *Iberus*; and that *Scipio* (though having eaſily vanquiſhed the *Ilergetes*) went not forth to meet him, but ſtirred up againſt him the *Celtiberians*, that lately were become his ſubjects, and had given him Hoſtages. Theſe took from the *Carthaginians* three Towns, and vanquiſhed him in two battels; wherein they ſlew fifteen thouſand of his men, and took four thouſand priſoners. Then arrived *P. Scipio*, with the ſupply before mentioned: and henceforward the two Brethren joyntly adminiſtred the buſineſs in *Spain*.

The *Carthaginians* being occupied in the *Celtiberian War*, the two *Scipio's* did *haud cunctanter, without both fear or doubt*, paſs over *Iberus*, and beſieged *Saguntum*. Little cauſe of doubt had they, if *Cn.* had already ſubdued many Nations beyond it; and, among many other, the ſame *Celtiberians*, that with their proper forces were able to vanquiſh *Aſdrubal*. *Boſtar*, the Governor of *Saguntum*, a ſimple man, ſuffered himſelf to be perſwaded by one *Acedux* a *Spaniard*, that the only way to get the favour and hearty good will of the Country, was by freely reſtoring unto them thier Hoſtages; as reſting without any pledge, aſſured of their faith. But the crafty *Spaniard*, being truſted with this meſſage and reſtitution of the Hoſtages, carried them all to the *Roman* General; perſwaded them, as he had done *Boſtar*, to make the Liberality their own. Hereby the *Romans* purchaſed much love, if the tale were true; and if it were not rather true, as afterward, and ere this we find that all the *Spaniſh* Hoſtages were left in new *Carthage*. I am weary of rehearſing ſo many particularities, whereof I can believe ſo few. But ſince we find no better certainties, we muſt content our ſelves with theſe.

The year following was like unto this: *Aſdrubal* muſt be beaten again. The two *Scipio's* divide their forces: *Cn.* makes war by Land, *P.* by Sea. *Aſdrubal*, with much labour and entreaty, hath gotten four thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe out of *Africk*: He repairs his Fleet, and provides every way to make reſiſtance. But all his chief Sea-men, and Maſters of his Ships, revolt unto the *Romans*, becauſe they had been chidden the laſt year for their negligence, which had betrayed the *Navy*. The revolt of theſe ſhip-maſters animates to rebellion the *Carpetians*, or *Carpetani*, an Inland people about *Toledo*, in the very Center of *Spain*. Theſe do much miſchief, ſo that *Aſdrubal* is fain to make a journey to them. His ſudden coming cuts off ſome of them, that were found ſcattered abroad in the fields. But they, making a head, ſo valiantly aſſail him, that they drive him for very fear, to encamp himſelf ſtrongly on an high piece of ground; whence he dares not come forth to give them battel. So they take a Town by force, wherein he had laid up all his proviſions; and ſhortly make themſelves Maſters of the Country round about. This good ſucceſs breeds negligence; for which they dearly pay. *Aſdrubal* comes upon them, takes them unprepared, beats them, kills the moſt of them, and diſperſeth the reſt; ſo that the whole Nation yieldeth to him the next day. Then come directions from *Carthage*, that *Aſdrubal* ſhould lead his Army forth into *Italy*; which we may wonder why the *Carthaginians* would appoint him to do, if they had been informed by his letters in what hard caſe he was; and had ſo weakly ſupplyed him, as is ſhewed before. But thus we find it reported; and that upon the very rumour of this his journey, almoſt all *Spain* was ready to fall to the *Romans*. *Aſdrubal* therefore preſently ſends word to *Carthage*, That this muſt not be ſo: or, if they will needs have it

it ſo, that then they muſt ſend him a ſucceſſor, and well attended with a ſtrong Army, which to employ they ſhould find work more than enough; ſuch notable men were the *Roman* Generals. But the Senate of *Carthage* is not much moved with this excuſe; *Aſdrubal* muſt needs be gone: *Himilco*, with ſuch forces as are thought expedient for that ſervice, both by Land and Sea, is ſent to take the charge of *Spain*. Wherefore *Aſdrubal* hath now no more to do, than to furniſh himſelf with ſtore of mony, that he might have wherewithal to win the friendſhip of the *Gauls*; through whoſe Countries he muſt paſs, as *Hannibal* had done before him. The *Carthaginians* were greatly to blame, for not remembring to eaſe him of his care. But ſince it can be no better, he lays great impoſitions upon all the *Spaniards* his ſubjects: and having gotten together as much treaſure as he could, onward he marcheth toward *Iberus*. The *Scipio*'s hearing theſe news, are careful how to arreſt him on the way. They beſiege *Ibera* (ſo called of the Rivers name running by it) the richeſt Town in all thoſe quarters, that was confederate with *Aſdrubal*; who thereupon ſteps aſide to relieve it. The *Romans* meet him, and fight a battel with him; which they win the more eaſily, for that the *Spaniards*, his followers had rather be vanquiſhed at home, than get the victory, and afterwards be haled into *Italy*. Great numbers are ſlain; and few ſhould have eſcaped, but that the *Spaniards* ran away ere the battels were fully joyned. Their Camp the *Romans* take and ſpoil; whereby (queſtionleſs) they are marvellouſly enriched; all the money that could be raked together in *Spain* being carried along in this *Italian* Expedition. This days event joyns all *Spain* to the *Romans*, if any part of the Country ſtood in doubt before; and puts *Aſdrubal* ſo far from all thought of traveling into *Italy*, that it leaves him ſmall hope of keeping himſelf ſafe in *Spain*. Of theſe exploits advertiſement is ſent to *Rome*, and Letters to the Senate, from *P.* and *Cn. Scipio*, whereof the Contents are, That they have neither mony, apparel, nor bread, wherewith to ſuſtain their Army and Fleet; that all is wanting: ſo as unleſs they may be ſupplied from *Rome*, they can neither hold their forces together, nor tarry any longer in the Province. Theſe Letters come to *Rome* in an evil ſeaſon; the State being ſcarcely able, after the loſs at *Canna*, to help it ſelf at home. Yet relief is ſent; how hardly, and how much to the commendations of that love and care, which the private Citizens of *Rome* bare unto the common-wealth, ſhall be inſerted elſewhere into the relation of things, whereof the truth is leſs queſtionable. At the coming of this ſupply, the two *Scipio*'s purſue *Aſdrubal*, and hunt him out of his lurking holes. What elſe can we think, that remember the laſt news of him, and how fearfully he miſtruſted his own ſafety? They find him, and *Mago* and *Amilcar* the Son of *Bomilcar*, with an Army of threeſcore thouſand men, beſieging *Illiturgi*: (which the learned *Ortelius*, and others probably conjecture to have ſtood, where *Carrinnena* is now in the Kingdom of *Aragon*; for there was *Illiturgis*, afterwards called *Forum Julii*, quite another way) a Town of the *Illergetes* their neareſt Neighbours, for having revolted unto the *Romans*. The Town is greatly diſtreſſed; but moſt of all, for want of victuals. The *Romans* therefore break through between the Enemies Camps, with terrible ſlaughter of all that reſiſted them: and having victualled the place, encourage Townſmen to defend their walls as ſtoutly, as they ſhould anon behold them fighting manfully with the beſiegers, in their behalf. So *Liv. lib.* 23.

they iſſue forth, about ſixteen thouſand againſt threeſcore thouſand: and killing more of the enemies, than themſelves were in number, drave all the three *Carthaginian* Commanders, every one out of his quarter; and took that day, beſides priſoners and other booty, fifty and eight Enſigns. *Liv. lib.* 23.

The *Carthaginian* Army, being thus beaten from *Illiturgi*, fall upon *Incibili*, that ſtood a little Southward from the mouth of *Iberus*. The *Spaniards* are blamed, as too greedy of earning money by war, for thus re-inforcing the broken *Carthaginians*. But it may be wondred, whence the *Carthaginians* had money to pay them: ſince *Aſdrubal* was lately driven to poll the Country, wanting money of his own; and being beaten in his Journey, had loſt his wealthy carriages when his Camp was taken after the battel by *Iberus*. Howſoever it hapens, the *Carthaginians* (according to their cuſtom) are beaten again at *Incibili*: where there were of them above thirteen thouſand ſlain, and above three thouſand taken; beſides two and forty Enſigns, and nine Elephants. *Liv. ibid.* After this, (in a manner) all the people of *Spain* fell from them unto the *Romans*. Thus could *Fabius*, *Valerius*, *Antius*, or ſome other Hiſtorian, to whom *Livy* gave credit, conquer all *Spain* twice in one year, by winning famous victories; whereof theſe good Captains, *P.* and *Cn. Scipio*, perhaps were not aware.

The *Romans* notwithſtanding this large acceſs of Dominion, winter on their own ſide of *Iberus*. In the beginning of the next year, great Armies of the *Spaniards* riſe againſt *Aſdrubal*; and are overthrown by him. *P. Scipio*, to help theſe his friends, is forced to make great haſte over the River. At *Caſtrum Altum*, a place in the mid-way between new *Carthage* and *Saguntum*, famous by the death of the great *Amilcar*, *Publius Scipio* incampeth: and ſtores the place with victuals, being ſtrong and defenſible; as intending to make it his ſeat for a while. But the Country round about it is too full of Enemies: the *Carthaginian* horſe have charged the *Romans* in their march, and are gone off clear; falling alſo upon ſome ſtraglers, or ſuch as lagged behind their fellows in march, they have cut off two thouſand of them. Hereupon it is thought behoveful, to retire unto ſome place more aſſured. So *Publius* withdraws himſelf unto *Mons victoria*: that riſing ſomewhat Eaſtward from *Incibili*, overlooketh the Southern Out-let of *Iberus*. Thither the *Carthaginians* purſue him: His brother *Cn.* repairs unto him; and *Aſdrubal* the ſon of *Gaſco*, with a full Army, arrives to help his Companions. As they lye thus near incamped together, *P. Scipio* with ſome light-armed, going cloſely to view the places thereabouts, is diſcoverd by the enemies: who are like to take him, but that he withdraws himſelf to an high piece of ground; where they beſiege him, until his brother *Cn.* fetcht him off. After this (but I know not why) *Caſtulo*, a great City of *Spain*, whence *Hannibal* had taken him a wife, joyneth with the *Romans*; though being far diſtant from them, and ſeated on the head of the River *Bætis*. Nevertheleſs the *Carthaginians* paſs over *Iberus*, to beſiege *Illiturgi* again, wherein lodgeth a *Roman* garriſon; hoping to win it by famine. We may juſtly wonder, what ſhould move them to neglect the rebellion of *Caſtulo*, yea and the *Roman* Army lying ſo cloſe by them, and to ſeek adventures further off, in that very place, wherein they had been ſo grievouſly beaten the year before. But thither they go: and thither follows them *Cn. Scipio* with one Legion: who enters the Town by force, breaks out upon them

them the next day, and in two battels kills above 12000, and takes more than a thousand of them prisoners, with six and thirty Ensigns. This victory (doubtless) is remarkable: considering that the greatest *Roman* Legion at this time, consisted of no more than five thousand men. The vanquished *Carthaginians* besiege *Bigarra*: but that siege is also raised by *Cn. Scipio*. Thence the *Carthaginians* remove to *Manda*; where the *Romans* are soon at their heels. There is a great battel fought, that lasted four hours, wherein the *Romans* get a notable victory: and a more notable would they have gotten, had not *Cn. Scipio* been wounded. Thirty and nine Elephants are killed, and twelve thousand men; three thousand prisoners taken, and seven and fifty Ensigns. The *Charthaginians* flye to *Auringes*; and the *Romans* pursue them. *Cn. Scipio* in a Litter is carried into the field, and vanquished the *Carthaginians* again; but kills not half so many of them, as before; good cause why, for there are *fewer* of them left to fight. Notwithstanding all these overthows, the *Spaniards*, a people framed even by nature to set war on foot, quickly fill up the broken troops of *Asdrubal*, who having also hired some of the *Gauls*, adventures once more to try his fortune with the *Romans*. But he is beaten again; and loseth eight thousand of his men; besides Prisoners, Elephants, Ensigns, and other appurtenances. After so many victories, the *Romans* are even ashamed to leave *Saguntum* enthralled unto the *Carthaginians*; since, in behalf of that City, they had at first entred into this war. And well may we think it strange, that they had not recovered it long before, since we may remember, that long before this they had won all the Country once and again. But it must not be forgotten, that they had ere now besieged *Saguntum*; and were fain (as appears) to go their way without it: so as they need not to blush, for having so long forborn to do that which ere now they had attempted, but were unable to perform. At the present they won *Saguntum*: and restored the possession thereof unto such of the poor dispersed Citizens as they can find out. They also waste and destroy the Country of the *Turdetani*, that had ministred unto *Hannibal* matter of quarrel against the *Saguntines*. This last action (questionless) was much to their honour; and wherein we may be assured, that the *Carthaginians* would have disturbed them if they had been able.

Livlib.24.

But overlooking now this long continuance of great victories, which the *Romans* have gotten in *Spain*, other print or token of all their brave exploits, we can perceive none, than this recovery of *Saguntum*: excepting the stopping of *Asdrubals* journy; which was indeed of greatest importance, but appertaining to their own defence. For they have landed at *Emporiæ*, an Haven Town, built and peopled by a Colony of the *Phocæans*, kin to the *Massilians*, friends to the *Romans*; They have easily won to their party, lost, recovered, and lost again, some petty bordering Nations of the *Spaniards*, that are carried one while by perswasion, other-whiles by force, and sometimes by their own unsettled passions; and now finally they have won a Town, whereof the *Carthaginians* held entire possession, who had rooted out the old inhabitants. Wherefore we may easily believe, that when they took *Saguntum* (if they took it not by surprize; which is to be suspected, since in this Action we find no particulars remembred, as when the same place was taken by *Hannibal*) they had gotten the better of their Enemies in some notable fight. In like sort also must we think, that all those battels lately remembred, after every one of which *Asdrubal* sate down before some place, that had rebelled, or seemed ready to rebel, were prosperous unto the *Carthaginians*. For it is not the custom of Armies vanquished, to carry to war from Town to Town, and beleaguer Cities of their Enemies; but to fortifie themselves within their own places of strength, and therein to attend the levy and arrival of new supplies. And surely, if the *Romans* had been absolute Masters of the field, when they won *Saguntum*, they would not have consumed a whole year following, in practising only with the *Celtiberians* the next adjoyning people. Yet made they this, little less than two years business. Of these *Celtiberians* we heard before, That they had yielded up themselves unto the *Romans*; for security of their faith, given Hostages to *Scipio*; and, at his appointment, made war against the *Carthaginians*, with their proper forces. Wherefore it is strange, that they are now thus hardly wrought; and not without express condition of a great summ, hired to serve in the *Roman* Camp. How this may hold together, I cannot perceive; unless perhaps in those days it were the *Roman* custom, or rather the custom of some bad Author whom *Livy* follows, to call every messenger, or stragler, that entred that Camp, an Hostage of that people from whom he came.

The *Celtiberians* at length, hired with great rewards, send an Army of thirty thousand to help the *Romans*: out of which, 300. of the fittest men are chosen, and carried into *Italy*, there to deal with their Country-men that follow *Hannibal* in his wars. But if any of these three hundred return back into *Spain*, it is to be feared, that he brings with him such news of the riches and welfare of *Hannibals* men, that all his fellows at home are the less unwilling to follow *Asdrubal*, when he shall next have a desire to lead them into *Italy*. Hereof we find more than probability, when these mercenary *Celtiberians* meet the *Carthaginian* Army in the field. The two *Scipio's* presuming on this access of strength, divide their forces, and seek out the Enemies, who lye not far off with three Armies. *Asdrubal* the son of *Amilcar*, is nearest at hand; even among the *Celtiberians*, at *Anitorgis*. With him *Cn. Scipio* doubts not to take good order: but the fear is, that this one part of the *Carthaginian* forces being destroyed; *Mago* the Son of *Gesco*, hearing the news, will make use of their distance, which is five days march, and by running into the furthest part of the Country save themselves from being overtaken. *Publius* therefore must make the more haste, and take with him the better Souldiers, that is, two parts of the old *Roman* Army, leaving the third part, and all the *Celtiberians*, to his Brother. He that hath the longer journy to make, comes somewhat the sooner to his lives end. *Mago* and *Asdrubal* the Son of *Gesco*, are not studying how to run away: they find no such necessity. They joyn their forces together, meet with *Publius Scipio*, and lay at him so hardly, that he is driven to keep himself close within his Trenches; wherein he thinks himself not well assured. Especially he is vexed by *Masanissa*, Prince of the *Massesyli*, *Numidians*, bordering upon *Mauritania*, in the Region called now *Tremizen*: to whom the chief honour of this service is ascribed, for that he becomes afterward Confederate with the *Romans*. In this dangerous case, *P. Scipio* gets intelligence, that *Indibilis* a *Spanish* Prince, is coming with seven thousand and five hundred of the *Suessetani*, to joyn with his Enemies. Fearing therefore

to be ſtrait ſhut up, and beſieged, he iſſues forth by night, to meet with *Indibilis* upon the way, leaving *T. Fonteius* his Lieutenant, with a ſmall company to defend the Camp. He meets with *Indibilis*; but is not able, according to his hope, to defeat him at the firſt encounter. The fight continues ſo long, that the *Numidian* horſe appear (whom he thought to have been ignorant of his departure) and fall upon the *Romans* on all ſides; neither are the *Carthaginians* far behind; but come ſo faſt upon him in a Rear, that *P. Scipio*, uncertain which way to turn, yet fighting and animating his men, where need moſt requireth, is ſtruck thorow with a lance, and ſlain: very few of his Army eſcaping the ſame deſtiny, through benefit of the dark night. The like end hath *Cn. Scipio* within nine and twenty days after. At his meeting with *Aſdrubal*, the *Celtiberian* Mercenaries all forſake him, pretending that they had war in their own Country. If *Anitorgis*, where *Aſdrubal* then lay, were, as *Ortelius* following *Bueterus* takes it, a *Celtiberian* Town; this was no vain pretence, but an apparent truth. But we may juſtly believe, that they were won by *Aſdrubal*, and eaſily perſwaded to take as much mony for not fighting, as they ſhould have had for hazarding their lives. *C. Scipio* therefore being unable to ſtay them, and no leſs unable, without their help either to reſiſt the enemy, or to joyn with his Brother, maketh a very violent retrait; herein only differing from plain flight, that he keeps his men together. *Aſdrubal* preſſeth har dupon him: and *Mago* with *Aſdrubal* the Son of *Geſco*, having made an end of *Publius*, haſten to diſpatch his Brother after him. *Scipio* ſteals from them all by night, but is overtaken the next day by their horſe, and arreſted, in an open place of harh ſtony ground, where grows not ſo much as a ſhrub, unfit for defence of his Legions againſt ſuch enemies. Yet a little Hill he finds of eaſie aſcent on every ſide; which he takes for want of a more commodious place, and fortifies with pack-ſaddles, and other luggage, for default of a better Palliſado. Theſe weak defences the *Carthaginians* ſoon tear in ſunder: and, breaking in on all hands, leave very few of them alive; that ſaving themſelves, I know not how, within ſome woods adjoyning, eſcape unto *T. Fonteius*, whom *Publius* had left in his Camp, as is before ſaid. It is a terrible overthrow, they ſay, out of which no man eſcapes. Yet, how they who were thus hemmed in on every ſide, in ſo bare a ground as afforded not a ſhrub to cover them, could break out, and ſhrowd themſelves within woods adjoyning, I ſhould much wonder; did not a greater miracle following call away mine attention. *T. Fonteius* is in *P. Scipio*'s Camp, on the North ſide of *Iberus*, fearful (as may be ſuppoſed) of his own life; ſince his General, with two parts of the *Roman* Army, had little hope to remain long ſafe within it. Thither comes *L. Martius*, a young *Roman* Gentleman of a noble ſpirit; who having gathered together the ſcattered Souldiers, ann drawn ſome Companies out of their Garriſons, makes a pretty Army. The Souldiers, being to chuſe a General by moſt voices, prefer this *L. Martius* before *Fonteius* the Lieutenant, as well they may. For *Aſdrubal* the Son of *Geſco* coming upon them; this *L. Martius* ſo encourageth his men (fondly weeping when he led them forth, upon remembrance of their more honourable Generals lately ſlain) and admoniſheth them of their preſent neceſſity, that he beats the *Carthaginians* into their Trenches. A notable victory perhaps he might have gotten, but hat he wiſely ſounds the ratrait; reſerving the fury of his Souldiers to a greater occaſion. The *Carthaginians* are at firſt amazed, and wonder whence this new boldneſs grows, in enemies lately vanquiſhed, and now again little better thantaken: but when they ſee, that the *Roman* dares not follow his advantage, they return to their former ſecurity; and, utterly deſpiſing him, ſet neither *Corps de garde* nor Sentinel, but reſt ſecure, as if no enemy were near. *Martius* therefore animates his Souldiers with lively words; and tells them, That there is no adventure more ſafe, than that which is furtheſt from ſuſpicion of being undertaken. They are ſoon perſwaded to follow him, in any deſperate piece of ſervice. So he leads them forth by night, and ſteals upon the Camp of *Aſdrubal*; where, finding no guard, but the enemies faſt aſleep, or very drowſie, he enters without reſiſtance, fires their Cabbins, and gives a terrible alarm; ſo that all affrighted the *Carthaginians* run head-long one upon another, they know not which way. All paſſages out of their Camp, *Martius* hath prepoſſeſſed, ſo that there is no way to eſcape, ſave by leaping down the Rampart; which as many do, as can think upon it, and run away toward the Camp of *Aſdrubal* the Son of *Amilcar*, that lay ſix miles off. But *Martius* hath way-laid them. In a Valley between their two Camps he hath beſtowed a *Roman* cohort, and I know not what number of Horſe; ſo that into this Ambuſh they fall every one, and are cut in pieces. But leſt perchance any ſhould have eſcaped, and give the alarm before his coming; *Martius* haſtens to be there as ſoon as they. By which diligent ſpeed, he comes early in the morning upon this further Camp; which with no great difficulty he enters, and partly by apprehenſion of danger which the Enemies conceived, when they beheld the *Roman* ſhields, foul, and bloodied with their former execution, he drives head-long into flight, all that can ſave themſelves from the fury of the ſword. Thirty ſeven thouſand of the enemies periſh in this nights work; beſides a thouſand eight hundred and thirty, taken priſoners. Hereunto *Valerius Antius* adds, that the Camp of *Mago* was alſo taken, and ſeven thouſand ſlain; and that in another battel with *Aſdrubal*, there were ſlain ten thouſand more; beſides four thouſand three hundred and thirty, taken priſoners. Such is the power of ſome Hiſtorians. *Livie* therefore hath elſewhere well obſerved, That there is none ſo intemperate, as *Valerius Antius*, in multiplying the numbers that have fallen in battels. That whilſt *Martius* was making an Oration to his Souldiers, a flame of fire ſhone about his head, *Livie* reports as a common tale, not giving thereto any credit: and temperately concludeth, That this Captain *Martius* got a great name, which he might well do, if with ſo ſmall forces, and in ſuch diſtreſs, he could clearly get off from the Enemies, and give them any parting blow, though it were far leſs than that which is here ſet down.

Of theſe occurrents *L. Martius* ſent word to *Rome*, not forgetting his own good ſervice, whatſoever it was, but ſetting it out in ſuch wiſe, as the Senate might judge him worthy to hold the place of their Vice-gerent in *Spain*: which the better to intimate unto them, he ſtiled himſelf Proprætor. The Fathers were no leſs moved with the tydings than the caſe required; and therefore took ſuch careful order, for ſupplying their Forces in *Spain*, that although *Hannibal* came to the gates of *Rome*, ere the Companies levied to ſerve that Province could be ſent away; yet could they not ſtay a tyde

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for defence of the City it self, but shipped them in all haste for *Spain*. As for the title of Proprætor, which *Martius* had assumed, they thought it too great for him, and were offended at his presumption in usurping it: foreseeing well, that it was matter of ill consequence, to have the Souldiers abroad make choice among themselves, of those that should command Armies and Provinces. Therefore *Claudius Nero* was dispatched away with all convenient haste, into *Spain*: carrying with him about six thousand of the *Roman* foot, and as many of the *Latines*, with three hundred *Roman* horse, and of the *Latines* eight hundred.

It happened well that about these times, the affairs of *Rome* began to prosper in *Italy*, and offered means of sending abroad such a strong supply: otherwise the victories of *Martius* would ill have served, either to keep footing in *Spain*, or to stop the *Carthaginian* Armies from marching towards the *Alps*. For when *Claudius*, landing with his new forces, took charge of that remainder of the Army, which was under *Martius* and *Fonteius*; he found surer tokens of the overthrows received, than of those miraculous victories, whereof *Martius* had made his vaunts unto the Senate. The *Roman* party was forsaken by most of the *Spanish* friends; whom how to reclaim, it could not easily be devised. Yet *Claudius* advanced boldly towards *Asdrubal* the Brother of *Hannibal*; whom he found among the *Ausetani*, near enough at hand, incamped in a place called *Lapides atri*; out of which there was no issue, but only through a strait, whereon the *Roman* seized at the first coming. What should have tempted any man of understanding to incamp in such a place, I do not find; and as little reason can I find in that which followed. For it is said, that *Asdrubal* seeing himself thus lockt up, made offer to depart forthwith out of all *Spain* and quit the Province to the *Romans*, upon condition that he and his Army might be thence dismissed; That he spent many days, in entertaining parley with *Claudius* about this business; That night by night he conveyed his footmen (a few at a time) through very difficult passages out of the danger; and that finally taking advantage of a misty day, he stole away with all his Horse and Elephats, leaving his camp empty. If we consider, that there were at the same time, besides this *Asdrubal*, two other *Carthaginian* Generals in *Spain*; we shall find no less cause to wonder at the simplicity of *Claudius*, who hoped to conclude a bargain for so great a Country, with one of these three Chieftains, than at the strange nature of those passages, through which the footmen could hardly creep out by night; the Horse and Elephants easily following them in a dark misty day. Wherefore in giving belief to such a tale, it is needful that we suppose, both the danger wherein the *Carthaginians* were, and the conditions offered for their safe departure, to have been of far less value. Howsoever it was; neither this nor ought else that the *Romans* could do, served to purchase any new friends in *Spain*, or to recover the old which they had lost. Like enough it is, that the old Souldiers, which had chosen *Martius* their Proprætor, took it not well, that the Senate, regardless of their good deserts, had repealed their election, and sent a Proprætor whom they fancied not so well. Some such occasion may have moved them to desire a Proconsul, and (perhaps) young *Scipio* by name: as if a title of greater dignity were needful to work regard in the *Barbarians*; and the beloved memory of *Cn.* and *Publius* likely to do good, were it revived in one of the same family. Whether upon these, or upon other reasons, *C. Claudius* was recalled out of the Province; and *Publius* the Son of *P. Scipio* sent Proconsul into *Spain*.

This is that *Scipio*, who afterward transferred the war into *Africk*: where he happily ended it, to the great honour and benefit of his Country. He was a man of goodly presence, and singularly well conditioned; especially he excelled in Temperance, Continency, Bounty, and other vertues that purchase love; of which qualities what great use he made, shall appear in the renour of his actions following. As for those things that are reported of him, savouring a little too much of the great *Alexanders* vanity; how he used to walk alone in the Capitol, as one that had some secret conference with *Jupiter*; how a Dragon (which must have been one of the gods; and, in likelyhood, *Jupiter* himself) was thought to have conversed with his Mother, entring her Chamber often, and vanishing away at the coming in of any man; and how of these matters he nourished the rumour, by doubtful answers; I hold them no better than fables, devised by Historians, who thought thereby to add unto the glory of *Rome*: that this Noble City might seem not only to have surpassed other Nations in vertue of the generality, but also in great worth of one single man. To this end nothing is left out, that might serve to adorn this *Roman* Champion. For it is confidently written, as matter of unquestionable truth, That when a Proconsul was to be chosen for *Spain*, there durst not any Captain of the principal Citizens offer himself as Petitioner for that honourable, but dangerous charge; That the people of *Rome* were much astonished thereat; That when the day of election came, all the Princes of the City stood looking one another in the face, not one of them having the heart to adventure himself in such a desperate service; and finally, that this *P. Cornelius Scipio*, being then about four and twenty years of age, getting up on a high place where he might be seen of all the multitude, requested and obtained, that the office might be conferred upon him. If this were true, then were all the victories of *L. Martius* no better than dreams: and either very unreasonable was the fear of all the *Roman* Captains who durst not follow *Claudius Nero*, that not long before was gone into *Spain* Proprætor; or very bad intelligence they had out of the Province, which *Asdrubal* the *Carthaginian*, as we heard even now, was ready to abandon. But upon these incoherences which I find in the two partial *Roman* Historians, I do not willingly insist.

P. Scipio was sent Proconsul into *Spain*; and with him was joyned *M. Junius Syllanus*, as Proprætor, and his Coadjutor. They carried with them ten thousand foot, and a thousand horse, in thirty *Quinquereme*-Gallies, with these they landed at *Emporiæ*; and marched from thence to *Tarracon* alongst the Sea-coast. At the fame of *Scipio*'s arrival, it is said, that Embassages came to him apace from all quarters of the Province; which he entertained with such a Majesty, as bred a wonderful opinion of him. As for the enemies, they were greatly afraid of him; and so much the greater was their fear, by how much the less they could give any reason of it. If we must believe this, then must we needs believe, that their fear was even as great as could be: for very little cause there was, to be terrified with the fame of so young a man, which had as yet performe dnothing. All the Winter following (or, as some think, all the next Year) he did nothing: but spent the time perhaps, as his foregoers had done, in treating with the *Spaniards*. His first enterprise

was againſt new *Carthage*: upon which he came unexpected, with 25000 foot, and 2500. horſe; his Sea forces coaſting him, and moderating their courſe in ſuch wiſe, that they arrived there together with him. He aſſailed the Town by Land and Sea; and won it by aſſault the firſt day. The *Carthaginians* loſt it, by their too much confidence upon the ſtrength of it: which cauſed them to man it more ſlenderly, than was requiſite. Yet it might have been well enough defended, if ſome Fiſhermen of *Tarracon* had not diſcovered unto *Scipio*, a ſecret paſſage unto the Walls; whereof the Townſmen themſelves were either ignorant, or thought (at leaſt) that their enemies could have no notice. This City of new *Carthage*, reſembled the old and great *Carthage* in ſcituation; ſtanding upon a demy-Iſland, between an Haven and a great Lake. All the Weſtern ſide of the Walls, and ſomewhat of the North, was fenced with this Lake: which the Fiſher-men of *Tarracon* had ſounded; and finding ſome part thereof a ſhelf, whereon at low water men might paſs knee-deep, or (at moſt) wading up to the Navil, *Scipio* thruſt thereinto ſome companies of his men; who recovered the top of the Walls without reſiſtance: the place being left without guard; as able to defend it ſelf by the natural ſtrength. Theſe falling ſuddenly upon the backs of the *Carthaginians* within the City, eaſily forced a gate, and gave free entrance to the *Roman* Army. What booty was found within the Town, *Livie* himſelf cannot certainly affirm; but is fain to ſay, that ſome *Roman* Hiſtorians told lies without meaſure, in way of amplification. By that ſmall proportion of riches, which was afterward carried by *Scipio* into the *Roman* Treaſury, we may eaſily perceive how great a vanity it was to ſay, that all the wealth of *Africk* and *Spain* was heaped up in that one Town. But therein were beſtowed all the *Spaniſh* Hoſtages (or at leaſt of the adjoining Provinces) whom *Scipio* intreated with ſingular courteſie: reſtoring them unto their kindred and friends in ſuch gracious manner, as doubled the thanks, due to ſo great a benefit. Hereupon a Prince of the *Celtiberians*, and two petty Kings of the *Ilergetes* and *Lecetani*, neareſt Neighbours to *Tarracon*, and dwelling on the North-ſide of *Iberus*, forſook the *Carthaginian* party, and joined with the *Romans*. The ſpeech of *Indibilis*, K. of the *Ilergetes* is much commended; for that he did not vaunt himſelf as commonly Fugitives uſe, of the pleaſure, which he did unto the *Romans*, in revolting from their enemies; but rather excuſing this his changing ſide, as being thereto compelled by injuries of the *Carthaginians*, and invited by the honourable dealing of *Scipio*. This temperate eſtimation of his new profeſſed friendſhip, was indeed no unſure token, that it ſhould be long-laſting. But if the *Ilergetes* had long ere this (as we have heard before) forſaken the *Carthaginian* party, and ſtoutly held themſelves as friends to *Cn. Scipio*: then could nothing have been deviſed more vain, than this Oration of *Indibilis* their King, excuſing as new, his taking part with the ſame, when he ſhould have rather craved pardon for his breach of alliance, formerly contracted with the Father and the Uncle. Moſt likely therefore it is, that howſoever the two elder *Scipio's* had gotten ſome few places among theſe their Neighbours, and held them by ſtrength; yet were the *Romans* never maſters of the Country, till this worthy Commander by recovering their Hoſtages from the *Carthaginians*, and by his great munificence in ſending them home, won unto himſelf the aſſured love and aſſiſtance of theſe Princes. The *Carthaginian* Generals, when they heard of this loſs, were very ſorry: yet nevertheleſs they ſet a good face on the matter; ſaying, that a young man, having ſtoln a Town by ſurpriſe, was too far tranſported, and over-joyed, but that ſhortly they would meet with him, and put him in mind of his Father and Uncle; which would alter his mode, and bring him to a more convenient temper.

Now if I ſhould here interpoſe mine own conjecture; I ſhould be bold to ſay, that the *Carthaginians* were at this time buſie, in ſetting forth towards *Italy*; and that *Scipio*, to divert them undertook new *Carthage*, as his Father and Uncle, upon the like occaſion, ſate down before *Ibera*. And in this reſpect I would ſuppoſe that it had not been much amiſs, if the paſſage over the Lake had been undiſcovered, and the Town held out ſome longer while. For howſoever that particular Action was the more fortunate, in coming to ſuch good iſſue upon the firſt day: yet in the generality of the buſineſs between *Rome* and *Carthage*, it was more to be wiſhed, that *Aſdrubal* ſhould be ſtayed from going into *Italy*, than that half of *Spain* ſhould be taken from him. Whereas therefore he had nothing left to do, that ſhould hinder his journey; *Mago*, and *Aſdrubal* the ſon of *Geſco*, were thought ſufficient to hold *Scipio* work, in that lingring War of taking and retaking Towns, whilſt the main of the *Carthaginian* forces, under *Aſdrubal* the ſon of *Amilcar*, went to a greater enterpriſe: even to fight in trial of the Empire. But the *Roman* Hiſtorians tell this after another faſhion; and ſay, That *Aſdrubal* was beaten into *Italy*: whither he ran for fear, as thinking himſelf ill aſſured of the *Spaniards*, as long as they might but hear the name of *Scipio*. *Scipio*, ſay they, coming upon *Aſdrubal*; his Vant-currers charged ſo luſtily the *Carthaginian* horſe, that they drave them into their Trenches: and made it apparent, even by that ſmall piece of ſervice, how full of ſpirit the *Romans* Army was, and how dejected the enemy. *Aſdrubal* therefore by night retired out of that even ground, and occupied an Hill, compaſſed on three ſides with the River, very ſteep of aſcent, and not eaſie of acceſs on the foreſide; by which himſelf got up, and was to be followed by the *Romans*. On the top of it there was a Plain, whereon he ſtrongly encamped himſelf: and in the mid-way between the top and root of the Hill, was alſo another Plain; into which he deſcended, more upon bravery, that he might not ſeem to hide himſelf within the Trenches, than for that he durſt adventure his Army to the hazzard of a battail, for which this was no equal ground. But ſuch advantage of place could not ſave him from the *Romans*. They climbed up the Hill to him; they recovered even footing with him; drove him out of this lower Plain, up into his Camp on the Hill top: whither although the aſcent were very difficult, and his Elephants beſtowed in the ſmootheſt places to hinder their approach; yet compaſſing about, and ſeeking paſſage where it was hardeſt to be found; but much more ſtrongly breaking their way, where the *Carthaginians* had got up before them, they drave both men and Elephants headlong, I know not whither: for it is ſaid, that there was no way to flie. Out of ſuch a battel, wherein he had loſt eight thouſand men, *Aſdrubal* is ſaid to have eſcaped; and gathering together his diſperſed troops, to have marched toward the *Pyrenees*, having ſent away his Elephants ere the fight began. Nevertheleſs, *Mago*, and *Aſdrubal* the ſon of *Geſco*, are reported after this to have conſulted with him about this War; and finally to have concluded, that go he needs

needs must, were it but to carry all the *Spainiards* as far as might be, from the name of *Scipio*. How likely this was to have been true, it shall appear at his coming into *Italy*; whence these incoherent relations of the *Spanish* affairs have too long detained us.

SECT. XII.

The great troubles that Hannibal *raised in all quarters, to the City of* Rome. Posthumius *the* Roman *General, with his whole Army, is slain by the* Gauls. Philip *King of* Macedon *enters iuto a League with* Hannibal, *against the* Romans. *The* Romans *joyning with the* Æolians, *make war upon* Philip *in* Greece: *and afterwards conclude a peace with him, the better to intend their business against the* Carthaginians.

WE left *Hannibal* wintering at *Capua*: where he and his new Confederates rejoyced (as may be thought) not a little, to hear the good news from *Carthage* of such mighty aid, as was decreed to be sent thence unto him. In former times he had found work enough, to carry the *Romans* corn into his own barns, and to drive away their Cattel to *Geryon*: his victories affording him little other profit, than sustenance for his Army; by making him master of the open field. He might perhaps have forced some walled Towns in like sort as he did *Geryon*, and the Castle of *Cannæ*: but had he spent much time, about the getting of any one place well defended; the hunger, that his Army must have endured the Winter and the Spring following, until corn were ripe, would have grievously punished him for such imployment of the Summer. This may have been the reason, why he forbore to adventure upon *Rome*, after his victory at *Cannæ*. For had he failed (as it was a matter of no certainty) to carry the City at his first coming; want of victuals would have compelled him to quit the enterprise. Yea many of the people that opened so hastily their gates unto him, upon the fresh bruit of his glorious success, would have taken time of deliberation, and waited perhaps the event of another battel; if being, either for want of means to force the City, or of necessaries to continue a siege before it, repelled (as might seem) from the walls of *Rome*, he had presented himself unto them with a lessened reputation, somewhat later in the year; when time to force their obedience was wanting, unless they would freely yield it. But this great part of the care and travel was past, when so many States of *Italy* were become his: the year following, the *Samnites*, and other old enemies to *Rome*, were like to receive a notable pleasure of their new alliance with *Carthage*, by helping to lay siege unto that proud City, which so long had held them in subjection. Thus the winter was passed over joyfully, saving that there came not any tydings of the preparations, to second the welcom report of those mighty forces, that were decreed and expected. The Spring grew on: and of the promised supply there arrived no more than only the Elephants. How late it was that these came, I find not: only we find, that after this he had above thirty of them; whereas all, save one, that he brought over the *Alps*, had been lost in in his journey through the Marishes of *Hetruria*. Very bad excuse for this exceeding negligence, they that brought the Elephants could make unto *Hannibal*. If they were his friends, they told him truly, what mischiefs the perswasion of *Hanno* wrought among the too niggardly *Carthaginians*. Otherwise, they might perhaps inform him, that it was thought a safer, though a farther way about, to pass along through *Spain* and *Gaul*, as he himself had done; and increase the Army, by hyring the *Barbarians* in the Journey; than to commit the main strength of their City, to the hazzard of the Seas: especially wanting a commodious Haven, to receive the Fleet that should carry such a number of Men, Horses, and Elephants, with all needful provisions. With these allegations *Hannibal* must rest content; and seek, as well as he can, to satisfie his *Italian* Confederates. Therefore when time of the year served, he took the field: and having finished what rested to be done at *Casilinum*, sought to make himself Master of some good Haven-town thereabout; that might serve to entertain the *Carthaginian* Fleet, or take from his Enemies at home all excuse which they might pretend by want thereof. To the same purpose and to do what else was needful, he sent *Himilco* unto the *Locrians*, and *Hanno* to the *Lucans*: not forgetting at once to assay all quarters of *Italy*, yea, the Isles of *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, since the siege of *Rome* must needs be deferred unto another year. *Hanno* made an ill Journey, of it, being met, or overtaken, by *T. Sempronius Longus*; who slew above two thousand of his men; with the loss of fewer than three hundred *Romans*. But *Himilco* sped far better. By help of the *Brutains*, his good friends, he won *Petellia*, or *Petilia*, by force; after it had held out some months. He won likewise *Consentia*, and *Croton*, that was forsaken by the Inhabitants. Also the City of *Locri*, which was of great importance, yielded unto him: as did all other places thereabout; except only the Town of *Rhegium*, over against *Sicily*.

The great faith of the *Petilians* is worthy to be recorded, as a notable testimony of the good government under which the *Roman* subjects lived. As for the *Samnites*, *Campanes*, and others, whose earnestness in rebellion may seem to prove the contrary; we are to consider, That they had lately contended with *Rome* for Soveraignty, an were now transported with ambition: which reason can hardly moderate, or benefits allay. The *Petilians*, in the very beginning of their danger, did send to *Rome* for help: where their messengers received answer from the Senate, That the publick misfortunes had not left means, to relieve their Associates that were so far distant. The *Petilian* Messengers (Embassadours they are termed; as well as others, publickly sent from Cities of the *Roman* subjection, that had a private jurisdiction within themselves) fell down to the ground, and humbly besought the Fathers, not to give them away: promising to do and suffer whatsoever was possible, in defence of their Town, against the *Carthaginians*. Hereupon the Senate fell to consultation again: and having throughly considered all their forces remaining plainly confessed, that it was not in their own power to give any relief. Wherefore these Embassadours were willed to return home, and to bid their Citizens provide hereafter for their own safety, as having already discharged their faith to the utmost. All this notwithstanding, the *Petilians* (as was said) held out some months: and having striven in vain to defend themselves, when there was no apparent possibility, gave to the *Carthaginians* a bloody victory over them; being vanquished as much by famine, as by any violence of the Assailants.

The *Romans* at this time were indeed in such ill case, that *Hannibal* with a little help from *Carthage*, might have reduced them unto terms of great extremity. For whereas in a great bravery, before

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their loſs at *Cannæ*, they had ſhewed their high minds, by entertaining the care of things far off, notwithſtanding the great war that lay upon them ſo near at hand: it now fell out miſerably all at once, that their fortune abroad was no whit better than at home. *L. Poſthumius Albinus* their Prætor they had ſent, with an Army of five and twenty thouſand, into *Gaul*: to the *Illyrian* King *Pineus* they had ſent for their tribute due, whereof the pay-day was paſt; willing him, if he deſired forbearance, to deliver Hoſtages for his performance of what was due; and to *Philip* King of *Macedon* they had ſent to require, that he ſhould deliver up unto them *Demetrius Pharius* their Subject and Rebel, whom he had received. But now from all quarters they hear tydings little ſuitable to their former glorious conceits. *Poſthumius* with all his Army was cut in pieces by the *Gauls*, in ſuch ſort, that ſcarce ten men eſcaped. The manner of his overthrow was very ſtrange. There was a great Wood, called by the *Gauls*, *Litania*; thorow which he was to paſs. Againſt his coming, the Enemies had ſawed the trees ſo far, that a little force would ſerve to caſt them down. When therefore *Poſthumius*, with his whole Army, was entred into this dangerous paſſage, the *Gauls* that lay about the Wood, began to caſt down the trees; which falling one againſt another, bore all down ſo faſt, that the *Romans* were overwhelmed, Men an Horſes; in ſuch wiſe, that no more eſcaped, than is ſaid before. How this tedious work of ſawing ſo many trees, could take deſired effect, and neither be perceived, nor made fruſtrate, either by ſome wind that might have blown all down before the *Romans* entred, or by ſome other of thoſe many accidents, where to the device was ſubject; I do not well conceive. Yet ſome ſuch thing may have been done, and what failed in the ſtratagem, ſupplied with the Enemies ſword. It is not perhaps worthy to be omitted, as a monument of the ſavage condition, wherewith *Lombardy*, a Country now ſo civil, was infected in elder times, that of *Poſthumius* his skull, being cleanſed and trimmed up with gold, a drinking cup was made, and conſecrated in their principal Temple, as an holy veſſel for the uſe of the Prieſt in their ſolemnities. Of this great overthrow, when word was brought to *Rome*, the amazement was no leſs than the calamity. But ſorrow could give no remedy to the miſchief: and anger was vain, where there wanted forces to revenge. Tribute from the *Illyrians* there came none; neither do I find that any was a ſecond time demanded; this we find, that with *Pleuratus*, and *Scerdiletus*, *Illyrian* Kings, as alſo with *Gentius*, who raigned within a few years following, the *Romans* dealt upon even terms; entreating their aſſiſtance againſt *Philip* and *Perſeus*; not commanding their duty, as Vaſſals. The *Macedonian* troubled them yet a little further. For having aſſured his affairs in *Greece*, and enjoying leiſure to look into the doings abroad, he ſent Embaſſadours to *Hannibal*; with whom he made a league, upon theſe conditions; That the King in perſon ſhould come into *Italy*, and with all his forces, by Land and Sea, aſſiſt the *Carthaginians* in the *Roman* war, until it were finiſhed; That *Rome*, and all *Italy*, together with all the ſpoil therein to be gotten, ſhould be left intire unto the State of *Carthage*; and that afterwards *Hannibal*, with his Army ſhould paſs into *Greece*, and there aſſiſt *Philip*, until he had ſubdued all his enemies (which were the *Etolians*, *Thracians*, King *Antiochus* and others) leaving ſemblably unto him the full poſſeſſion of that Country, and the Iſles adjoining. But ſuch prediſpoſition of Kingdoms and Provinces, is lightly controlled by divine providence, which therein ſhews it ſelf; not (as *Herodotus* falſly terms it, and like an *Atheiſt*) envious or malicious, but very juſt and Majeſtical in upholding that unſpeakable greatneſs of Soveraignty, by which *It* rules the whole World, and all that therein is.

The firſt Embaſſadours that *Philip* ſent, fell into the *Romans* hands, in their journey towards *Hannibal*: and being examined what they were, adventured upon a bold lie, ſaying, That they were ſent from the King of *Macedon* to *Rome*, there to make a League with the Senate and people, and offer his help in this time of great neceſſity. Theſe news were ſo welcome, that the joy thereof took away all care of making better inquiry. So they were lovingly feaſted, and freely diſmiſſed with guides that ſhould lead them the way, and ſhew them how to avoid the *Carthaginians*. But they being thus inſtructed concerning their journey fell wilfully into the Camp of *Hannibal*; who entertained them after a better faſhion, and concluded the buſineſs about which they came, upon the points before remembred. In their return homeward they happened again unluckily to be deſcried by the *Roman* Fleet; which miſtruſting them to be of the *Carthaginian* party, gave them chaſe. They did their beſt to have eſcaped: but being overtaken, they ſuffered the *Romans* to come aboard; and truſting to the lie that once had ſerved them, ſaid it again, That having been ſent from King *Philip* to make a League with the people of *Rome*, they were not able by reaſon of the *Carthaginians* lying between, to get any further than to *M. Valerius* the Prætor, unto whom they had ſignified the good affection of the King their Maſter. The tale was now leſs credible than before: and (which marred all) *Geſco*, *Boſtar*, and *Mago*, with their followers, *Carthaginians* that were ſent with them from *Hannibal* to ratifie the agreement, being preſently detected, made the matter apparent. Wherefore a little inquiſition ſerved to find all out: ſo that at length *Hannibals* own letters to K. *Philip* were delivered up, and the whole buſineſs confeſſed. The Embaſſadours and their followers were ſent cloſe priſoners to *Rome*; where the chief of them were caſt into priſon, and the reſt ſold for bondſlaves. Yet one of their ſhips that eſcaped, carried word into *Macedon* of all that happened. Whereupon new Embaſſage was ſent, that went and returned with better ſpeed; concluding as was agreed before, only with ſome loſs of time.

The *Romans* were exceedingly perplexed; thinking with what heavy weight this *Macedonian* war, in an evil hour, was likely to fall upon them, when their ſhoulders were over-burdened with the load of the *Carthaginian*. Yet they took a noble reſolution, and ſuitable unto that, whereby they kept off the ſtorm, that elſe would have beaten upon them from *Spain*. They judged it more eaſie with ſmall force to detain *Philip* in *Greece*, than with all their ſtrength to reſiſt him in *Italy*. And herein they were in the right. For, that the very reputation of a King of *Macedon*, joining with *Hannibal* in ſuch a time, would have ſufficed to ſhake the allegiance, not only of the *Latines*, and other, their moſt faithful ſubjects, but even of the *Roman* Colonies, that held all priviledges of the City, it will appear by the following ſucceſs of things. *M. Valerius* the Prætor, with twenty *Quiquereme* Gallies, was appointed to attend upon the *Macedonian*, and to ſet on foot ſome commotion in *Greece*; or to nouriſh the troubles already therein begun. *Philip* was buſie about the Sea Towns, that looked towards *Italy*, ſetting

ſetting upon *Apollonia*; and thence falling upon *Oricum*, which he won, and ſo returned to *Apollonia* again. The *Epirots* craved help of *M. Valerius*; or rather accepted his kind offers; who had none other buſineſs to do. The Garriſon that *Philip* had left in *Oricum*, was ſtrong enough to hold the Townſ-men in good order, but not to keep out the *Romans*, of whoſe daring to attempt any thing againſt him, on that ſide the Sea, *Philip* as then had no ſuſpicion. *Valerius* therefore eaſily regained the Town, and ſent thence a thouſand men, under *Nævius Criſpus*, an undertaking and expert Captain, which got by night into *Apollonia*. Theſe made a notable ſally, and brake into *Philip*'s Trenches with ſo great ſlaughter, that they forced him to forſake his Camp, and raiſe the ſiege. The King purpoſed (as it is ſaid) to have departed thence by Sea: but *Valerius*, coming with his Fleet from *Oricum*, ſtopped up the mouth of the River, ſo that he was fain to burn his ſhips (which belike were no better than long boats) and depart ill furniſhed of carriages by Land. After this *Valerius* dealt with the *Ætolians*, a Nation alwaies enemy to the Crown of *Macedon*; and eaſily perſwaded them (being ſo affected, as hath elſewhere been ſhewed) to make ſtrong war on *Philip*; wherein he promiſed them great aſſiſtance from the *Romans*. That which moſt moved the troubleſome ſpirits of the *Ætolians*, was the hope of getting *Acarnania*; after which they had gaped long, and whereof the *Roman* was as liberal in making promiſe, as if already it had been his own. So a league was made between them; and afterward ſolemnly publiſhed at *Olympia*, by the *Ætolians*, and by the *Romans* in their *Capitol*. The conditions were, that from *Ætolia* to *Corcyra*, in which ſpace *Acarnania* was contained, all the Country ſhould be ſubdued, and left unto the *Ætolians*, the pillage only to be given to the *Romans*. And that if the *Ætolians* made peace with *Philip*, it ſhould be with Proviſion, to hold no longer than whilſt he abſtained from doing injury to the *Romans*, or their Aſſociates. This was indeed the only point whereat *Valerius* aimed, who promiſed as much on the *Romans* behalf, That they ſhould not make peace with the *Macedonian*, unleſs it were with like condition of including the *Ætolians*. Into this league was place reſerved for the *Lacedæmonians* and *Eleans*, as to thoſe that had made or favoured the ſide of *Cleomenes* againſt the *Macedonian*, to enter at their pleaſure. The like regard was had of *Attalus*, *Pleuratus*, and *Scerdiletus*: the firſt of which reigned at *Pergamus* in *Aſia* the leſs, a Prince hereafter much to be ſpoken of; the other two held ſome part of *Illyria*, about which the *Romans* were ſo far from contending with them, that gladly they ſought to get their friendly acquaintance. But the names of theſe Aſſociates are thruſt into the Treaty rather to give it countenance than for any readineſs which they diſcloſe to enter thereinto. The *Ætolians* alone, and chiefly *Scopas* their Prætor, with *Dorymachus* and others, are yet awhile the only men, of whom the *Roman* Generals muſt make much; as the late *French* King, *Henry* the fourth, when he had only the title of *Navarre*, was ſaid to court the Majors of *Rochel*. *Philip* was not idle, when he heard whereunto the *Ætolian* tended. He repaired his Army, made a countenance of war upon the *Illyrians*, and other his borderers, that were wont in times of danger to infeſt the Kingdom of *Macedon*; waſted the Country about *Oricum* and *Apollonia*, and over-running the *Pelagonians*, *Dardanians*, and others, whom he held ſuſpected, came down into *Theſſaly*, whence he made ſhew as if he would invade *Ætolia*. By the fame of this Expedition, he thought to ſtir up all the *Greeks* adjoyning, againſt the *Ætolians*; whom they generally deteſted as a neſt of Robbers, troubleſome to all the Country. To which purpoſe, and to hinder the *Ætolians* from breaking into *Greece* he left *Perſeus* his Son and Heir, with four thouſand men, upon their borders: with the reſt of his Army, before greater buſineſs ſhould overtake and intangle him, he made a long journy into *Thrace*, againſt a people called the *Medes*, that were wont to fall upon *Macedon*, whenſoever the King was abſent. The *Ætolians* hearing of his departure, armed as many as they could againſt the *Acarnaians*; in hope to ſubdue thoſe their daily enemies, and win their little Country, ere he ſhould be able to return. Hereto it much availed, that the *Romans* had already taken *Oeniadæ* and *Naxos*, *Acarnanian* Towns, conveniently ſituated to let in an Army; and conſigned them unto the *Ætolians* according to the tenour of the contract lately made with them. But the ſtout reſolution of the *Acarnanians* to dye (as we ſay) every Mothers Son of them, in defence of their Country; together with the great haſte of the *Macedonian* (who laid aſide all other buſineſs) to ſuccour theſe his friends; cauſed the *Ætolians* to forſake their enterpriſe. When this Expedition was given over, the *Romans* and *Ætolians* fell upon *Ancyræ*, which they took: the *Romans* aſſailed by Sea, the *Ætolians* by Land. The *Ætolians* had the Town, and the *Romans* the ſpoil.

For theſe good ſervices *M. Valerius* was choſen Conſul at *Rome*; and *P. Sulpitius* ſent in his ſtead, to keep the war on foot in *Greece*. But beſides the *Roman* help, *Attalus* out of *Aſia* came over to aſſiſt the *Ætolians*. He was chiefly moved by his own jealouſie of *Philips* greatneſs; though ſomewhat alſo tickled with the vanity of being choſen by the *Ætolians* their principal Magiſtrate; which honour, though no better than titulary, he took in very loving part. 'Againſt the forces which *Attalus* and the *Romans* had ſent, being joyned with the main power of *Ætolia*, *Philip* tried the fortune of two battels; and was victorious in each of them. Hereupon, theſe his troubleſome neighbours deſired peace of him, and uſed their beſt means to get it. And when the day appointed for the concluſion thereof, was come: their Embaſſadours, inſtead of making ſubmiſſion, propoſed unto him ſuch intolerable conditions, as ill beſeemed vanquiſhed men to offer; and might therefore well teſtifie, that their minds were altered. It was not any love of peace, but fear of being beſieged in their own Towns, that had made them deſirous of compoſition. This fear being taken away, by the incouragements of *Attalus* and the *Romans*, they were as fierce as ever; and thruſt a Garriſon of their own, and ſome *Roman* friends into *Elis*; which threatned *Achaia*, wherein *Philip* then lay. The *Romans*, making a cut over the Streight from *Naupactus*, waſted the Country in a terrible bravery; wherein *Philip* requited them, coming upon them in great haſte from the *Nemean* Games (which he was then celebrating) and ſending them faſter away, but nothing richer than they came.

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In the heat of this contention, *Prusius* King of *Bithynia*, fearing the growth of *Attalus*, no less than *Attalus* held suspected the power of *Philip*, sent a Navy into *Greece*, to assist the *Macedonian* party. The like did the *Carthaginians*; and upon greater reason as being more interessed in the success of his affairs. *Philip* was too weak by Sea: and though he could man some two hundred ships, yet the vessels were such, as could not hold out against the *Romans Quinqueremes*. Wherefore it behoved him to use the help of his good friends the *Carthaginians*. But their aid came somewhat too late; which might better at first have kept those Enemies from fastening upon any part of *Greece*, than afterward it could serve to drive them out, when they had pierced into the bowels of that Countrey. Ere *Philip* could attempt any thing by Sea, it was needful that he should correct the *Eleans*, bad neighbours to the *Achaians* his principal Confederates. But in assailing their Town, he was encountred by the *Ætolian* and *Roman* Garrison, which drave him back with some loss. In such cases, especially where God intendeth a great conversion of Empire, Fame is very powerful in working. The King had received no great detriment in his retrait from *Elis*: rather he had given testimony of his personal valour, in fighting well on foot, when his horse was slain under him. He had also soon after taken a great multitude of the *Eleans*, to the number of four thousand, with some twenty thousand head of Cattel which they had brought together in a place of safety, as they thought, when their Countrey was invaded. But it had happened, that in his pursuit of the *Roman* forragers about *Sicyon*, his horse running hastily under a low tree, had torn off one of the horns, which (after the fashion of those times) the King wore in his Crest. This was gathered up by an *Ætolian*, who carried it home, and shewed it as a token of *Philip*'s death. The horn was well known, and the tale believed. All *Macedon* therefore was in an uproar; and not only the boderers, ready to fall upon the Countrey, but some Captains of *Philip* easily corrupted; who thinking to make themselves a fortune in that change of things, ran into such treason, as they might better hope to make good, than to excuse. Hereupon the King returned home, leaving not three thousand men to assist his friends the *Achæans*. He also took order, to have beacons erected, that might give him notice of the enemies doings, upon whom he meant shortly to return. The affairs of *Macedon*, his presence quickly established. But in *Greece* all went ill-favouredly; especially in the Isle of *Eubœa*, where one *Plator* betrayed to *Attalus* and the *Romans*, the Town of *Oreum*, ere *Philip* could arrive to help it: where also the strong City of *Chalcis* was likely to have been lost, if he had not come the sooner. He made such hasty marches, that he had almost taken *Attalus* in the City of *Opus*: this City, lying over against *Eubœa*, *Attalus* had won more through the cowardize of the people, than any great force that he had used: now because the *Roman* Souldiers had defrauded him in the sack of *Oreum* and taken all to themselves; it was agreed, that *Attalus* should make his best profit of the *Opuntians*, without admitting the *Romans* to be his sharers. But whilst he was busie, in drawing as much money as he could out of the Citizens: the sudden tydings of *Philip*'s arrival, made him leave all behind him, and run away to the Sea-side, where he got aboard his ships, finding the *Romans* gone before, upon the like fear. Either the indignity of this misadventure, or tydings of *Prusias* to *Bithynian* his invasion upon the Kingdom of *Pergamus*; made *Attalus* return home, without staying to take leave of his friends. So *Philip* recovered *Opus*, won *Torone*, *Tritonos*, *Drymus* and many small Towns in those parts; performing likewise some actions, of more bravery than importance, against the *Ætolians*. In the mean season, *Machanidas*, the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, had been busie in *Peloponnesus*; but hearing of *Philip*'s arrival, was returned home.

The *Lacedæmonians*, hearing certain report of *Cleomenes* his death in *Egypt*, went about to chuse two new Kings, and to conform themselves to their old manner of government. But their estate was so far out of tune, that their hope of redressing things within the City, proved no less unfortunate, than had been their attempts of recovering a large dominion abroad. *Lycurgus* a Tyrant rose up among them: upon whom succeeded this *Machanidas*, and shortly after came *Nabis*, that was worse than both of them. They held on the *Ætolian* and *Roman* side, for fear of the *Achæans*, that were the chief Confederates of *Philip*, and hated extremely the name both of Tyrant and *Lacedæmonian*. But of these we shall speak more hereafter.

Philip entring into *Achaia*, and seeing his presence had brought the contentment of assurance to that Countrey; spake brave words to the Assembly of their States, saying, That he had to do with an Enemy that was very nimble, and made War by running away. He told how he had followed them to *Chalcis*, to *Oreum*, to *Opus*, and now into *Achaia*; but could no where find them, such haste they made, for fear of being overtaken. But flight, he said, was not alwaies prosperous: he should one day light upon them; as ere this he sundry times had done, and still to their loss. The *Achaians* were glad to hear these words; and much the more glad, in regard of his good deeds accompanying them. For he restored unto their Nation some Towns that were in his hand, belonging to them of old. Likewise to the *Megalopolitans* their confederates, he rendred *Aliphera*. The *Dymæans*, that had been taken by the *Romans*, and sold for slaves, he sought out, ransomed, and put in quiet possession of their own City. Further, passing over the *Corinthian* Gulf, he fell upon the *Ætolians*; whom he drave into the Mountains and woods, or other their strongest holds, and wasted their Country. This done, he took leave of the *Achæans*, and returned home by Sea, visited the people that were his subjects, or dependants; and animated them so well, that they rested fearless of any threatening danger. Then had he leisure to make war upon the *Dardanians*, ill neighbours to *Macedon*: with whom nevertheless he was not so far occupied, but that he could go in hand with preparing a Fleet of an hundred Gallies, whereby to make himself Master of the Sea; the *Romans* (since the departure of *Attalus*) having not dared to meet or pursue him, when he lately ran along the coast of *Greece*, fast by them where they lay.

This good success added much reputation unto the *Macedonian*, and emboldened him to make strong war upon the *Ætolians*, at their own doors. As for the *Romans*, either some displeasure, conceived against

againſt their Confederates, or ſome fear of danger at home, when *Aſdrubal* was ready to fall upon *Italy*; cauſed them to give over the care of things in *Greece*, and leave their friends there to their own fortunes. The *Ætolians* therefore being driven to great extremity, were fain to ſue for peace unto *Philip*; and accept it, upon what ever conditions it beſt pleaſed him. The agreement was no ſooner made, than *P. Sempronius* with 10000. foot, 1000. horſe, and 35. Gallies, came over in great haſte (though ſomewhat too late) to trouble it. Hearing how things went in *Ætolia*, he turned aſide to *Dyrrhacchium* and *Apollonia*, making a great noiſe, as if with theſe his own forces he would work wonders. But it was not long ere *Philip* came to viſit him, and found him tame enough. The K. preſented him battel, but he refuſed it: and ſuffering the *Macedonians* to waſte the Country round about, before his eyes, kept himſelf cloſe within the walls of *Apollonia*, making ſome overtures of peace: which cauſed *Philip* to return home quietly. The *Romans* had not ſo great cauſe to be diſpleaſed with the *Ætolians*, as had *Philip* to take in evil part the demeanor of the *Carthaginians*. For notwithſtanding the royal offer that he made them, to ſerve their turn in *Italy*, and aſſiſt them, in getting their hearts deſire, before he would expect any requital: they had not ſent any fleet, as in reaſon they ought, and as (conſidering his want of ſufficient ability by Sea) it is likely they were bound, either to ſecure the tranſportation of his Army, or to free his coaſt from the *Roman* and *Ætolian* Piracies. Only once they came to his help, which was at his laſt journey into *Achaia*. But they were gone again before his arrival: having done nothing, and pretending fear of being taken by the *Romans*, even at ſuch time as *Philip* with his own Navy, durſt boldly paſs by Sea, and found none that durſt oppoſe him. This wretchleſs dealing of the *Carthaginians*, may therefore ſeem to have been one of *Hanno* his tricks, whereof *Hannibal* ſo bitterly complained. For it could not but grieve this malicious man exceedingly to hear that ſo great a K. made offer to ſerve in perſon under *Hannibal*, and required the aſſiſtance of the ſame *Hannibal*, as of a man likely to make Monarchs, and alter the affairs of the world at pleaſure. Therefore he had reaſon, ſuch as envy could ſuggeſt, to perſwade the *Carthaginians* unto a ſafe and thrifty courſe: which was, not to admit into the fellowſhip of their *Italian* wars ſo mighty a Prince; whom change of affection might make dangerous to their Empire; or his much affection unto *Hannibal*, more dangerous to their liberty. Rather they ſhould do well to ſave charges, and feed the *Macedonian* with hopes; by making many promiſes of ſending a fleet and ſome other ſuccours. This would coſt nothing, yet would it ſerve to terrifie the *Romans*, and compel them to ſend part of their forces from home, that might find this Enemy work abroad. So ſhould the *Roman* Armies be leſſened in *Italy*; and *Philip*, when once he was engaged in the war, be urged unto the proſecution, by his own neceſſity: putting the *Carthaginians* to little or no charges: yea, ſcarce to the labor of giving him thanks. Now if it might come to paſs, as *Hannibal* every day did promiſe, that *Rome*, and all *Italy* ſhould within a while be at the devotion of *Carthage*: better it were, that the City ſhould be free, ſo as the troubleſome *Greeks* might addreſs their complaints unto the *Carthaginians*, as competent Judges between them and the *Macedonian*, than that *Hannibal*, with the power of *Africk*, ſhould wait upon *Philip*, as his Executioner, to fulfill his will and pleaſure, in doing ſuch injuries, as would both make the name of a *Carthaginian* hateful in *Greece*, and oblige *Philip* to be no leſs impudent, in fulfilling all requeſts of *Hannibal*. Whether the counſel of *Hanno* and his fellows were ſuch as this, or whether the *Carthaginians*, of their own diſpoſition, without his advice, were too ſparing, and careleſs, the matter (as far as concerned *Philip*) came to one reckoning. For they did him no manner of good, but rather dodged with him, even in their little courteſie which they moſt pretended. And this perhaps was part of the reaſon, why he began the building 100. Gallies, as if he would let them and others know, whereto his proper ſtrength would have reached, had he not vainly given credit to faithleſs promiſes. When therefore the *Ætolians* had ſubmitted themſelves already: and when the *Romans* deſired his friendſhip, as might be thought, for very fear of him, with reputation enough, and not as a forſaken Client of the *Carthaginians*, but a Prince able to have ſuccoured them in their neceſſity, he might give over the war, and, without reprehenſion, leave them to themſelves. For he had wilfully entred into trouble for their ſakes; but they deſpiſed him, as if the quarrel were meerly his own, and he unable to manage it.

The vanity of which their conceits would appear unto them, when they ſhould ſee, that with his proper ſtrength he had finiſhed the War, and concluded it highly to his honour. So the year following it was agreed, by the mediation of the *Epirots*, *Acarnanians*, and others, That the *Romans* ſhould retain three or four Towns of *Illyria*, which they had recovered by this War, being part of their old *Illyrian* Conqueſt: Places no way belonging to the *Macedonian*; and therefore perhaps inſerted into the Covenants, that ſomewhat might ſeem to have been gotten. On the other ſide, the *Atintanes* were appointed to return under the obedience of *Philip*: who, if they were (as *Ortelius* probably conjectures) the people of the Country about *Apollonia*, then did the *Romans* abandon part of their gettings; whereby it appears, that they did not give peace, as they would ſeem to have done, but accepted it, upon conditions ſomewhat to their loſs.

The Confederates and Dependants of the *Macedonian*, comprehended in this Peace, were *Pruſias* K. of *Bithynia*, the *Achæans*, *Bœotians*, *Theſſalians*, *Acarnanians* and *Epirots*. On the *Roman* ſide were named, firſt, the people of *Ilium*, as an honourable remembrance of the *Romans* deſcent from *Troy*; then, *Attalus* K. of *Pergamus*; *Plueratus* an *Illyrian* Prince; and *Nabis* the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*; together with the *Eleans*, *Meſſenians* and *Athenians*. The *Ætolians* were omitted, belike, as having agreed for themſelves before. But the *Eleans* and *Meſſenians*, followers of the *Ætolians*, (and by them, as is moſt likely, compriſed in their league with *Philip*) were alſo inſerted by the *Romans*; that were never ſlow in offering their friendſhip to ſmall and feeble Nations. As for the *Athenians*; they ſtood much upon their old honour; and loved to bear a part, though they did nothing, in all great actions. Yet the ſetting down of their names in this Treaty, ſerved the *Romans* to good purpoſe: foraſmuch as they were a buſie people, and miniſtred occaſion to renew the War, when means did better ſerve to follow it.

SECT. XIII.

How the Romans *began to recover their ſtrength by degrees. The noble affection of the* Romans, *in relieving the publick Neceſſities of their Common-weal.*

IT was a great fault in the *Carthaginians*, that embracing ſo many enterpriſes at once, they

followed all by the halves; and wasted more men and money to no purpose, than would have served (if good order had been taken) to finish the whole War, in far shorter space; and make themselves Lords of all that the *Romans* held. This errour had become the less harmful, if their care of *Italy* had been sought as it ought. But they suffered *Hannibal* to weary himself with expectation of their promised supplies; which being still deferred from year to year, caused as great opportunities to be lost, as a Conquerour could have desired. The death of *Posthumius*, and destruction of this whole Army in *Gaul*; the begun rebellion of the *Sardinians*; the death of *Hiero* their friend in *Syracuse*; with great alterations much to their prejudice, in the whole Isle of *Sicily*; as also that War, of which we last spake threatned from *Macedon*, happening all at one time; and that so nearly after their terrible overthrow at *Cannæ*, among so many revolts of their *Italian* Confederates; would utterly have sunk the *Roman* State; had the *Carthaginians*, if not the first year, yet at least the second, sent over to *Hannibal* the forces that was decreed. It is not to be doubted, that even this diversity of great hopes, appearing from all parts, administred matter unto *Hanno*, or such as *Hanno* was, whereupon to work. For though it were in the power of *Carthage*, to perform all that was decreed for *Italy*; yet could not that prohibition hold, when so many new occurrences brought each along with them their new care; and required their several Armies. This had not been a very bad excuse, if any one of the many occasions offered had been throughly prosecuted: though it stood with best reason, that the foundation of all other hopes and comforts, which was the prosperity of *Hannibal* in his *Italian* war, should have been strengthened; whatsoever had become of the rest. But the slender Troops, wherewith the *Carthaginians* fed the War in *Spain*; the lingring aid which they sent to uphold the *Sardinian* rebellion, when it was already well-near beaten down; their trifling with *Philip*; and (amongst all these their attempts) their hasty catching at *Sicily*: little deserved to be thought good reasons of neglecting the main point, whereto all the rest had reference. Rather every one of these Actions, considered a-part by it self, was no otherwise to be allowed, as discreetly undertaken, or substantially followed; than by making supposition, That the care of *Italy* made the *Carthaginians* more negligent in all things else. Yet if these allegations would not serve to content *Hannibal*, then must he patiently endure to know, that his own Citizens were jealous of his Greatness, and durst not trust him with so much power, as should enable him to wrong the state at home.

Whatsoever he heard or thought, *Hannibal* was glad to apply himself to necessity; to feed his *Italian* friends with hopes; and to trifle away the time about *Nola*, *Naples*, *Cumæ*, and other places: being loth to spend his Army in an hard siege, that was to be reserved for a work of more importance. Many offers he made upon *Nola*, but alwaies with bad success. Once *Marcellus* fought a battel with him there, yet under the very walls of the Town; having the assistance of the Citizens, that were grown better affected to the *Roman* side, since the Heads that inclined them to rebellion, were cut off. About a thousand men *Hannibal* in that fight lost: which was no great marvel; his forces being then divided, and imployed in sundry parts of *Italy* at once. *Naples* was even in those daies, a strong City: and required a years work to have taken it by force. Wherefore the earnest desire of *Hannibal* to get it, was alwaies frustrate. Upon the Town of *Cumæ* they of *Capua* had their plot, and were in hope to take it by cunning. They sent to the chief Magistrates of the *Cumans*, desiring them (as being also *Campans*) to be present at a solemn sacrifice of the Nation, where they would consult about their general good: promising to bring thither a sufficient guard, to assure the whole Assembly from any danger that might come by the *Romans*. This motion the *Cumans* made shew to entertain; but privily sent word of all to *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, the *Roman* Consul.

Gracchus was a very good man of War, and happily chosen Consul in so dangerous a time. His Colleague should have been *Posthumius Albinus*, that was lately slain by the *Gauls*: after whose death *Marcellus* was chosen, as being judged the fittest man to encounter with *Hannibal*. But the *Roman* Augures either found some religious impediment that nullified the election of *Marcellus*; or at least they feigned so to have done, because this was the first time, that ever two *Plebeian* Consuls were chosen together. *Marcellus* therefore gave over the place; and *Q. Fabius Maximus*, the late famous Dictator, was substituted in his room. But *Fabius* was detained in the City, about matters of Religion or Superstition: wherewith *Rome* was commonly, especially in times of danger, very much troubled. So *Gracchus* alone, with a Consular Army, waited upon *Hannibal* among the *Campans*: not able to meet the enemy in the field; yet intentive to all occasions, that should be presented. The *Volones*, or Slaves, that lately had been armed, were no small part of his followers. These, and the rest of his men, he continually trained; and had not a greater care to make his Army skilful in the exercises of war, than to keep it from quarrels, that might arise by upbraiding one another with their base conditions.

Whilst the Consul was thus busied at *Linternum*, the Senators of *Cumæ* sent him word of all that had passed between them and the *Capuans*. It was a good occasion to flesh his men, and make them confident against the Enemy; of whom hitherto they had bad experience. *Gracchus* therefore put himself into *Cumæ*: whence he issued at such time, as the Magistrates of that City were expected by the *Campans*. The Sacrifice was to be performed by night, at a place called *Hamæ*, three miles from *Cumæ*. There lay *Marius Alfius* the chief Magistrate of *Capua*, with fourteen thousand men; not wholly intent either to the Sacrifice, or to any danger that might interrupt it; but rather devising how to surprize others, than fearing himself to be assailed. The Consul therefore, suffering none to go forth of *Cumæ*, that might bear word of him to the enemies, issued out of the Town when it grew dark: his men being well refreshed with meat and sleep, the day before, that they might hold out the better in this nights service. So he came upon the *Capuans* unawares, and slew more than two thousand of them, together with their Commander, losing not above a hundred of his own men. Their Camp he took; but tarried not long to rifle it, for fear of *Hannibal*, who lay not far off. By this his providence, he escaped a greater loss, than he had brought upon the Enemies. For when *Hannibal* was informed how things went at *Hamæ*, forthwith he marched thither, hoping to find those young Souldiers, and Slaves, busied in making spoil, and loading themselves with the booty. But they were all gotten safe within *Cumæ*; which partly for anger, partly for desire of gaining it, and partly at the urgent entreaty of the *Capuans*, *Hannibal* assailed the next day. Much labour, and with ill success, the *Carthaginians* and their fellows spent about this Town. They raised a wooden Tower against it; which they brought close unto the Walls, thinking thereby to force an Entry. But the Defendants, on the inside of the Wall, raised against this an high Tower; whence they made resistance, and found means at length to consume with fire the work of their Enemies. While the *Carthaginians* were busie in quenching the fire, the *Romans*, sallying out of the Town at two Gates, charged them valiantly, and drave them to their Trenches, with the slaughter of about fourteen hundred. The Consul wisely sounded the Retreat, ere his men were too far engaged, and *Hannibal* in a readiness to requite their service. Neither would he in the pride of his good success, adventure forth against the Enemy; who presented him battel the day following, near unto the Walls. *Hannibal* therefore seeing no likelihood to prevail in that which he had taken in hand, brake up the siege, and returned to his old Camp at *Tifata*. About these times, and shortly after, when *Fabius* the other Consul had taken the field; some small Towns were recovered by the *Romans*, and the people severely punished for their revolt.

The

The *Carthaginian* Army was too ſmall, to fill with garriſons all places that had yielded; and withal to abide (as it muſt do) ſtrong in the field. Wherefore *Hannibal*, attending the ſupply from home, that ſhould enable him to ſtrike at *Rome* it ſelf, was driven in the mean time to alter his courſe of war: and inſtead of making (as formerly he had done) a general invaſion upon the whole Country, to paſs from place to place; and wait upon occaſions, that grew daily more commodious to the enemy, than to him. The Country of the *Hirpines* and *Samnites* was grievouſly waſted by *Marcellus*, in the abſence of *Hannibal*; as alſo was *Campania*, by *Fabius* the Conſul; when *Hannibal* having followed *Marcellus* to *Nola*, and received there the loſs before mentioned, was gone to winter in *Apulia*. Theſe people ſhewed not the like ſpirit in defending their Lands, and fighting for the *Carthaginian* Empire, as in former times they had done, when they contended with the *Romans*, in their own behalf, to get the Soveraignty. They held it reaſon, that they ſhould be protected by ſuch as thought to have dominion over them: whereby at once they overburdened their new Lords; & gave unto their old, the more eaſie means to take revenge of their defection.

The people of *Rome* were very intentive as neceſſity conſtrained them, to the work that they had in hand. They continued *Fabius* in his Conſulſhip: and joyned with him *Marcus Claudius Marcellus*; whom they had appointed unto that honour the year before. Of theſe two, *Fabius* was called the *Shield*: and *Marcellus*, the *Roman Sword*. In *Fabius* it was highly, and upon juſt reaſon, commended, That being himſelf Conſul, and holding the Election, he did not ſtand upon nice points of formality, or regard what men might think of his ambition, but cauſed himſelf to be choſen with *Marcellus*; knowing in what need the City ſtood of able Commanders. The great name of theſe Conſuls, and the great preparations which the *Romans* made, ſerved to put the *Campans* in fear, that *Capua* it ſelf ſhould be beſieged. To prevent this, *Hannibal*, at their earneſt entreaty, came from *Arpi* (where he lay, hearkening after news from *Tarentum*) and having with his preſence comforted theſe his friends, fell on the ſudden upon *Puteoli*, a Sea-town of *Campania*; about which he ſpent three daies in vain, hoping to have won it. The Garriſon in *Puteoli* was 6000. ſtrong: and did their duty ſo well, that the *Carthaginian*, finding no hope of good ſucceſs, could only ſhew his anger upon the fields there, and about *Naples*; which having done, and once more (with as ill ſucceſs as before) aſſailed *Nola*, he bent his courſe to *Tarentum*: wherein he had very great intelligence. Whilſt he was in his progreſs thither; *Hanno* made a journey againſt *Beneventum*: and *T. Gracchus*, the laſt years Conſul, haſting from *Nuceria*, met him there and fought with him. *Hanno* had with him about 17000. foot, *Brutians* and *Lucans* for the moſt part: beſides 1200. horſe; very few of which were *Italians*, all the reſt *Numidians* and *Moors*. He held the *Romans* work four hours, ere it could be perceived to which ſide the victory would incline. But *Gracchus* his ſouldiers, which were all (in a manner) the late-armed ſlaves, had received from their General a peremptory denunciation, That this day or never they muſt purchaſe their liberty, bringing every man for price thereof, an enemies head. The ſweet reward of liberty was ſo greatly deſired, that none of them feared any danger in earning it: howbeit that vain labour impoſed by their General, of cutting off the ſlain enemies heads, troubled them exceedingly; and hindred the ſervice by imployment of ſo many hands in a work ſo little concerning the victory. *Gracchus* therefore finding his own errour, wiſely corrected it: proclaiming aloud, That they ſhould caſt away the heads, and ſpare the trouble of cutting off any more; for that all ſhould have liberty immediately after the battel, if they won the day. This encouragement made them run head-long upon the Enemy; whom their deſperate fury had ſoon overthrown, if the *Roman* horſe could have made their part good againſt the *Numidian*. But though *Hanno* did what he could, and preſſed ſo hard upon the *Romans* battel, that four thouſand of the ſlaves, (for fear either of them, or of the puniſhment which *Gracchus* had threatned before the battel unto thoſe that ſhould not valiantly behave themſelves) retired unto a ground of ſtrength; yet was he glad at length to ſave himſelf by flight, when the Groſs of his Army was broken; being unable to remedy the loſs. Leaving the field, he was accompanied by no more than two thouſand, moſt of which were horſe; all the reſt were either ſlain or taken. The *Roman* General gave unto all his Souldiers that reward of liberty which he had promiſed: but unto thoſe four thouſand, which had recoyled unto the Hill, he added this light puniſhment; That as long as they ſerved in the wars, they ſhould neither eat nor drink otherwiſe than ſtanding, unleſs ſickneſs forced them to break his order. So the victorious Army returned to *Beneventum*: where the newly enfranchiſed Souldiers were feaſted in publick by the Townſmen; ſome ſitting, ſome ſtanding, and all of them having their heads covered (as was the cuſtom of ſlaves manumiſed) with caps of white wool. The picture of this Feaſt (as a thing worthy of remembrance) was afterwards hung up in a Table by *Gracchus*, in the Temple of Liberty; which his Father had built and dedicated. This was indeed the firſt battel, worthy of great note, which the *Carthaginians* had loſt ſince the coming of *Hannibal* into *Italy*: the victories of *Marcellus* at *Nola*, and of this *Gracchus* before at *Hama*, being things of ſmall importance.

Thus the *Romans*, through induſtry, by little and little, repaired the great Breach in their Eſtate, which *Hannibal* had made at *Canna*. But all this while, and long after this, their Treaſury was ſo poor, that no induſtry nor art could ſerve to help it. The fruits of their grounds did only (and perhaps hardly) ſerve to feed their Towns and Armies, without any ſurpluſage, that might be exchanged for other needful commodities. Few they were in *Italy* that continued to pay them tribute; which alſo they could worſe do than before; as living upon the ſame trade, and ſubject to the ſame inconveniencies, which enfeeble *Rome* it ſelf. *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, that were wont to yield great profit, hardly now maintaining the *Roman* Armies, that lay in thoſe Provinces, to hold them ſafe, and in good order. As for the Citizens of *Rome*, every one of them ſuffered his part of the detriment, which the Common-wealth ſuſtained, and could now do leaſt for his Country, when moſt need was: as alſo the number of them was much decreaſed; ſo as if money ſhould be raiſed upon them by the *Poll*, yet muſt it be far leſs than in former times. The Senate therefore diligently conſidering the greatneſs of the war within the bowels of *Italy*, that could not be thence expelled, without the exceeding charge of many good Armies; the peril, wherein *Sicily* and *Sardinia* ſtood, both of the *Carthaginians*, and of many among the Naturals, declining from

the friendſhip or ſubjection of *Rome*; the threats of the *Macedonian*, ready to land in the Eaſtern parts of *Italy*, if they were not at the coſt to find him work at home; the greater threats of *Aſdrubal*, to follow his Brother over the *Alps*, as ſoon as he could rid himſelf of the *Scipio*'s in *Spain*; and the poverty of the Common-wealth, which had not money for any one of theſe mortal dangers; were driven almoſt even to extreme want of counſel. But being urged by the violence of ſwift neceſſity, ſignified in the letters of the 2 *Scipio*'s from *Spain*; they reſolved upon the only courſe, without w^ch the City could not have ſubſiſted.

They called the people to aſſembly; Wherein *Quintus Fulvius* the Prætor laid open the publick wants; and plainly ſaid, That in this exigent, there muſt be no taking of money for victuals, weapons, apparel, or the like things needful to the Souldiers; but that ſuch as had ſtuff, or were Artificers; muſt truſt the Common-weale with the Loan of their commodities and labors, until the war were ended. Hereunto he ſo effectually exhorted all men, eſpecially the Publicans or Cuſtomers, and thoſe which in former times had lived upon their dealing in the common Revenues, that the charge was undertaken by private men; and the Army in *Spain*, as well ſupplied, as if the Treaſury had been full. Shortly after this, *Marcus Attilius Regulus*, and *Publius Furius Philus*, the *Roman* Cenſors; taking in hand the redreſs of diſorders within the City, were chiefly intentive to the correction of thoſe, that had miſ-behaved themſelves in this preſent war. They began with *L. Cecilius Metellus*; who after the battel at *Cannæ*, had held diſcourſe with ſome of his Companions, about flying beyond the Seas; as if *Rome*, and all *Italy*, had been no better than loſt. After him they took in hand thoſe, that having brought to *Rome* the meſſage of their fellows made priſoners at *Cannæ*, returned not back to *Hannibal*, as they were bound by oath; but thought themſelves thereof ſufficiently diſcharged, in that they had ſtepped once back into his Camp, with pretence of taking better notice of the Captives names. All theſe were now pronounced infamous by the Cenſors: as alſo were a great many more; even whoſoever had not ſerved in the wars, after the term which the Laws appointed: Neither was the note of the Cenſors at this time (as otherwiſe it had uſed to be) hurtful only in reputation: but greater weight was added thereunto, by this Decree of the Senate, following; *That all ſuch as were noted with infamy by theſe Cenſors, ſhould be tranſported into* Sicily, *there to ſerve until the end of the War, under the ſame hard conditions, that were impoſed upon the Remainder of the Army beaten at* Cannæ. The office of the Cenſors was, to take the Liſt and account of the Citizens; to chuſe or diſplace the Senators; and to ſet notes of diſgrace (without further puniſhment) upon thoſe whoſe unhoneſt or unſeemly behaviour fell not within the compaſs of the Law. They took alſo an account of the *Roman* Gentlemen: amongſt whom they diſtributed the publick Horſes of ſervice, unto ſuch as they thought meet; or took them away for their miſ-behaviour. Generally, they had the overſight of mens lives and manners: and their cenſure was much reverenced and feared; though it extended no further, than to putting men out of rank; or making them change their Tribe; or (which was the moſt that they could do) cauſing them to pay ſome Duties to the Treaſury, from which others were exempted. But, beſides the care of this general Tax, and matters of Morality, they had the charge of all publick Works; as mending of High-waies, Bridges, and Water-courſes; the reparations of Temples, Porches, and ſuch other buildings. If any man incroached upon the Streets, High-waies, or other places that ought to be common; the Cenſors compelled him to make amends. They had alſo the letting out of Lands, Cuſtoms, and other publick Revenues to farm: ſo that moſt of the Citizens of *Rome* were beholding to this office; as maintaining themſelves by ſome of the Trades thereto belonging. And this was no ſmall help to conſerve the dignity of the Senate: the commonalty being obnoxious unto the Cenſors; which were alwaies of that Order, and careful to uphold the reputation thereof. But the Common-weal being now impoveriſhed by war, and having ſmall ſtore of Lands to lett, or of Cuſtoms that were worth the farming; *Regulus* and *Philus* troubled not themſelves much with peruſing the Temples, or other decayed places, that needed reparations: or, if they took a view of what was requiſite to be done in this kind; yet forbore they to ſet any thing in hand, becauſe they had not wherewith to pay. Herein again appeared a notable generoſity of the *Romans*. They that had been accuſtomed in more happy times, to undertake ſuch pieces of work, offered now themſelves as willingly as the Cenſors, as if there had been no ſuch want: promiſing liberally their coſt and travel; without expectation of any payment, before the end of the war. In like ſort, the Maſters of thoſe ſlaves, that lately had been infranchiſed by *Gracchus*, were very well contented to forbear the price of them, untill the City were in better caſe to pay. In this general inclination of the Multitude, to relieve, as far forth as every one was able, the common neceſſity; all the goods of Orphans, and of Widows living under Patronate, were brought into the Treaſury; and there the Queſtor kept a book of all that was laid out for the ſuſtenance of theſe Widows and Orphans: whilſt the whole ſtock was uſed by the City. This good example of thoſe which remained in the Town, prevailed with the Souldiers abroad: ſo that (the poorer ſort excepted) they refuſed to take pay; and called thoſe *Mercenaries*, that did accept it, when their Country was in ſo great want.

The 1200. Talents wrongfully extorted from the *Carthaginians*; nor any injuries following, done by the *Romans* in the height of their pride, yielded half ſo much commodity, as might be laid in ballance againſt theſe miſeries, whereinto their Eſtate was now reduced. Nevertheleſs if we conſider things aright, the calamities of this War did rather enable *Rome* to deal with thoſe Enemies, whom ſhe forthwith undertook, than abate or ſlacked the growth of that large Dominion, whereto ſhe attained, ere the youngeſt of thoſe men was dead, whoſe names we have already mentioned. For by this hammering, the *Roman* metal grew more hard and ſolid: and by paring the branches of private fortunes, the Root and Heart of the Common-wealth was corroborated. So grew the City of *Athens*, when *Xerxes* had burnt the Town to aſhes, and taken from every particular Citizen, all hope of other felicity, than that which reſted in the common happineſs of the univerſality. Certain it is, (as Sir *Francis Bacon* hath judiciouſly obſerved) That a State, whoſe dimenſion or ſtem is ſmall, may aptly ſerve to be foundation of a great Monarchy, which chiefly comes to paſs, where all regard of domeſtical proſperity is laid aſide; and every mans care addreſſed to the benefit of his Country. Hereof I might ſay that our Age hath been a great example, in the united Provinces in the Netherlands; whoſe preſent riches and ſtrength grew chiefly from that ill aſſurance, which each of their Towns, or almoſt of their Families, perceived it ſelf to hold, whilſt the generality was oppreſſed

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by the Duke of *Alva*; were it ſo, that the people had thereby grown as warlike, as, by extreme induſtry, and ſtraining themſelves to fill their publick Treaſury, they are all grown wealthy, ſtrong at Sea, and able to wage great Armies for their ſervices by Land. Wherefore if we value at ſuch a rate as we ought. the patient reſolution, conformity to good Order, obedience to Magiſtrates, with many other Vertues, and above all other, the great love of the Commonweal, which was found in *Rome* in theſe dangerous times: we may truly ſay, That the City was never in greater likelihood to proſper. Neither can it be deemed otherwiſe, than that if the ſame affections of the people had laſted, when their Empire, being grown more large and beautiful, ſhould in all reaſon have been more dear unto them; if the riches and delicacies of *Aſia* had not infected them with ſenſuality, and carryed their appetites mainly to thoſe pleaſures, wherein they thought their well-being to conſiſt; if all the Citizens and ſubjects of *Rome* could have believed their own intereſt to be as great, in thoſe wars which theſe latter Emperours made for their defence, as in theſe which were managed by the Conſuls: the Empire, founded upon ſo great vertue, could not have been thrown down by the hands of rude *Barbarians*, were they never ſo many. But unto all Dominions God hath ſet their periods: Who, though he hath given unto Man the knowledge of thoſe ways, by which Kingdoms riſe and fall; yet hath left him ſubject unto the affections, which draw on theſe fatal changes, in their times appointed.

SECT. XIV.

The Romans *win ſome Towns back from* Hannibal. Hannibal *wins* Tarentum. *The ſiege of* Capua. *Two Victories of* Hannibal. *The Journey of* Hannibal *to the gates of* Rome. Capua *taken by the* Romans.

AS the people of *Rome* ſtrained themſelves to the utmoſt, for maintaining the War: ſo their Generals abroad omitted no part of induſtry, in ſeeking to recover what had been loſt. The Town of *Caſiline*, *Fabius* beſieged. It was well defended by the *Carthaginian* Garriſon; and likely to have been relieved by thoſe of *Capua*, if *Marcellus* from *Nola*, had not come to the aſſiſtance of his Colleague. Nevertheleſs, the place held out ſo obſtinately, that *Fabius* was purpoſed to give it over: ſaying, that the enterpriſe was not great; yet as difficult, as a thing of more importance. But *Marcellus* was of a contrary opinion. He ſaid, that many ſuch things, as were not at firſt to have been undertaken by great Commanders, ought yet, when once they were taken in hand, to be proſecuted unto the beſt effect. So the ſiege held on: and the Town was preſſed ſo hard, that the *Campans* dwelling therein, grew fearful, and craved parley; offering to give it up, ſo as all might have leave to depart in ſafety, whither they pleaſed. Whil'ſt they were thus treating of conditions: or whil'ſt they were iſſuing forth, according to the compoſition already made; (for it is diverſly reported) *Marcellus* ſeizing upon a Gate, entred with his Army, and put all to ſword that came in their way. Fifty of thoſe that were firſt gotten out, ran to *Fabius* the Conſul, who ſaved them, and ſent them to *Capua* in ſafety; all the reſt were either ſlain, or made priſoners. If *Fabius* deſerved Commendations, by holding his word good unto theſe fifty; I know not how the ſlaughter of the reſt, or impriſonment afterward of ſuch as eſcaped the heat of execution, could be excuſed by *Marcellus*. It may be that he helped himſelf after the *Roman* faſhion, with ſome equivocation, but he ſhall pay for it hereafter. In like ſort was *Mount Marſam* in *Gaſcoin* taken by the Marſhal *Monluc*, when I was a young man in *France*. For whil'ſt he entertained parley about compoſition: the beſieged ran all from their ſeveral guards, upon haſty deſire of being acquainted with the conditions propoſed. The Marſhal therefore diſcovering a part of the Walls unguarded, entred by *Scalado*, and put all ſave the Governour unto the ſword. Herein the Governour of *Mount Marſam* committed two groſs errours; the one, in that he gave no order for the Captains and Companies, to hold themſelves in their places; the other, in that he was content to parlee without Pledges for aſſurance given and received. Some ſuch overſight the Governour of *Caſiline* ſeemeth to have committed; yet neither the advantage taken by *Marcellus*, or by *Monluc*, was very honourable. When this Work was ended, many ſmall Towns of the *Samnites*, and ſome of the *Lucans* and *Apulians*, were recovered: wherein were taken or ſlain, about 25000 of the Enemies; and the Country grievouſly waſted by *Fabius*, *Marcellus* lying ſick at *Nola*.

Hannibal in the mean while was about *Tarentum*, waiting to hear from thoſe, that had promiſed to give up the Town. But *M. Valerius* the *Roman* Prætor had thruſt ſo many men into it, that the Traitors durſt not ſtir. Wherefore the *Carthaginian* was fain to depart, having wearied himſelf in vain with expectation. Yet he waſted not the Country, but contented himſelf with hope, that they would pleaſe him better in time following. So he departed thence towards *Salapia*, which he choſe for his wintring-place; and began to victual it when Summer was but half paſt. It is ſaid, that he was in love with a young Wench in that Town, in which regard if he began his Winter more timely than otherwiſe he required, he did not like the *Romans*; whom neceſſity inforced, to make their Summer laſt as long as they were able to travel up and down the Country.

About this time began great troubles in *Sicily*, whither *Marcellus* the Conſul was ſent, to take ſuch order for the Province, as need ſhould require. Of the doings there, which wore out more time than the Conſulſhip, we will ſpeak hereafter.

The new Conſuls choſen at *Rome*, were *Q. Fabius* the Son of the preſent Conſul, and *T. Sempronius Gracchus* the ſecond time. The *Romans* found it needful for the publick ſervice, to imploy oftentimes their beſt able men: and therefore made it lawful, during the war, to recontinue their Officers, and chuſe ſuch as had lately held their places before; without regarding any diſtance of time, which was otherwiſe required. The old *Fabius* became Lieutenant unto his Son: which was perhaps the reſpect, that moſt commended his Son unto the place. It is noted, That when the old man came into the Camp, and his Son rode forth to meet him: eleven of the twelve Lictors, which carried an Axe with a bundle of Rods before the Conſul, ſuffered him, in regard of due reverence, to paſs by them on horſe-back, which was againſt the cuſtom. But the Son perceiving this, commanded the laſt of his Lictors to note it: who thereupon bade the old *Fabius* alight, and come to the Conſul on his feet. The Father cheerfully did ſo; ſaying, *It was my mind, Son, to make tryal, whether thou didſt underſtand thy ſelf to be Conſul.* *Caſſius Altinius* a wealthy Citizen of *Arpi*, who after the battel at *Canne*, had holpen the *Carthagini-*

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an into that Town, ſeeing now the fortune of the *Romans* to amend, came privily to this Conſul *Fabius*, and offered to render it back unto him, if he might be therefore well rewarded. The Conſul purpoſed to follow old examples; and to make this *Altinius* a pattern to all Traitors; uſing him as *Camillus* and *Fabricius* had done thoſe that offered their faithful ſervice againſt the *Faliſci*, and King *Pyrrhus*. But Q. *Fabius* the Father, was of another opinion: and ſaid, it was a matter of dangerous conſequence, That it ſhould be thought more ſafe to revolt from the *Romans*, than to turn unto them. Wherefore it was concluded, that he ſhould be ſent to the Town of *Cales*, and there kept as priſoner; until they could better reſolve, what to do with him, or what uſe to make of him. *Hannibal* underſtanding that *Altinius* was gone, and among the *Romans*, took it not ſorrowfully; but thought this a good occaſion to ſeize upon all the mans riches, which were great. Yet that he might ſeem rather ſevere, than covetous, he ſent for the wife and children of *Altinius* into his Camp: where having examined them by torment, partly concerning the departure and intentions of this fugitive, partly, and more ſtrictly, about his riches, what they were, and where they lay, he condemned them as partakers of the treaſon, to be burnt alive; and took all their goods unto himſelf. *Fabius* the Conſul ſhortly after came to *Arpi*: which he won by *Scalado*, in a ſtormy and rainy night. 5000 of *Hannibals* Souldiers lay in the Town; and of the *Arpines* themſelves, there were about 3000. Theſe were thruſt foremoſt by the *Carthaginian* Garriſon; when it was underſtood, that the *Romans* had gotten over the Wall, and broken open a Gate. For the Souldiers held the Townſmen ſuſpected; and therefore thought it no wiſdom to truſt them at their backs. But after ſome little reſiſtance, the *Arpines* gave over fight, and entertained parley with the *Romans*: proteſting, they had been betrayed by their Princes; and were become ſubject to the *Carthaginians*, againſt their wills. In proceſs of this diſcourſe, the *Arpine* Prætor went unto the *Roman* Conſul: and receiving his faith for ſecurity of the Town, preſently made head againſt the Garriſon. This notwithſtanding, like it is that *Hannibals* men continued to make good reſiſtance. For when almoſt 1000 of them that were *Spaniards*, offered to leave their companions, and ſerve on the *Romans* ſide, it was yet covenanted, that the *Carthaginians* ſhould be ſuffered to paſs forth quietly, and return to *Hannibal*. This was performed: and ſo *Arpi* became *Roman* again, with little other loſs, than of him that had betrayed it. About the ſame time *Cliternum* was taken by *Sempronius Tuditanus* one of the Prætors: and unto *Cneus Fulvius*, another of the Prætors, 112 Gentlemen of *Capua* offered their ſervice; upon no other condition, than to have their goods reſtored unto them, when their City ſhould be recovered by the *Romans*. This was a thing of ſmall importance: but conſidering the general hatred of the *Campans* towards *Rome*, it ſerved to diſcover the inclination of the *Italians* in thoſe times; and how their affections recoyled from *Hannibal*, when there was no appearance of thoſe mighty ſuccours, that had been promiſed from *Carthage*. The *Conſentines* alſo, and the *Thurines*, people of the *Brutians*, which had yielded themſelves to *Hannibal*, returned again to their old allegiance. Others would have followed their example, but that one *L. Pomponius*, who of a Publican had made himſelf a Captain, and gotten reputation by ſome petty exploits in forraging the Country, was ſlain by *Hanno*; with a great multitude of thoſe that followed him. *Hannibal* in the mean while had all his care bent upon *Tarentum*; which if he could take, it ſeemed that it would ſtand him in good ſtead, for drawing over that help out of *Macedon*, which his *Carthaginians* failed to ſend. Long he waited ere he could bring his deſire to paſs: and being loth to hazard his forces, where he hoped to prevail by intelligence; he contented himſelf with taking in ſome poor Towns of the *Salentines*. At length, his Agents within *Tarentum*, found means to accompliſh their purpoſe, and his wiſh. One *Phileas*, that was of their conſpiracy, who lay at *Rome* as Embaſſadour, practiſing with the Hoſtages of the *Tarentines*, and ſuch as had the keeping of them, conveyed them by night out of the City. But he and his company the next day were ſo cloſely purſued, that all of them were taken, and brought back to *Rome*: where they ſuffered death as Traytors. By reaſon of this cruelty, or ſeverity, the people of *Tarentum* grew to hate the *Romans* more generally and earneſtly than before. As for the Conſpirators, they followed their buſineſs the more diligently, as knowing what reward they were to expect, if their intention ſhould happen to be diſcovered. Wherefore they ſent again to *Hannibal*; and acquainting him with the manner of their plot, made the ſame compoſition with him for the *Tarentines*, which they of *Capua* had made before. *Nico*, and *Philomenes*, two of the chief among them, uſed much to go forth of the Town on hunting by night; as if they durſt not take their pleaſure by day, for fear of the *Carthaginians*. Seldom or never they miſſed of their game: for the *Carthaginians* prepared it ready for their hands, that they might not ſeem to have been abroad upon other occaſion: From the Camp of *Hannibal* it was about three dayes journey to *Tarentum*, if he ſhould have marched thither with his whole Army. This cauſed his long abode in one place the leſs to be ſuſpected: as alſo, to make his enemies the more ſecure, he cauſed it to be given out, that he was ſick. But when the *Romans* within *Tarentum*, were grown careleſs of ſuch his neighbourhood, and the Conſpirators had ſet their buſineſs in order; he took with him 10000 the moſt expedite of his horſe and foot; and long before break of day, made all ſpeed thitherward. 80 light horſe of the *Numidians* ran a great way before him, beating all the wayes, and killing any that they met, for fear leſt he, and his troop following him, ſhould be diſcovered. It had been often the manner of ſome few *Numidian* horſe, to do the like in former times. Wherefore the *Roman* Governour, when he heard tell in the evening, that ſome *Numidians* were abroad in the fields, took it for a ſign, that *Hannibal* was not as yet diſlodged; and gave order, that ſome companies ſhould be ſent out the next morning, to ſtrip them of their booty, and ſend them gone. But when it grew dark night; *Hannibal*, guided by *Philomenes*, came cloſe to the Town: where, according to the tokens agreed upon, making a light to ſhew his arrival; *Nico*, that was within the Town, anſwered him with another light, in ſign that he was ready. Preſently *Nico* began to ſet upon one of the Gates, and to kill the watchmen. *Philomenes* went toward another gate: and whiſtling (as was his manner) called up the Porter; bidding him make haſte, for that he had killed a great Bore, ſo heavy, that ſcarce two men could ſtand under it. So the Porter opened the wicket: and forthwith entred two young men, loaden with the Bore; which *Hannibal* had prepared large enough, to be worthy the looking on. While the Porter ſtood wondring at the largeneſs of the beaſt, *Philomenes* ran him through with his Bore-ſpear: and letting in ſome 30 armed men, fell upon all the watch; whom when he had

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ſlain, he entred the great gate. So the Army of *Hannibal* entring *Tarentum* at two Gates, went directly towards the Market place, where both parts met. Thence they were diſtributed by their General, and ſent into all quarters of the City, with *Tarentines* to be their guides. They were commanded to kill all the *Romans*, and not to hurt the Citizens. For better performance hereof, *Hannibal* willed the Conſpirators, that when any of their friends appeared in ſight, they ſhould bid him be quiet, and of good cheer. All the Town was in an uproar: but few could tell what the matter meant. A *Roman* trumpet was unskilfully ſounded by a *Greek* in the Theatre: which helped the ſuſpicion, both of the *Tarentines*, that the *Romans* were about to ſpoil the Town; and of the *Romans*, that the Citizens were in commotion. The Governour fled into the Port: and taking boat, got into the Citadel, that ſtood in the mouth of the Haven; whence he might eaſily perceive the next morning, how all had paſſed. *Hannibal* aſſembling the *Tarentines*, gave them to underſtand, what good affection he bore them; inveighing bitterly againſt the *Romans*, as tyrannous oppreſſours; and ſpake what elſe he thought fit for the preſent. This done, and having gotten ſuch ſpoil as was to be had of the Souldiers goods in the Town, he addreſſed himſelf againſt the Citadel; hoping that if the Garriſon would ſally out, he might give them ſuch a blow, as ſhould make them unable to defend the Piece. According to his expectation it partly fell out. For when he began to make his approaches, the *Romans* in a bravery ſallying forth, gave charge upon his men: who fell back of purpoſe according to direction, till they had drawn on as many as they could, and ſo far from their ſtrength, as they durſt adventure. Then gave *Hannibal* a ſign to his *Carthaginians*, who lay prepared ready for the purpoſe: and fiercely ſetting upon the Enemy, drave him back with great ſlaughter, as faſt as he could run; ſo that afterwards he durſt not iſſue forth. The Citadel ſtood upon a Demi-Iſland, that was plain ground; and fortified only with a Ditch and Wall againſt the Town, whereunto it was joyned by a cawſey. This cawſey *Hannibal* intended to fortifie in like ſort againſt the Citadel; to the end that the *Tarentines* might be able, without his help, to keep themſelves from all danger thence. His work in few dayes went ſo well forward, without impediment from the beſieged, that he conceived hope of winning the piece it ſelf, by taking a little more pains. Wherefore he made ready all ſorts of engines, to force the place. But whil'ſt he was buſied in his works, there came by Sea a ſtrong ſupply from *Metapontum*: which took away all hope of prevailing; and made him return to his former counſel. Now foraſmuch as the *Tarentine* fleet lay within the haven, and could not paſs forth, whil'ſt the *Romans* held the Citadel: it ſeemed likely that the Town would ſuffer want, being debar'd of accuſtom'd trade and proviſions by Sea: whil'ſt the *Roman* garriſon by help of their ſhipping, might eaſily be relieved, and enabled to hold out. Againſt this inconvenience, it was rather wiſhed by the *Tarentines*, than any way hoped, that their fleet could get out of the haven; to guard the mouth of it, and cut off all ſupply from the Enemy. *Hannibal* told them, that this might well be done: for that their Town ſtanding in plain ground, and their ſtreets being fair and broad, it would be no hard matter to draw the Gallies over land, and lanch them into the Sea without. This he undertook, and effected: whereby the *Roman* garriſon was reduced into great neceſſity; though with much patience it held out, and found *Hannibal* oftentimes otherwiſe buſied, than his affairs required.

Thus with mutual loſs on both ſides, the time paſſed: and the *Roman* forces, growing daily ſtronger, *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, with *Appius Claudius*, lately choſen Conſuls, prepared to beſiege the great City of *Capua*. 23 Legions the *Romans* had now armed. This was a great and haſty growth from that want of men, and of all neceſſaries, whereinto the loſs at *Cannæ* had reduced them. But to fill up theſe Legions, they were fain to take up young Boyes that were under ſeventeen years of age: and to ſend Commiſſioners above fifty mile round, for the ſeeking out of ſuch Lads as might appear ſerviceable, and preſſing them to the Wars; making yet a Law, that their years of ſervice, whereinto they were bound by order of the City, ſhould be reckoned, for their benefit, from this their beginning ſo young, as if they had been of lawful age. Before the *Roman* Army drew near, the *Campans* felt great want of victual, as if they had already been beſieged. This happened partly by ſloth of the Nation, partly by the great waſte and ſpoil, which the *Romans* had in foregoing years made upon their grounds. They ſent therefore Embaſſadors to *Hannibal*; deſiring him to ſuccour them ere they were cloſed up, as they feared to be ſhortly. He gave them comfortable words, and ſent *Hanno* with an Army to ſupply their wants. *Hanno* appointed them a day; againſt which they ſhould be ready with all manner of carriages, to ſtore themſelves with victuals, that he would provide. Neither did he promiſe more than he performed. For he cauſed great quantity of grain, that had been laid up in Cities round about, to be brought into his Camp, three miles from *Beneventum*. Thither at the time appointed, came no more than forty Carts or Wagons, with a few pack-horſes, as if this had been enough to victual *Capua*. Such was the retchleſneſs of the *Campans*. *Hanno* was exceeding angry hereat: and told them they were worſe than very beaſts; ſince hunger could not teach them to have greater care. Wherefore he gave them a longer day; againſt which he made proviſion to ſtore them throughly. Of all theſe doings word was ſent to the *Roman* Conſuls, from the Citizens of *Beneventum*. Therefore *Q. Fulvius* the Conſul, taking with him ſuch ſtrength as he thought needful for the ſervice, came into *Beneventum* by night; where with diligence he made inquiry into the behaviour of the Enemy. He learned, that *Hanno* with part of his Army was gone abroad to make proviſions; that ſome two thouſand Wagons, with a great rabble of Carters and other Varlets, lay among the *Carthaginians* in their camp; ſo that little good order was kept: all thought being ſet upon a great harveſt. Hereupon the Conſul bade his men prepare themſelves to aſſail the enemies Camp: and leaving all his impediments within *Beneventum*, he marched thitherward ſo early in the morning, that he was there with the firſt break of day. By coming ſo unexpected, he had well near forced the Camp on the ſudden. But it was very ſtrong, and very well defended: ſo that the longer the fight continued, the leſs deſire had *Fulvius* to loſe more of his men in the attempt; ſeeing many of them caſt away, and yet little hope of doing good. Therefore he ſaid, that it were better to go more leiſurely and ſubſtantially to work; to ſend for his fellow-Conſul, with the reſt of their Army; and to lye between *Hanno* and home; that neither the *Campans* ſhould depart thence, nor the *Carthaginians* be able to relieve them. Being thus diſcourſing, and about to ſound the retrait; he ſaw that ſome of his men had gotten over the enemies Rampart. There was great booty; of (which was all one to the Souldiers) an opinion

of

of much that might be gotten in that Camp. Wherefore ſome Enſign-bearers threw their Enſigns over the Rampart, willing their men to fetch them out, unleſs they would endure the ſhame and diſhonour following ſuch a loſs. Fear of ſuch ignominy (than which nothing could be greater) made the Souldiers adventure ſo deſperately, that *Fulvius*, perceiving the heat of his men, changed his purpoſe, and encouraged thoſe that were ſomewhat backward, to follow the example of them that had already gotten over the Trenches. Thus the Camp was won: in which were ſlain above 6000; and taken above 7000, beſides all the ſtore of victuals, and carriages, with abundance of booty, that *Hanno* had lately gotten from the *Roman* Confederates. This miſadventure, and the nearer approach of both the Conſuls, made them of *Capua* ſend a pittiful Embaſſage to *Hannibal:* putting him in mind of all the love that he was wont to proteſt unto their City; and how he had made ſhew to affect it no leſs than *Carthage*. But now, they ſaid it would be loſt, as *Arpi* was lately, if he gave not ſtrong and ſpeedy ſuccour. *Hannibal* anſwered with comfortable words: and ſent away 2000 horſe, to keep their grounds from ſpoil, whil'ſt he himſelf was detained about *Tarentum*, partly by hope of winning the Citadel, partly by the diſpoſition, which he ſaw in many Towns adjoyning, to yield unto him. Among the Hoſtages of the *Tarentines*, that lately had fled out of *Rome*, and being overtaken, ſuffered death for their attempt; were ſome of the *Metapontines*, and other Cities of the *Greeks*, inhabiting that Eaſtern part of *Italy*, which was called of old, *Magna Gracia*. Theſe people took to heart the death of their Hoſtages, and thought the puniſhment greater than the offence. Wherefore the *Metapontines*, as ſoon as the *Roman* garriſon was taken from them to defend the Citadel of *Tarentum*, made no more ado, but opened their gates to *Hannibal*. The *Thurines* would have done the like, upon the like reaſon, had not ſome companies lain in their Town; which they feared that they ſhould not be able to maſter. Nevertheleſs, they helped themſelves by cunning: inviting to their gates *Hanno* and *Mago*, that were near at hand: againſt whom whileſt they proffered their ſervice to *Atinius* the *Roman* Captain, they drew him forth to fight, and recoyling from him, cloſed up their gates. A little formality they uſed in pretending fear, leſt the enemy ſhould break in together with the *Romans*, in ſaving *Atinius* himſelf, and ſending him away by Sea; as alſo in conſulting a ſmall while (becauſe perhaps many of their chief men were unacquainted with the practice) whether they ſhould yield to the *Carthaginian* or no. But this diſputation laſted not long: for they that had removed the chief impediment, eaſily prevailed in the reſt; and delivered up the Town to *Hanno* and *Mago*. This good ſucceſs, and hope of the like, detain'd *Hannibal* in thoſe quarters, whil'ſt the Conſuls fortifying *Beneventum* to ſecure their backs, addreſſed themſelves to the ſiege of *Capua*.

Many diſaſters befell the *Romans*, in the beginning of this great enterpriſe. *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, a very good man of War, that had of late been twice Conſul, was ſlain, either by treachery of ſome *Lucans*, that drew him into ambuſh, or by ſome *Carthaginian* ſtragglers, among whom he fell unawares. His body, or his head, was very honourably interred, either by *Hannibal* himſelf, or (for the reports agree not) by the *Romans*; to whom *Hannibal* ſent it. He was appointed to lye in *Beneventum*, there to ſecure the back of the Army that ſhould beſiege *Capua*. But his death hapned in an ill time, to the great hinderance of that buſineſs. The Volones or Slaves lately manumiſed, forſook their Enſigns, and went every one whither he thought good, as if they had been diſcharged by the deceaſe of their Leader; ſo that it asked ſome labour to ſeek them out, and bring them back into their Camp. Nevertheleſs, the Conſuls went forward with their work, and drawing near to *Capua*, did all acts of hoſtility, which they could. *Mago* the *Carthag.* and the Citizens of *Capua* gave them an hard welcome, wherein above 1500 *Romans* were loſt. Neither was it long ere *Hannibal* came thither, who fought with the Conſuls, and had the better; inſomuch that it cauſed them to diſlodge. They removed by night, and went ſeveral wayes: *Fulvius* towards *Cannæ*, *Claudius* into *Lucania*. *Hannibal* followed after *Claudius*, who having led him a great walk, fetcht a compaſs about, and returned to *Capua*. It ſo fell out, that one *Marcus Centenius Penula*, a ſtout man, and one that with good commendations had diſcharged the place of a Centurion, lay with an Army not far from thence, where *Hannibal* reſted, when he was weary of hunting after *Claudius*. This *Penula* had made great vaunts to the *Roman* Senate, of wonders which he would work, if he might be truſted with the leading of 5000 men. The Fathers were unwilling in ſuch a time, to reject the vertue of any good Souldier, how mean ſoever his condition were. Wherefore they gave him the charge of 8000: and he himſelf being a proper man, and talking bravely, gathered up ſo many voluntaries, as almoſt doubled his number. But meeting thus with *Hannibal*, he gave proof of the difference between a ſtout Centurion, and one able to command in chief. He and his fellows were all (in a manner) ſlain, ſcarce 1000 of them eſcaping. Soon after this, *Hannibal* had word, that *Cneus Fulvius* a *Roman* Prætor with 18000 men was in *Apulia*, very careleſs and a man inſufficient for the charge which he held. Thither therefore he haſted to viſit him: hoping to deal the better with the main ſtrength of *Rome*, which pointed at *Capua*, when he ſhould have cut off thoſe forces that lay in the Provinces about, under men of ſmall ability. Coming upon *Fulvius*, he found him and his men ſo jolly, that needs they would have fought the firſt night. Wherefore it was not to be doubted, what would happen the day following. So he beſtowed *Mago* with 3000 of his lighteſt armed, in places thereabout moſt fit for ambuſh. Then offered battel to *Fulvius*, he ſoon had him in the trap: whence he made him glad to eſcape alive; leaving all, ſave 2000 of his followers, dead behind him.

Theſe two great blows, received the one preſently after the other, much aſtoniſhed the *Romans*. Nevertheleſs, all care was taken, to gather up the ſmall reliques of the broken Armies; and that the Conſuls ſhould go ſubſtantially forwards with the ſiege of *Capua:* which was of great conſequence, both in matter of reputation, and in many other reſpects. The two Conſuls ſate down before the Town, and *C. Claudius Nero*, one of the Prætors, came with his Army from *Sueſſula*, to their aſſiſtance. They made Proclamation, That whoſoever would iſſue out of *Capua* before a certain day prefixed, ſhould have his pardon, and be ſuffered to enjoy all that unto him belonged: which day being paſt, there ſhould be no grace expected. This offer was contumeliouſly rejected; the *Capuans* relying on their own ſtrength, and the ſuccours attended from *Hannibal*. Before the City was cloſed up, they ſent meſſengers to the *Carthaginian*; which found him at *Brunduſium*. He had made a long journey in hope of gaining the *Tarentine* Citadel: of which expectation failing, he turned to *Brunduſium*, upon ad-

advertiſement that he ſhould be let in. There the *Capuans* met him, told him of their danger with earneſt words; and were with words as bravely re-comforted. He bade them conſider, how, a few daies ſince he had chaſed the Conſuls out of their fields; and told them, that he would preſently come thither again, and ſend the *Romans* going as faſt as before. With this good anſwer the Meſſengers returned, and hardly could get back into the City; which the *Romans* had almoſt intrenched round. As for *Hannibal* himſelf, he was of opinion, that *Capua*, being very well manned, and heartily devoted unto his friendſhip, would hold out a long time, and thereby give him leiſure to do what he thought requiſite among the *Tarentines*, and in thoſe Eaſtern parts of *Italy*; whilſt the *Roman* Army ſpent it ſelf in a tedious ſiege. Thus he lingred, and thereby gave the Conſuls time both to fortifie themſelves at *Capua*, and to diſpatch the election of new Magiſtrates in *Rome*; whilſt he himſelf purſued hopes that never found ſucceſs.

Claudius and *Fulvius*, when their term of office was expired, were appointed to continue the ſiege at *Capua*; retaining the ſame Armies, as Proconſuls. The Townſ-men often ſallied out, rather in bravery, than likelihood to work any matter of effect; the Enemy lying cloſe within his Trenches, as intending without other violence, to ſubdue them by famine. Yet againſt the *Campan* horſe (for their foot was eaſily beaten) the *Romans* uſed to thruſt out ſome Troops, that ſhould hold them skirmiſh. In theſe exerciſes the *Campans* uſually had the better, to the great grief of their proud Enemy; who ſcorned to take foil at the hands of ſuch Rebels. It was therefore deviſed that ſome active and couragious young men ſhould learn to ride behind the *Roman* men at arms; leaping up, and again diſmounting lightly, as occaſion ſerved. Theſe were furniſhed like the *Velites*, having each of them three or four ſmall darts: which alighting in time of conflict, they diſcharged thick upon the Enemies horſe; whom vanquiſhing in this kind of ſervice, they much diſheartened in the main. The time thus paſſing, and famine daily increaſing within the City, *Hannibal* came at length, not expected by the *Romans*: and taking a Fort of theirs, called *Galatia*, fell upon their Camp. At the ſame time the *Capuans* iſſued with their whole power, in as terrible a manner as they could deviſe: ſetting all their multitude of unſerviceable people by the walls, which with a loud noiſe of Pans and Baſons troubled thoſe that were occupied in fight. *Appius Claudius* oppoſing himſelf to the *Campans*, eaſily defended his Trenches againſt them; and ſo well repreſſed them, that he drave them at length back into their City. Nevertheleſs, in purſuing them to their gates, he received a wound that accompanied him in ſhort ſpace after to his grave. *Q. Fulvius* was held harder to this task by *Hannibal*, and the *Carthaginian* Army. The *Roman* Camp was even at point to have been loſt; and *Hannibal* his Elephants, of which he brought three and thirty, were either gotten within the rampart, or elſe (for the report varies) being ſome of them ſlain upon it, fell into the ditch, and filled it up in ſuch ſort, that their bodies ſerved as a bridge to the aſſailants. It is ſaid, that *Hannibal* in this tumult cauſed ſome fugitives that could ſpeak Latin well, to proclaim aloud as it were in the Conſuls name, That every one of the Souldiers ſhould ſhift for himſelf, and fly betimes unto the next hills, for as much as the Camp was already loſt. But all would not ſerve. The fraud was detected; and the Army having ſitten there ſo long, had at good leiſure ſtrongly intrenched it ſelf, ſo as little hope there was to raiſe the ſiege by force.

This did extremely perplex the *Carthaginian*. The purchaſe of *Capua* had (as was thought) withheld him from taking *Rome* it ſelf: and now his deſire of winning the *Tarentine* Citadel, had well-near loſt *Capua*; in reſpect of which, neither the Citadel, nor the City of *Tarentum* were to have been much regarded. Falling therefore into a deſperate anger with himſelf and his hard fortune, that of ſo many great victories he had made no greater uſe: on the ſudden he entertained an haughty reſolution, even to ſet upon *Rome*; and carry to the walls of that proud City, the danger of War that threatned *Capua*. This, he thought, would be a means, to draw the *Roman* Generals, or one of them at leaſt, unto the defence of their own home. If they roſe from the ſiege with their whole Army, then had he his deſire: If they divided their forces, then was it likely, that either he or the *Campans*, ſhould well enough deal with them a-part. Neither did he deſpair, that the terror of his coming might ſo aſtoniſh the multitude within *Rome*, as he might enter ſome part or other of the City. His only fear was, leſt the *Campans*, being ignorant of his purpoſe, ſhould think he had forſaken them; and thereupon forthwith yield themſelves to the Enemy. To prevent this danger, he ſent letters to *Capua* by a ſubtle *Numidian*; who running as a fugitive into the *Roman* Camp, conveyed himſelf thence over the innermoſt Trenches into the City. The Journey to *Rome* was to be performed with great celerity: no ſmall hope of good ſucceſs reſting in the ſuddenneſs of his arrival there. Wherefore he cauſed his men to have in a readineſs ten daies victuals; and prepared as many boats, as might in one night tranſport his Army over the River *Vulturnus*. This could not be done ſo cloſely, but that the *Roman* Generals, by ſome fugitives, had notice of his purpoſe. With this danger therefore they acquainted the Senate; which was therewith affected, according to the diverſity of mens opinions in a caſe of ſuch importance. Some gave counſel, to let alone *Capua*, yea, and all places elſe, rather than to put the Town of *Rome* into peril of being taken by the enemy. Others were ſo far from allowing of this, as they wondred how any man could think, that *Hannibal*, being unable to relieve *Capua*, ſhould judge himſelf ſtrong enough to win *Rome*; and therefore ſtoutly ſaid, That thoſe Legions, which were kept at home for defence of the City, would ſerve the turn well enough, to keep him out and ſend him thence, if he were ſo unwiſe as to come thither. But it was finally concluded, that Letters ſhould be ſent to *Fulvius* and *Claudius*, acquainting them perfectly with the forces, that at the preſent were in *Rome*: who, ſince they knew beſt what the ſtrength was which *Hannibal* could bring along with him, were beſt able to judge, what was needful to oppoſe him. So it was referred unto the diſcretion of theſe Generals at *Capua*, to do as they thought behoveful: and if it might conveniently be, neither to raiſe their ſiege, nor yet to put the City of *Rome* into much adventure. According to this Decree of the Senate, *Q. Fulvius* took 15000. foot, and 1000. horſe, the choice of his whole Army; with which he haſted toward *Rome*; leaving *App. Claudius*, who could not travel by reaſon of his wound, to continue the ſiege at *Capua*.

Hannibal having paſſed over *Vulturnus*, burnt up all his boats, and left nothing that might tranſport the Enemy, in caſe he ſhould offer to purſue or coaſt him. Then haſted he away toward *Rome*, ſtaying no longer in any one place, than he needs muſt. Yet found he the Bridges over *Liris* broken down by the people of *Fregellæ*: which, as it ſtopped him

a little on his way; ſo it made him the more grievouſly to ſpoil their Lands, while the Bridges were in mending. The nearer that he drew to *Rome*, the greater waſte he made: his *Numidians* running before him; driving the Country, & killing or taking multitudes of all ſorts and ages, that fled out of all parts round about. The Meſſengers of theſe news came a-pace, one after another into the City; ſome few bringing true advertiſements; but the moſt of them reporting the conceits of their own fear. All the Streets and Temples in *Rome* were peſtered with women, crying, and praying, and rubbing the Altars with their hair, becauſe they could do none other good. The Senators were all in the great Market, or place of Aſſembly; ready to give their advice, if it were asked, or to take directions given by the Magiſtrates. All places of moſt importance were ſtuffed with ſouldiers: it being uncertain, upon which part *Hannibal* would fall. In the midſt of this trepidation, there came news that *Quintus Fulvius*, with part of the Army from *Capua*, was haſting to the defence of the City. The Office of a Proconſul did expire, at his return home, and entring into the Gates of *Rome*. Wherefore, that *Fulvius* might loſe nothing by coming into the City, in time of ſuch need, an Act was paſſed, That he ſhould have equal power with the Conſuls during his abode there. He and *Hannibal* arrived at *Rome*, one ſoon after another: *Fulvius* having been long held occupied in paſſing over *Vulturnus*; and *Hannibal* receiving impediment in his journey, as much as the Country was able to give. The Conſuls, and *Fulvius* incamped without the Gates of *Rome*, attending the *Carthaginian*. Thither they called the Senate: and as the danger grew nearer and greater; ſo took they more careful and eſpecial order againſt all occurrences. *Hannibal* came to the River *Anio*, or *Anien*, three miles from the Town; whence he advanced with 2000. horſe, and rode along a great way under the Walls, viewing the ſite thereof, and conſidering how he might beſt approach it. But he either went, or (as the *Roman* Story ſaith) was driven away, without doing or receiving any hurt. Many tumults roſe in this while among the people; but were ſuppreſſed by the care and diligence of the Senators. Above the reſt, one accident was both troubleſom, and not without peril. Of *Numidians* that had ſhifted aſide, and fallen (upon ſome diſpleaſures) from *Hannibal* to the *Romans*, there were ſome 1200. then in *Rome*; which were appointed by the Conſuls, to paſs thorow the Mown, from the Tount *Aventine*, to the Gate *Colliatna*, where it was thought that their ſervice might be uſeful, among broken waies, and Garden-walls lying in the Suburbs. The faces of theſe men, and their furniture, wherein they differed not from the followers of *Hannibal*, bred ſuch miſtaking, as cauſed a great uproar among the people: all crying out that *Aventine* was taken, and the Enemy gotten within the walls. The noiſe was ſuch, that men could not be informed of the truth: and the ſtreets were ſo full of cattel, and husbandmen, which were fled thither out of the Villages adjoyning, that the paſſage was ſtopt up: and the poor *Numidians* pitifully beaten from the houſe tops, with ſtones and other weapons that came next to hand, by the deſperate multitude, that would have run out at the Gates, had it not been certain who lay under the Walls. To remedy the like inconveniencies, it was ordained, *That all which had been Dictators, Conſuls, or Cenſors, ſhould have authority as Magiſtrates, till the Enemy departed.* The day following *Hannibal* paſſed over *Anien*, and preſented battel to the *Romans*, who did not wiſely if they undertook it. It is ſaid, that a terrible ſhowre of rain, cauſed both *Romans* and *Carthaginians* to return into their ſeveral Camps, and that this happened two daies together, the weather breaking up and clearing as ſoon as they were departed aſunder: certain it is; that *Hannibal*, who had brought along with him no more than ten daies proviſion, could not endure to ſtay there, until his victuals were all ſpent. In which regard the *Romans*, if they ſuffered him to waſte his time and proviſions, knowing that he could not abide there long, did as became well adviſed men: if they offered to fight with him, and either had the better, or were parted (as is ſaid) by ſome accident of weather, the commendations muſt be given to their fortune. The terror of *Hannibals* coming to the City, how great ſo ever it was at the firſt, yet after ſome leiſure, and better notice taken of their forces, which appeared leſs than the firſt apprehenſion had formed them, was much and ſoon abated. Hereupon it helped well, that at the ſame time the Supply appointed for *Spain*, after the death of the two *Scipio's*, were ſent out of the Town, and went forth at the Gate, whilſt one *Carthaginian* lay before another. In all *Pancik terrours*, as they are called, whereof there is either no cauſe known, or no cauſe anſwerable to the greatneſs of the ſudden conſternation; it is a good remedy to do ſomewhat quite contrary to that which the danger would require, were it ſuch as men have faſhioned it in their amazed conceits. Thus did *Alexander* cauſe his ſouldiers to diſarm themſelves, when they were all on a ſudden in a great fear of they wiſt not what. And thus did *Clearchus* pacifie a fooliſh uproar in his Army, by proclaiming a reward unto him that could tell who had ſent the Aſs into the Camp. But in this preſent example of the *Romans*, appears withall a great magnanimity; whereby they ſuſtained their reputation, and augmented it no leſs, than by this bold attempt of *Hannibal* it might ſeem to have been diminiſhed. Neither could they more finely have checked the glorious conceits of their enemy, and taken away the diſgrace of that fear, which clouded their valour at his firſt coming; than by making ſuch demonſtrations, when once they had recovered ſpirit, how little they eſteemed him. To this purpoſe therefore that very piece of ground, on which the *Carthaginian* lay encamped, was ſold in *Rome*: and ſold it was nothing under the value, but at as good a rate, as if it had been in time of peace. This dignity coming to his ear, incenſed *Hannibal* ſo much, that he made port-ſale of the Silver-ſmiths ſhops, which were near about the Market or Common place in *Rome*; as if his own title to the houſes within the Town were no whit worſe, than any *Roman* Citizens could be unto that piece of ground, whereon he raiſed his Tent. But this counter-practice was nothing worth. The *Romans* did ſeek to manifeſt that aſſurance which they juſtly had conceived; *Hannibal*, to make ſhew of continuing in an hope, which was already paſt. His victuals were almoſt ſpent: and of thoſe ends, that he had propoſed unto himſelf, this Journey had brought forth none other, than the fame of his much daring. Wherefore he brake up his Camp: and doing what ſpoil he could to the *Roman* Territory, without ſparing religious places, wherein wealth was to be gotten, he paſſed like a tempeſt over the Country, and ran toward the Eaſtern Sea ſo faſt, that he had almoſt taken the City *Rhegium* before his arrival was feared or ſuſpected. As for *Capua*, he gave it loſt: and is likely to have curſed the whole faction of *Hanno*, which thus diſabled him to relieve that fair City, ſince he had no other way to vent his grief.

Q. Fabius returning back to *Capua*, made Proclamation anew, what whoſo would yield before a certain

tain day, might safely do it. This, and the very return of *Fulvius*, without any more appearance of *Hannibal*, gave the *Capuans* to understand, that they were abandoned, and their case desperate. To trust the *Roman* pardon proclaimed, every mans conscience of his own evil deserts, told him, that it was a vanity: and some faint hope was given by *Hanno* and *Bostar*, Captains of the *Carthaginian* Garrison within the Town, that *Hannibal* should come again, if means could only be found, how to convey such Letters unto him as they would write. The carriage of the Letters was undertaken by some *Numidians*, who running as fugitives, out of the Town into the *Roman* Camp, waited fit opportunity to make an escape thence with their packets. But it happened ere they could convey themselves away, that one of them was detected by an harlot following him out of the Town; and the Letters of *Bostar* and *Hanno* were taken and opened, containing a vehement entreaty unto *Hannibal*, that he would not thus forsake the *Capuans* and them. For (said they) we came not hither to make War against *Rhegium* and *Tarentum*, but against the *Romans*: whose Legions, wheresoever they lye, there also should the *Carthaginian* Army be ready to attend them; and by taking such a course, have we gotten those victories at *Trebia*, *Thrasymene*, and *Cannæ*. In fine, they besought him, that he would not dishonour himself, and betray them to their enemies, by turning another away; as if it were his only care, that the City should not be taken in his full view; promising to make a desperate sally, if he would once more adventure to set upon the *Roman* Camp. Such were the hopes of *Bostar* and his fellow.

But *Hannibal* had already done his best; and now began to faint under the burden of that War, wherein as afterward he protested he was vanquished by *Hanno* and his Persians, in the *Carthaginian* Senate, rather than by any force of *Rome*. It may well be, as a thing incident in like cases, that some of those which were besieged in *Capua*, had been sent ever by the *Hannonians*, to observe the doings of *Hannibal*, and to check his proceedings. If this were so, justly might they curse their own malice, which had cast them into this remediless necessity. Howsoever it were, the Letters directed unto *Hannibal*, fell (as is shewed) into the *Roman* Proconsuls hands; who cutting off the hands of all such counterfeit fugitives, as carried such messages, whipt them back into the Town. This miserable spectacle brake the hearts of the *Campans*, so that the multitude crying out upon the Senate, with menacing terms, caused them to assemble and consult, about the yielding up of *Capua* unto the *Romans*. The bravest of the Senators and such as a few years since, had been most forward in joyning with *Hannibal*, understood well enough whereunto the matter tended. Wherefore one of them invited the rest home to supper; telling them, that when they had made good chear, he would drink to them such an health, as should set them free from that cruel revenge, which the Enemies sought upon their bodies. About seven and twenty of the Senators there were, that liking well of this motion, ended their lives together by drinking poyson. All the rest hoping for more mercy than they had deserved, yielded simply to discretion. So one of the Town-gates was set open; whereat a *Roman* Legion, with some other Companies, entring, disarmed the Citizens; apprehended the *Carthaginian* Garrison; and commanded all the Senators of *Capua* to go forth into the *Roman* Camp. At their coming thither, the Proconsuls laid Irons upon them all, and commanding them to tell what store of gold and silver they had at home, sent them into safe custody; some to *Cales*, others to *Theanum*. Touching the general multitude, they were reserved unto the discretion of the Senate, yet so hardly used by *Fulvius* in the mean while, that they had little cause of hope or comfort in this adversity. *Ap. Claudius* was brought even to the point of death, by the wound which he had lately received; yet was he not inexorable to the *Campans*; as having loved them well in former times, and having given his Daughter in marriage to that *Pacuvius*, of whom he spake before. But this facility of his Colleague made *Fulvius* the more hasty in taking vengeance; for fear, lest upon the like respects, the *Roman* Senate might prove more gentle, than he thought behoveful to the common safety, and honour of their estate. Wherefore he took the pains to ride by night unto *Theanum*, and from thence to *Cales*; where he caused all the *Campan* prisoners to suffer death; binding them to stakes, and scourging them first a good while with rods; after which he struck off their heads.

This terrible example of vengeance, which the *Carthaginians* could not hinder, made all Towns of *Italy* the less apt to follow the vain hope of the *Campans*; and bred a general inclination, to return upon good conditions to the *Roman* side. The *Atellans*, *Calatines* and *Sabatines*, people of the *Campans*, that in the former change had followed the fortune of *Capua*, made also now the like submission, for very fear and want of ability to resist. They were therefore used with the like rigour, by *Fulvius*; who dealt so extremely with them all, that he brought them into desperation. Wherefore some of their young Gentlemen burning with fire of revenge got into *Rome*; where they found means by night time, to set on fire many houses, that a great part of the City was like to have been consumed. The beginning of the fire in divers places at once, argued that it was no casualty. Wherefore liberty was proclaimed unto any slave and other sufficient reward for any free-men, that should discover who those Incendiaries were. Thus all came out; and the *Campans* being detected by a slave of their own (to whom, above his liberty promised, was given about the summ of an hundred marks) had the punishment answerable to their deserts. *Fulvius* hereby being more and more incensed against this wretched people held them in a manner as prisoners within their Walls: and this extreme severity caused them at length to become suppliants unto the *Roman* Senate; that some period might be set unto their miseries. That whereupon the Senators resolved in the end, was worse than all that which they had suffered before. Only two poor women in *Capua* (of which one had been an harlot) were found not guilty of the late rebellion. The rest were, some of them, with their wives and children sold for slaves, and their goods confiscated; others laid in prison, and reserved to further deliberation: but the generality of them, commanded to depart out of *Campania* by a certain day, and confined unto several places, as best liked the angry victors. As for the Town of *Capua*, it was suffered to stand, in regard of the beauty and commodious site; but no corporation or form of polity was allowed to be therein; only a *Roman* Provost was every year sent to govern over those that should inhabit it, and to do justice. This was the greatest act, and most important, hitherto done by the people of *Rome*, after many great losses in the present War. After this, the glory of *Hannibal* began to shine with a more dim light than before: his oyl being far spent and that which should have revived his flame, being unfortunately shed; as shall be told in place convenient.

SECT. XV.

How the Carthaginians, *making a party in* Sardinia *and* Sicily, *held War againſt the* Romans *in thoſe Iſlands, and were overcome.*

WHilſt things paſſed thus in *Italy*, the commotions raiſed in *Sardinia* and *Sicily* by the *Carthaginians* and their friends, were brought to a quiet and happy end by the induſtrious valour of the *Romans*. The *Sardinian* rebellion was great and ſudden: above 30000 being up in arms, ere the *Roman* forces could arrive there to ſuppreſs it. One *Harſicoras* with his Son *Hyoſtus*, mighty men in that Iſland, were the Ring-leaders; being incited by *Hanno* a *Carthaginian*, that promiſed the aſſiſtance of his Country. Neither were the *Carthaginians* in this enterpriſe ſo careleſs, as in the reſt of their main undertakings, about the ſame time. Yet it had been better if their care had been directed unto the proſecution of that main buſineſs in *Italy*; whereon this and all other hopes depended. For it would have ſufficed, if they could have hindred the *Romans* from ſending an Army into *Sardinia*. *Harſicoras* with his followers might well enough have ſerved to drive out *Quintus Mutius* the Prætor; who lay ſick in the Province; and not more weak in his own body, than in his train. But whilſt they ſought revenge of that particular injury, whereof the ſenſe was moſt grievous; they neglected the opportunity of requiting thoſe that had done them wrong, and of the ſecuring themſelves from all injuries in the future. Their fortune alſo in this enterpriſe was ſuch, as may ſeem to have encouraged them from being at the like charge, in caſes of more importance. For, whereas they ſent over *Aſdrubal* ſurnamed *the Bald*, with a competent Fleet and Army, aſſiſted in this expedition by *Hanno* the Author of the rebellion, and by *Mago* a Gentleman of the *Barchine* houſe, and near kinſman to *Hannibal*; it ſo fell out, that the whole Fleet, by extremity of foul weather, was caſt upon the *Baleares*; ſo beaten, and in ſuch evil plight, that the *Sardinians* had even ſpent their hearts, and were in a manner quite vanquiſhed, ere theſe their friends could arrive to ſuccour them.

Titus Manlius was ſent from *Rome* with 22000 foot, and 1200 horſe, to ſettle the eſtate of that Iſland, which he had taken in, and annexed unto the *Roman* Dominion, long before this, in his Conſulſhip. It was a laudable cuſtom of the *Romans*, to preſerve and uphold in their ſeveral Provinces, the greatneſs and reputation of thoſe men, and their families, by whom each Province had been firſt ſubdued unto their Empire. If any injury were done unto the Provincials, if any grace were to be obtained from the Senate, or whatſoever accident required the aſſiſtance of a Patron; the firſt conqueror, and his race after him, were the moſt ready and beſt approved means, to procure the benefit of the people ſubdued. Hereby the *Romans* held very ſure intelligence in every Province, and had always in a readineſs fit men to reclaim their ſubjects, if they fell into any ſuch diſorder, as would otherwiſe have required a greater charge and trouble. The coming of *Manlius* retained in obedience all that were not already broken too far out. Yet was *Harſicoras* ſo ſtrong in field, that *Manlius* was compelled to arm his Mariners: without whom he could not have made up that number of 22000, whereof we have ſpoken before: he landed at *Calaris*, or *Carallis*, where mooring his ſhips, he paſſed up into the Country, and ſought out the enemy. *Hyoſtus*, the Son of *Harſicoras*, had then the command of the *Sardinian* Army left unto him by his Father, who was gone abroad into the Country, to draw in more friends to their ſide. This young Gentleman would needs adventure to get honour, by giving battel to the *Romans* at his own diſcretion. So he raſhly adventured to fight with an old Souldier; by whom he received a terrible overthrow; and loſt in one day above thirty thouſand of his followers. *Hyoſtus* himſelf, with the reſt of his broken troops, got into *Cornus*, the chief Town of the Iſland; whither *Manlius* purſued them. Very ſoon after this deſeature came *Aſdrubal* with his *Carthaginians*; too late to win all *Sardinia* in ſuch haſte as he might have done, if the tempeſt had not hindred his voyage; yet ſoon enough, and ſtrong enough to ſave the Town of *Cornus*, and put a new ſpirit into the rebels. *Manlius* hereupon with-drew himſelf back to *Calaris*; where he had not ſtayed long, ere the *Sardinians* (ſuch of them as adhered to the *Roman* party) craved his aſſiſtance; their Country being waſted by the *Carthaginians*, and the rebels, with whom they had refuſed to joyn. This drew *Manlius* forth of *Calaris*; where, if he had ſtayed a little longer, *Aſdrubal* would have ſought him out with ſome blemiſh to his reputat ion. But the fame of *Aſdrubal* and his company, appears to have been greater than was their ſtrength. For after ſome trial made of them in a few skirmiſhes, *Manlius* adventured all to the hazard of a battel; wherein he ſlew twelve thouſand of the enemies; and took of the *Sardinians* and *Carthaginians* three thouſand. Four hours the battel laſted; and victory at length fell to the *Romans*, by the flight of the Iſlanders, whoſe courages had been broken in their unproſp rous fight, not many days before. The death of young *Hyoſtus*, and of his Father *Harſicoras*, that ſlew himſelf for grief, together with the captivity of *Aſdrubal* himſelf, with *Mago* and *Hanno* the *Carthaginians*, made the victory the more famous. The vanquiſhed Army flhd into *Cornus*, whither *Manlius* followed them, and in ſhort ſpace won the Town. All other Cities of the Iſle that had rebelled, following the example of *Cornus*, yielded unto the *Roman*; who, impoſing upon them ſuch increaſe of tribute, or other puniſhment, as beſt ſorted with the nature of their ſeveral offences, or their ability to pay, returned back to *Calaris* with a great booty, and from thence to *Rome* leaving *Sardinia* in quiet.

The war in *Sicily* was of greater length, and every way more burdenſome to *Rome*: as alſo the victory brought more honour and profit, for that the *Romans* became thereby, not only ſavers of their own, as in *Sardinia*, but Lords of the whole Country, by annexing the City and Dominion of *Syracuſe*, to that which they enjoyed before. Soon after the battel at *Canne*, the old King of *Syracuſe* dyed; who had continued long a ſtedfaſt friend unto the *Romans*, and greatly relieved them in this preſent war. He left his Kingdom to *Hieronymus* his grand-child, that was about fifteen years of age; *Gelo* his Son, that ſhould have been his heir, being dead before. To this young King his ſucceſſor, *Hiero* appointed fifteen tutors; of which the principal were *Andronodorus*, *Zoilus*, and *Themiſtius*; who had married his daughters, or the daughters of *Gelo*. The reſt were ſuch, as he judged moſt likely to preſerve the Kingdom, by the ſame Art, whereby himſelf had gotten, and ſo long kept it. But within a little while, *Andronodorus* waxing weary of ſo many Coadjutors, began to commend the ſufficeincy of the young Prince, as extraordinary in one of his years; and ſaid that he

was

was able to rule the Kingdom without help of any Protector. Thus by giving over his own charge, he cauſed others to do the like; hoping thereby to get the King wholly into his hands; which came to paſs in a ſort as he deſired. For *Hieronymus*, laying aſide all care of government, gave himſelf wholly over to his pleaſures: or, if he had any regard of his Royal dignity, it was only in matter of exteriour ſhew; as wearing a Diadem, with ornaments of purple, and being attended by an armed guard. Hereby he offended the eyes of his people, that had never ſeen the like in *Hiero*, or in *Gelo* his Son. But much more he offended them, when by his inſolent behaviour, ſuitable to his outward pomp, he gave proof, that in courſe of life, he would revive the memory of Tyrants dead long ſince, from whom he took the pattern of his habit. He grew proud, luſtful, cruel, and dangerous to all that were about him; ſo that ſuch of his late tutors as could eſcape him by flight, were glad to live in baniſhment: the reſt, being moſt of them put to death by the Tyrant; many of them dying by their own hands, to avoid the danger of his diſpleaſure, that ſeemed worſe than death it ſelf. Only *Andronodorus*, *Zoilus*, and one *Thraſo*, continued in grace with him, and were his Counſellors, but not of his Cabinet. Theſe, howſoever they agreed in other points, were at ſome diſſention about the main point of adhering, either to the *Romans*, or to the *Carthaginians*. The two former of them were wholly for the Kings pleaſure, which was ſet on change: but *Thraſo*, having more regard of his honour and profit, was very earneſt to continue the amity with *Rome*. Whil'ſt as yet it remained ſomewhat doubtful which way the King would incline, a conſpiracy againſt his perſon was detected by a Groom of his; to whom one *Theodorus* had broken the matter. *Theodorus* hereupon was apprehended, and tormented; thereby to wring out of him the whole practice, and the names of the undertakers. Long it was ere he would ſpeak any thing: but yielding (as it ſeemed) in the end, unto the extremity of the torture, he confeſſed, that he had been ſet on by *Thraſo*; whom he appeached of the treaſon, together with many more, that were near in love or place unto *Hieronymus*. All theſe therefore were put to death, being innocent of the crime wherewith they were charged. But they that were indeed the Conſpirators, walked boldly in the ſtreets, and never ſhrunk for the matter: aſſuring themſelves, that the reſolution of *Theodorus* would yield to no extremity. Thus they all eſcaped, and ſoon after found means to execute their purpoſe. The King himſelf, when *Thraſo* was taken out of the way, quickly reſolved upon ſiding with the *Carthaginians*, whereto he was very inclinable before. Young men, when firſt they grow maſters of themſelves, love to ſeem wiſer than their Fathers, by taking different Courſes. And the liberality of *Hiero* to the *Romans*, in their great neceſſity, had of late been ſuch as might have been termed exceſſive, were it not in regard of his providence; wherein he took order for his own eſtate, that depended upon theirs. But the young Nephew taking little heed of dangers far off, regarded only the things preſent; the weakneſs of *Rome*, the prevalent fortunes of *Carthage*, and the much money that his Grand-father had laid out in vain, to ſhoulder up a falling houſe. Wherefore he dealt with *Hannibal*; who readily entred into good correſpondence with him, that was maintained by *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, *Carthaginians* born, but Grand-children of a baniſhed *Syracuſian*. Theſe grew into ſuch favour with *Hieronymus*, that they drew him whither they liſted. So that when *App. Claudius* the *Roman* Prætor, hearing what was towards, made a motion of renewing the Confederacy, between the people of *Rome*, and the King of *Syracuſe*; his meſſengers were diſmiſſed with an open ſcoff. For *Hieronymus* would needs have them tell him the order of the fight at *Canna*, that he might thereby learn how to accommodate himſelf, ſaying, that he could hardly believe the *Carthaginians*; ſo wonderful was the victory, as they reported it. Having thus diſmiſſed the *Romans*, he ſent Embaſſadours to *Carthage*, where he concluded a league: with condition, at firſt, that a great part of the Iſland ſhould be annexed to his Dominion; but afterward, that he ſhould reign over all *Sicily*; and the *Carthaginians* reſt ſatisfied with what they could get in *Italy*. At theſe doings *Appius Claudius* did not greatly ſtir; partly for the indignities that were offered; partly for that it behoved not the *Romans* to entertain more quarrels than were enforced upon them by neceſſity; and partly (as may ſeem) for that the reputation, both of himſelf, and of his City, had received ſuch blemiſh, by that which happened unto him in his journey, as much diſcountenanced him when he came into *Sicily*, and forbad him to look big. The money that *Hiero* had beſtowed formerly upon the *Romans*, wherewith to relieve them in their neceſſity, this *Appius* was to carry back unto him; it being refuſed by the *Roman* Senate, with greater bravery than their preſent fortune would allow. But inſtead of returning the money with thanks, as he had been directed, and as it had been noiſed abroad that he ſhould do; the war againſt *Philip* King of *Macedon* (whereof we have ſpoken before) compelled the *Romans* to lay aſide vain-glory, and ſend word after him, that he ſhould conſign that money over to *Marcus Valerius*; of whoſe voyage into *Greece*, the City had not otherwiſe wherewith to bear the charge. This was done accordingly, and hereby *Claudius* (which name in the whole continuance of that Family is taxed with pride) his errand was changed, from a glorious oſtentation of the *Roman* magnanimity, into ſuch a pitiful tune of thankſgiving, as muſt needs have bred ſorrow and commiſeration in ſo true a friend as *Hiero*; or, if it were delivered after his death, matter of paſtime and ſcorn, in *Hieronymus* the new King.

But whil'ſt *Hieronymus* was more deſirous of war, than well reſolved how to begin it; his own death changed the form of things, and bred a great innovation in the State of *Syracuſe*; which thereby might have proſpered more than ever, had it been wiſely governed. *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, of whom we ſpake before, were ſent about the Country with two thouſand men, to ſolicite the Towns, and perſwade them to ſhake off their obedience to the *Romans*. The King himſelf with an Army of fifteen thouſand horſe and foot, went to *Leontium* a City of his own Dominion: hoping that the fame of his preparation, would make the whole Iſland fall to him in all haſte; and accept him for Soveraign. There the Conſpirators took him on the ſudden, as he was paſſing thorow a narrow ſtreet: and ruſhing between him and his guard, ſtruck him dead. Forthwith liberty was proclaimed; and the ſound of that word ſo joyfully anſwered by the *Leontines*, that the guard of *Hieronymus* had little courage to revenge their *Maſters* death. Yet, for fear of the worſt, a great largeſs was promiſed unto the Souldiers, with rewards unto their Captains; which wrought ſo effectually, that when many wicked acts of the murdered King were reckoned up, the Army as in deteſtation of his bad life, ſuffered his carkaſs to lye unburied. This news ran quickly to *Syracuſe*;

whither

whither ſome of the Conſpirators, taking alſo of the Kings horſes, poſted away; to ſignifie all that had paſſed, to ſtir up the people to liberty, and to prevent *Andronodorus*, if he or his followers would make offer to uſurp a tyranny. The *Syracuſians* hereupon preſently took arms, and made themſelves Maſters of their own City. *Andronodorus* on the other ſide fortified the Palace, and the Iſland; being yet uncertain what to do: between deſire of making himſelf a ſoveraign Lord, and fear of ſuffering puniſhment as a Tyrant, if his enterpriſe miſcarried. His wife *Demarata*, that was the daughter of *Hiero*, cheriſhed him in his hopes; putting him in mind of that well-known Proverb, which *Dionyſius* had uſed; *That a Tyrant ſhould keep his place, till he were haled out of it by the heels, and not ride away from it on horſe-back.* But fear, and better counſel, prevailed ſo far, that *Andronodorus*, having ſlept upon the matter, diſſembled his affections, and deferred his hope unto better opportunity. The next day he came forth, and made a ſpeech unto the people; telling them that he was glad to ſee, how prudently they behaved themſelves in ſo great a change; that he had ſtood in fear, leſt they would not have contained themſelves within the bounds of diſcretion; but rather have ſought to murder all without difference, that any way belonged to the Tyrant; and that, ſince he beheld their orderly proceeding, and their care, not to raviſh their liberty perforce, but to wed it unto them for ever; he was willingly come to them forth of his ſtrength, and ſurrendered up the charge committed unto him, by one that had been an evil Maſter both to him and them. Hereupon great joy was made, and Prætors choſen (as in former times) to govern the City, of which *Andronodorus* was one, and the chief. But ſuch was his deſire of Soveraignty, and ſo vehement were the inſtigations of his wife, that ſhortly he began to practiſe with *Hippocrates*, *Epicides*, and other Captains of the Mercenaries; hoping to make himſelf ſtrong by their help, that were leaſt pleaſed with the change. *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* had been with the *Syracuſian* Prætors, and told them, that being ſent from *Hannibal* to *Hieronymus*, they, according to inſtructions of their Captain, had done him, whil'ſt he lived, what ſervice they could; and that now they were deſirous to return home. They requeſted therefore that they might be friendly diſmiſſed, and with a convoy, that might keep them from falling into the hands of the *Romans*, and ſet them ſafe at *Locri*. This was eaſily granted; both for that the *Syracuſian* Magiſtrates were well contented to earn thanks of *Hannibal*, with ſuch a little courteſie; and for that they thought it expedient, to rid their Town quickly of this troubleſome couple, which were good Souldiers, and gracious with the Army, but otherwiſe lewd men. It was not the deſire of theſe two *Sicilians*, to be gone ſo haſtily as they made ſhew; they were more mindful of the buſineſs for which *Hannibal* had ſent them. Wherefore they inſinuated themſelves into the boſomes of ſuch as were moſt likely to fill the Army with tumult, eſpecially of the *Roman* fugitives, and thoſe that had cauſe to miſtruſt what ſhould become of themſelves, when the *Romans* and *Syracuſians* were come to agreement. Such inſtruments as theſe, *Andronodorus* had great need of: as alſo of many other, to help him in his dangerous attempt. He found *Themiſtius*, that had married *Harmonia*, the Siſter of *Hieronymus*, ready to take his part; as being carried with the like paſſions of his own, and of his wife. But ſeeking to increaſe the number of his adherents, he revealed to matter the one, that revealed all to the reſt of the Prætors. Hereupon it followed, that he, and *Themiſtius*, entring into the Senate, were ſlain out of hand: and afterward accuſed to the people, of all the evil which they had done, whil'ſt *Hieronymus* lived, as by his authority; and now ſince attempted, in ſeeking to uſurp the tyranny themſelves. It was alſo declared, that the daughters of *Hiero* and *Gelo* were acceſſary to this dangerous treaſon: and that the unquiet ſpirits of theſe women would never ceaſe to work, until they had recovered thoſe royal ornaments and Soveraign power, whereof their family was now diſpoſſeſſed. Theſe daughters therefore of *Hiero* and *Gelo* were alſo condemned to dye, and executioners preſently ſent by the enraged people, to take away their lives. *Demarata* and *Harmonia* had perhaps deſerved this heavy ſentence: but *Heraclea*, the daughter of *Hiero*, and wife of *Soſippus*, being altogther innocent, was murdered, together with her two young daughters, in the haſty execution of this raſh judgement. Her husband *Soſippus* was a lover of the Commonwealth; and in that reſpect ſo hated by *Hieronymus*, that being ſent Embaſſador to King *Ptolomy*, &c. he durſt not return home, but ſtayed in *Egypt* as a baniſhed man. This conſideration when it was too late, together with ſome pitiful accidents accompanying the ſlaughter, ſo affected the multitude, that (pardoning themſelves) all cryed out upon the Authors of ſo foul a butchery. Being thus incenſed againſt the Senate; and knowing not otherwiſe how to ſatisfie their anger, they called for an election of new Prætors, in the room of *Andronodorus* and *Themiſtius*, that were lately ſlain: meaning to ſubſtitute ſuch in their places, as the Senators ſhould have little cauſe to like. At the election were preſent a great rout, not only of the poorer Citizens, but of ſouldiers that preſſed into the throng. One of theſe named *Epicides* Prætor; another named *Hippocrates*: and the leſs that the old Prætors and Senators approved this nomination, the more eager was the multitude; and by a general cry forced them to be accepted. Theſe being made Prætors did what they could to hinder the agreement that was in hand, between the *Syracuſians* and the *Romans*. But having ſtriven in vain, and ſeeing that the people ſtood in fear of *Ap. Claudius*, and of *Marcellus* that was lately come into *Sicily*; they gave way unto the time, and ſuffered the old league of *Hiero* to be reconfirmed, which afterward they purpoſed to diſſolve by practice. The *Leontines* had ſome need of a garriſon; and to them was ſent *Hippocrates* the Prætor, attended by ſuch fugitives, and mercenary ſouldiers, as were moſt burdenſome to *Syracuſe*. Thither when he came, he began to do many acts of hoſtility againſt the *Romans*: firſt in ſecret, afterward more openly and boldly. *Marcellus*, rightly underſtanding the purpoſe of theſe two brethren, ſent word unto the *Syracuſians*, that they had already broken the league; and that the peace would never be kept ſincerely, until this turbulent pair of brethren were expelled the Iſland. *Epicides*, fearing to ſuſtain the blame of his brothers proceedings, and more deſirous to ſet forward the war, than to excuſe any breach of peace; went himſelf unto the *Leontines*, whom he perſwaded to rebel againſt the *Syracuſians*. For he ſaid, that ſince they had all of late ſerved one Maſter, there was little reaſon why the *Leontines* ſhould not be enfranchiſed by his death, as well as the *Syracuſians*; yea or much rather, all things conſidered; ſince in their ſtreets the Tyrant was ſlain, and liberty firſt proclaimed. Wherefore, ſince they of *Syracuſe* were not contented to enjoy the Freedom purchaſed among the *Leontines*; but thought it good reaſon, that they ſhould bear Dominion over thoſe

that

that had broken the Chain, wherewith both the one and the other were bound: his advice was, that ſuch their arrogancy ſhould be checked betimes, ere it could get any colour of right by preſcription. Hereunto occaſion was given by one article of the League, made of late by the *Romans* and *Syracuſians*. For it was agreed, *That all which had been ſubject to* Hiero *and* Hieronymus, *ſhould henceforth be Vaſſals unto the State of Syracuſe*. Againſt this article, if the *Leontines* would take exception, and thereby challenge their own due; *Epicides* told them, that in this novelty of change, they had fit opportunity to recover the freedom, which their fathers had loſt not many ages before. Neither was it unreaſonable, which this crafty *Carthaginian* propounded; if the *Leontines* had been ſubdued by the ſame hand, which took liberty from the *Syracuſians*. But ſeeing they had long ſince yielded unto *Syracuſe*, and been ſubject unto that City, by what form ſoever it was grounded; this claim of liberty was rather ſeaſonable, than juſt. Nevertheleſs, the motion of *Epicides* was highly approved: inſomuch that when meſſengers came ſoon after from *Syracuſe*, to rebuke the *Leontines*, for that which they had done againſt the *Romans*; and to denounce unto *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, that they ſhould get them gone, either to *Locri*, or whither elſe they liſted, ſo that they ſtayed not in *Sicily*: word was returned, That they of *Leontium* had not requeſted the *Syracuſians*, to make any bargains for them with the *Romans*, nor thought themſelves bound to obſerve the covenants, which others without warrant had made in their names. This peremptory anſwer was forthwith reported unto *Marcellus* by the *Syracuſians*; who offered him their aſſiſtance in doing juſtice upon the *Leontines* their Rebels; with condition, That when the Town was taken, it might be theirs again. *Marcellus* required no better ſatisfaction: but forthwith took the buſineſs in hand, which he diſpatched in one day. At the firſt aſſault *Leontium* was taken, all ſave the Caſtle; whereinto *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* fled: and ſtealing thence away by night, conveighed themſelves into the Town of *Herbeſus*. The firſt thing that *Marcellus* did, when he had won the Town, was the ſame, which other *Roman* Captains uſed after victory, to ſeek out the fugitive *Roman* ſlaves and renegado's, whom he cauſed all to dye: the reſt both of the Townſmen and Souldiers, he took to mercy, forbearing alſo to ſtrip or ſpoil them. But the fame of his doings was bruited after a contrary ſort. It was ſaid, that he had ſlain Man, Woman and Child; and put the Town to ſack. Theſe news met the *Syracuſian* Army upon the way, as it was going to joyn with *Marcellus*, who had ended his buſineſs before. About eight thouſand Mercenaries there were, that had been ſent forth of *Syracuſe*, under *Soſis* and *Dinomines*, two of the Prætors; to ſerve againſt the *Leontines* and other rebels. Theſe Captains were honeſt men, and well affected to their Country: but the Souldiers that followed them, had thoſe diſeaſes, with which all mercenaries are commonly infected. They took the matter deeply to heart, that their fellow ſouldiers (as now they termed thoſe againſt whom they went) had been ſo cruelly butchered: and hereupon they fell to mutiny; though what to demand, or with whom to be angry, they could not tell. The Prætors therefore thought it beſt, to turn their unquiet thoughts another way, and ſet them awork in ſome place elſe: for as much as at *Leontium* there was no need of their ſervice. So towards *Herbeſus* they marched; where lay *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, the architects of all this miſchief, deviſing what further harm they might do; but now ſo weakly accompanied, that they ſeemed unable to eſcape the puniſhments belonging to their offences paſt. Hereof the two brethren were no leſs well aware: and therefore adventured upon a remedy little leſs deſperate than their preſent caſe. They iſſued forth of *Herbeſus* unarmed, with Olive branches in their hands, in manner of Suppliants; and ſo preſented themſelves to the Army. Six hundred men of *Crete* were in the vant-guard; that had been well uſed by *Hieronymus*: and ſome of them greatly bound unto *Hannibal*, who had taken them priſoners in the *Italian* war, and lovingly diſmiſſed them. Theſe *Cretians* therefore welcomed the two brethren, and bade them be of good cheer, ſaying, That no man ſhould do them harm, as long as they could uſe their weapons. Herewithall the Army was at a ſtand; and the rumour of this accident ran ſwiftly from man to man, with general approbation. The Prætors thought to help the matter by ſeverity, which would not ſerve. For when they commanded theſe two traitors to be laid in Irons, the exclamation was ſo violent againſt them, that fain they were to let all alone, and return, uncertain what courſe to take, unto *Megara*, where they were lodged the night before. Thither when they came, *Hippocrates* deviſed a trick, whereby to help himſelf, and better the uncertain caſe wherein he ſtood. He cauſed Letters of his own penning, to be intercepted by ſome of his moſt truſty *Cretans*, directed (as they made ſhew) from the *Syracuſian* Prætors to *Marcellus*. The contents hereof were, That *Marcellus* had well done, in committing all to the ſword among the *Leontines*: but that it further behoved him, to make the like diſpatch of all the mercenaries belonging to *Syracuſe*; which were offenſive; all of them in general, to the liberty of the City; and the peace with *Rome*. When this counterfeit Epiſtle was openly rehearſed, the uproar was ſuch, that *Soſis* and his fellow Prætor, were glad to forſake the Camp, and fly for their lives. All the *Syracuſians* remaining behind, had been cut in pieces by the enraged Souldiers, if the two Artificers of the ſedition had not ſaved their lives; rather to keep them as pledges, and by them, to win their friends within the Town, than for any good will. They perſwaded alſo a miſchievous knave, that had ſerved amongſt the *Leontines*, to juſtifie the bruit of *Marcellus* cruelty, and to carry home the news to *Syracuſe*, as an eye-witneſs. This incenſed not only the multitude, but ſome of the Senate; and filled the whole Town with cauſeleſs indignation. In good time (ſaid ſome) was the avarice and cruelty of the *Romans* detected: who had they in like ſort gotten into *Syracuſe*, would have dealt much worſe, where their greedy appetites might have been tempted with a far greater booty. Whil'ſt they were thus diſcourſing, and deviſing how to keep out the wicked *Romans*, *Hippocrates* with his Army came to the gates, exhorting the Citizens to let him in, unleſs for want of help, they would be betrayed to their enemies. The Prætors, with the beſt and wiſeſt of the Senate, would fain have kept him out: but the violence of the ſouldiers to force a gate, was no whit greater, than the head-ſtrong fury of thoſe within the Town, that laboured to break it open. So he entred, and immediately fell upon the Prætors, whom (being forſaken by all men) he put to the ſword, and made ſlaughter of them and their followers till night. The next day he went openly to work: and, after the common example of Tyrants, gave liberty unto all ſlaves and priſoners; and being fortified with adherents of the worſt and baſeſt ſort, made himſelf and his brother Prætors, in Title, but in effect, Lords of *Syracuſe*.

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When *Marcellus* was advertiſed of this great alteration, he thought it no time for him to ſit ſtill, and attend the further iſſue. He ſent Embaſſadours to *Syracuſe*, that were not admitted into the Haven, but chaſed out as enemies. Then drew he near with his Army: and lodging within a mile and a half of the Town, ſent before him, ſome to require a parlee. Theſe were entertained without the walls by the two new Prætors: to whom they declared, That the *Romans* were come thither, not with purpoſe to do hurt, but in favour of the *Syracuſians*, which were oppreſſed by Tyrants; and to puniſh thoſe that had murdered and baniſhed ſo many of the principal Citizens. Wherefore they required that thoſe worthy men, their Confederates, which were chaſed out of the Town, might be ſuffered to return and enjoy their own; as alſo that the Authors of the great ſlaughter lately committed, might be delivered up. Hereto *Epicides* briefly anſwered, that if their errand had been to him, he could have told what to ſay to them: but ſince it was directed unto others, they ſhould do well to return, when thoſe to whom they were ſent, had the government in their hands. As for the War which they threatned, he told them, they ſhould find by experience, That to beſiege *Syracuſe* was another manner of work, than to take *Leontium*. Thus he ſent them gone; and returned back into the City. Immediately began the ſiege, which endured longer than the *Romans* had expected. The quick and eaſie winning of *Leontium*, did put *Marcellus* in hope, that ſo long a circuit of walls as compaſſed *Syracuſe*, being manned with no beter kind of Souldiers, than thoſe with whom he had lately dealt, would in ſome part or other, be taken at the firſt aſſault. Wherefore he omitted no violence or terrour in the very beginning; but did his beſt both by Land and Sea. Nevertheleſs all his labour was diſappointed, and his hope of prevailing by open force, taken from him by the ill ſucceſs of two or three of the firſt aſſaults. Yet was it not the vertue of the Defendants, or any ſtrength of the City, that bred ſuch deſpair of haſty victory. But there lived at that time in *Syracuſe* *Archimedes* the noble Mathematician: who at the requeſt of *Hiero*, the late King, that was his kinſman, had framed ſuch engines of war, as being in this extremity put in uſe, did more miſchief to the *Romans* than could have been wrought by the Cannon, or any inſtruments of Gunpowder; had they in that age been known. This *Archimedes* diſcourſing once with *Hiero*, maintained that it were poſſible to remove the whole earth out of the place wherein it is, if there were ſome other earth, or place of ſure footing, whereon a man might ſtand. For proof of this bold aſſertion, he performed ſome ſtrange works; which made the King entreat him to convert his ſtudy unto things of uſe, that might preſerve the City from danger of enemies. To ſuch Mechanical works, *Archimedes*, and the Philoſophers of thoſe times, had little affection. They held it an injury done unto the liberal ſciences, to ſubmit learned Propoſitions, unto the workmanſhip, and gain of baſe handy-crafts men. And of this opinion *Plato* was an Authour: who greatly blamed ſome Geometricians, that ſeemed unto him to prophane their ſcience, by making it vulgar. Neither muſt we raſhly tax a man ſo wiſe as *Plato*, with the imputation of ſupercilious auſterity, or affected ſingularity in his reprehenſion. For it hath been the unhappy fate of great inventions to be vilified, as idle fancies, or dreams, before they were publiſhed: and being once made known, to be undervalued; as falling within compaſs of the meaneſt wit; and things that every one could well have performed. Hereof (to omit that memorable example of *Columbus* his diſcovery, with the much different ſorts of neglect, which he underwent before and after it) in a familiar and moſt homely example we may ſee moſt apparent proof. He that looks upon our *Engliſh Brewers*, and their ſervants, that are daily excerciſed in the trade; will think it ridiculous to hear one ſay, that the making of *Malt* was an invention, proceeding from ſome of an extraordinary knowledge in natural Philoſophy. Yet is not the skill of the inventors any whit the leſs, for that the labour of workmanſhip grows to be the trade of ignorant men. The like may be ſaid of many handy-crafts: and particularly in the Printing of Books; which being deviſed and bettered by great ſcholars and wiſe men, grew afterward corrupted by thoſe, to whom the practice fell; that is, by ſuch as could ſlubber things eaſily over, and feed their workmen at the cheapeſt rate. In this reſpect therefore, the Alchymiſts, and all others that have, or would ſeem to have any ſecret skill, whereof the publication might do good unto mankind; are not without excuſe of their cloſe concealing. For it is a kind of injuſtice, that the long travels of an underſtanding brain, beſide the loſs of time, and other expence, ſhould be caſt away upon men of no worth; yield leſs benefit unto the Author of a great work, than to meer ſtrangers; and perhaps his enemies. And ſurely, if the paſſion of Envy have in it any thing allowable and natural, as having Anger, Fear, and other like affections: it is in ſome ſuch caſe as this; and ſerveth againſt thoſe, which would uſurp the knowledge, wherewith God hath denied to indue them. Nevertheleſs, if we have regard unto common charity, and the great affection that every one ought to bear unto the generality of mankind, after the example of him *that ſuffereth his Sun to ſhine upon juſt, and unjuſt*: it will appear more commendable, in wiſe men, to enlarge themſelves and publiſh unto the world, thoſe good things that lay buried in their own boſoms. This ought ſpecially to be done, when a profitable knowledge hath not annexed to it ſome dangerous cunning, that may be perverted by evil men to a miſchievous uſe. For if the ſecret of any rare *Antidote*, contained in it the skill of giving ſome deadly and irrecoverable poiſon: much better it were, that ſuch a Jewel remain cloſe in the hands of a wiſe and honeſt man, than being made common, bind all men to uſe the remedy, by teaching the worſt men how to do miſchief. But the works which *Archimedes* publiſhed, were ſuch as tended unto very commendable ends. They were Engines, ſerving unto the defence of *Syracuſe*; not fit for the *Syracuſians* to carry abroad, to the hurt and oppreſſion of others. Neither did he altogether publiſh the knowledge, how to uſe them, but reſerved ſo much to his own direction; that after his death more of the ſame kind were not made, nor thoſe of his own making were imployed by the *Romans*. It ſufficed unto this worthy man, that he had approved unto the vulgar, the dignity of his ſcience; and done eſpecial benefit to his Country. For to enrich a Mechaniclal trade, or teach the Art of murdering men, it was beſides his purpoſe.

Marcellus had cauſed certain of his *Quinquereme* Gallies to be faſtened together, and Towers erected on them to beat the defendants from the wall. Againſt theſe *Archimedes* had ſundry devices; of which any one ſort might have repelled the aſſailants: but all of them together ſhewed the multiplicity of his great wit. He ſhot heavy ſtones, and long pieces of timber, like unto the yards of ſhips; which brake ſome of the Gallies by their force and weight.

weight. These afflicted such as lay far off. They that were come nearer the walls, lay open to a continual volly of shot, which they could not endure. Some with an Iron grapple were taken by the prow, and hoysted up, shaking out all the men, and afterwards falling down into the water. Some by strange Engines were lifted up into the Air, where turning round a while, they were broken against the walls or cast upon the rocks: and all them were so beaten, that they durst never come again to any second assault. In the like sort was the Land-Army handled. Stones and timber, falling upon it like hail, did not only over-whelm the men, but brake down the *Roman* Engines of battery; and forced *Marcellus* to give over the assault. For the remedy hereof it was conceived, that if the *Romans* could early before day get near unto the walls, they should be (as it were) under the *point-blank*, and receive no hurt by these terrible Instruments; which were woond up hard to shoot a great compass. But this vain hope cost many of the assailants lives: For the shot came down right upon them; and beating them from all parts of the wall, made a great slaughter of them, all the way as they fled (for they were unable to tarry by it) even till they were gotten very far off. This did so terrifie the *Romans*, that if they perceived any piece of timber, or a ropes end, upon the wall, they ran away, crying out, That *Archimedes* his Engines were ready to discharge. Neither knew *Marcellus* how to overcome these difficulties, or to take away from his men, that fear, against the cause whereof he knew no remedy. If the Engines had stood upon the walls, subject to firing, or any such annoyance from without; he might have holpen it by some device, to make them unserviceable. But all, or the most of them were out of sight, being erected in the streets behind the walls; where *Archimedes* gave directions how to use them. Wherefore the *Roman* had no other way left, than to cut off from the Town all provision of victuals, both by Land and Sea.

This was a very desperate piece of work. For the enemies having so goodly an Haven; the Sea in a manner free; and the *Carthaginians* that were strong by Sea, willing to supply them: were not likely so soon to be consumed with famine, as the besiegers to be wearied out, by lying in Leaguer before so strong a City, having no probability to carry it. Yet, for want of better counsel to follow, this was thought the best, and most honourable course.

In the mean while, *Himilco*, Admiral of a *Carthaginian* Fleet, that had waited long about *Sicily*, being by *Hippocrates* advertised of these passages, went home to *Carthage*, and there so dealt with the Senate, that five and twenty thousand Foot, three thousand Horses and twelve Elephants, were committed unto his charge, wherewith to make war upon the *Romans* in *Sicily* by Land. He took many Towns; and many that had anciently belonged unto the *Carthaginians* did yield unto him. To remedy this mischief and to stay the inclination of men, which following the current of Fortune, began to turn unto the *Carthaginians*; *Marcellus* with a great part of his Army, rose from *Syracuse*, and went from place to place about the Island. He took *Pelorus* and *Herbesus*, which yieled unto him. He took also *Megara* by force, and sackt it: either to terrifie others that were obstinate, especially the *Syracusians*, or else because *Rome* was at this time poor, and his Army must have somewhat to keep it in heart. His special desire was to have saved *Agrigentum*: whither he came too late; for *Himilco* had gotten it before. Therefore he returned back toward *Syracuse*; carefully, and in as good order as he could, for fear of the *Carthaginian* that was too strong for him. The circumspection that he used, in regard of *Himilco*, stood him in good stead against a danger that he had not mistrusted. For *Hippocrates*, leaving the charge of *Syracuse* unto his brother, had lately issued out of the City, with ten thousand foot, and five hundred horse, intending to joyn his forces with *Himilco*. *Marcellus* fell upon him, ere either was aware of the other: and the *Romans* being in good order, got an easie victory against the dispersed and half unarmed *Syracusians*. The reputation hereof helped a little to keep the *Sicilians* from rebellion. Yet it was not long, ere *Himilco*, joyning with *Hippocrates*, ran over all the Island at his pleasure, and presented battel to *Marcellus* even at his Trenches; but the *Roman* wisely refused it. *Bomilcar* also a *Carthaginian*, entred with a great fleet into the Haven of *Syracuse*, and victualled the City. After this, the disposition of the Islanders changed so again, that although another Legion was come from *Rome*, which escaped from *Himilco*, and safely arrived at *Marcellus* his Camp: yet many places revolted unto the *Carthaginians*, and slew or betrayed the *Roman* Garrisons.

In the midst of these troubles, Winter enforced both parts to take breath a while: and *Marcellus*, leaving some of his Army before *Syracuse*, that he might not seem to have given over the siege, went unto *Leontium*, where he lay intentive to all occasions. In the beginning of the Spring he stood in doubt, whether it were better to continue the laborious work of besieging *Syracuse*, or to turn all his forces to *Agrigentum*, against *Himilco* and *Hippocrates*. But it would greatly have impaired his reputation, if he had gone from *Syracuse*, as unable to prevail; and he himself was of an eager disposition, ever unwilling to give ground, or to quit, as not feasible, an enterprise that he had once taken in hand. He came therefore to *Syracuse*: where though he found all the difficulties remaining as before; and no likelihood to take the City by force or famine; yet was he not without hope, that the continuance of time would bring forth somewhat, which might fulfil his desire. Especially he assayed to prevail by treason, against which no place can hold out. And to this end he dealt with the *Syracusian* Gentlemen that were in his Camp; exhorting them to practice with their friends that remained in the City. This was not easie for them to do, because the Town would hearken to no parlee. At length a slave unto one of these banished men, making shew to run away from his Master, got into *Syracuse*; where he talked in private with some few, as he had been instructed. Thus began *Marcellus* to have intelligence within the City: whence the Conspirators used to send him advertisement of their proceedings, by a fisher-boat that passed forth in the night: but when they were grown to the number of fourscore, and thought themselves able to effect somewhat of importance, all was discovered; and they like Traitors put to death. In the mean while, one *Damasippus* a *Lacedæmonian*, that had been sent out of the Town as an Embassadour to *Philip* King of *Macedon*, was fallen into the hands of *Marcellus*. *Epicides* was very desirous to ransome him: and many meetings were appointed for that purpose, not far from the walls. There, one of the *Romans* looking upon the wall, and wanting the more compendious Art of Geometry, fell to numbering the stones; and making an estimate of

the height, judged it leſs than it had been formerly deemed. Herewith he acquainted *Marcellus*: who cauſing better notice to be taken of the place; and finding that ladders of no extraordinary length would reach it, made all things ready, and waited a convenient time. It was the weakeſt part of the Town, and therefore the moſt ſtrongly guarded: neither was there hope to prevail by force againſt *Archimedes*, if they failed to take it by ſurprile. But a fugitive out of the Town brought word, that a great feaſt was to be held unto *Diana*, which was to laſt three daies: and that, becauſe other good chear was not ſo plentiful within the City, as in former times, *Epicides*, to gratifie the people, had made the more large diſtribution of wine. A better opportunity could not be wiſhed. Wherefore *Marcellus* in the dead of the Feſtival night, came unto the walls, which he took by *Scalado*. *Syracuſe* was divided into four parts (or five, if *Epipole* were reckoned as one) each of which were fortified as diſtinct Cities. When therefore *Marcellus* had gotten ſome pieces, he had the commodity of a better and ſafe lodging, with good ſtore of booty; and better opportunity than before, to deal with the reſt. For there were now a great many as well of thoſe in *Acradinia* and the Iſland, inner parts of the Town, as of thoſe that were already in the hands of *Marcellus*, that began to hearken unto compoſition, as being much terrified by the loſs of thoſe parts, which the *Romans* had taken and ſackt. As for the weapons of *Archimedes*, little harm, or none they did, unto thoſe that were ſheltred under ſtrong houſes: although it may ſeem, that the inner walls were not altogether unfurniſhed of his help; ſince they held out a good while, and were not taken by force. The *Roman* fugitives and Renegadoes, were more careful than ever to defend the reſt of the City: being ſure to be rewarded with cruel death, if *Marcellus* could prevail. *Hippocrates* and *Himilco*, were daily expected; and *Bomilcar* was ſent away to *Carthage*, to bring help from thence. It was not long ere *Hippocrates* and *Himilco* came: who fell upon the old Camp of the *Romans*, whilſt *Epicides* ſallied out of *Acradinia* upon *Marcellus*. But the *Romans* made ſuch defence in each part, that the Aſſailants were repelled. Nevertheleſs they continued to beſet *Marcellus*: whom they held in a manner as ſtraightly beſieged, as he himſelf did beſiege the Town. But the peſtilence at length conſumed, together with the two Captains, a great part of the Army, and cauſed the reſt to diſlodge. The *Romans* were (though ſomewhat leſs) afflicted with the ſame peſtilence, inſomuch that *Bomilcar* did put the City of *Carthage* in hope, that he might be taken where he lay, if any great forces were ſent thither. This *Bomilcar* wanted no deſire to do his Country ſervice: but his courage was not anſwerable to his good will. He arrived at *Pachinus* with a ſtrong fleet: where he ſtayed; being loth to double the Cape; for that the winds did better ſerve the enemy than him. Thither ſailed *Epicides* out of *Syracuſe*: to acquaint him with the neceſſities of the City; and to draw him on. With much intreaty, at length he came forward: but meeting with the *Roman* fleet, that was ready for him, he ſtood off into the deep; and ſailed away to *Tarentum*, bidding *Sicily* farewell. Then durſt not *Epicides* return into *Syracuſe*, but went to *Agrigentum*: where he expected the iſſue; with a very faint hope of hearing any good news.

The *Sicilian* Souldiers that remained alive of *Hippocrates* his Army, lay as near as they could ſafely, unto *Marcellus*, and ſome of them, in a ſtrong Town three miles off. Theſe had done what good they could to *Syracuſe*, by doing what hurt they could unto the *Romans*. But when they were informed, that the State of *Sicily* was given as deſperate by the *Carthaginians*: they ſent Embaſſadours to treat of peace; and made offer to compound, both for themſelves, and for the Town. Hereunto *Marcellus* willingly gave ear: for he had ſtayed there long enough; and had cauſe to fear, that after a little while, the *Carthaginians* might come thither ſtrong again. He therefore agreed both with the Citizens, and with the Souldiers that lay abroad; that they ſhould be Maſters of their own, enjoying their liberty and proper laws; yet ſuffering the *Romans* to poſſeſs whatſoever had belonged unto the Kings. Hereupon they, to whom *Epicides* had left his charge, were put to death, new Prætors choſen; and the gates even ready to be opened unto *Marcellus*: when ſuddenly the *Roman* fugitives diſturbed all. Theſe perceiving their own condition to be deſperate, perſwaded the other Mercenary Souldiers, That the Citizens had bargained only for themſelves, and betrayed the Army to the *Romans*. Wherefore they preſently took Arms, and fell upon the new choſen Prætors; whom they ſlew, and made election of ſix Captains that ſhould command over all. But ſhortly it was found out, that there was no danger at all to the Souldiers; excepting only the fugitives. The Treaty was therefore again ſet on foot, and wanted little of concluſion: which yet was delayed; either by ſome fear of the Citizens, that had ſeen (as they thought) proof of the *Roman* avarice in the ſack of *Epipolæ Tyche*, and *Neapolis*, the parts already taken; or by ſome deſire of *Marcellus* to get the Town by force, that he might uſe the liberty of a Conqueror, and make it wholly ſubject to *Rome*. *Mericus* a *Spaniard* was one of the ſix Captains that had been choſen in the laſt commotion: a man of ſuch faith, as uſually is found in Mercenaries; holding his own particular benefit above all other reſpects. With this Captain, *Marcellus* dealt ſecretly: having a fit inſtrument, of the ſame Nation, one *Belligenes*, that went in company with the *Roman* Embaſſadors, daily paſſing to and fro. This craſty Agent perſwaded *Mericus*, That the *Romans* had already gotten all *Spain*: and that if ever he purpoſed to make his own fortune good, either at home in *Spain*, or any where elſe, it was now the only time to do it; by conforming himſelf to the will of the *Roman* General. By ſuch hopes the *Spaniſh* Captain was eaſily won, and ſent forth his own brother among the *Syracuſian* Embaſſadors to ratifie the covenant with *Marcellus*.

This under-hand dealing of *Marcellus* againſt the *Syracuſians*, cannot well be commended as honeſt: neither was it afterwards throughly approved at his coming to *Rome*. For the benefits of *Hiero* to the *Romans* had been ſuch, as deſerved not to be requited with the ruine of his Country: much leſs, that the miſeries of his people, oppreſſed (though partly through their own folly) by an Army of Mercenaries, ſhould miniſter unto the people of *Rome* advantage againſt them. The poor Citizens could not make good their parts againſt the hired Souldiers; and therefore were fain to yield unto the time, and obey thoſe Miniſters of *Hannibal*, that ruled the Army. But as long as they were free after the death of *Hieronymus*; and now of late, when they had gathered courage by the flight of *Epicides*: it had been their chief care to maintain amity with the people of *Rome*. They had lately ſlain many of the principal of *Epicides* his followers; and many of themſelves had alſo been ſlain, both lately and in former times, becauſe of this their deſire unto peace. What though it were true, that the Raſcality, and ſome ill adviſed perſons

joyned

joyned with the Souldiers in hatred of the *Romans*, by occasion of the slaughter which they heard to be done at *Leontium*, and afterward beheld in those parts of their own City which was taken? Ought therefore the *Roman* General, in a treaty of peace held with the *Syracusians*, to make a bargain underhand against them, with a Captain of the Mercenaries? These things were objected against *Marcellus*, at his return home: but the Senators thought it a great de better, to comfort the *Syracusians* with gentle words, and promise of good usage in time to come; than to restore the booty, and give over the Dominion of a City, so great, wealthy, strong, and many waies important. Nevertheless if we consider the many inconveniencies and great mischiefs whereunto *Syracuse* was obnoxious; both by evil neighbours, and by that very form of policy, after which it was governed; we may truly affirm, that it received no small benefit, by becoming subject unto *Rome*. For thereby it was not only assured against all forreign enemies, domestical conspiracies, and such Tyrants as of old had reigned therein: but freed from the necessity of banishing, or murdering, the most worthy Citizens; as also from all factions, intestine seditions, and a housand the like miseries, that were wont to grow out of the jealousie, wherein they held their liberty in vain. Neither enjoyed that City, from her first foundation, any such long time of happiness, as that wherein it flourished, when it rested secure under the protection of *Rome*; and was no more molested, by the disease of ambition; whereof by *Marcellus* his victory it was throughly cured. But such benefit, arising from wrongs done, serves not to make injustice the more excusable: unless we should approve the answer of that thief, who being found to have stollen a silver cup from a sick man said, *He never leaves drinking*.

By the reason of *Marcius*, the *Roman* Army was let into possession of all *Syracuse*: wherein the booty that it found, was said to have been no less, than could be hoped for, if they had taken *Carthage* it self, that maintained war by Land and Sea against them. All the goodly works and Imageries, wherewith *Syracuse* was marvellously adorned, were carried away to *Rome*; and nothing left untouched, save only the houses of those banished men, that had escaped from *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, into the *Roman* Camp. Among other pitiful accidents; the death of *Archimedes* was greatly lamented, even by *Marcellus* himself. He was so busie about his Geometry, in drawing figures, that he hearkened not to the noise, and uproar in the City; no, nor greatly attended the rude Souldier that was about to kill him. *Marcellus* took heavily the death of him; and caused his body to be honourably buried. Upon his Tomb (as he had ordained in his life-time) was placed a *Cylinder* and a *Sphere*, with an inscription of the proportion between them; which he first found out. An invention of so little use, as this may seem, pleased that great Artist beter, than the devising of all those Engines, that made him so famous. Such difference is in the judgement of learned men, and of the vulgar sort. For many an one would think the money lost, that had been spent upon a Son, whose studies in the University had brought forth such fruit, as the proportion between a *Sphere* and a *Cylinder*.

After the taking of *Syracuse*, all the Towns in *Sicily* yielded unto the *Romans*, except *Agrigentum* and a few places thereabout. At *Agrigentum* lay *Epicides* with one *Hanno* a *Carthaginian*, and *Mutines* an *African*, that was lately sent from *Hannibal*. This *Mutines* by many good pieces of service, had added some credit to the beaten *Carthaginian* side; and withal made his own name great. By his perswasions, *Hanno* and *Epicides* adventured to meet *Marcellus* without the Town, and not behave themselves as men expecting to be besieged. Neither was he more valiant in counsel, than in execution. Once and again he set upon the *Romans*, where they lay encamped, and drove them fearfully into their Trenches. This bred envy in *Epicides* and *Hanno*; especially in *Hanno*, that having been lately sent from *Carthage*, with commission and authority from the State, thought himself wronged greatly by *Hannibal*; in that he had sent unto him this *Mutines*, to be his companion, and to take upon him like as good a man as himself. The indignity seemed the greater, when *Mutines* being to step aside into *Heraclea*, for the pacifying some troubles there among the *Numidians*; advised (as directing *Hanno* and *Epicides* not to meddle with the enemy, until his return. So much therefore the rather would *Hanno* fight; and offered battel unto *Marcellus*, before he sought it. It is like, that a great part of the *Roman* Army was left behind in *Syracuse*, as need required; which made the *Carthaginians* the better able to deal with those that came against them. But whatsoever disproportion was between the two Armies; far greater were the odds between the Captains. For howsoever the people of *Carthage* would give authority by favor; yet could they not give worth and ability, in matter of war. The *Numidians*, having before conceived some displeasure against their Captains; and being therefore some of them gone away to *Heraclea*, were much more offended, when they saw that the vainglorious envy of *Hanno* carried him unto the fight, upon a foolish desire to get victory, without the help of *Mutines* their Country-man. Wherefore they sent unto the *Roman* General, and bade him be confident; for that it was not their purpose to shew themselves his enemies that day, but only look on, and see the proud *Carthaginians* well beaten by whom they had been misused. They made good their promise, and had their desire. For *Marcellus*, finding likelihood of truth in their message, did so lustily set upon the enemies, that he brake them at the first charge; and with the slaughter of many thousands, drove them back into *Agrigentum*.

If *Hanno* could have been contented, to follow the directions of one, that was a better man of War than himself, and not to have hazarded a battel without need; the *Romans* would shortly have been reduced into terms of great difficulty in their *Sicilian* War. For *Marcellus* was shortly after to leave the Province & soon upon his departure, there landed in the Island a supply of 8000 foot, and 3000 *Numidian* horse that were sent from *Carthage*. The fame of this new Army drew many of the *Sicilians* into rebellion. The *Roman* Army consisting (for the most part) of the Legions of *Cannæ*, took it very hainously, that no good service done, could bring them into the favour of the Senate; but that, as banished men, they were sent far from home, and not suffered to return back to *Rome* with their General. *Mutines* had pacified his country-men the *Numidians*, and like an honest man, did what he could for those whom he served, without contending against the foolish pride of *Hanno*; finding that there was a great alteration; and a greater might have been, if the Army lately overthrown had been entire. *M. Cornelius* the *Roman* Prætor, used all diligence, both to pacifie his own men, and to hinder the *Carthaginians*. He recovered those inland towns that had rebelled: and though he could not hinder *Mutines* from over-running all the Country; yet he hindered the Country from revolting unto *Mutines*. Above threescore Towns,

great and small, the *Carthaginians* held in *Sicily*: of which *Agrigentum* was the principal, and far bigger than any of the rest. Thence issued *Mutines* as often as he pleased, in despight of the *Romans*: not only to the succour of his own adherents, but to the great waste of those that followed the contrary part. But *Hanno*, instead of being pleased with all these good services, was filled more and more with envy, against the man that performed them. He had (belike) received instruction from old *Hanno* at *Carthage*, not to suffer *Hannibal*, or any *Hannibalian*, to have a share in the honour of these *Sicilian* Wars: which were therefore perhaps the more diligently supplied; whilst *Italy* was neglected, that should have been regarded more than all the rest. Wherefore to shew his authority, and that it was not in the power of *Hannibal*, to appoint unto him an Assistant, or Director: He took away from *Mutines* his charge, and gave it to his own Son; thinking thereby to discountenance the man, and make him little esteemed, as one out of Office, among the *Numidians*. But it fell out quite contrary: and this spightful dealing occasioned the loss of whatsoever the *Carthaginians* held in *Sicily*. For the *Numidians* were so incensed by the indignity offered unto their Country-man, being such a brave Commander, that they offered him their service to requite the wrong; and were thenceforth absolutely at his own disposition. *M. Valerius Lævinus*, the *Roman* Consul, was newly come unto the Province, when this fell out: and with him did *Mutines* enter into intelligence. For he could no longer brook these indignities; but being neither a *Carthaginian*, nor favoured by those that bore all the sway in *Carthage*, he thought it the wisest way, to play the best of his own game, and forsake that City, which was likely to perish by the evil counsel that governed it. He did not therefore, as his Country-men had lately done, content himself to see his Adversaries reap the bitter fruits of his own malicious overweening, and to suffer that harm, in doing whereof he would not bear a part; but conspired against them to deliver up *Agrigentum*, and to help to expel them utterly out of *Sicily*. The Consul was glad of his friendship; and carefully followed his advertisements. Neither was there much cunning needful, to the performance of that which *Mutines* had undertaken: For he with his *Numidians* did forcibly seize upon a gate; whereat they let in some *Roman* Companies, that lay near in a readiness for the purpose. *Hanno*, when first he heard the noise, thought it had been no worse matter, than some such tumult of the *Numidians*, as he had been well acquainted with of late. But when making haste to pacifie the trouble, he saw and heard, the *Romans* intermixed, among those discontented followers of *Mutines*, forthwith he betook himself to flight: and saving himself, with *Epicides*, in a small Bark, set sail for *Africk*; leaving all his Army and adherents in *Sicily*, to the mercy of the *Romans*, that henceforward continued Masters of the whole Island.

Lævinus the Consul having taken *Agrigentum*, did sharp execution of justice upon all the Citizens. The principal of them he scourged with rods, and afterwards beheaded, as was the manner of the *Romans*: all the rest of them he sold for slaves, and confiscated their goods; sending home to *Rome* the mony that was raised of the booty. This was indeed a time wherein *Rome* stood in no less necessity of gold than of steel: which may have been the reason, why *Lævinus* dealt so cruelly with the *Agrigentines*. Nevertheless, the fame of such severity bred a terror among all the Dependants of the *Carthaginians*, so that in great haste they sought to make their peace. About forty Towns yielded themselves quickly unto the *Romans*; twenty were delivered up by Treason; and six only stayed to be won by force. These things done, *Lævinus* returned home to *Rome*; carrying with him about four thousand men from *Agatirna*, that were a company of outlaws, bankrupts, and banished men, accustomed to live by spoil of others in these troublesome times. He bestowed them about *Rhegium* in *Italy*, where they might exercise their own occupation against the *Brutians*; a thievish kind of people, that were enemies unto those of *Rhegium*, and to the *Romans*. As for *Mutines*, he was well rewarded, and made Citizen of *Rome*: where he lived in good accompt; accompanying the two *Scipio*'s in their journey against *Antiochus*, and therein doing (as is said) very especial service. So by this enterprise of *Sicily*, the *Carthaginians* wasted much of their forces, that with greater profit might have been employed in *Italy*: leaving yet unto the *Romans*, in the end of this war, the entire possession of this Island; which they wanted when it began.

SECT. XVI.

How the War passed between the Romans *and* Hannibal *in* Italy, *from the taking of* Capua *to the great victory of* Metaurus.

SHortly after the winning of *Capua*, *Marcellus* came to *Rome*: where for his good services done in the Island of *Sicily*, he had granted unto him the honour of the lesser Triumph, which was called *Ovation*. The greater Triumph was denyed him: because he had not finished the war, but was fain to leave his Army behind him in the Province. He stayed not long in *Rome*, before he was again chosen Consul together with *M. Valerius Lævinus*, who succeeded him in the Government of *Sicily*, and was, at the time of his election, making war against King *Philip* in *Greece*. Great Complaint was made against the Consul *Marcellus*, by the *Syracusians*, for that which he had done unto them; they alledging their great friendship to the people of *Rome*, in the time of their late King *Hiero*; and affirming, that their City did never willingly break the alliance; excepting when it was oppressed by such Tyrants, as were not greater enemies to *Rome*, than to all good men that lived in *Syracuse*. The Consul, on the other side, reckoned the labours and dangers whereunto they had put him; willing them to bemoan themselves to the *Carthaginians* that had holpen them in their necessity; and not unto the *Romans*, whom they had kept out. Thus each part having some good matter to alledge, the Senate made such an end of the controversie, as best agreed with the benefit of their own Common-wealth, blaming the too much rigour of *Marcellus*; yet not restoring the booty that he had taken, nor making the *Syracusians* free from their subjection, but comforting them with gentle words, and hopeful promises, as hath been shewed before. The two new Consuls *Marcellus* and *Lævinus*, were appointed to make war, as their lots should fall out; the one in *Italy*, the other in *Sicily*. The Isle of *Sicily* fell unto *Marcellus*; which Province he willingly changed with his Collegue; to the end that the *Syracusians* (whose cause had not as yet been heard in the Senate) might not seem hindred by fear, from uttering their grievances freely. Afterwards, when his business with them was dispatcht, he gently undertook the

the patronage of them: which remained long in his Family, to the great benefit of their Country in times following. So *Valerius*, the other Conſul, was ſent into *Sicily*, whoſe doings there have been already rehearſed: but *Marcellus* was employed againſt *Hannibal*.

Before the Conſuls departed out of *Rome*, they were much troubled with preſſing of Souldiers to the war, and moſt of all, with getting Mariners for their Navy. They were all of the poorer ſort, that uſed to be employd in Sea-ſervices, eſpecially in rowing. Theſe could not live without preſent wages: neither was there mony enough in the Treaſury to give them pay. Wherefore it was ordained, that they ſhould be ſet out at the expence of private men; who in this neceſſity of the State, were driven to ſuſtain all publick charges. Hereat the people murmured, and were ready to fall into ſedition; had not the Conſuls deferred the matter unto further conſideration. The Senate could ill tell, what to determine or do, in a caſe of ſuch extremity. For manifeſt it was, that the multitude had already indured ſo much, as well it could undergo; and ſomewhat more than could with honeſty have been impoſed upon it. Nevertheleſs it was impoſſible to maintain the war againſt the *Carthaginians*; or to keep the *Macedonian* out of *Italy* without a ſtrong fleet. Wherefore, ſome were of opinion; That ſince the common Treaſure was ſo empty, the people muſt be forced, by right or wrong, to take the burden upon them. At laſt the Conſuls began to ſay, That no perſwaſions would be ſo effectual with the people, as good examples: and that if the Senators would follow the Conſuls, like it was that the people alſo would follow the Senate. Wherefore they propounded, and it was immediately concluded, that every one of them ſhould bring forth, and put into the Treaſury, all the mony that he had; and that no Senator ſhould keep any veſſel of gold, or plate whatſoever; excepting one Salt-ſeller, and a Bowl wherewith to make their offering unto the gods; as alſo a Ring for himſelf, with ſuch other tokens of ingenuity for his wife and children, as every one did uſe, and thoſe of as ſmall value as might be. This advice of the Conſuls was not more thankfully accepted by the Senate, than the ready performance thereof by the Senate was highly applauded, and haſtily followed by the Gentlemen of *Rome*. Neither did the Commonalty refuſe to do that, which their betters had openly done before them. For ſince the publick neceſſity could no otherwiſe be holpen; every one was contented, that his private eſtate ſhould run the ſame fortune with the Commonwealth, which if it ſuffered wrack, in vain could any particular man hope to enjoy the benefit of his proper ſubſtance. This magnanimity deſerved well that greatneſs of Empire, whereof it was the foundation.

Convenient order being thus taken for an Army and Fleet: *Marcellus* went forth of the City againſt *Hannibal*; and *Lævinus* toward *Sicily*. The Army of *Hannibal* was greatly diminiſhed, by long and hard ſervice: neither did his *Carthaginians* ſeem to remember him, and think upon ſending the promiſed ſupply, or any ſuch proportion as he needed. His credit alſo among his *Italian* friends, was much weakned, by the loſs of *Capua*: which gave them cauſe to look unto themſelves; as if in his help there were little truſt to be repoſed, when they ſhould ſtand in need. This he well perceived; yet could not tell how to remedy. Either he muſt thruſt Garriſons into all the Towns he ſuſpected, and thereby ſo diminiſh his Army, that he ſhould not be able to keep the field; or elſe he muſt leave them to their own fidelity, which now began to waver. At length his jealouſie grew ſo outragious, that he ſacked and waſted thoſe places that he was unable to defend: thinking that the beſt way to enrich himſelf; and make unprofitable to his enemies, the purchaſe from which he could not hinder them. But by this example, many were quite alienated from him: and ſome of thoſe, whom before he had leaſt cauſe to doubt. The Town of *Salapia* yielded unto *Marcellus*, and betrayed unto him a gallant Regiment of *Numidian* horſe, the beſt of all that ſerved under *Hannibal*; which was a greater loſs, than the Town it ſelf. *Blaſius* the author of this rebellion, could not bring his deſire to effect, without getting the conſent of one *Daſius*, that was his bitter enemy. Wherefore he brake the matter to this *Daſius* in private, and was by him accuſed unto *Hannibal*. But when he was convented and charged of Treaſon, he ſo ſtourly denyed it, and by way of recrimination, ſo vehemently preſſed his accuſer with the ſame fault: that *Hannibal* thought it a matter deviſed out of meer malice; knowing well what enemies they were; and ſeeing that neither of them could bring any proof of what he affirmed. This notwithſtanding, *Blaſius* did not ceaſe to preſs his adverſary anew, and urge him from time to time, with ſuch lively reaſon; that he who could not be believed by *Hannibal*, was contented at length to win the favour of *Marcellus*. Preſently after this, the Conſul took by force, *Maronæa* and *Meles*, Towns of the *Samnites*; wherein he ſlew above 3000 of *Hannibal* his men.

Hannibal could not look to all at once; but was fain to catch advantages, where he might get them; the *Romans* now being grown ſtronger in the field than he. The beſt was, that his *Carthaginians*, having wearied themſelves with ill ſpeed in many petty enterpriſes, and laid aſide all this while the care of *Italy*, to follow buſineſs of far leſs importance; had now at length reſolved, to ſend preſently the great ſupply, that had been ſo long promiſed and expected. This, if they had done in better ſeaſon; *Rome* it ſelf might have been ſtrucken down, the next year after that great blow received at *Cannæ*. But ſince that which is paſt cannot be amended; *Hannibal* muſt force himſelf to make a good countenance; and tell his followers, that this mighty ſuccour would come time enough. For *Maſaniſſa* was at *Carthage* with 5000 *Numidians*, ready to ſet ſail for *Spain*; whither, when he came, it was appointed that *Aſdrubal* ſhould forthwith take his journey into *Italy*, of which there had been ſo much talk. Theſe news did not more comfort *Hannibal* and his followers, than terrifie the *Romans*. Wherefore each did their beſt; the *Romans*, to prevent the threatning miſchief, and win as much as they could upon *Hannibal*, before the coming of his Brother; *Hannibal*, on the contrary, to hold his own; and weaken the *Romans* as much as he was able. He had intelligence, that *Cn. Fulvius*, a *Roman* Prætor, lay near unto *Herdonea*, to get the Town by practice. It was not long ſince, near unto the ſame place, another *Cn. Fulvius* had loſt his Army. Therefore *Hannibal* made great marches thitherward; and came to *Herdonea* ere *Fulvius* heard news of his approach. As ſoon as he came, he offered battel to the *Roman* Prætor; who accepted it with more haſte than good ſpeed. The *Roman* Legions made good reſiſtance a while, till they were compaſſed round with the *Carthaginian* horſe. Then fell they to rout, and great ſlaughter was made of them. *Fulvius* himſelf, with 12 *Tribunes* or *Colonels*, were loſt: of the common Souldiers, that were ſlain, the number is uncertain; ſome reporting ſeven, others thirteen thouſand.

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The Town of *Herdonea*, becauſe it was at point to have yielded unto *Fulvius*, *Hannibal* did ſet on fire: and putting thoſe to death that had practiſed with the Enemy, carried away the multitude; whom he beſtowed among the *Thurians* and *Metapontines*. The Conſul *Marcellus* hearing of this, wrote unto the Senate: and exhorted them to be of good chear; for that he would ſhortly abate the enemies pride. He followed the *Carthaginian* apace; and overtaking him at *Numiſtro* in the Country of the *Lucans*, fought with him a battel: which beginning at nine of the clock in the morning, laſted until night, and ended, by reaſon of the darkneſs, with uncertain victory. Afterward *Hannibal* departed thence into *Apulia*, whither *Marcellus* followed him. At *Venuſia* they met, and had many skirmiſhes; but none of importance. *Hannibal* removed often; and ſought to bring the enemy within danger of ſome ambuſh. But *Marcellus*, though he was very eager of battel, would yet adventure nothing, but by open day-light, and upon fair ground.

Thus paſſed the time away, until *Q. Fabius Maximus*, and *Q. Fulvius*, he that lately had taken *Capua*, were choſen Conſuls. *Fabius* conſidering how much the *Roman* affairs were bettered by the taking of *Capua*, purpoſed that year to beſiege *Tarentum*; which if he could win, like it was, that ſcarce one good City would afterwards remain true to *Hannibal*. Wherefore he vehemently exhorted his Colleague, and *Marcellus* (to whom was continued the command of thoſe Legions that ſerved under him the year before) to preſs the *Carthaginian* ſo hard, as he might have no leiſure to help *Tarentum*. *Marcellus* was very glad of this charge: for he thought no *Roman* fitter than himſelf, to deal with *Hannibal* in open field. He followed him therefore to *Cannuſium*, and thence from place to place: deſiring ever to come to battel, put upon equal terms. The *Carthaginian* had not mind to hazard much in fight: but thought it enough to entertain his enemy with skirmiſh; as being deſirous to keep his Army ſtrong until the coming of *Aſdrubal*. Yet could he not avoid the importunity of *Marcellus*, nor brook the indignity of being daily braved. He therefore bade his men to be luſty, and to beat ſoundly this hot-ſpirited *Roman* Captain, that would never ſuffer them to be at quiet; until they once had cooled well his courage, by letting him blood. Hereupon followed a battel; wherein *Hannibal* had the victory; took ſix Enſigns; and ſlew of the *Romans* almoſt 3000, among which were ſome of mark. *Marcellus* was ſo impatient of his diſhonour, that he rated his men, as Peſants, and baſe cowards: telling them, that they were the firſt of the *Roman* Legions, which had been beaten by *Hannibal*, by plain force and manhood, without being circumvented by any ſtratagem. With theſe and many other the like words, which they were aſhamed to hear, he did ſo vex them; that thinking themſelves better able to endure any violence of the enemy, than ſuch diſpleaſure of their General; they beſought him to pardon them, and lead them forth once again to fight. He did ſo: and placing thoſe Companies formoſt, that had loſt their Enſigns the day before, bade them be careful to win a victory; whereof the news might be at *Rome*, before the report of their ſhameful overthrow. *Hannibal* was angry, to ſee that nothing could make this Enemy quiet: and therefore was ready to fight again; ſince all other motives continued the ſame, and his men had been heartned by the late victory. But the *Romans* were ſtirred up with deſire of revenge, and of repairing their honour loſt, which affections gave a ſharp edge unto their valour: whereas the *Carthaginians* were grown dull, and weary by ſeeing themſelves diſappointed of their hope; and the enemy, notwithſtanding their late victory, as ready to moleſt them as before. In this ſecond battel *Marcellus* got the victory: which he purchaſed at ſo dear a rate; that neither he, nor *Hannibal*, had great cauſe to vaunt, the ſecond night. For if 8000 of the *Carthaginians* were ſlain, and 3000 of the *Roman* ſide, in this next battel, the difference was no greater, than even to recompence the late received overthrow: eſpecially ſince the number of the *Romans* that were wounded, was ſo great, as diſabled *Marcellus* from purſuing *Hannibal*; who diſlodged by night. Nevertheleſs it ſufficed, that *Fabius* the Conſul hereby got leiſure, to follow his buſineſs at *Tarentum* without any diſturbance. *Q. Fulvius* the other Conſul about the ſame time, took in many of the *Hirpines*, *Lucans*, and *Volcentes*, that willingly yielded themſelves, and betrayed the Garriſons of *Hannibal* that lay in their Towns; whom *Fulvius* entertained in loving ſort; gently rebuking them for their errours paſt, without puniſhing thoſe that had been authors, or buſie doers in the rebellion. That rabble of *Sicilian* thieves, which *Lævinus* had lately brought from *Agaterna*, was then alſo ſet on work to beſiege *Caulonia*, a Town of the *Brutians*: and nothing was omitted, that might ſerve to divert *Hannibal*, from the ſuccour of *Tarentum*.

Q. Fabius the Conſul, having taken *Manduria* a Town of the *Salentines*, ſate down before *Tarentum*: making all preparation that ſeemed needful to carry it either by aſſault or long ſiege. Of the Garriſons in the Town, a good part were *Brutians*, placed there by *Hannibal*, under a Captain of their own Nation. This Captain fell in love with a *Tarentine* wench; whoſe brother ſerved under *Fabius*. Hereof ſhe gave notice by letters to her brother, as thinking belike to draw him from the *Roman* ſide; by telling him how rich, and of what great account her lover was. But her brother made the Conſul acquainted with theſe news: and ſaid, that if the *Brutian* were far in love, he might perhaps be won, by intreaty of his Miſtriſs, to do what ſhe would have him. The Conſul hearing this, and finding likelihood in the matter, willed his Souldier to convey himſelf into the Town as a fugitive, and try what good might be done. It fell out according to his deſire. The Souldier grew acquainted with this *Brutian* Captain: and partly by his own perſwaſions, partly by the flattering intreaty of his ſiſter; wan him to betray the Town to the *Romans*. When they had agreed upon the buſineſs, and reſolved how to order it; the ſame Souldier got out of the Town by night, and acquainted the Conſul with his proceedings: telling him in which part that *Brutian* kept watch, and what might conveniently be done. So in the night time, *Fabius* gave an alarm to the City; eſpecially about thoſe parts of the wall, which were fartheſt from the place where he meant to enter. The Captains in the Town, prepared to make reſiſtance in thoſe places, where the noiſe did threaten them with greateſt likelihood of danger. But *Fabius* himſelf with the choice of his men, came in great ſilence to the quarter of the *Brutians*: who being wrought by their Captain, helped the *Romans* to get up, and break open the next gate, whereat the Army was let in. The *Tarentines* and *Carthaginian* Souldiers, made head againſt *Fabius* in the Market place: but (as happeneth in like caſes, where the main confidence is already taken away) not very obſtinately. *Nico*, *Democrates* and *Philomenes*, with thoſe that before had let in *Hannibal*, uſed now the laſt of their courage in dying againſt the *Romans*. *Carthalo*, who commanded

commanded the Garriſon within the Town, offered himſelf priſoner: hoping to be well uſed becauſe of his hoſpitality that had paſſed between his Father and the Conſul. But he was ſlain by the way, ere he could come to *Fabius*. The *Romans* did put all indifferently to the ſword, in ſuch ſort, that they ſpared few of the *Brutians*. This ſlaughter of the *Brutian*, was thought to have been made by appointment of the Conſul, to the end that he might ſeem to have won the Town by force and not by treaſon: though he thereby failed of his purpoſe; and neither had the glory which he expected, nor preſerved his reputation of faithful dealing, and keeping his word. The booty found in *Tarentum* was very great: whereof the *Roman* Treaſury, whither it was carried, had great need. As for the Imageries, and other curioſities that were in the City, *Fabius* was contented to let them alone: and being told of ſome Idols that ſeemed worthy to be carried away, being very goodly pieces, in ſuch habit and poſiture as if they were fighting: he ſaid, Let us leave unto the *Tarentines* their angry gods.

Hannibal being gotten clear from *Marcellus*, fell upon thoſe that beſieged *Caulonia*. They fled at his coming: but he was ſo near, that they were fain to betake them to a hill, which ſerved to no other purpoſe, than to bear off the firſt brunt. There they defended themſelves a little while, and then they yielded. When this buſineſs was done, he haſted away to relieve *Tarentum*. But when he came within five miles of the City, he had news that it was loſt. This grieved him: yet he ſaid no more than this, *The* Romans *have alſo their* Hannibal; we have loſt *Tarentum* in ſuch ſort as we got it. That he might not ſeem to turn back amazed, or in any fear of the victorious Conſul; he incamped a few daies together, ſo near as he was unto *Tarentum*: and thence departing to *Metapontum*, bethought himſelf how to take *Fabius* in a trap. He cauſed the chief of the *Metapontines* to write unto *Fabius*, and offer to betray into his hands, the *Carthaginian* Garriſon; with condition, that he ſhould in that reſpect, forgive them all offences paſt. Theſe letters were ſent by two young men of the ſame City; who did their errand ſo well, that the Conſul wrote back by them unto the *Metapontines*, and appointed the day, when they ſhould expect him. Hereof *Hannibal* was exceeding glad: and at good leiſure made ready his ambuſhes for the wary *Fabius*. But whether ſome ſecret notice of the plot were given; or whether indeed (as it is related) ſome tokens in ſacrificing, terrified the ſuperſtitious *Roman*; the journey to *Metapontum* was deferred. Hereupon the ſame two Meſſengers were employed again; but being apprehended, and threatned with torture, they diſcovered all.

This year was happy to the *Romans*, in all their wars: for they got every where, ſave only at *Caulonia*; where they had loſt a company of ſuch lewd fellows, that it may ſeem good fortune, to have been ſo rid of them. But their common poverty, and diſability to maintain their charge, continued, and grew greater than it was before. Thirty *Roman* Colonies were then in *Italy*: of which, twelve refuſed to contribute any longer to the Wars. For it was conſidered; that the Legions of *Cannæ*, and thoſe unhappy Companies that had been beaten under the one and the other *Cn. Fulvius*, were tranſported into *Sicily*; where they lived, in a ſort, as baniſhed men. This grieved their friends at home, and made them reckon up the more diligently thoſe other miſeries which they daily felt. Ten years together they had been exhauſted with levies of men, and impoſitions of money: in every of which years they had received ſome notable overthrow. In this caſe the leaſt that they could fear, or rather the beſt that they could hope; was to fall into the hands of the enemy to be made priſoners. For *Hannibal* did gently ſend home their people that was taken by him: whereas the *Romans* did baniſh from their homes, thoſe that had eſcaped. It was therefore likely to come to paſs within a while, that they ſhould be all conſumed: ſince new ſouldiers were daily preſſed forth of their Towns; and the old ones never returned. Such talk was frequent among thoſe of the Colonies: eſpecially where they that were tranſported into *Sicily*, had moſt compaſſionate friends. Wherefore it was concluded by the people of *Ardea*, *Sutrium*, *Alba*, and other good Towns, to the number of twelve, That they ſhould boldly deny unto the *Romans* their farther help. This was thought the likelieſt way to obtain peace: whereof otherwiſe they ſaw little hope, as long as *Hannibal* lived. When the Conſuls heard the Embaſſadours of theſe Towns make ſuch declaration, and proteſt their diſability of giving any further help; they were much amazed. They willed the Embaſſadours to return home, and bring a better anſwer, foraſmuch as this was none other than treaſon: they bade them to conſider, that the people were not *Campans* or *Tarentines*, but the off-ſpring of the *Romans*; and no leſs partakers of the Empire, than they that inhabited the Mother-City. But all would not ſerve, the Embaſſadours continuing to proteſt, that they had already done what they could, and that they had remaining, neither men, nor money. It was well for the *Romans* that the other eighteen Colonies did not imitate theſe twelve; but ſhewed themſelves willing to undergo whatſoever ſhould be laid upon them, without ſhrinking under the burden. This their offer was ſo higly pleaſing to the Conſuls; that the Embaſſadours of thoſe faithful Colonies, were brought into the Senate, and produced into the Aſſembly of the people: where, with commemoration of all their former good ſervices, this their preſent love unto the State was magnified, and thanks accordingly beſtowed upon them; with promiſe, that it ſhould not be forgotten. As for the Embaſſadours of thoſe twelve Colonies, that refuſed to contribute; it was thought beſt, neither to detain them in the City, nor yet to diſmiſs them, nor take any notice of them at all; but leave them to their own conſideration of their ill deſerving.

It may greatly be doubted, what the example of theſe twelve people would have wrought in thoſe that were ſo willing to help the State, if *Aſdrubal* had been then coming into *Italy*. For then muſt the *Romans* have betaken themſelves wholly to their own defence; whereas now, to the great comfort of their ſubjects, they employed their forces in the conqueſt of *Italy*, with hopeful and fortunate ſucceſs. Nevertheleſs, they were fain to open their moſt privy treaſury; and thence take out the gold that had been laid up to ſerve them in caſes of greateſt extremity. Of the mony thus extracted, one quarter was delivered to *Fabius* the Conſul, to ſet him well out againſt the *Tarentines*; all the reſt was ſent into *Spain* to *Scipio*, for the maintenance of his Army; and to provide that *Aſdrubal* might not paſs from thence into *Italy*. It is likely that *Fabius* did not ſpend all his money; finding ſuch eaſie ſucceſs at *Tarentum*, as was ſhewed before. But to ſtop the journey of *Aſdrubal*; neither the mony ſent into *Spain*, nor any

The Town of *Herdonea*, becauſe it was at point to have yielded unto *Fulvius*, *Hannibal* did ſet on fire: and putting thoſe to death that had practiſed with the Enemy, carried away the multitude; whom he beſtowed among the *Thurians* and *Metapontines*. The Conſul *Marcellus* hearing of this, wrote unto the Senate: and exhorted them to be of good chear; for that he would ſhortly abate the enemies pride. He followed the *Carthaginian* apace; and overtaking him at *Numiſtro* in the Country of the *Lucans*, fought with him a battel: which beginning at nine of the clock in the morning, laſted until night, and ended, by reaſon of the darkneſs, with uncertain victory. Afterward *Hannibal* departed thence into *Apulia*, whither *Marcellus* followed him. At *Vennſia* they met, and had many skirmiſhes; but none of importance. *Hannibal* removed often; and ſought to bring the enemy within danger of ſome ambuſh. But *Marcellus*, though he was very eager of battel, would yet adventure nothing, but by open day-light, and upon fair ground.

Thus paſſed the time away, until *Q. Fabius Maximus*, and *Q. Fulvius*, he that lately had taken *Capua*, were choſen Conſuls. *Fabius* conſidering how much the *Roman* affairs were bettered by the taking of *Capua*, purpoſed that year to beſiege *Tarentum*; which if he could win, like it was, that ſcarce one good City would afterwards remain true to *Hannibal*. Wherefore he vehemently exhorted his Colleague, and *Marcellus* (to whom was continued the command of thoſe Legions that ſerved under him the year before) to preſs the *Carthaginian* ſo hard, as he might have no leiſure to help *Tarentum*. *Marcellus* was very glad of this charge: for he thought no *Roman* fitter than himſelf, to deal with *Hannibal* in open field. He followed him therefore to *Cannuſium*, and thence from place to place: deſiring ever to come to battel, put upon equal terms. The *Carthaginian* had not mind to hazard much in fight: but thought it enough to entertain his enemy with skirmiſh; as being deſirous to keep his Army ſtrong until the coming of *Aſdrubal*. Yet could he not avoid the importunity of *Marcellus*, nor brook the indignity of being daily braved. He therefore bade his men to be luſty, and to beat ſoundly this hot-ſpirited *Roman* Captain, that would never ſuffer them to be at quiet; until they once had cooled well his courage, by letting him blood. Hereupon followed a battel; wherein *Hannibal* had the victory; took ſix Enſigns; and ſlew of the *Romans* almoſt 3000, among which were ſome of mark. *Marcellus* was ſo impatient of his diſhonour, that he rated his men, as Peſants, and baſe cowards: telling them, that they were the firſt of the *Roman* Legions, which had been beaten by *Hannibal*, by plain force and manhood, without being circumvented by any ſtratagem. With theſe and many other the like words, which they were aſhamed to hear, he did ſo vex them, that thinking themſelves better able to endure any violence of the enemy, than ſuch diſpleaſure of their General; they beſought him to pardon them, and lead them forth once again to fight. He did ſo: and placing thoſe Companies formoſt, that had loſt their Enſigns the day before, bade them be careful to win a victory; whereof the news might be at *Rome*, before the report of their ſhameful overthrow. *Hannibal* was angry, to ſee that nothing could make this Enemy quiet: and therefore was ready to fight again; ſince all other motives continued the ſame, and his men had been heartned by the late victory. But the *Romans* were ſtirred up with deſire of revenge, and of repairing their honour loſt, which affections gave a ſharp edge unto their valour: whereas the *Carthaginians* were grown dull, and weary by ſeeing themſelves diſappointed of their hope; and the enemy, notwithſtanding their late victory, as ready to moleſt them as before. In this ſecond battel *Marcellus* got the victory: which he purchaſed at ſo dear a rate; that neither he, nor *Hannibal*, had great cauſe to vaunt, the ſecond night. For if 8000 of the *Carthaginians* were ſlain, and 3000 of the *Roman* ſide, in this next battel, the difference was no greater, than even to recompence the late received overthrow: eſpecially ſince the number of the *Romans* that were wounded, was ſo great, as diſabled *Marcellus* from purſuing *Hannibal*; who diſlodged by night. Nevertheleſs it ſufficed, that *Fabius* the Conſul hereby got leiſure, to follow his buſineſs at *Tarentum* without any diſturbance. *Q. Fulvius* the other Conſul about the ſame time, took in many of the *Hirpines*, *Lucans*, and *Volcentes*, that willingly yielded themſelves, and betrayed the Garriſons of *Hannibal* that lay in their Towns; whom *Fulvius* entertained in loving ſort; gently rebuking them for their errours paſt, without puniſhing thoſe that had been authors, or buſie doers in the rebellion. That rabble of *Sicilian* thieves, which *Lævinus* had lately brought from *Agaterna*, was then alſo ſet on work to beſiege *Caulonia*, a Town of the *Brutians*: and nothing was omitted, that might ſerve to divert *Hannibal*, from the ſuccour of *Tarentum*.

Q. Fabius the Conſul, having taken *Manduria* a Town of the *Salentines*, ſate down before *Tarentum*: making all preparation that ſeemed needful to carry it either by aſſault or long ſiege. Of the Garriſons in the Town, a good part were *Brutians*, placed there by *Hannibal*, under a Captain of their own Nation. This Captain fell in love with a *Tarentine* wench; whoſe brother ſerved under *Fabius*. Hereof ſhe gave notice by letters to her brother, as thinking belike to draw him from the *Roman* ſide; by telling him how rich, and of what great account her lover was. But her brother made the Conſul acquainted with theſe news: and ſaid, that if the *Brutian* were far in love, he might perhaps be won, by intreaty of his Miſtriſs, to do what ſhe would have him. The Conſul hearing this, and finding likelihood in the matter, willed his Souldier to convey himſelf into the Town as a fugitive, and try what good might be done. It fell out according to his deſire. The Souldier grew acquainted with this *Brutian* Captain: and partly by his own perſwaſions, partly by the flattering intreaty of his ſiſter; wan him to betray the Town to the *Romans*. When they had agreed upon the buſineſs, and reſolved how to order it; the ſame Souldier got out of the Town by night, and acquainted the Conſul with his proceedings: telling him in which part that *Brutian* kept watch, and what might conveniently be done. So in the night time, *Fabius* gave an alarm to the City; eſpecially about thoſe parts of the wall, which were fartheſt from the place where he meant to enter. The Captains in the Town, prepared to make reſiſtance in thoſe places, where the noiſe did threaten them with greateſt likelihood of danger. But *Fabius* himſelf with the choice of his men, came in great ſilence to the quarter of the *Brutians*: who being wrought by their Captain, helped the *Romans* to get up, and break open the next gate, whereat the Army was let in. The *Tarentines* and *Carthaginian* Souldiers, made head againſt *Fabius* in the Market place: but (as happeneth in like caſes, where the main confidence is already taken away) not very obſtinately. *Nico*, *Democrates* and *Philomenes*, with thoſe that before had let in *Hannibal*, uſed now the laſt of their courage in dying againſt the *Romans*. *Carthalo*, who commanded

commanded the Garrison within the Town, offered himself prisoner: hoping to be well used because of his hospitality that had passed between his Father and the Consul. But he was slain by the way, ere he could come to *Fabius*. The *Romans* did put all indifferently to the sword, in such sort, that they spared few of the *Brutians*. This slaughter of the *Brutian*, was thought to have been made by appointment of the Consul, to the end that he might seem to have won the Town by force and not by treason: though he thereby failed of his purpose; and neither had the glory which he expected, nor preserved his reputation of faithful dealing, and keeping his word. The booty found in *Tarentum* was very great: whereof the *Roman* Treasury, whither it was carried, had great need. As for the Imageries, and other curiosities that were in the City, *Fabius* was contented to let them alone: and being told of some Idols that seemed worthy to be carried away, being very goodly pieces, in such habit and posture as if they were fighting: he said, Let us leave unto the *Tarentines* their angry gods.

Hannibal being gotten clear from *Marcellus*, fell upon those that besieged *Caulonia*. They fled at his coming: but he was so near, that they were fain to betake them to a hill, which served to no other purpose, than to bear off the first brunt. There they defended themselves a little while, and then they yielded. When this business was done, he hasted away to relieve *Tarentum*. But when he came within five miles of the City, he had news that it was lost. This grieved him: yet he said no more than this, *The* Romans *have also their* Hannibal; we have lost *Tarentum* in such sort as we got it. That he might not seem to turn back amazed, or in any fear of the victorious Consul; he incamped a few daies together, so near as he was unto *Tarentum*: and thence departing to *Metapontum*, bethought himself how to take *Fabius* in a trap. He caused the chief of the *Metapontines* to write unto *Fabius*, and offer to betray into his hands, the *Carthaginian* Garrison; with condition, that he should in that respect, forgive them all offences past. These letters were sent by two young men of the same City; who did their errand so well, that the Consul wrote back by them unto the *Metapontines*, and appointed the day, when they should expect him. Hereof *Hannibal* was exceeding glad: and at good leisure made ready his ambushes for the wary *Fabius*. But whether some secret notice of the plot were given; or whether indeed (as it is related) some tokens in sacrificing, terrified the superstitious *Roman*; the journey to *Metapontum* was deferred. Hereupon the same two Messengers were employed again; but being apprehended, and threatned with torture, they discovered all.

This year was happy to the *Romans*, in all their wars: for they got every where, save only at *Caulonia*; where they had lost a company of such lewd fellows, that it may seem good fortune, to have been so rid of them. But their common poverty, and disability to maintain their charge, continued, and grew greater than it was before. Thirty *Roman* Colonies were then in *Italy*: of which, twelve refused to contribute any longer to the Wars. For it was considered; that the Legions of *Cannæ*, and those unhappy Companies that had been beaten under the one and the other *Cn. Fulvius*, were transported into *Sicily*; where they lived, in a sort, as banished men. This grieved their friends at home, and made them reckon up the more diligently those other miseries which they daily felt. Ten years together they had been exhausted with levies of men, and impositions of money: in every of which years they had received some notable overthrow. In this case the least that they could fear, or rather the best that they could hope; was to fall into the hands of the enemy to be made prisoners. For *Hannibal* did gently send home their people that was taken by him: whereas the *Romans* did banish from their homes, those that had escaped. It was therefore likely to come to pass within a while, that they should be all consumed: since new souldiers were daily pressed forth of their Towns; and the old ones never returned. Such talk was frequent among those of the Colonies: especially where they that were transported into *Sicily*, had most compassionate friends. Wherefore it was concluded by the people of *Ardea*, *Sutrium*, *Alba*, and other good Towns, to the number of twelve, That they should boldly deny unto the *Romans* their farther help. This was thought the likeliest way to obtain peace: whereof otherwise they saw little hope, as long as *Hannibal* lived. When the Consuls heard the Embassadours of these Towns make such declaration, and protest their disability of giving any further help; they were much amazed. They willed the Embassadours to return home, and bring a better answer, forasmuch as this was none other than treason: they bade them to consider, that the people were not *Campans* or *Tarentines*, but the off-spring of the *Romans*; and no less partakers of the Empire, than they that inhabited the Mother-City. But all would not serve, the Embassadours continuing to protest, that they had already done what they could, and that they had remaining, neither men, nor money. It was well for the *Romans* that the other eighteen Colonies did not imitate these twelve; but shewed themselves willing to undergo whatsoever should be laid upon them, without shrinking under the burden. This their offer was so higly pleasing to the Consuls; that the Embassadours of those faithful Colonies, were brought into the Senate, and produced into the Assembly of the people: where, with commemoration of all their former good services, this their present love unto the State was magnified, and thanks accordingly bestowed upon them; with promise, that it should not be forgotten. As for the Embassadours of those twelve Colonies, that refused to contribute; it was thought best, neither to detain them in the City, nor yet to dismiss them, nor take any notice of them at all; but leave them to their own consideration of their ill deserving.

It may greatly be doubted, what the example of these twelve people would have wrought in those that were so willing to help the State, if *Asdrubal* had been then coming into *Italy*. For then must the *Romans* have betaken themselves wholly to their own defence; whereas now, to the great comfort of their subjects, they employed their forces in the conquest of *Italy*, with hopeful and fortunate success. Nevertheless, they were fain to open their most privy treasury; and thence take out the gold that had been laid up to serve them in cases of greatest extremity. Of the mony thus extracted, one quarter was delivered to *Fabius* the Consul, to set him well out against the *Tarentines*; all the rest was sent into *Spain* to *Scipio*, for the maintenance of his Army; and to provide that *Asdrubal* might not pass from thence into *Italy*. It is likely that *Fabius* did not spend all his money; finding such easie success at *Tarentum*, as was shewed before. But to stop the journey of *Asdrubal*; neither the mony sent into *Spain*, nor any

any victories won by *Scipio* could ſuffice. Nevertheleſs, it fell out happily for the people of *Rome*, that this year, and the next were ſpent, before his coming; and they better prepared, than at leſs warning they could have been, to entertain him. Here it were not amiſs to note, that ſince the *Romans*, being in ſo great a neceſſity of mony, were driven to furniſh the Army in *Spain*, with the greateſt part of all their ſtock that was left: it muſt needs be, that either the booty taken in new *Carthage*, was far leſs than fame had reported it; or elſe that *Scipio* had not as yet won it: howſoever *Livie* rather inclines to thoſe, who ſay that he got it ſoon after his arrival.

M. Claudius Marcellus, and *T. Quintus Criſpinus*, were choſen Conſuls after *Fabius* and *Fulvius*. In their year it was, that *Aſdrubal* took his journey out of *Spain*, though he came not into *Italy* until the year following. After the great battel at *Canne*, *Hannibal* had loſt much time about *Cannæ* and *Naples*, in ſeeking to make himſelf Maſter of a good haven; for the landing of thoſe ſuccours that were promiſed from *Carthage*. The hope that he repoſed in *Philip*, cauſed him to turn his principal care to the Eaſtern parts of *Italy*; where he made ready a fair entrance for the *Macedonian*, if he had been ready to come; but ſince his hope was vaniſhed, and the long promiſed ſuccour of *Aſdrubal* was (though far later than had been expedient) ready to arrive: he began to deal with the people of *Hetruria*, through whoſe Countries his Brother was to paſs, that therein he might make a party againſt the *Romans*. The loſs of *Capua*, *Tarentum*, and many other Towns, might have terrified all other of the *Italian* Towns, from hearkning to any ſolicitation of the *Carthaginians*. Yet the poverty of the *Romans*, and wearineſs of their adherents, together with the fame of a greater Army coming than that which *Hannibal* brought into *Italy*; did embolden many of the *Hetrurians*, eſpecially the *Aretines*, to take ſuch counſel as they thought moſt expedient for themſelves, without regard of their fidelity to *Rome*. The *Roman* Senate, hearing the rumour of this conſpiracy, ſent *Marcellus* the new choſen Conſul into *Hetruria*: whoſe coming did ſo terrifie them, that they reſted quiet for a while. All the year following they were deviſing how to break out: as contrarywiſe the *Roman* Proprætors, partly by terrour of ſevere judgments and inquiſitions; and partly by the force of two or three Legions, with which they viſited all ſuſpected places, kept them honeſt againſt their wills, and took many Hoſtages for better aſſurance. The two Conſuls had an earneſt deſire, to make ſtrong War upon *Hannibal* without more temporiſing; perſwading themſelves, that in battel they ſhould be too ſtrong for him. *Criſpinus* had further his particular deſire, to make his Conſulſhip notable by the winning of ſome good Town: as *Fulvius* and *Fabius* had gotten honour by *Capua* and *Tarentum*. Therefore he went about the ſiege of *Locri*; one of the beſt Cities which the *Carthaginian* then held in *Italy*: and brought thither all ſorts of Engines; ſending for a fleet out of *Sicily* to help him. But *Hannibal* was not ſlow to relieve the City: the fame of whoſe approach, made *Criſpinus* deſiſt from his enterpriſe, and retire unto his Colleague, that lay at *Venuſia*. Thither followed *Hannibal*, to whom the Conſuls daily offered battel. This great man of War had no need to ſtand upon his reputation: which was already ſo confirmed, that his refuſing to fight, was not likely to be aſcribed unto fear; but rather deemed as part of his wiſdom. He entertained the Conſuls with many light skirmiſhes, and ſought to take them at ſome advantage; reſerving his own numbers as full as he could, unto a time of greater employment. In this lingring manner of War, *Marcellus* took no pleaſure: but ſought to compel the Enemy to battel, whether he would or no. The Admiral of the *Roman* fleet about *Sicily*, *L. Cincius*, was commanded again to aſſail the Town of *Locri*: which might well enough be forced, if *Hannibal* continued as he began, to trifle away the time at *Venuſia*. To the ſame purpoſe a part of the Garriſon that lay in *Tarentum*, was appointed to go by land to the aſſiſtance of *Cincius*. But *Hannibal* had an eye behind him. He laid an ambuſh in the way, between *Tarentum* and *Locri*, whereinto the *Romans* fell: and having loſt above three thouſand of their Company, were well glad, the reſt of them, to quit their enterpriſe, and ſave their own lives within *Tarentum*. As for the Conſuls, it was the deſire of *Hannibal* to waſte their Army by little and little: which to do, he neglected no advantage. There lay between him and them an Hillock, overgrown with wood, that ſeemed fit to cover a number of men: who lying there undiſcerned, might fall upon ſuch as ſhould ſtraggle from the *Roman* Camp; and cut them off. Therefore he ſent thither by night ſome companies of *Numidians*: whom he willed to keep themſelves cloſe, and attend their beſt advantage. To this piece of ground the Conſuls thought it fit to remove their Camp: *Marcellus* thinking that he never lay near enough unto *Hannibal*. Thither therefore both of them rode to view the place, accompanied with the ſon of *Marcellus*, a few Colonels, and other principal men: and not many more than two hundred horſe, moſt of them *Hetrurians*. The *Numidian* Centinel gave warning of their approach to his fellows, who diſcovered not themſelves until they had ſurrounded the Conſuls and their train. The Conſuls, as neceſſity compelled them, defended themſelves: hoping to be quickly relieved from their camp that was near at hand. But the *Hetrurians* ran away from them, at the firſt: and left them in that great danger, to the weak aſſiſtance of no more than forty horſemen, that were of the Colonie of *Fregellæ*. Theſe *Fregellans* abode by the Conſuls, and did what they could to have brought them ſafe off. But when *Marcellus* was ſtricken thorow with a Lance and fell down dead; then began every one to ſhift for himſelf, and eſcape as they might. *Criſpinus* the other Conſul, had his deaths wound, being ſtricken with two Darts; and young *Marcellus* was likewiſe wounded; yet theſe two recovered their camp: The reſt of the Colonels and Officers, together with the Lictors that carried the bundle of Rods and Axes before the Conſuls, were all ſlain or taken. To the dead body of the Conſul *Marcellus*, *Hannibal* gave honourable Funeral, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times: and beſtowing his aſhes in a ſilver pot, covered it with a crown of gold; and ſo ſent them to young *Marcellus*, to be by him interred, where he thought good.

Preſently after this *Criſpinus* bethought himſelf, how that the ſignet Ring of *Marcellus* was faln into the cuſtody of *Hannibal*; who might uſe it to his own purpoſes, ere that which had happened were well known abroad. Wherefore he ſent word unto all the Towns about; that his Colleague was ſlain, and that *Hannibal* had gotten his Ring: wiſhing them in that regard, to give no credit unto any letters therewithal ſigned. This providence of *Criſpinus* was not more than requiſite.

requiſite. For his Meſſenger was but a little before come to *Salapia*, when another Meſſenger arrived there ſent from *Hannibal*, bringing letters in the name of *Marcellus*, and ſealed with the captive Ring; whereof the contents were: That it was his purpoſe to come the ſame night unto *Salapia*; where he willed, that the Souldiers of the Garriſon ſhould be in a readineſs, for ſuch imployment as he ſhould think needful. The device was plain, and no leſs plain was the revengeful mind which he bare againſt that City, becauſe of his brave *Numidian* companies that had therein been betrayed. The *Salapians* hereupon beſought themſelves, how to take their enemy in his own ſnare. They ſent back the Meſſenger, which was a *Roman* fugitive, without letting him perceive any ſign of diſtruſt in them. This done, they prepared all things in a readineſs, for the entertainment of ſuch a friend. Late in the night he came thither; with a troop of *Roman* fugitives armed *Roman*-like, leading the way. Theſe all talking Latine together, called unto the Watch, and bade open the gate; for the Conſul was there. The gate was opened fair and leiſurely, and the Port-cullis drawn up no higher than needs it muſt be, to let them enter. But when ſix hundred of them were gotten in, down fell the Port-cullis again: and they that thought to have taken others, were taken themſelves; being laid at on all hands by the *Salapines*, that quickly made an end with them.

Hannibal being thus over-reached with this ſtratagem, haſted away to *Locri*; whereunto *Cincius* the Admiral of the *Roman* fleet about *Cicil*, did lay hard ſiege. The firſt appearance of the *Numidians*, *Hannibal* his Vantcurrors, made the *Romans* in all confuſed haſte, run to their ſhips: leaving all their engines, and whatſoever was in their Camp, to the enemies diſpoſition.

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any victories won by *Scipio* could ſuffice. Nevertheleſs, it fell out happily for the people of *Rome*, that this year, and the next were ſpent, before his coming; and they better prepared, than at leſs warning they could have been, to entertain him. Here it were not amiſs to note, that ſince the *Romans*, being in ſo great a neceſſity of mony, were driven to furniſh the Army in *Spain*, with the greateſt part of all their ſtock that was left: it muſt needs be, that either the booty taken in new *Carthage*, was far leſs than fame had reported it; or elſe that *Scipio* had not as yet won it: howſoever *Livie* rather inclines to thoſe, who ſay that he got it ſoon after his arrival.

M. Claudius Marcellus, and *T. Quintus Criſpinus*, were choſen Conſuls after *Fabius* and *Fulvius*. In their year it was, that *Aſdrubal* took his journey out of *Spain*, though he came not into *Italy* until the year following. After the great battel at *Canne*, *Hannibal* had loſt much time about *Cannæ* and *Naples*, in ſeeking to make himſelf Maſter of a good haven; for the landing of thoſe ſuccours that were promiſed from *Carthage*. The hope that he repoſed in *Philip*, cauſed him to turn his principal care to the Eaſtern parts of *Italy*; where he made ready a fair entrance for the *Macedonian*, if he had been ready to come; but ſince his hope was vaniſhed, and the long promiſed ſuccour of *Aſdrubal* was (though far later than had been expedient) ready to arrive: he began to deal with the people of *Hetruria*, through whoſe Countries his Brother was to paſs, that therein he might make a party againſt the *Romans*. The loſs of *Capua*, *Tarentum*, and many other Towns, might have terrified all other of the *Italian* Towns, from hearkning to any ſolicitation of the *Carthaginians*. Yet the poverty of the *Romans*, and wearineſs of their adherents, together with the fame of a greater Army coming than that which *Hannibal* brought into *Italy*; did embolden many of the *Hetrurians*, eſpecially the *Aretines*, to take ſuch counſel as they thought moſt expedient for themſelves, without regard of their fidelity to *Rome*. The *Roman* Senate, hearing the rumour of this conſpiracy, ſent *Marcellus* the new choſen Conſul into *Hetruria*: whoſe coming did ſo terrifie them, that they reſted quiet for a while. All the year following they were deviſing how to break out: as contrarywiſe the *Roman* Proprætors, partly by terrour of ſevere judgments and inquiſitions; and partly by the force of two or three Legions, with which they viſited all ſuſpected places, kept them honeſt againſt their wills, and took many Hoſtages for better aſſurance. The two Conſuls had an earneſt deſire, to make ſtrong War upon *Hannibal* without more temporiſing; perſwading themſelves, that in battel they ſhould be too ſtrong for him. *Criſpinus* had further his particular deſire, to make his Conſulſhip notable by the winning of ſome good Town: as *Fulvius* and *Fabius* had gotten honour by *Capua* and *Tarentum*. Therefore he went about the ſiege of *Locri*; one of the beſt Cities which the *Carthaginian* then held in *Italy*: and brought thither all ſorts of Engines; ſending for a fleet out of *Sicily* to help him. But *Hannibal* was not ſlow to relieve the City: the fame of whoſe approach, made *Criſpinus* deſiſt from his enterpriſe, and retire unto his Colleague, that lay at *Venuſia*. Thither followed *Hannibal*, to whom the Conſuls daily offered battel. This great man of War had no need to ſtand upon his reputation: which was already ſo confirmed, that his refuſing to fight, was not likely to be aſcribed unto fear; but rather deemed as part of his wiſdom. He entertained the Conſuls with many light skirmiſhes, and ſought to take them at ſome advantage; reſerving his own numbers as full as he could, unto a time of greater employment. In this lingring manner of War, *Marcellus* took no pleaſure: but ſought to compel the Enemy to battel, whether he would or no. The Admiral of the *Roman* fleet about *Sicily*, *L. Cincius*, was commanded again to aſſail the Town of *Locri*: which might well enough be forced, if *Hannibal* continued as he began, to trifle away the time at *Venuſia*. To the ſame purpoſe a part of the Garriſon that lay in *Tarentum*, was appointed to go by land to the aſſiſtance of *Cincius*. But *Hannibal* had an eye behind him. He laid an ambuſh in the way, between *Tarentum* and *Locri*, whereinto the *Romans* fell: and having loſt above three thouſand of their Company, were well glad, the reſt of them, to quit their enterpriſe, and ſave their own lives within *Tarentum*. As for the Conſuls, it was the deſire of *Hannibal* to waſte their Army by little and little: which to do, he neglected no advantage. There lay between him and them an Hillock, overgrown with wood, that ſeemed fit to cover a number of men: who lying there undiſcerned, might fall upon ſuch as ſhould ſtraggle from the *Roman* Camp; and cut them off. Therefore he ſent thither by night ſome companies of *Numidians*: whom he willed to keep themſelves cloſe, and attend their beſt advantage. To this piece of ground the Conſuls thought it fit to remove their Camp: *Marcellus* thinking that he never lay near enough unto *Hannibal*. Thither therefore both of them rode to view the place, accompanied with the ſon of *Marcellus*, a few Colonels, and other principal men: and not many more than two hundred horſe, moſt of them *Hetrurians*. The *Numidian* Centinel gave warning of their approach to his fellows, who diſcovered not themſelves until they had ſurrounded the Conſuls and their train. The Conſuls, as neceſſity compelled them, defended themſelves: hoping to be quickly relieved from their camp that was near at hand. But the *Hetrurians* ran away from them, at the firſt: and left them in that great danger, to the weak aſſiſtance of no more than forty horſemen, that were of the Colonie of *Fregella*. Theſe *Fregellans* abode by the Conſuls, and did what they could to have brought them ſafe off. But when *Marcellus* was ſtricken thorow with a Lance and fell down dead; then began every one to ſhift for himſelf, and eſcape as they might. *Criſpinus* the other Conſul, had his death's wound, being ſtricken with two Darts; and young *Marcellus* was likewiſe wounded; yet theſe two recovered their camp: The reſt of the Colonels and Officers, together with the Lictors that carried the bundle of Rods and Axes before the Conſuls, were all ſlain or taken. To the dead body of the Conſul *Marcellus*, *Hannibal* gave honourable Funeral, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times: and beſtowing his aſhes in a ſilver pot, covered it with a crown of gold; and ſo ſent them to young *Marcellus*, to be by him interred, where he thought good.

Preſently after this *Criſpinus* bethought himſelf, how that the ſignet Ring of *Marcellus* was faln into the cuſtody of *Hannibal*; who might uſe it to his own purpoſes, ere that which had happened were well known abroad. Wherefore he ſent word unto all the Towns about; that his Colleague was ſlain, and that *Hannibal* had gotten his Ring: wiſhing them in that regard, to give no credit unto any letters therewithal ſigned. This providence of *Criſpinus* was not more than requiſite.

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Here we may behold a true figure of that Emblem, with which *Themiſtocles* checked the ingratitude of the *Athenians*: reſembling himſelf to a Palm-tree, the branches and boughs whereof men break in fair weather; but run under it for ſhelter in a ſtorm. Such unthankfulneſs to well deſerving men, is not rarely found in the outragious multitude. Neither was the late example hereto much unlike, of *Philip* the ſecond King of *Spain* his dealing with the Duke of *Alva*. For although he had committed the Duke to priſon, upon ſome ſmall offence conceived, without all regard of his former deſerts: yet when his intended Conqueſt of *Portugal*, required the ſervice of a man more than ordinarily ſufficient; he ſtood no longer upon the

ſcanning of late diſpleaſures; but employed the ſame Duke, whom he had newly diſgraced. This is wiſdom often taught by neceſſity.

It was a dangerous year toward, when *C. Claudius Nero*, and *M. Livius* were choſen Conſuls, *Aſdrubal* was already come into *France*, and waited only, to have the wayes of the Alps thawed by warm weather, for his paſſage into *Italy*. The *Romans* uſed at this time the ſervice of three and twenty Legions: and wanted not employment for many more, if they had known how to levy and maintain them. Of theſe which they had, four ſerved in *Spain*, two in *Sicil*, and two in *Sardinia*: the reſt were ſo diſpoſed, in ſeveral parts of *Italy*, where need ſeemed to require, that only two Legions were left to each of the Conſuls. But the Conſuls were men of execution; and would not be tyed to the punctual obſervance of what the Senate thought fit. *M. Livius* would not ſtir out of *Rome*, againſt ſo mighty a power as followed *Aſdrubal*, until he had firſt obtained, that he might carry with him as many as could well be ſpared from other imployments; and thoſe, or the moſt of them, choſen Companies. It was true that two Legions appointed to ſerve under *Lucius Portius* a Prætor of that year, among the *Ciſalpine Gauls*, might be reckoned as an additament to the forces of *Livius*; to whom the War againſt *Aſdrubal* was alloted. So might alſo two other Legions, that were among the *Salentines*, near unto *Tarentum*, unto another of the Prætors be accounted a part of *Claudius* his Army, that was ſent againſt *Hannibal*. Nevertheleſs, the Conſuls, by the eſpecial inſtance of *Livie*, did obtain, that all might be left to their own diſcretion. For news came that *Aſdrubal* was already paſſing the Alps; the *Ligurians*, who dwelt in the Country about *Genua*, with their neighbour people, were in readineſs to joyn with him; and *L. Portius* ſent word, that he would adventure no further, than he ſafely might. When all was ordered as themſelves thought beſt, the two Conſuls went forth of the City, each his ſeveral way. The people of *Rome* were now quite otherwiſe affected, than they had been, when *L. Æmilius Paulus*, and *C. Terentius Varro*, were ſent againſt *Hannibal*. They did no longer take upon them, to direct their Generals, or bid them diſpatch, and win the victory betimes: but rather they ſtood in fear, leſt all diligence, wiſdom and valour ſhould prove too little. For ſince few years had paſſed, wherein ſome one of their Generals had not been ſlain; and ſince it was manifeſt, that if either of theſe preſent Conſuls were defeated, or put to the worſt the two *Carthaginians* would forthwith joyn, and make ſhort work with the other: it ſeemed a greater happineſs than could be expected, that each of them ſhould return home victor; and come off with honour, from ſuch mighty oppoſition, as he was like to find. With extream difficulty had *Rome* held up her head, ever ſince the battle of *Cannæ*: though it were ſo that *Hannibal* alone, with little help from *Carthage*, had continued the War in *Italy*. But there was now arrived another Son of *Amilcar*; and one, that in his preſent Expedition, had ſeemed a man of more ſufficiency than *Hannibal* himſelf. For whereas in that long and dangerous march, thorow barbarous Nations, over great Rivers and Mountains, that were thought unpaſſable, *Hannibal* had loſt a great part of his Army: this *Aſdrubal* in the ſame places, had multiplied his numbers; and gathering the people, that he found in the way, deſcended from the Alps like a rowling Snow-ball, far greater than he came over the Pyrenees at his firſt ſetting out of *Spain*. Theſe conſiderations, and the like, of which fear preſented many unto them, cauſed the people of *Rome*, to wait upon their Conſuls out of the Town, like a penſive train of Mourners: thinking upon *Marcellus* and *Criſpinus*; upon whom in the like ſort they had given attendance the laſt year; but ſaw neither of them return alive, from a leſs dangerous War. Particularly, old *Q. Fabius* gave his accuſtomed advice to *M. Livius*, that he ſhould abſtain from giving or taking battle, untill he well underſtood the Enemies condition. But the Conſul made him a froward anſwer, and ſaid, that he would fight the very firſt day: for that he thought it long, till he ſhould either recover his honour by victory; or by ſeeing the overthrow of his own unjuſt Citizens, ſatisfie himſelf with the joy of a great, though not an honeſt revenge. But his meaning was better than his words.

Of the overthrow that *Aſdrubal* received in *Spain* by *Scipio*, a little before he took his Journey into *Italy*; ſuch mention hath already been made, as agreed with the report of that noble Hiſtorian *Livie*. Yet I think it not amiſs to add in this place, what may be gathered out of the remaining fragments of *Polybius* his Hiſtory concerning that accident: *Aſdrubal* had wreſtled with many difficulties in *Spain*; by reaſon of thoſe Captains that were ſent from the City of *Carthage*, to joyn with him in the adminiſtration of that Province: they being, as it may ſeem, of the *Hannonian* faction; which is to ſay, thus far forth Traytors, that they preferred the advantage of their own ſide, before the good of their Common-wealth. In what particulars they wronged this worthy Son of *Amilcar*, and how they hindred his courſes undertaken, it cannot be known; ſince thoſe Books wherein *Polybius* hath exactly handled theſe matters, there are to us remaining only a few broken pieces. But by the ſpightful dealing of *Hanno* in *Scicil* with *Mutines*, a better man of War than himſelf, whom *Hannibal* had ſent into the Iſland: we may conceive, that againſt the Brother of *Hannibal* it was thought needful, by theſe miſchievous Partizans of *Hanno*, to uſe the violent oppoſition of more earneſt malice. Nevertheleſs, *Aſdrubal* was a good Patriot: and therefore endured patiently ſuch indignities, as *Mutines* could not long digeſt. His Journey into *Italy* being reſolved upon: he lay with part of the Army at *Betula*, not far upon the Mines of Silver; whence he was to furniſh his Expeditions. Thither came *Scipio*; and drave him out of his Camp; though he were ſtrongly lodged, before the other *Carthaginian* Captains could or would come to his aſſiſtance. The overthrow ſeems not to have been ſo great, as it muſt have been ſuppoſed, if no way lay open to thoſe that fled. Rather it appears, that *Aſdrubal* dealt like a provident man, and ſeeing that his Camp was likely to be forced, ſent away all mony with the Elephants before him: but ſtayed behind himſelf to ſuſtain the *Romans* a while, until his carriages might be out of danger. Herein he had his deſire, afterwards he gathered his broken troops together, and retired in ſuch ſort, that *Scipio* thought it not good to purſue him, and ſo paſſed over *Tagus*. Then taking unto him the forces aſſigned for his expedition, he marched away toward the Pyrenees: leaving the care of *Spain* unto his Brother *Mago*, and to *Aſdrubal* the Son of *Geſco*; that thought himſelf the fitteſt man for the adminiſtration thereof. Fain would *Scipio* have ſtopped him in his Journey, by ſending to defend againſt him the ordinary

Excerpt. e Polyb. hiſt. l. 10, & 11.

ordinary way of the Mountains. But whether *Asdrubal* took another way, or whether he forced the guards that *Scipio* had sent to keep the Pyrenees (as the defence of hard passages commonly sorts to no good effect) he was not letted in his voyage by any such impediment. Coming into *Gaul*, and following the steps of his Brother *Hannibal*: he found the Nations that lay in his way, so well affected, either to him or to his money, that no passages were defended against him, nor any sort of resistance made; but he, and his Army well entertained, and their number much increased, by access of such as were desirous to take his pay. Of these he had the better choice: for that he was driven to winter in their Country; whilst that the passages of the Alps were closed up with Ice and Snow. The Mountainers likewise, that had so greatly molested *Hannibal* in his Journey over the Alps, were easily won to take part with *Asdrubal*, when he travelled thorow their Country. For these poor men, at the first coming of *Hannibal*, were verily perswaded, that it was his purpose to rob them of their cattle; and to make spoil of that little wealth which they had painfully scraped together out of the desolate rocks. But now in process of time, they were better informed. Therefore, understanding that there were two mighty Cities, far dis-joyned asunder, which made War upon each other, by Land and Sea; and that the Alps did only lye in the way: they gladly condescended to take their part in the fortune of the invadvers. The like affection upon greater cause, was afterward found in the *Cisalpine Gauls*. The *Ligurians* also joyned with *Asdrubal*: and so would the *Hetrurians* have done, if he had arrived in their Country, there was no other *Roman* Army near, than *L. Portius* with his two Legions; of whom there was no great fear. Therefore did *Asdrubal* set upon *Placentia*, a *Roman* Colony: in hope to make his coming the more terrible, by the destruction of that Town. But there he lost a great deal of time, and finally was driven to quit the enterprise: by undertaking which, he gave the *Roman* Consuls leasure to make ready for him; and caused his Brother *Hannibal* (who upon the first bruit of *Asdrubal* he so timely, and easily passing the Alps, was about to leave his wintring Camps, and go forth to meet with him) to sit still a while, as well aware, that *Placentia* would not be taken in haste.

C. Claudius Nero the *Roman* Consul, made what speed he could to meet with *Hannibal* and stop him from joyning with his Brother. He had about forty thousand foot, and five hundred horse: with which he dayly offered battle to the *Carthaginians*; and had of him the better in many Skirmishes. *Hannibal* was only driven to make a tedious march from the borders of the *Salentines* and *Apulians*, unto the Country of the *Brutians*, there to increase his forces; which were otherwise too weak for the Journey intended. Afterward coming to *Grumentum*, a Town of the *Lucans*, he there fought unprosperously with *Nero* the Consul. Nevertheless, he got off; and marched away to *Venusia*. But *Nero* followed him, and had there again the better of him; wherefore he was driven to return to *Metaponcum*: where joyning *Hanno*, that had made ready a good Army, he assayed again, to make way by force to his Brother. So he passed onward, and came again to *Venusia*, having *Nero* still at his heels. Thence went he over the River *Ausidus*, to *Canusium*, where he sate down, not far from the place, in which he had obtained his most memorable victory. There also did *Nero* sit down by him: and both of them rested, without making offer to fight. It seemed perhaps unto *Hannibal*, who knew the Contry very well: that his Brother might with little impediment, overcome the way to *Canusium*: where, if he could once again deal with both the Consuls, and all the *Roman* forces together, he had reason to hope for such another victory, as once he had gotten in the same open Country. If this had so faln out; *Rome* would have been undone for ever. But the *Carthaginians* should not have need to wish any second victory, in the naked *Campans* about *Cannæ*; If such an Army as this which *Asdrubal* now brings, had come to second *Hannibal*, when he was in full strength; and the *Romans* not able to keep the field. Wherefore this worthy General had good reason afterward to say that *Hanno* was the man, who by delaying the supply, did beat him out of *Italy*; which else no power of the *Romans* could have done.

Whilst *Nero* waited upon the *Carthaginians*, and thought it enough to hinder them from meeting with the Army that was coming to their succour: he was advertised of *Asdrubal* his approach; by Letters and Messengers intercepted, as they were going to *Hannibal*. These gave notice, that *Asdrubal* had left the siege of *Placentia*, and drew onwards apace: being already come within two hundred miles of his Brother; notwithstanding all opposition that could be made by *Livie* the Consul. Of these news *Claudius Nero* was nothing joyful. For if *Hannibal* could once be joyned as head, unto that great body of an Army, which *Asdrubal* brought with him: it was most apparent, that howsoever the fortune of *Rome* should avoid, for the present, any great calamity; yet the very countenance of so strong a War at home, would inforce the *Latines*, and other faithful Associates to faint under the burden; as twelve of the thirty *Roman* Colonies had already done. Wherefore he resolved, that it were better to make any desperate adventure, than to suffer the conjunction of two such malevolent Planets: whose pestilent influence, if not on the suddain, yet within few years, was like to work most lamentable effects. It seemed apparent, that his *Colleague* was unable to stay the progress of *Asdrubal*: neither were there any good Legions in a readiness, that could do service in such a needful case; excepting those, that were already imployed under the two Consuls. Hereupon he concluded, that it was not expedient for him to tye himself to his own charge; which was the war against *Hannibal*: but rather that it behoved him, to help where more necessity required; and to carry part of his forces unto his Colleague. This could not be without much danger. Yet since the meeting of the two *Carthaginian* Brethren, was far more dangerous to the *Roman* Common-wealth: it seemed the best way to put Fortune in trust, with that which was the less importance. Six thousand foot, and a thousand horse he therefore took, that were the very choise of his Army: and making shew, as if he would only step aside, to do some small piece of service near at hand; away he posted as fast as he could, to assist his fellow-Consul. His Messengers ran before him, to give warning to all Towns by which he was to pass, that they should be ready to meet him with victuals, and all other necessaries for his Army. *Livius* the other Consul at that time, lay encamped near unto *Sena Gallica*; and *Asdrubal*, within half a mile of him. In six dayes *Nero* had finished his Journey thither; and when he drew near, sent Messengers before him

him, to give notice of his coming. *Livie* thought it fitteſt that he ſhould ſtay in ſome place of covert until dark night, and then enter ſecretly into the Camp: leſt the Enemy, perceiving this acceſs of ſtrength, ſhould accordingly frame his counſels. This was done; and a token given, that the Colonels, Captains, and all Souldiers, as well horſe as foot, that *Nero* had brought with him, ſhould be lodged and entertained by men of their own ſort. Their Company was ſomewhat increaſed by Voluntaries that joyned with him on the way. Nevertheleſs it was not needful that the Quarter which received them, ſhould be enlarged; ſince they had brought with them nothing but their arms. The next day they held a Counſel of war: wherein ſome were of opinion, that it were beſt for theſe new arrived Companies to refreſh themſelves a few days after their weary Journey, before they ſhould be drawn forth to battle. But againſt this, *Nero* was very earneſt: and beſought his Colleague, to make uſe of him out of hand; that he might betimes return to his own Camp, e're *Hannibal* ſhould have notice of his abſence. The Souldiers alſo of *Nero* were full of ſpirit; perceiving that the honour of the victory was like to be theirs: foraſmuch as the battle would not have been undertaken, without this their coming to help. Finally, it was agreed when the Counſel brake up, that the ſign of battle ſhould be hung out; which was commonly a Purple Coat over the Generals Pavilion.

Aſdrubal was no leſs willing than the *Romans* to come to battle, having long deſired it, and hitherto not found occaſion before. But when he had put his men in order, and was riding before the head of his Army, to behold the Enemies countenance: it ſeemed to him, that they were more than they had been; and ſome of their Arms and Horſes looked as though they had wanted dreſſing, after a long Journey. Hereupon he began to withdraw his Army back into the Camp: and gave order, that if no priſoners could be taken, by whom he might be certified of the truth; yet ſhould there good obſervation be made, whether the Enemies Camp were enlarged, or no; or what other alteration could be noted, that might ſhew their forces to be increaſed. The Camp, as hath been ſaid, was not extended: but the trumpet, that ſounded onely once in the Quarter of *L. Portius* the Prætor, did now, contrary to former cuſtom, ſound twice in the Quarter of *Livius* the Conſul. Hereat *Aſdrubal* greatly muſed: and being well acquainted with the *Roman* orders, held this for a ſure token, that the other Conſul was there arrived. How this might be, if *Hannibal* were alive, and in good caſe, he was not able to conjecture: but thought it the beſt way, to go leiſurely to work, till he might be better informed. Upon confidence in his own Forces, he had not cared hitherto, how near he lay to the *Romans*; nor troubled himſelf perhaps with overſtrongly fortifying his own Camp. Yet when he now perceived, that ſomewhat was fallen out beſide his expectation, he changed his reſolution; and held it no diſhonour to remove a little further off. So he diſlodged ſecretly by night, intending to get over the River *Metaurus*; whereby to keep himſelf as long as he could, from neceſſity of battle. But whether it were ſo, that his guide did ſteal away from him in the dark, ſo that he could not find the way to the Fords; or whether his carriages were too heavy, and hindred his ſpeed: far he had not gone, e're the Conſul *Nero* was at his heels with all the *Roman* horſe, and ſtayed him from paſſing any further. Soon after came *L. Portius* with the light armature: whom the other Conſul followed anon with all the Legions; in good order, and ready for battle. *Aſdrubal*, ſeeing himſelf overtaken with neceſſity to fight, omitted no care and circumſpection. His *Gauls*, in whom he repoſed leaſt confidence, he placed in his left wing upon a Hill, which the Enemy ſhould not, without much difficulty, be able to climb: in the right wing he ſtood himſelf with his *Africans* and *Spaniards*; his *Ligurians* he placed in the midſt; and his Elephants he beſtowed in the front of his battles. On the *Roman* ſide, *Nero* had the leading of the right wing, *Livius* of the left, and *Portius* of the battle. Both *Romans* and *Carthaginians* well underſtood, how much depended upon the fortune of this day; and how little hope of ſafety there was unto the vanquiſhed. Only the *Romans* herein ſeemed to have had the better in conceit and opinion; that they were to fight with men deſirous to have fled from them. And, according to this preſumption, came *Livius* the Conſul with a proud bravery, to give charge on the *Africans*, by whom he was ſo ſharply entertained, that the victory ſeemed very doubtful. The *Africans* and *Spaniards* were ſtout Souldiers, and well acquainted with the manner of the *Roman* fight. The *Ligurians* alſo were a hardy Nation, and not accuſtomed to give ground; which they needed the leſs, or were able now to do, being placed in the midſt. *Livius* therefore, and *Portius*, found ſtrong oppoſition: and with great ſlaughter on both ſides, prevailed little or nothing. Beſides other difficulties, they were exceedingly troubled by the Elephants, that brake their firſt ranks; and put them in ſuch diſorder, as the *Roman* Enſigns were driven to fall back. All this while *Claudius Nero*, labouring much in vain againſt a ſteep Hill, was unable to come to blows with the *Gauls*, that ſtood oppoſite unto him, but out of danger. This made *Aſdrubal* the more confident; who, ſeeing his own left wing ſafe, did the more boldly and fiercely make impreſſion on the other ſide, upon the left wing of the *Romans*. But *Nero* perceiving that the place wherein he ſtood, was ſuch as would compell him to remain idle till the fight were ended; took a part of his Forces and led them round behind the Forces of *Portius* and *Livius*: which having compaſſed, he fell upon *Aſdrubal*, and charged him in the flanck. Here began the Victory to be manifeſt on the *Roman* ſide. For *Nero*, finding none to reſiſt him in front, ran all along the depth of *Aſdrubal* his battle: and falling upon the skirts thereof, diſordered the Enemies, and put all to rout. Of the *Spaniards* therefore and *Africans*, that were laid at on every ſide, the greateſt part was ſlain. The *Ligurians* and *Gauls* eſcaped as they could; and ſaved themſelves by timely flight. Of the Elephants, four were taken alive; the reſt were ſlain: ſome by the Enemies weapons, others by their own guides that rode them. For when any of them, being ſore wounded, began to wax unruly, and ruſh back upon their own battles following them, the guide had in readineſs a Mallet and a Chizzel, wherewith he gave them a ſtroke between the ears, in the joynt of the neck, next unto the head, wherewith he killed the beaſts upon a ſudden. This ſpeedy way of preventing ſuch harm as the Elephants, being hurt, were wont to do to the Squadrons following them, is ſaid to have been the device of *Aſdrubal* himſelf, who died in this Battle.

Great

Great commendations are given to *Asdrubal*, both by *Polibius*, and by *Livie*. He is said at all times to have shewed himself worthy of *Amilcar* his Father, and *Hannibal* his Brother; to have striven with great patience against many difficulties, whereinto he fell by the means of those Captains that were sent from *Carthage* into *Spain*; to have performed in this last battle all duties of a worthy General; and finally, when he saw the loss irrepairable, to have ridden manfully into the thickest of his Enemies; where, fighting bravely, he was slain. Of the number that died with him in this battle, the report of *Livie* and *Polibius* do very much disagree. For *Livie* saith, that the *Carthaginians* had no less an overthrow, than was that which they gave to the *Romans* at *Cannæ*: that fifty six thousand of them were slain, five thousand and four hundred taken prisoners, and above four thousand *Roman* Citizens, whom they had captives with them, delivered and set at liberty. He saith also, that of the *Romans* and their Associates, there were slain eight thousand: and of the booty, that it was exceeding great; not only in other kinds, but in gold and silver. Concerning the booty, *Polybius* hath no mention of it. Likely it is to have been as rich as *Livie* reporteth it; for *Asdrubal* came well stored with mony. But *Polybius* (who had no desire to make this battle of *Metaurus*, a paralel unto that of *Cannæ*) reports no more then about ten thousand of the *Carthaginian* side; and two thousand of the *Roman*, to have been slain. The number of the prisoners he doth not mention: but only saith, That some of the *Carthaginian* Princes were taken alive; and that all the rest died in the battle. Whereby it may seem that they were all *Barchines*: forasmuch as they preferred the honour of themselves, and of their Country, above their lives.

The joy of this victory was no less in *Rome*, than had been the fear of the event. For ever since it were known in what sort *Nero* had left his Army, the whole City was troubled, as much as lately at *Hannibal* his coming thither. Men thought it strange, that the Consul should make such a great adventure, as thus to put the one half of all the *Roman* forces unto hazard of the Dice. For what if *Hannibal* should chance to have notice of this his departure, and either pursue him, or set upon the Army that staid behind, much weakned, and without a General? Thus did they talk; yet reserving their censure unto the success, with liberty to approve or condemn, according to the issue. In the mean time the people filled the Market-place, the Women ran to the Temples with Vows and Prayers; and the Senators were daily in councel, waiting still ready at hand upon the Magistrates; as if some great matter were likely to fall out, that would ask every ones help. In brief, they were all so full of melancholly, that when the first news of victory came, there were not many that would believe it. Afterwards, when Messengers arrived from the Consuls, with Letters contained all that had passed, there was not only great and joyful concourse of all sorts of men unto the Temples, but the very face of the City was altered; and men from thenceforth began to follow their private business, making contracts one with another (which they had long forborn to do) and attending their own affairs in such wise, as if *Hannibal* were already driven out of *Italy*.

Nero returning to his Camp, threw forth openly the head of *Asdrubal* before the *Carthaginians*: and producing his *African* prisoners bound, sent two of them loose to give *Hannibal* notice of what had hapned. These two prisoners might have served well enough to certifie *Hannibal* of the misadventure, without doing wrong to the dead body of *Asdrubal*: especially since *Hannibal*, in honourable, and far different manner, had given burial to *Gracchus* and *Marcellus*; yea, to all the *Roman* Generals, whose carkasses fell into his hands. But it may seem, that howsoever the People of *Carthage* wanted much of the generous disposition, which was found among the *Romans*, in their love unto the Common-weal: yet in dealing with enemies, they were far more civil, and less prone to the insolency of revenge. The best excuse of this outrage done by *Nero*, is, that he hoped much more by the sudden terrour of such a spectacle, than by the simple relation of that which passed, to make a deep impression of fear into the *Carthaginians*. It may also be said, That he forgot himself, being over-joyed with the greatness of his prosperity. For it was the battle of *Metaurus* that weighed down the ballance, and turned the Tide of the *Roman* fortune: which being then at the lowest Ebb, ceased not afterwards to flow, till it could not be contained within any banks. *Hannibal* having lost in this unhappy fight (besides the worthy Gentleman his brother) all the hope that so long sustained him in *Italy*, withdrew himself into the Country of the *Brutians*: and thither he caused all the *Lucans*, that were of his party, to remove; as likewise all that dwelt in *Metapontum*. For he wanted men to defend so many places, as he held at the present, because they lay too far asunder. Wherefore he drew them all into a lesser compass, in the utmost corner of *Italy*, it being a country of much fastness, and the people exceedingly devoted to his service. In this business *Nero* gave him no memorable impediment: either because *Hannibal* was too strong for him, having all his forces united; or because it is likely that this remove of the *Lucans* and *Metapontines*, was not before the end of Summer, when their harvest was gathered in: at what time the Senate called him home to *Rome*. *M. Livius* the other Consul, tarried among the *Cisalpine Gaules* untill the end of summer; there to set things in such order, as he thought requisite: which done, he wrote unto the Senate, that there was no more need of him and his Army in that Province, but that *L. Portius*, with the two Legions that were there before, might very well discharge the place. For this cause he desired leave to return home; and that he might bring his Army with him. The Senate well understood his meaning: which was to have the honour of triumph, as he well deserved. But forasmuch as it was well known, what interest *Nero* had in the late victory: order was so given, that not only *Livie* with his Army should come home; but likewise *Nero*, though leaving his Army behind him, to confront *Hannibal*. So the honour of triumph was granted to them both: in the pomp whereof, *Livie* made the greater shew, as riding in a Chariot, and followed by his Souldiers; because in his Province, and upon his day of command, the victory was gotten: his Army also being present at the triumph. But *Nero* that rode on horseback, and without such attendance, was the more extolled by the People and Souldiers; by whom, the victory was in a manner wholly ascribed unto his great worth. Neither wanted *L. Veturius Philo*, and *Q. Cecilius Metellus*, Lieutenants to the

the Generals, the due acknowledgement of their good ſervice. For they were commended unto the People, as men worthy to be choſen Conſuls: and Conſuls they were choſen for the year following. But nothing was done by them, worthy of memory in their Conſulſhip. Neither indeed from this year, which was the thirteenth of this preſent war, untill the eighteenth year wherein it ended, was there any matter of importance wrought in *Italy*; ſave only the taking of *Locri* from the *Carthaginians* by ſurpriſe. For *Hannibal* wanted ſtrength, wherewith to make any great offer: and the *Romans* had little mind to provoke him; but thought it well that he was quiet. Such opinion had they conceived of him, that though all about him went to ruine, yet in him alone, they thought there was force enough to hold himſelf upright. And ſurely, very notable are the commendations given unto him by *Polybius*, whom *Livie* therein follows. That making war upon a People, of all other the moſt war-like, he obtained ſo many victories by his own good conduct: and that leading an Army, compounded of ſo many ſundry Nations, *Africans*, *Spaniards*, *Gaules*, *Carthaginians*, *Italians* and *Greeks*, which were neither in Language, Laws, Conditions, or any other thing, one like to another; he held them all in ſuch good order, that they never fell to ſedition among themſelves, or againſt their General. But that which *Livie* adds hereto, is yet perhaps of greater admiration: That he ſuſtained his Army, without help from other places; from this time forward, upon the hungry ſoil of the *Brutians*: which when it was beſt manured in time of peace, could hardly ſuffice to nouriſh the Inhabitants. It's therefore apparent, that by his proper worth and vertue, he kept his Army in ſuch order and obedience, rather than by any greatneſs of reward and booty; ſince after the death of *Aſdrubal*, he made no invaſion upon the wealthier parts of *Italy*; but held himſelf ſtill among the poor *Brutians*. Where we muſt leave him; until he be drawn into *Africk* by *Scipio*; whoſe doing will henceforth entertain, and lead us unto the end of this War.

SECT. XVII.

How P. Cornelius Scipio *the* Roman, *made entire conqueſt of* Spain.

†. I.

How the Carthaginians *were driven by* Scipio *from the Continent into the Iſle of* Gades.

MAgo and *Aſdrubal* the ſon of *Geſco*, took upon them the charge of *Spain*, when *Aſdrubal* the Son of *Amilcar* departed thence into *Italy*. Theſe agreed together, that *Mago* ſhould make a voyage to the *Baleares*; there to levy a ſupply of men; and *Aſdrubal* withdraw himſelf into *Luſitania* (which is now *Portugal*) whither the *Romans* had ill means to follow; being altogether unacquainted in thoſe parts. *Mago* had ſoon ended his buſineſs, and returned into *Spain*: where he met with one *Hanno* (the ſame perhaps that had lately been imployed in *Sicil*) who brought new forces out of *Africk*; and came to ſucceed in place of *Aſdrubal* the *Barchine*. It is not unlikely that *Spain* was now the better, and more readily furniſhed with men, and all things needful from *Carthage*: when that Son of *Amilcar*, whoſe authority had been greateſt, was thence departed. For hereby might the factious diligence of old *Hanno* approve it ſelf, againſt that noble race of Warriors; when it ſhould appear, that things did proſper much the better by being left unto the handling of other men. Whether it were upon deſire to make good ſome ſuch opinion raiſed of him at home, or whether upon confidence in the forces that he brought over; *Hanno* took the field, and led *Mago* with him; as purpoſing afreſh to ſet upon the *Romans*. So he entered into the country of the *Celtiberians*, not very far from new *Carthage*: where, by money, and over-perſwaſions, he levied above nine thouſand men.

P. Scipio in the mean while contained himſelf in the Eaſtern parts of *Spain*: attentive, as it may ſeem to the proceedings of *Aſdrubal*, the ſon of *Amilcar*; againſt whom he is reported by ſome Writers to have ſent part of his forces into *Italy*, to the aſſiſtance of *C. Claudius Nero*, and *M. Livius* the Conſuls. But hearing of the levy made by *Hanno* and *Mago* among the *Celtiberians*, he ſent *M. Syllanus* the Pro-pretor, with ten thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe. *Syllanus* got intelligence by ſome fugitive *Celtiberians*, who became his guides, that their Country-men incamped apart from the *Carthaginians* in great diſorder: as men fearing no danger, becauſe they were at home. Wherefore as cloſely as he was able, he drew near to theſe *Celtiberians*: and falling upon them on the ſudden, gave them ſuch an overthrow, that *Hanno* and *Mago* coming to their ſuccour, inſtead of heartning and re-inforcing them, became partakers of the loſs. *Mago* ſaved himſelf with all the horſe, and old Companies of foot, which were about two thouſand: and in ten dayes journey, brought them ſafe to *Aſdrubal*. The reſt of the *Africans* were either ſlain or taken: among whom, *Hanno* had the ill luck to be taken priſoner; though he kept himſelf out of the fight until all was loſt. As for the *Celtiberians*, they knew better how to make ſhift; and ſaved moſt of themſelves by running into the woods.

It could not otherwiſe be, but that *Scipio* was much troubled with the danger wherein *Italy* ſtood, by the coming thither of *Aſdrubal*. Ten thouſand foot, and eighteen hundred horſe he did therefore ſend out of *Spain* (as it is reported by ſome Authors to the defence of his own Country; or was perhaps, about to ſend them: and thereupon remained at new *Carthage*, intentive to the neceſſity and ſucceſs of his Country-men at home. But when he had word of the great victory at *Metaurus*, which fell out long before the end of the Summer, then might he well adventure, to take in hand the entire conqueſt of *Spain*; which muſt needs be alienated from the *Carthaginians*, by the report of ſuch an overthrow. The *Spaniſh* Souldiers that ſerved under *Hannibal*, and thoſe that had been ſent over into *Africk*, were as pledges heretofore, by whom their Country was held obnoxious to the *Carthaginians*. But when it was noiſed abroad, that all which hath followed *Aſdrubal* into *Italy*, were fallen into the hands of the *Romans*; and that *Hannibal* with his Army was cloſed up in a ſtraight, whence he could not get out: then did it greatly behoove the *Spaniards* to conform themſelves unto the will of the Victors.

ctors. That it was the ſucceſs of things in *Italy*, which gave ſuch confidence unto *Scipio*; it was the more probable, becauſe he took not this great enterpriſe in hand, until the Summer was almoſt ſpent. *Aſdrubal* therefore uſed the benefit of the ſeaſon; and by diſpoſing his Army into many Garriſons, hindred the Enemy from doing any great exploit before Winter. So the very length of way, and the time of the year, cauſed *Scipio* to return back: without any other matter performed, than that his Brother *L. Scipio* took by aſſault the Town of *Oringis*.

Againſt the next years danger, *Aſdrubal* prepared a great Army: and ſpared not coſt, nor travel, in ſtrengthning himſelf, for the tryal of his laſt fortune in *Spain*. With ſeventy thouſand foot, four thouſand horſe, and two and thirty Elephants, he took the field: which number I believe, that he could hardly have raiſed, without boldly denying the truth of thoſe reports that came from *Italy*. *Scipio* thought his *Roman* Legions too weak to encounter with ſuch a multitude. Wherefore he judged it needful to uſe the help of his *Spaniſh* friends. But the death of his Father and Uncle, that were caſt away by the treaſon of ſuch falſe Auxiliaries, made him on the other ſide very doubtful of relying upon thoſe, that might perhaps betray him in his greateſt need. Yet ſince one *Colchus*, that was Lord of eight and twenty Towns, had promiſed him the laſt Winter, to raiſe three thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe for his ſervice: he reſolved to make uſe of thoſe, and ſome few others, that might help to make a ſhew; and yet not be able to do any great harm, if they would revolt. So with five and forty thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe, he ſought out the Enemy; near unto whom he incamped. At his firſt coming, *Mago* and *Maſaniſſa* fell upon him; with hope to take him unprepared, whilſt he was making his lodgings. But he laid certain Troops of Horſe in covert: which, breaking upon them unexpected, cauſed them to fall off. They made at firſt an orderly retreat: but being more hardly preſſed, they ſhortly betook themſelves to plain flight. After this encounter, which added ſome courage to the *Romans*, and abated the preſumption of the *Carthaginians*, there were daily skirmiſhes between the horſe and light armature, on both ſides; wherein was nothing done of importance. *Aſdrubal* drew forth his Army, and arranged it before his Trenches: the like did *Scipio*; each of them to ſhew that he durſt fight, yet not proceeding any farther. Thus they continued many dayes: *Aſdrubal* being ſtill the firſt that iſſued forth in the morning; and the firſt that, in the evening, withdrew himſelf into his Trenches. The *Spaniſh* Auxiliaries were placed on both ſides in the wings; the *Carthaginians* were in the midſt, with their Elephants before them; and oppoſite to theſe on the other ſide, were the *Roman* Legions. When they had in this order confronted one another, though at far diſtance, many dayes together: it grew to be the common opinion; that they ſhould ſhortly meet in the ſame form, and be matched on each part, with the enemies long before deſigned. But *Scipio*, when he purpoſed indeed to fight, altered the form of his Army; and withall, came forth earlier than he had been wont. He cauſed his men and horſes to be well fed betimes in the morning before day: and then ſent forth his horſe and light armature, to train out the *Carthaginians* with their bellies empty: uſing herein the ſame trick, whereby he might remember that *Hannibal* had beaten his Father in the battle of *Trebia*. His *Roman* Legions he beſtowed in the wings; his *Spaniards* in the battle. *Aſdrubal* ſent forth his horſe in all haſt, to entertain the *Romans*; whilſt he himſelf arranged his men, in their wonted order at the Hill foot, upon which he incamped. In the skirmiſhes of the horſe it could not be diſcerned which part had the better: ſince, being over-preſſed on either ſide, they had a ſafe retrait unto their foot; and one troop ſeconding another by courſe, returned to charge. This fight was portracted by *Scipio* to a great length: becauſe his men, having well fed themſelves, were like to hold out better than the enemy. But about noon he cauſed his wings to advance a good pace; leaving their battle of *Spaniards* far behind them, that came on leiſurely, according to direction. The *Spaniſh* Mercenaries that ſtood in *Aſdrubal* his wings, were no way comparable, ſave only in number, to the *Latine* and *Roman* Souldiers that came againſt them; for they were freſh Souldiers, levied in haſt; and fighting only in reſpect of their pay. Being therefore charged in front by the Legions, and in flank, at the ſame time, by the *Roman Velites*, and by ſome cohorts, that were appointed to wheel about for the ſame purpoſe, they were ſorely preſſed, and with much difficulty made reſiſtance. The *Carthaginians* would fain have ſuccoured them; but that they durſt not ſtir out of their places, becauſe of the *Spaniſh* battle which was coming againſt them; though it were as yet far off. Thus the beſt part of *Aſdrubal* his Army ſtood idle, until the wings were broken. For, had he adventured to meet with the *Spaniards*, he muſt have caſt himſelf into the open ſpace that lay before him between the *Roman* wings: to the depth whereof, when he had arrived, he ſhould have found himſelf incloſed in ſuch ſort, as was the Conſul *Paulus* at the battle of *Cannæ*. Wherefore he did only imploy his Elephants; which did, according to their manner, no greater harm to his Enemies, than to his Friends. When they were chafed with wounds, they could no longer be ruled as their guides: but ran, as chance led them, and troubled both parts, or thoſe perhaps the more, that were the more unwilling to kill them. In proceſs of the fight, the *Romans*, who had well refreſhed their bodies in the morning, endured luſty; when the others began to faint with travel and heat of the day. Wherefore perceiving their advantage, they followed it the more hotly; and gave not over till they had forc't the enemy to change his place, and run from him. *Aſdrubal* did his beſt to have made an orderly retreat; and afterward again to have cauſed his men to turn head at the Hill foot. But the *Romans* would not ſuffer the victory to be ſo extorted from them: neither was it eaſie to put freſh courage into the vanquiſhed, led by the obſtinate paſſion of fear, which hearkens to no perſwaſion. The Camp of *Aſdrubal* had that day been taken, if a ſtorm of rain, which fell vilently on the ſudden, and bred ſome ſuperſtition in the *Romans*, had not cauſed them to give over.

The ſame night *Aſdrubal* gave no reſt to his men; but cauſed them, hungry, and over-laboured as they were, to take pains in fortifying the Camp; wherein he feared to be aſſaulted. But little aſſurance could he have in the ſtrength of his Trenches, when he had loſt the hearts of his *Spaniſh* ſouldiers. One *Attanes*, that was Lord of the

the *Turdetani*, fled from him to the *Romans*, with a great Band of his ſubjects: many followed this example; and ſoon after two ſtrong Towns were yielded up to *Scipio*, and the Garriſons betrayed. It ſeems that the perverſe fortune of this late battle, whereupon *Aſdrubal* had ſet his reſt, bred in the *Spaniards* a diſpoſition, to believe the more eaſily thoſe reports which they heard from *Italy*. For henceforward, they never did good office to the *Carthaginians*. *Aſdrubal*, perceiving this, withdrew himſelf, and marched away faſter then ordinary pace, toward the Ocean Sea. *Scipio* followed the next morning, and overtaking the *Carthaginians* with his horſe, cauſed them ſo often to make ſtand, that they were at laſt attached by the *Roman* Legions. Here began a cruel ſlaughter: for there was no reſiſtance made, but all fell to rout, ſave only ſeven thouſand, that, with *Aſdrubal* himſelf recovered a very ſtrong piece of ground, which they fortified in haſte. The place he made ſhift a while to defend: but wanting there neceſſaries to ſuſtain himſelf long, he was forſaken by ſome of thoſe few, that continued hitherto partakers of his fortune. Wherefore he reſolved to make ſhift for one; and ſtealing from his Company by night away to the Sea ſide, that was not far thence, he took ſhipping, and ſet ſail for *Gades*. When *Scipio* underſtood that *Aſdrubal* was thus gone, he left *Syllanus* with ten thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe, to beſiege their (Camp, which was not taken in haſte, for *Mago* and *Maſſaniſſa* ſtayed in it) whilſt he with the reſt of the Army did what was needful in the Country abroad. It was not long e're *Mago* and *Maſſaniſſa* followed *Aſdrubal* to *Gades:* and their Army diſperſed it ſelf; ſome flying over to the *Romans*, others taking what way they like. So upon all the Continent of *Spain*, there were only three Towns left, *Illiturg*, *Caſtulo*, and *Aſtapia*, that made continuance of war againſt the *Romans*: of which only *Caſtulo* had a *Carthaginian* Garriſon, conſiſting of ſuch as had ſaved themſelves by flight in the late overthrows. Hereby it ſeems that the report of thoſe Hiſtorians was ill grounded, who ſaid, that *Caſtulo* yielded long ſince unto the *Romans*; though *Hannibal* took a wife in that City. For this was one of the laſt three towns that held out on the *Carthaginians* ſide. *Illiturgi* had ſometimes been inclinable to the *Romans*, if not altogether at their devotion. Yet after the death of the two elder *Scipio's*, following too earneſtly the *Carthaginian* fortune, it not only rebelled, but with great cruelty betrayed and ſlew the poor men that eſcaped thither from the overthrows. *Aſtapa* was a Town that ſtill adhered to the *Carthaginians*; and, which was worſe, had thriven by the ſpoil of the *Romans* and their Confederates. Wherefore (though not until the next year) *Scipio* went againſt theſe, and took himſelf *Illiturgi*, and *Caſtulo*: *Illiturgi* by aſſault, and with a general ſlaughter of the Inhabitants; *Caſtulo*, by reaſon of one *Credubellus*. *Aſtapa* was taken by *Lucius Marcius*; or rather deſtroyed by the Inhabitants. For a great pile of wood was raiſed in the Market place: whereinto was thrown all the gold, and ſilver, with whatſoever elſe was precious; the women and children ſtanding by it under a ſure guard, that ſhould kill and burn them if the *Romans* got into the Town. This proviſion being made, and all the Inhabitants that could bear Arms, ruſhed forth deſperately, and fell upon the *Roman* Camp; where ſtriving beyond their power, they were every one ſlain. Then was the Town forthwith ſet on fire, by thoſe that had taken charge to do it: and many of the *Romans* conſumed with the flame; whilſt they ruſhed over-haſtily to catch the gold and ſilver, which they ſaw lying on the pile ready to melt.

Aſdrubal being beaten into the Iſland of *Gades*, found no cauſe of long ſtay there: but returned home to *Carthage*, with ſeven Gallies: leaving *Mago* behind him, to wait upon occaſion, if any ſhould be offered. He viſited in his way home, *Syphax*, King of the *Maſæſili*, a people of the *Numidians*; hoping to win him to the friendſhip of the *Carthaginians*. But he met with *Scipio*, as it were with his evil Angel, in the Kings-port: who landing at the ſame time, carried *Syphax* quite another way. For *Scipio* having driven the *Carthaginians* out of *Spain*, did forthwith bethink himſelf, how to finiſh the war, by putting them to the like diſtreſs in *Africk*. Hereunto it ſeemed that the help of *Syphax* would be much available: a King that had many times fallen out with the *Carthaginians*, and ſuſtained much hurt by their procurement; of which in all likelihood he might eaſily be moved to ſeek revenge. He had alſo been beholding to *P.* and *Cn. Scipio*, that ſent him over a Captain into *Africk*; who inſtructed him ſo well in marſhalling his forces, as he thereby often became victorious. Upon theſe reaſons, the *Numidian* King ſent Embaſſadors to *Rome*, and made league with the City in time of great extremity. So that hereby *P. Scipio* conceived hope of laying a good foundation to the War, which he intended in *Africk*, upon the friendſhip of this ill neighbour to the *Carthaginians*. For which cauſe he ſent over *C. Lælius* his Embaſſador to deal with *Syphax*: who declaring that the *Carthaginians* did very ill in *Italy*, and had nothing now at all to do in *Spain*, eaſily perſwaded the King to take part with thoſe that had the better, and were without queſtion his better friends. Only *Syphax* requeſted that the *Roman* General ſhould viſit him in perſon, to conclude the League; by which he was to enter into conditions of more importance, than in any former Treaty. Hereto *Scipio* condeſcended, thinking the friendſhip of ſo great a King, that was neighbour to *Carthage*, and not far diſtant from *Spain*, well worthy of the adventure. So with two *Quinqueremes* Gallies he took Sea, and arrived in the Kings Port, at the ſame time with *Aſdrubal*. This would have been very dangerous unto him, had he been deſcryed by his enemies further at Sea: but in the Haven they forbear to make offer one upon another. *Syphax* might well be proud; ſeeing at one time, two ſuch Captains of two moſt powerful Cities, came to deſire his friendſhip. He would have brought them to treat of peace: But the *Roman* excuſed himſelf, by want of ſuch Commiſſion from the Senate. He feaſted them together: and ſhortly diſmiſſed *Scipio*, with whom he readily entred into Covenant; which in time of performance, he as readily brake,

§. II.

Funeral games held by Scipio. *A Duel between two Spaniſh Princes. A digreſſion concerning Duels.*

SCipio returning into *Spain*, and reſting that Winter, took vengeance the next year, upon thoſe of *Illiturgi*, *Caſtulo*, and *Aſtapa*, as hath been ſaid before. The conqueſt of the Country being then in a manner at an end; he performed at new *Carthage*, with great ſolemnity, ſome Vows that he had made, and honoured the memory of his Father and Uncle, with funeral games, eſpecially of thoſe that fought at ſharp, according to the manner of the times. Neither was it needful that he ſhould trouble himſelf with preparing ſlaves for that ſpectacle, to hazard their lives, as was uſed in the City of *Rome*: for there were enow, that either offered, themſelves as Voluntaries, or were ſent from their Princes, to give proof in ſingle combat, of the valour that was in their ſeveral Countries. Some alſo there were, that being in contention, which they could not, or would not otherwiſe end, agreed to defer the deciſion of their Controverſies, to tryal of the ſword, in ſingle fight. Among theſe, the moſt eminent, were *Corbis* and *Orſua*; Coſen-germans: that contended for the principality of a Town called *Ibes*. *Corbis* was the elder, and the elder brothers ſon: wherefore he claimed the Lordſhip, as eldeſt of the houſe, after the manner of our *Iriſh Tampſtry*. But the father of *Orſua* ſtood lately ſeized of the principality: which though himſelf received by the death of his elder brother; yet this his Son would not let it go back, but claimed to hold it as heir unto his father, and old enough to rule. Fain would *Scipio* have compounded the matter. But they anſwered peremptorily, that all their friends and kindred had already laboured in vain, to take up their quarrel; and that neither God nor Man, but only *Mars*, their god of battle, ſhould be Umpire between them. So they had their wills: and the elder, who was alſo the ſtronger, and more skilful at his weapon, eaſily vanquiſhed the fool-hardineſs of the younger.

Such combates have been very ancient and perhaps more ancient, than any other kind of fight. We read of many performed before the War of *Troy*; by *Theſeus*, *Hercules*, *Pollux*, and others: as alſo of two more at the War of *Troy*, the one between *Paris* and *Menelaus*; the other between *Hector* and *Ajax*. Neither want there examples of them among the *Hebrews*: whereof that between *David* and *Goliah*; and others performed by ſome of *Davids* Worthies, againſt thoſe that challenged them, are greatly celebrated. Unto the ſame kind appertains the fight between twelve of the Tribes of *Juda*, and as many of the *Benjamites*. The *Romans* had many of them: whereof that was principal, in which they ventured their Dominion upon the heads of three brethren the *Horatii*, againſt the three brethren, *Curatii*, that were *Albans*. The combat of *Manlius Torquatus*; and ſhortly after: of *Valerius Corvinus*, with two Champions of the *Gauls*, which challenged any *Roman*; were of leſs importance, as having only reference to bravery. In *England* there was a great Combat fought between *Edmond Ironſide*, and *Canutus* the *Dane*, for no leſs matter than the Kingdom. The uſe of them was very frequent in the *Saxon* times; almoſt upon every occaſion, great or ſmall. In the reign of *Edward* the third, who ſuſtained the party of *Mountfort*, againſt the Earl of *Bloys*, contending for the Dutchy of *Britain*; there was a fight for honour of the Nations, between thirty of the *Britans*, and thirty *Engliſh*: two of which *Engliſh*, were *Calverlie*, a brave Captain; and that Sir *Robert Knolles* is, who afterwards became a renowned Commander in the *French* wars, and did highly honour his blood, whereof the Lord *Knolles* is deſcended. It were infinite to reckon the examples of the like, found in *Engliſh*, *French* and *Italian* Hiſtories. Moſt of them have been combats of bravery, and of *gayeté de cœur*, as the *French* term it; for honour of ſeveral Nations; for love of Miſtreſſes; or whatſoever elſe gave occaſion unto men, deſirous to ſet out themſelves. But beſides thoſe of this ſort, there are two other natures of combats; which are, either upon accuſation for life, or upon trial of Title and Inheritance, as in *Writ of right*. And of this latter kind, was that, of which we ſpeak even now, between *Corbis* and *Orſua*. Unto theſe (methinks) may be added, as of different condition from the reſt, the combat upon Wager; ſuch as were that between *David* and *Goliah*, or that between the *Horatii* and *Curatii*, in which without regard of Tittle, the Dominion of Nations, one over the other, is adventured upon the head of Champions. Upon an accuſation for life, there was a combat appointed between the Lord *Henry* of *Boulinbrook* Duke of *Hereford*, and *Moubray* Duke of *Norfolk*. There was a combat performed by Sir *John Anſley* and one *Cattrington*: whom *Anſley* charged with treaſon: and proved it upon him, by being victorious. The like was fought between *Robert* of *Mountfort* and *Henry Eſſex*. The like alſo, between a *Navarrois*, and one *Welſh* of *Grimsby*, whom the *Navarrois* accuſed of treaſon: but, being beaten in fight, confeſſed that he had belyed him, and was therefore drawn and hanged. Whether our tryal by battle to determine, that the falſe accuſer, if he be vanquiſhed, ſhall ſuffer the puniſhment which had been due to the offender, if the accuſation had been proved; I cannot affirm. But we every where find, That if he which is accuſed of treaſon, or according to the cuſtoms of *Normandy*, of Murder, Rape, or burning of places (offences puniſhed by death) be overcome, He ſhall ſuffer the pains appointed for thoſe crimes. In combats for tryal of right, it is not ſo: neither is the Appellant or Defendant bound to fight in perſon, but he may try it by his Champion, as did *Paramour* and *Low*, or offered to do, in the reign of Queen *Elizabeth*. And in this caſe, he that is beaten or yieldeth, loſeth only his cauſe, not his life. Neither are the combats upon accuſation, or tryal of right, fought in open field, as are thoſe of bravery; but in *Camp cloſe*, that is, within rails. Now this trial by combat was ſo ordinary in *France*, before the time of *S. Lewis* and *Philip the fair* his grand-child, as every Lord of Fee, Eccleſiaſtical or Temporal, had power to grant it within his own Juriſdiction. And it ſeemeth, that the *French* Kings, and other Lords, made their profit hereby. For in the * *Memorials of the Chamber of Accounts*, is found an Article to this effect; That if a Combat were once accepted, and after, by conſent of the Lord, were taken up, each of the parties ſhould pay two ſhillings ſix pence; but if it were performed, then ſhould the party vanquiſhed forfeit an hundred and twelve ſhillings.

An. 11 R. 2. 2.

An. 3. R. 2. 2.

An. 9. Hen. 3.

* *Si hominis de Loraico vadia Duelli tenere deberint, &c.*

And upon this custom grew the *French* Proverb, which they use when any man hath had an hard and unjust judgement; saying, That *He was tryed by the Law of* Loray *or* Berne; *on le battu oaye l' amende*, where he that is beaten gives the recompence. Of the these frequent trials by battle that great learned man *Yvo*, Bishop of *Chartres* did often complain, and specially against the *French* Church-men: as appears by * his Letters to the Bishop of *Orleans*, to the Arch-deacon of *Paris*, to *Rembert* Arch-bishop of *Sens*, and to others; wherein he rebukes the judgement of their Churches, that had ratified such challenges of combat. But this liberty and kind of tryal, was retrencht by *S. Lewis*, and *Philip the fair*; so that no man could decree or grant it, save the King himself. It hath since been granted, though more sparingly, by the *French* King, as to the Lord of *Carogues*, against *Jaques le Gris*, and to *Julian Romero* the *Spaniard*, against *Moro* his country-man; wherein Sir *Henry Knevet*, Father to the Lord *Knevet* now living, was Patron to *Romero* that had the victory; and lastly to the Lord of *Chast*. Now in those challenges, upon accusation of Treason, Murder, other offences deserving death (and in those only) the rule held, That *le defendeur estoit tenu de proposer ces deffences par un dementir; The defendant was bound to plead not guilty, by giving the accuser the Lye:* otherwise it was concluded, that the defendant did *taisiblement confesser le crime; silently confess the crime.* But after such time as *Francis* the *French* King, upon some dispute about breach of Faith, had sent the *Lye*, unto the Emperor *Charles* the fifth, thereby to draw him to personal combat; every petty companion in *France*, in imitation of their Master, made giving of the *Lye* mortality it self; holding it a matter of no small glory, to have it said, That the meanest Gentleman in *France* would not put up, what the great Emperour *Charles* V. had patiently endured.

From this beginning is derived a challenge of combat, grounded upon none of those occasions that were known to the Ancient. For, the Honour of Nations, the Tryal of Right, the Wager upon Champions, or the Objection and Refutation of capital offences, are none of them, nor all of them together, the argument of half so many Duels, as are founded upon meer private Anger, yea, or upon matter *seeming* worthy of anger in the opinion of the Duellists. So that in these daies, wherein every man takes unto himself a Kingly liberty, to offer, accept, and appoint personal combats, the giving of the *Lye*, which ought to be the Negation only in accusations for life, is become the most fruitful root of deadly quarrels. This is held a word so terrible, and a wrong so unpardonable, as will admit no other recompence, than the blood of him that gives it. Thus the fashion, taken up in haste by the *French* Gentlemen, after the pattern of their King, is grown to be a custome: whence we have derived a kind of Art and Philosophy of quarrel; with certain grounds and rules, from whence the points of honour, and the dependencies thereof, are reduced. Yea, there are (among many no less ridiculous) some so mystical curiosities herein, as that it is held a far greater dishonour, to receive from an enemy a slight touch with a Cane, than a sound blow with a Sword; the one having relation to a slave, the other to a souldier. I confess that the difference is pretty: though for my own part, if I had had any such Italianated enemy in former times, I should willingly have made with him such an exchange; and and have given him the point of honour to boot.

But let us examine indifferently the offence of of this terrible word, the *Lye*; with their conditions who are commonly of all other the most tender in receiving it. I say, that the most of these, who present death on the points of their swords to all that give it them; use nothing so much in their conversation and course of life, as to speak and swear falsly. Yea, it is thereby, that they shift and shuffle in the World, and abuse it. For how few are there among them, which, having assumed and sworn to pay the moneys, and other things they borrow, do not break their word and promise, as often as they engage it? Nay, how few are there among them, that are not *Lyars by Record*, by being sued in some Court or other of Justice, upon breach of word or Bond? For he which hath promised that he will pay money by a day, or promised any thing else, wherein he faileth; hath directly lied to him to whom the promise hath been made. Nay, what is the profession of love that men make now a daies? What is the vowing of their service, and of all they have, used in their ordinary complements, and (in effect) to every man whom they bid not good morrow, or salute, other than a courteous and Court-like kind of lying? It is (saith a wise *French* man, deriding therein the Apish custome of his Country) *un marche & complot fait ensemble, se mocquer, mentar, & piper les un les autres; A kind of merchandize, and complot made among them, to mock, belye, and deride each other:* and so far now-adaies in fashion, and in use; as he that useth it not, is accounted either dull or Cynical. True it is notwithstanding (omitting the old distinction) that there is great difference between these mannerly and complemental lyes, with those which are sometime perswaded by necessity upon breach of promise; and those which men use out of cowardize and fear; the latter confessing themselves to be in greater awe of men, than of God; a vice of all other stiled the most villanous. But now for the *Lye* it self, as it is made the subject of all our deadly quarrels in effect, to it I say, That whosoever giveth another man the *Lye*, when it is manifest that he hath lyed, doth himself no wrong at all; neither ought it to be more hainously taken, than to tell him, he hath broken any promise which he hath otherwise made. For he that promiseth any thing, tells him, to whom he hath promised, that he will perform it; and, in not performing it, he had made himself a Lyar. On the other side, He that gives any man the *Lye*, when he himself knows, that he, to whom it is given, hath not lyed; doth therein give the *Lye* directly to himself. And what cause have I, if I say that the Sun shines when it doth shine, and that another fellow tells me I I lye, for it's midnight; to prosecute such an one to death, for making himself a foolish Ruffian and a lyar in his own knowledge? For he that gives the *Lye* in any other dispute, than in defence of his Loyalty, or Life; gives it impertinently, and Ruffian-like. I will not deny but it is an extream rudeness to tax any man in publick with an untruth (if it be not pernicious, and to this prejudice against whom the untruth is uttered:) But all that is rude, ought not to be civilized with death. That were more to admire and imitate a *French* custome, and a wicked one, than to admire and to follow the councel of God. But you will say, that these discourses savour of cowardize. It is true; if you call it cowardize to fear God or hell: whereas he that is truly wise, and truly valiant

* *Clerici vestri nuper ad nos reverentes, qui cause Comitis Theobaldi Aurilianis interfuerint, retulerunt nobis, quod quidam miles Domini Rodulphi quendam militem Comitis ad Monomachiam provocaverit, & hanc provocationem Ecclesiæ vestræ judicio confirmaverit, &c.*

valiant, knows that there is nothing elſe to be feared. For againſt an Enemies ſword, we ſhall find ten thouſand ſeven penny-men (waged at that price in the wars) that fear it as little, or perchance leſs, than any profeſt Sword-man in the world. *Diligentiſſima in tutelâ ſui Fortitudo; Fortitude is a diligent preſerver of it ſelf.* It is (ſaith *Ariſtotle*) a modiocrity between doubting and daring. *Sicut non Martyrem pœna; ſic nec fortem pugna, ſed cauſa: As it is not the puniſhment that makes the Martyr: ſo it is not fighting that declares a valiant man: but fighting in a good cauſe.* In which, whoſoever ſhall reſolvedly end his life, reſolvedly in reſpect of the cauſe, to wit; in defence of his Prince, Religion or Countrey: as he may juſtly be numbred among the Martyrs of God; ſo may thoſe that die with malicious hearts, in private combats, be called the Martyrs of the Devil. Neither do we indeed take our own revenge, or puniſh the injuries offered us, by the death of the injurious. For the true conqueſt of revenge is, to give him, of whom we would be revenged, cauſe to repent him: and not to lay the repentance of another mans death upon our own conſciences; *Animaſq; in vulnere ponere; And to drown our ſouls in the wounds and blood of our enemies.* Hereupon you will again ask me, if I condemn, in generous and noble ſpirits, the defence of their honours, being preſt with injuries? I ſay that I do not, if the injuries be violent. For the Law of Nature, which is a branch of the Eternal Law: and the Laws of all Chriſtian Kings and States; do favour him that is aſſailed, in the ſlaughter of the aſſailant. You will ſecondly ask me, Whether a Noble-man, or a Gentleman, being challenged by *Cartel* by one of like quality, be not bound in point of honour to ſatisfie the challenger in private combat? I anſwer that he is not: becauſe (omitting the greateſt, which is the point of Religion) the point of the Law is directly contrary and oppoſite to that, which they call the point of honour; The Law which hath dominion over it, which can judge it, which can deſtroy it; except you will ſtile thoſe Acts honourable, where the Hang-man gives the Garland. For, ſeeing the Laws of this Land have appointed the Hang-man to ſecond the Conqueror, and the Laws of God appointed the Devil to ſecond the Conquered, dying in malice: I ſay, that he is both baſe and a fool, that accepts of any *Cartel* ſo accompanied. To this, perchance it will be anſwered, That the Kings of *England*, and other Chriſtian Kings, have ſeldome taken any ſuch advantage over men of quality, who upon even terms have ſlain their private enemies. It is true, that as in times of trouble and combuſtion they have not often done it; ſo did our Noble-men and Gentlemen in former ages; in all important injuries, ſue unto the King, to approve themſelves by battle and publick combat. For as they dared not to brave the Law; ſo did they diſdain to ſubmit themſelves unto the ſhameful revenge thereof; the ſame revenge (becauſe it deteſteth murder) that hath declared againſt a common Cut-purſe or other Thieves: Nay let it be granted that a pardon be procured for ſuch offenders: yet it is not the manſlayer freed from his pardon. For theſe two remedies hath the party grieved notwithſtanding; that is, to require juſtice by grand Aſſize, or by battle, upon his appeal, which (ſaith Sir *Thomas Smith*) is not denyed; and he further ſaith (for I uſe his own words) That if the Defendant (to wit, the manſlayer) be convinced either by great Aſſize or by Battle, upon that appeal; the manſlayer ſhall die notwithſtanding the Princes pardon. So favourable (ſaith the ſame learned Gentleman) are our Princes, and the Law of our Realm, to juſtice and to the puniſhment of blood violenly ſhed. It may further be demanded, how our Noblemen and Gentlemen ſhall be repaired in honour, where an enemy, taking the ſtart either in words or blows ſhall lay on them an infamy unſufferable: I ſay, that a Marſhals Court will eaſily give ſatisfaction in both. And if we hold it no diſgrace to ſubmit our ſelves for the recovery of our Debts, Goods, and Lands; and for all things elſe by which the lives of our ſelves, our wives, and children, are ſuſtained, to the Judges of the Law; becauſe it may be felony to take by violence even that which is our own: why ſhould we not ſubmit our ſelves unto the Judges of honour in caſes of honour; becauſe to recover our reputation by ſtrong hand, may be murder? But yet again it may be objected, that the loſs of honour ought to be much more fearful unto us, than either the loſs of our goods, of our lands, or of our lives; and I ſay ſo too. But what is this honour, I mean honour indeed, and that which ought to be ſo dear unto us: other than a kind of Hiſtory, or fame following actions of vertue, actions accompanied with difficulty or danger and undertaken for the publick good? In theſe he that is imployed and truſted, if he fail in the performance, either through cowardize, or any other baſe affection; it is true that he loſeth his honour. But the acting of a private combate, for a private reſpect, and moſt commonly a frivolous one; is not an action of vertue, becauſe it is contrary to the Law of God, and of all Chriſtian Kings: neither is it difficult, becauſe even and equal in perſons and arms: neither for a publick good, but tending to the contrary; becauſe the loſs or mutilation of an able man, is alſo a loſs to the Common-weal.

Sir *Tho. Smith* in his Commonwealth of *England.*

Now that a Marſhal of *England* hath power to ſave every mans fame and reputation, as far as reputation may ſuſtain injury by words, I think no man doubteth. For to repent us of any evil words that we have given, and to confeſs that we have done him wrong, unto whom we have given them, is a ſufficient ſatisfaction; and as may fall out; more than ſufficient. For he that gives ill words in choler, and ſuddenly denyes them, or repents himſelf of them upon adviſement hath the diſadvantage in point of reputation. Concerning blows, which are in deed not to be given but to thoſe that are ſervile, whether ſufficient recompence will be made for them, it ſhall appear by a notable example of a moſt worthy Gentleman *Monſieur de Pleſſis*, that was ſtricken not long ſince by a Baron of the ſame nation. The ſatisfaction which was given him by a judgement of the Conſtable and Marſhals of *France*, was this. In the open Court, wherein the Conſtable gave judgement, *M. de Pleſſis* was ſet in a chair under the degrees where the Conſtable and Marſhals ſate: the Baron, who had given him the blow, did kneel before him on both his knees, holding in his right hand a Sword, with the point towards himſelf, and in his left hand the like cudgel or baſtinado, wherewith he had ſtricken *M. de Pleſſis*, both which weapons he delivered into *Pleſſis*'s hands, ſubmitting himſelf to ſuch revenge, as it ſhould pleaſe him to take with either of theſe weapons; the Conſtable and Marſhals having formerly left it to the will of *Pleſſis*, to uſe his own

diſcretion in the revenge of his own wrongs. Now whether the Baron had reaſon to pleaſe himſelf, as one before-hand in point of honour, (who ſtruck *M. de Pleſſis* like a Ruffian coming behind him, and having the advantage of company, and his horſes ready, ſhifted himſelf away on the ſudden; but being afterwards taken, was taught to repent himſelf in this ſhameful manner:) or whether *M. de Pleſſis* (of whoſe valour no man doubted) had not far juſter cauſe to reſt ſatisfied, ſince he might at his pleaſure have beaten or wounded his enemy, but forgave him: let any wiſe man judge. To this, if it be ſaid, That the Baron was conſtrained to make his ſubmiſſion, that his repentance was enforced, and not voluntary; and therefore no diſgrace unto him: I anſwer, that one may ſay as well, that it is no diſgrace to a Thief, when he is brought to the Gallows, to repent him of the Robberies by him committed, becauſe his repentance alſo is conſtrained. And it is true, that enforced repentance is no grace in reſpect of a force, but in reſpect of the fact: which (but for our ſins to God) makes all repentance ſhameful: becauſe all forced repentance is inflicted upon us for ſomewhat unworthy of a Gentleman, and of an honeſt man. Nay, voluntary repentance it ſelf, as it hath relation to men, ariſeth either out of the fear of the ill that may befall us, or out of the acknowledgment of our own weakneſs. Certainly as wiſe men, and valiant men, do rather deride petty injuries or ſudden injuries, that are not offered from malice fore-thought, than revenge them: ſo men, apt to quarrel, do commonly ſuſpect their own valour; and rather deſire that thereby the world ſhould believe them to be of great daring, than know any ſuch reſolution in themſelves. For he that knows himſelf indeed to be an honeſt man, ſcorns to hunt after opinion.

Now the ſame power which the Conſtable and Marſhals of *France* have, hath alſo a Marſhal of *England*, or his Deputies: by whoſe judgement, in all diſputes of honour, every mans reputation may be preſerved, we may therefore as well ſubmit our ſelves to the Judge of honour, in all diſputes of honour, as we do ſubmit our ſelves in all controverſies of livelihood and life, to the Judges of the Law. And, out of doubt, the inſtitution of this Court of Chevalry in *England*, in *France*, and elſewhere: was no leſs charitable than politick. For the blood of man, violently ſpilt, doth not bring forth *hony-bees* as that of Bulls doth, which ſting but the fingers, or the face: but it produceth that monſtrous beaſt, *Revenge*, which hath ſtung to death, and eaten up, of ſeveral nations, ſo many noble perſonages; as there is nothing more lamentable, nor more threatning the wrath of God upon ſupream Governours, than the permiſſion.

His Majeſty therefore (which *Henry* the IV. of *France* alſo endeavoured) hath done a moſt Kingly and Chriſtian-like deed in *Scotland*, which the moſt renowned of all his predeceſſors could never do: in beating down, and extinguiſhing that hereditary proſecution of malice, called *the deadly feud*; a conqueſt, which ſhall give him the honour of Prudence and Kingly power for evermore. And we have cauſe to hope, that his Royal care ſhall be no leſs happy in preventing the like miſchief, which threatens *England*, by the audacious, common, and brave, yet outragious vanity of Duelliſts.

Unto this that I have ſpoken of lying, and of man-ſlaughter, it muſt be added, That each of theſe are of great Latitude, and worthy of reproof and vengeance proportionably, more or leſs, in their ſeveral degrees. There is much difference between Lies of neceſſity upon breach of promiſe, or complemental lies; and ſuch pernicious lies, as proceed from fear and cowardize, or are uttered by falſe witneſſes: the former ſort being excuſable by weakneſs or levity; the latter being altogether deteſtable. No leſs, if not more, difference there is, between killing of a man in open field, with even weapons; and that killing, which the Scriptures call *killing by guile*, *dolo* or *per inſidias*; though our Laws do not much diſtinguiſh them in puniſhment. For in the latter, God, forſaking his own priviledge, commandeth that the *guileful* murderer be drawn by force, from the protection of his Altar. Neither is every guilful murder performed by the Sword, nor by *overt* violence: but there is a guileful murder alſo, by poyſoning: and by the pen, or by practice. For ſuch diſtinction is found, between coming preſumptuouſly upon a man, *to ſlay him with guile*; and *lying in wait for blood, privily, for the innocent, without a cauſe*, upon hope of ſpoil, after ſuch manner as *the net is ſpread before the eyes of the Birds*. *Francis* the firſt, Queen *Mary* of *England*, and the Kings Majeſty now reigning, have given notable teſtimony of their juſtice, upon three Noble men, who committed *guileful murder*. Of the firſt kind, King *Francis* upon the Lord of *Talard*: who being (ſaith the *French* Hiſtorian) *de haute & ancienne lignee, & ſupport de pluſieurs grandes alliances*; *who being of high and ancient lineage, and ſupported by divers great alliances*, of which the Cardinal of *Bellay* (in eſpecial favour with the King) was one; was notwithſtanding delivered over into the hands of the Hangman. Q. *Mary*, upon a Noble man of her own Religion, and in many other reſpects very dear unto her, *His Majeſty*, upon a Baron of *Scotland*; whoſe houſe was no leſs ancient and faithful, than himſelf valiant, and greatly friended both at home and abroad. Of killing guilefully by poyſon, and of puniſhment following ſuch wicked Artiſans, every age hath had too many examples. Of killing guilefully by the pen (that I may not ſpeak of any *Engliſh* Judge) the *French Recherches* gives us two notable inſtances: the one of *des Eſhars*, who (ſaith *Paſquier*) *fit mourir Montaigu grand Maiſtre de France, pour contenter l'opinion celuy dont il eſtoit lors idolaſtre; & Dieu permit que depuis il fut pendu & eſtrangle*; *Who cauſed* Montaigu *great Maſter of* France *to die to content his mind* (to wit, the Duke of *Burgoyne*) *whom at that time* Eſhars *worſhipped as his Idol*; *but God permitted, that he himſelf was ſoon after hanged and ſtrangled.* The other was of the Great *Francis* the firſt, upon his Chancellor *Poyet*: who to ſatisfie the Kings paſſion, practiced the deſtruction of the Admiral *Chabot*; a man moſt nobly deſcended, and of great ſervice. For as in other men, ſo in Kings, the paſſion of love grows old, and wears out by time. So the Kings affection being changed towards the Admiral, he charged him with ſome offences, which he had formerly committed: The Admiral preſuming upon the great good ſervice which he had done the King in *Piemont*, and in the defence of *Marcilles* againſt the Emperor, gave the King other language than became him; and deſired nothing ſo much, as a publick trial. Hereupon the King (it being eaſie to provoke an ill diſpoſition) gave

Exod. 21.

Exod. 21. 14.

Prov. 1. 11

Lib. 5. c. 18 & cap. 11.

Com-

Commiſſion to the Chancellor, as Preſident, and other Judges, upon an information of the Kings Advocate, to queſtion the Admirals life; The Chancellor, an ambitious man, and of a large conſcience, (which is not rare in men towards the law) hoping highly to content the King; wrought with ſome of the Judges with ſo great cunning; with others with ſo ſharp threats; and with the reſt, with ſo fair promiſes; as albeit nothing could be proved againſt the Admiral, worthy of the Kings diſpleaſure, yet the Chancellor ſubſcribed, and got others to ſubſcribe, to the forfeiture of his Eſtate, Offices, and Liberty, though not able to prevail againſt his life. But what was the Chancellors reward (the King hating falſhood in ſo great a Magiſtrate) other than his own degradation, arraignment, and condemnation? *Belle les ont certes* (ſaith *Paſquier*) *a tout Juge pur de-meurer touſiours en ſoy, & ne laiſſer fluctuer ſa conſcience debans les vagues d'une imaginare faveur, qui pour fin de jeu le ſubmerge; A fair Leſſon to all Judges, to dwell alwayes in themſelves, and not to ſuffer their conſciences to float upon the waves of imaginary favour, which in the end overwhelms them.* And as for the Admiral, though it might have been anſwered unto his friends, if any bewail his calamity as undeſerved, That he was tryed, according to his own deſire, by the Laws of his Country, and by the Judges of Parliament; yet the Kings Juſtice, ſurmounting all other his paſſions, gave back unto him his Honour, his Offices, his Liberty, and his Eſtate.

†. III.

The laſt Acts of Scipio *in* Spain, *His return to* Rome, *where he is choſen Conſul.*

THe laſt buſineſs that troubled *Scipio* in *Spain*, grew by the rebellion of the people, and mutiny of his Souldiers. He fell dangerouſly ſick, in ſuch ſort that the rumour of his death, ran current throughout *Spain*. This encouraged *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*, petty Kings, that had forſaken the *Carthaginians*, and followed *Scipio* a while before, to take Arms againſt the *Romans*. They were vainly perſwaded, that after the *Carthaginians* were driven out, they themſelves ſhould become the mightieſt in all *Spain*. But ſeeing now, that things were no way anſwerable to the greatneſs of their hopes; they thought it beſt, to take the preſent advantage, and hammer out their own fortunes. So they raſhly fell upon the *Sueſſetani* and *Sedetani*, confederates of the *Romans*; and waſted their Country. Part of the *Roman* Army lying at *Sucro*, inſtead of making head againſt theſe Rebels, grew to be affected with the like diſtemper. They had not reaped ſuch profit of the *Roman* Conqueſts, as might ſatisfie their deſires; or as they thought, eaſie to be gotten, if they might be their own Carvers. Wherefore, when the death of *Scipio* was reported, they thought that the time ſerved very well to enrich themſelves with the ſpoil of the Country. Many outrages they committed: and, which was greateſt of all, driving away their Colonels, that ſhould have bridled their fury; they choſe out of their own number two baſe fellows, *Albinus Calenus*, and *Atrius Umber*, to their Commanders. Theſe took upon them all the Enſigns of Pro-conſuls, or Pro-pretors; as if this their election had been like to that, wherein *Lucius Marcius* was choſen by the Souldiers after the death of the two *Scipio's*: But whilſt they were deviſing what exploits they might do, for the enriching of themſelves, in a time of ſuch combuſtion as was expected, there arrived more certain news, that *Scipio* was both alive, and in good health. There came alſo new Colonels, ſent unto them from their General: who mildly rebuking their want of conſideration, and ſeeming to be glad that they had no further over-ſhot themſelves; led them to *Carthagena*, there to receive their pay. Before their coming, *Scipio* had reſolved to do exemplary juſtice on the principal offenders; and to put the whole multitude of them in fear of what they had deſerved. Therefore he cauſed *Syllanus* to make ready their Companies which lay before in the Town, as it were to make an expedition againſt *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*: he cauſed *Albius* and *Atrius*, with ſome thirty other of their Complices, to be ſecretly apprehended in their lodgings: he called the Mutiners to aſſembly; and having them unarmed as they were, encircled round by *Syllanus* and his companies, prepared for the purpoſe; he bitterly inveighed againſt them all as Traitors. This done, *Albius* and *Atrius*, with the other priſoners, were haled to the ſtake, where they were whipt and beheaded, as was the *Roman* cuſtom toward ſuch offenders. The reſt of the Souldiers, to the number of eight thouſand, were cauſed to take their oath of obedience anew; and received every man his pay when he was ſworn.

Mandonus and *Indibilis* continued in arms: notwithſtanding that they had certain word of *Scipio* his life and health. Well they could have been contented to be quiet: but by the ſeverity uſed to the *Roman* Souldiers, they ſtood in fear, as being *Spaniards*, and greater offenders, of harder meaſure. *Scipio* went againſt them, and found them in a valley, that was ſcarce large enough to hold all their Army. In the entrance thereof he fought with them: and ſending *Lælius* with all hie horſe, to fetch a compaſs about the hills, and charge them in rear, he overthrew them. *Indibilis* and *Mandonus* had after this, no hope remaining to preſerve themſelves and their eſtates, otherwiſe than by making ſubmiſſion. *Mandonius* therefore came to *Scipio*: and humbly craving pardon, both for himſelf and for his brother *Indibilis*, obtained his requeſt; yet ſo, that they were taught to acknowledge themſelves leſs free Princes than formerly they had been.

Afterwards *Scipio* went toward *Gades*: and was met on the way by *Maſaniſſa*; who ſecretly promiſed to do him all ſervice, if the people of *Rome* would ſend him to make war in *Africk*. Unto *Mago* that lay in *Gades*, came directions from *Carthage*, that letting all care of *Spain* alone, he ſhould thence depart from his Fleet into *Italy*; and there wage an Army of *Gauls* and *Ligurians*, to joyn with *Hannibal*. For this purpoſe, was mony ſent unto him from *Carthage*; and he himſelf laid hold upon all that he could find in the Town of *Gades*; without ſparing either private men, the common treaſury, or the Temples. In this voyage thence, he landed at *Carthagena*; hoping to have taken it by ſurpriſe. But he failed in the attempt, and was ſo beaten to his ſhips, that he returned back to repoſe himſelf a while at *Gades*. The *Gaditanes*, offended with the robberies and ſpoil that he had made at his taking leave of them, would

would not ſuffer him again to enter into their City. By this he foreſaw, that it would not be long e're they became *Romans*. Wherefore ſending Meſſengers into the Town, to complain of this uncourteous dealing, he allured their Magiſtrates forth unto him; whom, notwithſtanding all the excuſe that they could make, he whipt and crucified. This done, he followed his former intended voyage; bidding *Spain* farewell for ever.

The Iſle and City of *Gades*, was yielded to the *Romans*, preſently after the departure of *Mago*. Then did *Scipio* deliver up the Province, to thoſe that were ſent from *Rome* to ſucceed him therein: and himſelf with ten ſhips returned home. At his coming to *Rome*, he made ſuit for the honour of a triumph, But it was denied him: for that it had as yet been granted unto no Pro-conſul, excepting to ſuch, as received that dignity after a Conſulſhip, as it were by prorogation. But to make amends for this repulſe, the election of new Conſuls being then in hand, by general voice of the City, *P. Cornelius Scipio* was choſen Conſul, and *P. Licinius Craſſus* joyned with him. This *Craſſus*, being high-Prieſt, or Biſhop of the *Romans*, might not by the cuſtom of thoſe times, go far from the City; as being to attend the matters of their ſuperſtition: though *Cæſar*, and others, who in ages following held the ſame office, were ſtayed by no ſuch religious impediment, from being far and long abſent. Hereby it came to paſs, that *Scipio*, deſiring to have the war transferred into *Africk*, was in no danger to loſe that honourable charge, by any miſchance of lot, in the diviſion of Provinces; for that his Colleague was not capable of employment ſo far off.

SECT. XVIII.

Scipio *obtains leave to make war in* Africk. *His preparations. Of* Maſaniſſa *who was joyned with* Scipio. *The victories againſt* Aſdrubal *and* Syphax.

Pub. Cornelius Scipio, and *P. Licinius Craſſus*, entring into their Conſulſhip, held a meeting of the Senate in the Capitol: where it was decreed, that *Scipio* ſhould be allowed, to beſtow part of the money which he had brought out of *Spain* into the treaſury; upon the ſetting forth of ſolemn plays, that he had vowed to make whilſt he was buſied in his *Spaniſh* wars. This helped well to revive the memory of his victories already gotten; and to give hope unto the People of greater victories in the war, which he intended to make in *Africk*. To the ſame purpoſe, did the *Spaniſh* Embaſſages avail much in the Senate; eſpecially that of the *Saguntines*: who magnified his actions highly and deſervedly; ſaying, that they were the moſt happy of all their Countrymen, ſince they being preſent, had ſeen him choſen Conſul, and ſhould carry home ſuch joyful news. The *Saguntine* Embaſſadors were lovingly entertained by the Senate: as their faith to *Rome* (though coſtly it were both to them and to the *Romans*) had well deſerved. Nevertheleſs, when *Scipio* propoſed, that *Africk* might be decreed unto him for his Province, there wanted not many, even of the principal men, that vehemently gainſaid him. Of theſe was *Q. Fabius Maximus* the chief: who ſeems to have been troubled with that diſeaſe, which too often cauſed men, renowned for long approved virtue, to look aſquint upon the actions of thoſe, that follow them in the ſame kind. He alledged many reaſons againſt the purpoſe of the Conſul; whereof the chief were, that the Treaſury was unable to ſuſtain the charges of a war in *Africk*; and that it was extreamly perilous to hazard ſo great forces, where they could not at pleaſure be recalled unto the defence of *Rome* it ſelf, if need required. Hereunto he added many words concerning the danger wherein *Italy* ſtood, not only of *Hannibal*, but of *Mago* his Brother, that was arming the *Ligurians*: as alſo concerning the honour of the Conſul; which would (he ſaid) be greater in ſetting *Italy* free from enemies, than it could be in doing any harm to *Africk*. Neither did he forget, both to elevate the *Spaniſh* wars, as of leſs moment than the intended voyage againſt *Carthage*, nor withall to lay great blame upon *Scipio*, for having ſuffered *Aſdrubal* to paſs into *Italy*: ſhewing, that it was greatly to be feared, leſt the like might happen again; and that a new Army, notwithſtanding the good ſucceſs of *Scipio*, (if it hapned to be good) might be ſent from *Carthage*, to the utter endangering of *Rome*, whileſt the *Roman* forces were employed abroad. But the main point which he urged, was, that neither the Senate had ordained, nor the People commanded, *Africk* to be that year a Province; which the Conſul nevertheleſs propounded in ſuch wiſe, as if it were a matter already concluded, and no longer to be argued. *Scipio* on the other ſide, inſiſted upon this one point; that it was better to make an offenſive, then a defenſive war, eſpecially againſt ſuch as the *Carthaginians*, who being ill provided of able men at home, did furniſh themſelves, by help of mony, with levies made abroad. As for the care of *Italy*, he doubted not, but *P. Licinius* his Colleague, would be as well able to diſcharge it now, as others had done in times of greater danger. So promiſing to draw *Hannibal* into *Africk*, for defence of his own home; and taxing as civilly as he could, the envy of *Fabius*, which withſtood ſuch a gallant enterpriſe, he propoſed the matter again to the Senate. Much alterations there was about the manner of his proceeding: foraſmuch as it was noiſed abroad, that if he could not bring the Senate to his mind, he would carry it by the people. This offended many of the ancients: who reſented in this honourable man, a little ſpice of that arrogancy, which in following ages grew to be much hotter, in thoſe that had commanded long abroad. But in concluſion, *Scipio* referred himſelf wholly to the Senates good will and pleaſure; whereby he obtained thus much, That the Iſle of *Sicil* might be appointed unto him for his Province; with leave to paſs over into *Africk*, if he found it expedient.

Want of money, and no great liking to his voyage, made the *Roman* Senate have little care to furniſh out *Scipio* to the war, by him intended upon *Africk*. Herewithall it fell out, that *Mago*, coming on the ſudden from the *Baleares* to *Genua*, and winning the Town, bred a fear of no leſs terrible invaſion upon *Italy*, than that which *Aſdrubal* had lately made. He could not indeed raiſe any great Army of the *Ligurians*; for that he found them diſtracted with civil wars. Therefore he was driven to make choice of his party; and to help thoſe whom he thought fitteſt for his turn, againſt the others. This troubleſome buſineſs, though it occupied more of his time than he could wil-

willingly have ſpared: yet it got him reputation by his victories; and made the unſteady *Gauls* ready to enter into his pay. Hereupon the diſperſed Legions of the *Romans*, that under Pro-conſuls, and Prætors, lay ready to be imployed where need ſhould require; were directed unto the borders of *Lombardy* and *Liguria*, there to make head againſt *Mago*. But all his menaces paſſed away in vapour. For a fleet, either coming to his aid from *Carthage*, or by him ſent thither (the report is uncertain) loaden with the booty that he had taken, fell into the hands of the *Roman* Prætor, that governed in *Sardinia*. This did much diſable him: and though after a while there came letters from *Carthage*, together with ſtore of money, heartning him in his proceedings; yet ſome impediments which he found, and that fatal voyage of *Scipio* into *Africk*, diſturbed all; and made him be re-called home.

Againſt *Hannibal* was nothing done this year. Neither was any thing done by him, of which the *Roman* Hiſtorians have been pleaſed to take notice. Only it is ſaid, that he ſpent his Summer by the Temple of *Juno Lacinia*, where he raiſed an Altar, with a huge Title of all that he had performed, graven in *Punick* and *Greek* Letters. Such account of winnings paſt, is commonly in Gameſters that are at the height of their fortune, a cauſe of remiſſion and careleſneſs; in thoſe that are upon the loſing hand, a cauſe both of the ſame for the preſent, and ſhortly after of dejection, when they find a notable change. A great peſtilence infeſting both the *Carthaginian* and the *Roman* Camp, is ſaid to have been the occaſion of this years idleneſs; which fell out not much amiſs for the City of *Rome*, that was marvelouſly impoveriſhed by this war; and had already tryed the utmoſt way to defray the charges, which grew inſupportable. To relieve the preſent neceſſity, it was well thought upon, that a great part of *Campania* (not many years ſince confiſcated) ſhould be ſold, or let out: in which bargain, that the City might receive no loſs, the tenth part of the fine was ordained, as a reward unto the detectors of Lands concealed.

Of this, or other mony, none was given to *Scipio*. Neither was he allowed to make preſs of Souldiers for his *African* voyage; neither did he over-much labour to obtain it. That which the Senate refuſed, the people did for him: or rather they did it for themſelves; that were therein wiſer than the Senate. It is uſually found in Councels of eſtate, that the buſie, or obſtinate heads of a few do carry all the reſt. And many times men make a ſurrender of their own judgements, to the wiſdom, that hath gotten it ſelf a name, by giving happy direction in troubles forepaſt. Therefore, he that repoſeth himſelf upon the advice of many, ſhall often find himſelf deceived: the counſel of thoſe many being wholly directed by the Empire of a few, that over-ſway the reſt. Q. *Fabius* was accounted the Oracle of his time: for his wary nature ſorted well with the buſineſs, that fell out in the chief of his employment. Unto him therefore Q. *Fulvius* adhered; with others of the Senators, that were grown old in following one courſe; from which they could not ſhift, as the change of time required. But the People (who though they could not well adviſe, and deliberate, yet could well apprehend) embraced the needful reſolution of *Scipio*: in ſuch ſort, that beſides his *Roman* forces, he had from divers parts of *Italy* about ſeven thouſand Voluntaries. He had alſo proviſion from the ſeveral Towns: Corn, Iron, Canvas for Sails, Axes, Beed-hooks, Hand-mils, and the like implements; Firre for building of Ships, many thouſands of Targets, Helmets and Spears of all kinds: every place furniſhed him with that commodity, which it beſt could afford.

Unto this willingneſs of the people, the diligence of *Scipio* was correſpondent. In the compaſs of five and forty dayes he had both fell'd his Timber, built, and lanched twenty *Trireme*, and ten *Quinquereme* Gallies; wherewith he tranſported his Army into *Sicil*. In *Sicil* he found, beſides other forces, two Legions, that had ſerved at *Cannæ*: which were old Souldiers, and (as he himſelf well knew) not guilty of the overthrow; for which they had long undergone a heavy cenſure. They had ſerved under *Marcellus* and *Lævinus*, at the taking of many Cities and ſtrong pieces: in which regard, they were like to be of good uſe to him in *Africk*, where would be ſtore of ſuch employment. For increaſing the number of his horſe, he preſſed three hundred *Sicilians*, all wealthy young men, and ſuch as loved well their eaſe. Theſe he afterward diſcharged from the War, highly to their contentment: but with condition, that they ſhould deliver their Horſe and Arms, to as many *Roman* Gentlemen, which he brought over with him for the purpoſe. Whilſt he was providing to have things in a readineſs for *Africk*, the baniſhed *Locrians*, that followed the *Roman* ſide, made him acquainted with an intelligence, whereby they hoped to recover their City. Some handicrafts-men, that wrought for the *Carthaginians* in one of the Citadels of *Locri*, (for there were two in the Town) being taken priſoners for the *Romans*, promiſed to betray the place, if they might be ranſomed and rewarded. *Scipio* being advertiſed of this, gave order to have the attempt made by night: which happily ſucceeded, and that Citadel was ſurpriſed. The other Citadel was ſtrongly defended by the *Carthaginian* Garriſon, which ſent to *Hannibal* for aid. The *Romans* in like ſort, fearing leſt their paucity ſhould make them too weak for *Hannibal*, craved help of the Conſul *Scipio*. The Towns-men were doubtfully affected: but the beſt, and moſt of them inclining to the *Romans*, kept *Hannibal* out; whom the coming of *Scipio* cauſed thence to depart; and cauſed likewiſe the *Carthaginian* Garriſon to abandon the other Citadel. Many outrages were committed by the *Roman* Souldiers, that were left by *Scipio* in the cuſtody of the Town. Wherefore a vehement complaint was made by the *Locrians* unto the *Roman* Senate; not only againſt thoſe of the Garriſon: but much more againſt *Pleminius* the Captain, who gave bad example, and was worſe than all the reſt. Beſides many Murders, Robberies, Rapes, and other villanies, the Temple of *Proſerpina*, that had a great fame of ſanctity, was ſpoiled by theſe barbarous Thieves. The *Locrians* therefore adviſed the Senate to make preſent amends to the Goddeſs for this ſacrilege: ſaying, that the like had never been committed, without notorious revenge by her taken upon the Authors. The Senate gave good ear to this complaint, comforted the *Locrians*, and redreſſed the injuries done unto them; ſent for *Pleminius*, with other principal offenders; whom they caſt into priſon, and uſed according to their deſerts: as alſo they reſtored unto *Proſerpina* her money twice told. But old Q. *Fabius* was not herewithal contented. He laid much of the blame upon *Scipio*, that had placed ſuch a man in *Locri*; and had

had not carefully hearkned to the complaints made againſt him, but ſuffered him to run on in theſe his wicked courſes. By the ſharp invective that *Fabius* made, others took courage to ſpeak what they pleaſed, as well againſt the demeanour of *Scipio*, as againſt the diſſoluteneſs of his Army; which lay, as they ſaid, idle in *Sicil*, neither mindful of any ſervice toward, nor fit for it if need ſhould require. Finally, things were ſo far urged, that ten Legates were ſent over into *Sicil*, together with the Prætor appointed for that Iſland; two of the Tribunes, and one of the Ædiles; who ſhould examine theſe matters; and either cauſe the General to return into *Italy*, or continue him in his charge, as they thought fit. The end of all was, they found him ſo well prepared againſt *Carthage*, as that they haſtened him on his journey, and gave him high commendations at their return.

Scipio had already imployed *Lælius* in *Africk*; rather to make diſcovery, than to work any other great effect of war. He took a great booty: and ſtruck no little terror into the *Carthaginians*; who ſaw their affairs to be upon terms of change. But the greateſt fruit of his journey was, That ſpeaking with *Maſaniſſa*, he well informed himſelf of the ſtate of *Africk*; and knew what was to be expected of thoſe two Kings, that had promiſed to joyn with the *Romans* at their landing.

Concerning *Maſaniſſa* his revolt from the *Carthaginians*, and his compact made underhand with
Liv. lib. 21 the *Romans*, *Livie* doth profeſs, That there was no ſuch evident cauſe thereof at the preſent; but that the long continuance of his faith and conſtancy in following times, muſt help to prove, that this his change, was not without ſome good cauſe. But *Appianus* (an Hiſtorian far inferiour to *Livie*, both in worth and time) gives one reaſon ſo probable of this, and many accidents thereto belonging, as that it carryes with it a great appearance of neceſſary truth. Only the doubt is, How could it any way come to paſs, that the knowledge of ſuch a matter ſhould have eſcaped the diligence of *Livie* if it had been true: unleſs we ſhould believe, that he wilfully forbear to rehearſe a Tragedy; the ſorrow whereof would cauſe men to think amiſs of *Scipio*. Howſoever it was thus *Appian* tells it: and many circumſtances
Appian. Alexan. de Bell. Punic. of things done confirm it. *Aſdrubal*, the Son of *Geſco*, had a fair Daughter, whom both King *Syphax* and *Maſaniſſa* loved. *Maſaniſſa*, being brought up at *Carthage*, and being withall a goodly Gentleman of perſon, and excellent in qualities, was choſen by *Aſdrubal* to be his Son-in-law. When the Virgin was betrothed unto him, he went into *Spain*, and there did great Service. But afterwards, the *Carthaginian* Senate thought the marriage of *Aſdrubals* Daughter to be a matter of State: and beſtowed her upon *Syphax*, without ſtanding to acquaint her Father or *Maſaniſſa* therewithall: This they did, for that *Syphax* was the more mighty Prince; and for that the indignity of the repulſe, had made him become their enemy. Hereof *Maſaniſſa* was advertiſed; and forthwith entred into intelligence with *Scipio*, ſecretly as he thought; yet not ſo ſecretly, but ſome notice was taken of it: which would have coſt him his life, had he not with great circumſpection conveighed himſelf home, into his Fathers Kingdom. Thus far forth we may believe *Appianus*: all the narration well cohering with things paſt, and following. Only it ſeems, that howſoever *Sophonisba*, the Daughter of *Aſdrubal*, was promiſed by the *Carthaginians* unto *Syphax*: yet ſince this their courteſie proceeded from fear, he thought it wiſdom to continue and increaſe the ſame their fear, by making fair promiſes to the *Romans*, until *Aſdrubal had ſent for his daughter from* Carthage, and marriage was conſummated. In other matters *Liv. lib. 25* concerning the war it ſelf, wherein *Appian* differs much from *Livie*, and from *Polybius*, whom (as appears by the broken pieces of his works remaining) *Livie* did follow; it will be no offence, to take little heed unto his reports.

Maſaniſſa was the Son of *Gala*, a King of the *Numidians*: whoſe Father dying, the Crown deſcended, by order of the Country, unto *Deſalces* the Brother, not unto *Maſaniſſa* the Son. But this Uncle of *Maſaniſſa* ſhortly dyed: and his elder Son, who took poſſeſſion of the Kingdom, was vanquiſhed, and ſlain in a battle by a Rebel, that made himſelf Protector over the younger, which was a child. The Traitor fortified himſelf againſt *Maſaniſſa*, whoſe return he feared, by Alliances with the *Carthaginians* and *Syphax*. But all would not ſerve: He and his Pupil, were diſpoſſeſſed of their Eſtates by *Maſaniſſa*; that was a skilful Warriour, and well beloved for the memory of his Father *Gala*. The *Carthaginians*, in reaſon would have been glad, that *Maſaniſſa*, who had done them notable Service, was thus confirmed in his Eſtate, had they not been guilty of the injury by them done unto him; whileſt his Uncle or Couſin reigned, and he ſeemed unlikely to ſtand them in any ſtead. But *Syphax*, by their procurement, and perhaps by his own malice, towards his Corrival, warred upon him; and over-charging him with numbers, drave him out of his Kingdom. Nevertheleſs, *Maſaniſſa* ſtill retained the hearts of his people; and thereby remained ſtrong enough to infeſt both *Syphax* and the *Carthaginians*; though he was often put in diſtreſs, by great forces that were ſent againſt him. He therefore keeping much about the leſſer *Syrtis*, between the borders of the *Carthaginians*, and the Nation of the *Garamants*, expected the coming of the *Romans*: yet ſo, as he made long roads over all the Country, even as far as *Hippo*; and when *Lælius* arrived thereabouts, exhorted and encouraged him to haſten on *Scipio* to the invaſion of *Africk*.

But *Syphax*, in whoſe great aid and ſuccour was repoſed more hope of good ſucceſs, than could be expected from the good will of poor *Maſaniſſa*, ſent an Embaſſage into *Sicil* about the ſame time, which was little pleaſing unto *Scipio*. He excuſed himſelf of his promiſe lately made: and ſignified his alliance with the *Carthaginians*; adding, That he could not chuſe but fight for the defence of *Africk*, wherein he was born and reigned; and for the defence of his beloved wives Country, if it were invaded. Nevertheleſs, he promiſed to remain a Neuter, ſo long as the *Romans* and *Carthaginians* held war abroad, far enough from *Africk*, as hitherto they had done. This meſſage haſtened *Scipio* in his expedition, much more than any perſwaſion could have done. For, the promiſed aſſiſtance of *Syphax* had not a little advanced his enterpriſe; in procuring both the aſſent of the Senate, and the forwardneſs of many adventurers. Leſt therefore the failing of this hope, ſhould work too great a change in common opinion, He thought it the beſt way to prevent all diſcourſe, and ſet the war undertaken, immediately on foot. The Embaſſadors he diſmiſſed in haſte, with Letters to their King: wherein he willed him to conſider, that what he had promiſed, he had

had also sworn; and therefore should do well to make it good. Having sent them away, he called his Souldiers together; and bade them make ready for the voyage, which he intended no longer to defer. For, said he, *Masanissa* hath been with *Lælius*: and *Syphax* hath newly sent to me; greatly wondring upon what I should thus stay; and saying, That they will provide for themselves, if I fail their expectation by tarrying any longer. This fine tale prevented all further inquisition, that might else have been made concerning the message of these Embassadors: whose followers had been seen walking up and down *Syracusa*. And lest any thing should afterwards break out, that might hinder the business, *Scipio* immediately sent about his fleet unto *Lylibæum*: and requesting by letters *M. Pomponius*, that was Prætor in *Sicil*, to meet him there; hasted thither with his Army. *Lylibæum* he agreed with the Prætor, about the division of the Legions between them, which to leave behind for defence of the Island; and which to carry with him into *Africk*. What numbers he transported, it is not certain: some Historians reckoning only ten thousand foot; and two and twenty hundred horse; others increasing them to five and thirty thousand, horse and foot. Concerning his directions for embarquing, and other matters belonging to their course, I hold it needless to set them down; since they were points of ordinary care, and which it is like that neither he, when he took his voyage into *Spain*, nor others upon like occasions, have omitted; they being also word for word set down by an Historian, who borrowed them from *Livie*, and fitted them to a Prince of later age.

This *Roman* Army landed in *Africk*, near to a fore-land then called the *fair Promontorie*: which how far it was from *Carthage*, or toward what point of the Compass, I cannot precisely affirm; because it is uncertain, whether it were the Cape or Headland which bore the name of *Mercury*, and lay to the North-east of *Carthage*; or whether that of *Apollo*, which lay Northerly from *Carthage*, and by West. The coming of *Masanissa* unto *Scipio* at his first arrival, helpt to confirm the opinion of *Xylander*, who thinks the *fair Promontory* to have been the same, that was also called *Mercuries Cape*, since with little difficulty *Masanissa* might come thither from the lesser *Syrtis*, whereabout was his common abiding. But for as much as without any memorable impediment soon after his arrival, *Scipio* encamped before *Utica*, that stood Westward from *Carthage* beyond the River *Bagradas*: it may rather seem, that he landed within the Promontory of *Apollo*; whence the way to *Utica* was not long. This is also strongly proved; for that out of *Carthage* were sent, the next day, five hundred horse to trouble him in his dis-embarking. Neither was it so hard for *Masanissa*, that roved about the Country with a troop of horse, to find out the *Romans*, though they landed far from the place to the which he usually resorted, like as before he had met with *Lælius* at *Hippo* that was farther off; as it would have been for *Scipio*, with his Army and Carriages, to overcome the trouble of a long journey, and fetch a great compass to *Utica*, by Land; when he might have dis-embarqued nearer unto it. Nevertheless it may pass as a conjecture, That *Scipio* came first of all to *Emporio*, a plentiful Region about the lesser *Syrtis*; since he gave charge to the Masters of his ships, at the setting forth from *Lilybæum*, to shape their course for that coast. The Country thereabout was very rich, and fit for sustenance of an Army: neither were the Inhabitants warlike, or well provided to make resistance. Thus much perhaps *Masanissa* had signified unto *Lælius*, when he spake with him at *Hippo*: thinking that the *Romans*, howsoever they made brave promises, would not come strong enough to fight *at head*. But when he saw their Fleet and Army to be such, as not only served to invade the lands of *Carthage*, but threatned a conquest of the City and whole Estate: then might he better advise them to set sail for *Utica*, and make War upon the Enemies at their own doors.

The *Carthaginians* had at that time neither any Captain of great worth at home, nor better Army than of raw Souldiers; that were levied, or to be levied in haste. *Asdrubal* the son of *Gesco*, the same that had lately been chased out of *Spain* by *Scipio*, was their best man of war. And good enough perhaps he was thought by *Hanno* and his fellows, of whose faction he was: or if ought were wanting in him, yet this Riches and Nobility, together with the affinity of King *Syphax*, made him passable. He was then with the King his son-in-law, working him no doubt against the *Romans*: when letters were brought from *Carthage* both to *Syphax* and to him, informing them of the Invasion: entreating the one of them to give assistance, and commanding the other to make his repair unto the City, where he was chosen General. But e're these could be ready, *Scipio* had beaten the troop of *Carthaginian* horse, that were sent out of the City to disturb his landing; and slain *Hanno* a young Gentleman, that was their Leader. He had also taken and sacked a Town of the *Carthaginians*: wherein, besides other booty, he took eight thousand prisoners; all which he conveighed aboord his Hulks or Ships of burden, and sent them back loaden into *Sicil*. He took likewise a Town called *Salera* which he held and fortified. In *Salera* lay another *Hanno*, with four thousand *Numidian* horse: whose service being fitter, for the field, than for defence of walled places, made *Scipio* to perceive the unskilfulness of their Leader, that had thus housed them. Wherefore he sent *Masanissa* before him: who rode up to the gates; and, by making a bravado, trained out the improvident *Hanno* so far, that he drew him into a place, where the *Romans* lay in wait for him. The victory was easily gotten, and *Hanno* either taken or slain. With those that fled, the *Romans* entered *pell-mell* into the Town, which presently they made their own. Thence went *Scipio* to *Utica*, a City of great importance, of which mention hath been formerly made, and sate down before it, Forty dayes he spent about it, assailing it both by Land and Sea, and using all his engines of battery, whereof he had plenty, yet was in no likelihood of prevailing. And now the Summer was quite spent: so that it was time for him to choose a place, and fortifie his Winter Camp, which must be well stored against the year following. Whilst thus necessity urged him to leave *Utica*: and shame of taking his repulse in his first great enterprise, rather than hope of any better success, caused him to stay there: *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* gave him the honour of a fair pretence to leave the siege. *Asdrubal* had made a levy of thirty thousand foot, and three thousand horse: yet adventured not with his ill-trained Army to draw near to the *Romans*, before the coming of *Syphax*. *Syphax* brought with him unto *Carthage*

fifty thouſand foot, and ten thouſand horſe: which joyning unto the Forces of *Aſdrubal*, they marched bravely toward *Scipio*; who thereby took occaſion to diſlodge. He choſe for his Winter-Camp the banks of an In-let, that had good harbour for his Navy. His foot-men he lodged on a Promontory, joyning to the continent by an arm of Land: his horſe-men he beſtowed upon lower ground, on the other ſhoar: in the bottom of the *Creek* he mored his ſhips; and there he quartered the Mariners, with all that belonged unto the Fleet. The whole camp he ſtrongly fortified, and ſo attended the ſeaſon of the year, when it ſhould ſerve him again to fight. Of cattle and other booty *Maſaniſſa* had brought in great ſtore, by driving the Country, before the coming of *Aſdrubal* and *Syphax*. Corn he had alſo gotten ſome: and great ſtore was ſent from *Scicil* and *Sardinia*. Likewiſe apparel for his Souldiers, was ſent from home, or from *Sardinia*: though ſcarce enough to ſerve turn, for that it was a matter of more coſt. The ſhips that brought theſe things, he fraighted homewards with ſuch part of his booty, as he could beſt ſpare: eſpecially with captives to be ſold for ſlaves. *Aſdrubal* and *Syphax* encamped near unto *Scipio*: not ſo ſtrongly fortifying themſelves, as did the *Romans*, either for that they wanted the ſeverer inſtitution, which the *Romans* uſed in the diſcipline of war, or for that they preſumed upon their multitude, againſt which they found in *Scipio* no diſpoſition to iſſue forth of his ſtrength, and fight. So the Winter paſſed without action.

When Spring drew near, *Scipio* thought it good to aſſay his old friend the *Numidian* King, if perhaps he might be won by perſwaſions to forſake the *Carthaginians*. It was conſidered, that thoſe *Barbarians* were naturally unconſtant; and particularly, that *Syphax* had given proof before this of his much levity. It might therefore be hoped, that having weared himſelf by lodging a whole Winter in the Camp: and being peradventure no leſs weary with ſatiety of his wife, who had cauſed him to enter into this war: he might be moved with a little entreaty to withdraw himſelf home into his Kingdom, and reſt a *Neuter*. But it is not unlikely, that ſuch a friend as this King, had been highly entertained and honoured in the City of *Carthage*, which was near at hand, as often as during this Winter it had pleaſed him, or as he had been invited, to make a ſtep thither and repoſe himſelf a while: his wife Queen *Sophonisba* lying alſo there at the ſame time, to cheriſh him in his reſolution. Howſoever it were, *Syphax* did only make an overture of peace: propounding it as reaſonable, That *Hannibal* ſhould be recalled out of *Italy* by the *Carthaginians*: and that the *Romans* in like ſort ſhould quietly depart out of *Africk*, and ſo make an end of the war: wherewith now both *Africk* and *Europe* were diſquieted. Unto this would not *Scipio* at firſt give ear: yet being preſſed earneſtly by many meſſages from *Syphax*, and deſiring to continue the intercourſe of Embaſſadors; he began to make ſhew, as if he would conſider of the motion. He was given to underſtand by thoſe whom he had ſent unto the King, that the Enemies had their camps without any great defence of earth, full of wooden Cabins, and covered with boughs: and that the *Numidians*, ſuch of them as came firſt with *Syphax*, uſed coverings, Mats and Reeds; others that came later, had thatched their lodging with dry boughs and leaves: under which they lay careleſly without their Trenches. Upon this advertiſement he bethought himſelf, That it would not be hard for him to ſet their camps on fire, and thereby give them a notable overthrow. Without help of ſome ſuch ſtratagem, he foreſaw that it would be a work of great difficulty for him, to proceed in his wars when time ſhould ſerve. It was a plain open Country wherein he lay: and the Enemies had great advantage of him in number, eſpecially in horſe, which, upon ſuch ground, could not be reſiſted by the *Roman* Legions. The longer therefore that he thought upon the matter; the more needful he found it for himſelf, to make ſudden attempt upon their Camp. To this end he ſent many Embaſſadours, under pretence of treating about the Peace; but indeed of purpoſe to diſcover all that might concern the intended ſurpriſe. With theſe Embaſſadours he ſent, as Attendants, many old Souldiers diſguiſed like ſlaves; that wandring (as it were) idle up and down in the Camp, might obſerve the wayes and entrances, with whatſoever elſe was needful. When he had learned as much as he deſired: upon the ſudden he ſent word to *Syphax*, that it was vain to hold any longer treaty, foraſmuch as he could not get the conſent of his Council of war; without whoſe approbation, all that himſelf could do, was no more, than the good will of one man. This he did, to the end that, without any breach of faith, he might put his deſign in execution. The Truce being thus cut off, *Aſdrubal* and *Syphax* were very penſive: as having lately perſwaded themſelves, that their trouble was almoſt at an end. But ſince it could be no better, they began to deviſe, by what art they might draw *Scipio* out of his Camp, and provoke him to battle in thoſe Plains. This if they could do, they hoped to make his Council of war repent as greatly the refuſal of peace, as did *Marcus Atilius* after the like preſumption. But if he ſhould refuſe to come forth of his Trenches, what elſe remained than to beſiege him? Which they themſelves were well able to do by land; and the *Carthaginian* Fleet ſhould do by Sea that was making ready for the purpoſe. By ſuch diſcourſes theſe two comforted themſelves; recompencing (in conceipt) the loſs of their hopes paſt, with that Victory to come. But herein they were extreamly and worthily diſappointed; for that conſulting about the future, they provided not againſt preſent danger, but continued in the ſame negligence, which was grown upon them by the long diſcourſe of peace. As for *Scipio*, he was not idle; but made preparation out of hand, as it were to do ſomewhat againſt *Utica*. Two thouſand Souldiers he had made ready, and appointed to take the ſame piece of ground, whereon he lay againſt *Utica* before. This he did, partly to keep ſecret that which he had in hand, leſt being ſuſpected by his own Souldiers, the Enemy might happen to have notice of it, partly to hinder thoſe of *Utica* from ſetting upon the few, that he purpoſed to leave behind him in his Camp. He cauſed his men that night to ſup well, and betimes that they might be ready for the journey. After ſupper, he appointed ſuch Companies as he thought fit, to the defence of his Camp; all the reſt of the Army he led forth, about nine of the clock at night. The *Carthaginians* lay from him ſeven miles and an half: whom he purpoſed to undertake himſelf with the one half of his Army; the other half he committed to *Lælius* and *Maſaniſſa*, whom he ſent before him to ſet upon the camp of *Syphax*, that was farther off. It was his meaning, that the

the Camp of *Syphax* ſhould be on a light fire, e're he would meddle with the *Carthaginians*. For the fire might ſeem to have taken by caſualty upon the *Numidians* that lay farther off: whereas if it firſt appeared in the camp of *Aſdrubal*, it would be ſuſpected as the doing of enemies, and give *Syphax* warning to look to himſelf. To this end therefore *Scipio* marched fair and ſoftly; that *Lælius* and *Maſaniſſa*, who had a longer journey, and were to fetch a compaſs about for fear of being diſcovered, might have time to get before him, and do their feat. It was about two or three a clock in the morning, when the camp of *Syphax* began to blaze: which not only the *Numidians*, but their King himſelf, imputed unto caſuality; as thinking themſelves ſafe enough from enemies, for that the *Carthaginians* lay interpoſed between them and the danger. Wherefore as if there were no more to do, ſome ſtarting half a ſleep; and others that had ſitten up late at drinking, run out of their Cabbins to quench the fire. But ſo great was the tumult, that they neither could rightly underſtand in what caſe they were, nor give any remedy to the miſchance as it was ſuppoſed, Many were ſmothered and burnt in the flame, which grew greater and greater, many, leaping into the Trenches for fear of the ſudden miſchief, were trampled to death by the multitude that followed them. They that eſcaped the fire, fell upon the enemies ſword, which was ready to receive them. Eſpecially *Maſaniſſa* that beſt knew the Country, did great execution upon them: having laid all the wayes; by which he foreſaw that they would ſeek to eſcape. The *Carthaginians* perceiving this fire, thought none other than that it was a pittiful miſchance: ſo that ſome ran out to help the poor *Numidians*; carrying only what would ſerve to quench the fire. Others ran up to the Rampart: where fearleſs of any danger toward themſelves, they ſtood beholding the greatneſs of the flame, and lamenting the misfortune. This fell out right as *Scipio* would have it. He therefore loſt no time: but ſetting upon thoſe that were running towards the *Numidians*; he killed ſome, and purſued the reſt back into their camp, which in a little while he made to burn as bright, as did that of *Syphax*. *Aſdrubal* ſeeing this, and knowing that the *Romans* were there, did not ſtand to make reſiſtance, but ſhifted only for himſelf, and eſcaped with a few of his horſe about him. If *Hannibal*, or any of the *Barchine* faction, had been taken in ſuch a manner: it is more than probable that old *Hanno* would have judged him worthy to be crucified. It would then have been ſaid, that with leſs than one half of 30000. men, he might at leaſt have given ſome bad recompence, to them that were taking pains in kindling theſe fires; had he not been only careful how to ſave his own fearful head. Nevertheleſs *Polybius* acknowledgeth, and it is moſt likely to have been true, That if *Aſdrubal*, or any of thoſe about him, would have ſtricken to ſhew valour, when the Camp was once one fire: He ſhould not thereby have done any manner of good, becauſe of the tumult and conſternarion. I ſhall not need to tell what a fearful thing it was, to hear the cries of ſo many thouſands that periſhed by fire and ſword, or to behold the cruel flame that conſumed them; which (as *Polybius* affirms) none *that hath being* is able to deſcribe. It is enough to ſay, That of thoſe many thouſands, very few did eſcape; which accompanied *Aſdrubal* and *Syphax* in their ſeveral wayes of flight. Beſides theſe alſo there were ſome ſcatterers, eſpecially of the *Numidians*, that ſaved themſelves in the dark: but they were not many, as after ſhall appear. Surely it muſt needs have been very hard to tell, how many were burnt, or otherwiſe made away, and what numbers eſcaped in the dark of the night. Wherefore *Livie* who in the reſt of this relation, as often elſewhere, doth follow *Polybius*, may ſeem to have followed ſome leſs worthy Author, and him no good Arithmatician, in caſting up the ſum. For he reckons only two thouſand foot, and five hnndred horſe, to have eſcaped; forty thouſand to have periſhed by ſword or fire: and above ſix thouſand to have been taken priſoners: the whole number of all which together, is far ſhort of fourſcore and thirteen thouſand, which were in theſe two Camps.

Aſdrubal, putting himſelf into the next Town that was very ſtrongly fortified, thought there to find the *Romans* work, until the *Carthaginians* at good leiſure might repair their Army. He had with him no more than two thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe: which he thought ſufficient to defend the Town; if the Townſ-men would not be wanting to themſelves. But he found the Inhabitants of the place very earneſt in contention, whether it were better to fight, or to yield. Unto this diſputation, he well foreſaw, that the arrival of *Scipio* would ſoon give an end. Wherefore, leſt they ſhould lay hold upon him, and ſeek the Victors favour by delivering him up: he ſhrunk away betimes and made all haſte to *Carthage*. As for the town which he left; it opened the gates to *Scipio* at his firſt coming: and thereby preſerved it ſelf from all manner of loſs. The two next Towns adjoyning would needs be valiant, and make countenance of war: but their ſtrength not being anſwerable, they were ſoon taken by *Scipio*: who abandoned them to the pleaſure of his Souldiers. This being done, he returned to the ſiege of *Utica*.

The *Carthaginians* were ſore troubled, as they had good reaſon; when inſtead of either peace or Victory, which they lately hoped for, they heard news of ſuch a lamentable overthrow. Neceſſity enforced them to make haſty proviſion for the future: but how to do it, few of them ſaw any means. Some gave advice to crave peace of *Scipio*: others to ſend for *Hannibal* out of *Italy*; but the moſt, and they which finally prevailed, were of opinion, That notwithſtanding the loſs of this Army, they might well defend themſelves againſt the *Romans*, by raiſing new forces: eſpecially, if *Syphax* would not leave them. It was therefore concluded, that they ſhould bend all their care this way, levying in all haſte another Army; and ſending Embaſſadors to deal with *Syphax*, who lay then at a Town called *Abba*, not paſſing eight miles from *Carthage*. Immediately the ſame their unfortunate Commander, *Aſdrubal* the ſon of *Geſco*, was employed to make new levies of men: and Queen *Sophonisba* went forth with Embaſſadors to her husband *Syphax*, who having gathered together as many as he could of his ſubjects that had eſcaped from the late ſlaughter, was thinking to return into his own Kingdom. *Sophonisba* laboured ſo with her husband, that at length ſhe won him to her own deſire. And it fell out at the ſame time, that four thouſand *Spaniards*, waged by the *Carthaginians*, were brought over to ſerve in *Africk*. Of theſe were made ſuch brave reports, as if their courage, and the Arms which they uſed, were not to be

Excerp. e Polyb. l. 14.

reſiſted. Even the multitude within *Carthage* believed theſe tales, and were more glad than they had cauſe to be; which is great wonder, ſince in one age, the whole country of *Spain* had been twice conquered; firſt, by the *Carthaginians* themſelves, and after by the *Romans*. But with *Syphax* theſe tales prevailed much: which the *Carthaginian* Embaſſadors helped with a lye; ſaying, That there were come ten thouſand of theſe terrible *Spaniards*. Upon this confidence, the people of *Carthage* and their friends gathered ſuch ſpirit, that in thirty days they made up an Army, conſiſting well-near of thirty thouſand men, reckoning the *Spaniards* and *Syphax* with his *Numidians* in the number. So they incamped in a Region called *The great Fields*, about five days journey from *Utica*. *Scipio* hearing of this, came from *Utica* thither, to viſit them: leaving behind him his impediments, with ſome part of his Army, to make a ſhew of continuing the Siege. Two or three days, after the meeting of both Armies, paſſed away in skirmiſh, without any great thing done. It had now been time for *Aſdrubal* to follow the example of the *Roman Fabius*, and and ſeek to weary out the Enemy by delayes. But either (which is likely) he was a far worſe Commander or elſe it was not in his power, to give ſuch directions as beſt pleaſed himſelf. The fourth day the Armies met in battle: wherein the *Romans* were marſhalled by *Scipio* after their wonted manner, having their *Italian* horſe in the right wing; and *Maſaniſſa* with his *Numidians* in the left. On the contrary ſide, *Aſdrubal* and his *Carthaginians* had the right wing; *Syphax* the left; and the *Spaniards*, the battle. The victory was gotten without many blows: for the untrained followers of *Syphax* and *Aſdrubal*, could not ſuſtain the firſt charge of the *Italians*, or of *Maſaniſſa*. Only the *Spaniards* fought a long time, even untill they were all in a manner ſlain: rather as men deſperate, and not hoping for mercy, ſince they were thus come over to fight againſt *Scipio*, who had otherwiſe deſerved of them, than upon any likelihood or conceit of victory. This their obſtinacy was beneficial to thoſe that fled; for that it hindred the *Romans* from making any great purſuit. Hereby *Aſdrubal* and *Syphax* eſcaped: *Aſdrubal* to *Carthage*; and *Syphax* home to his own Kingdom: whither his wife was either gone before, or immediately followed him.

Scipio, having thus gotten the maſtery of the Field, took counſel about the proſecution of the war. It was reſolved upon as the beſt courſe, That he himſelf, with part of the Army, ſhould attempt the Cities round about him: and that *Maſaniſſa*, with his *Numidians*, and *Lælius*, with ſome of the *Roman* Legions, ſhould follow after *Syphax*; not permitting him to take reſt within his own Kingdom, where eaſily elſe he might repair his forces, and put them to new trouble. This advice, it ſeems that *Maſaniſſa* gave: who knew beſt the quality of the *Numidians*; and what good might be done among them, by the reputation of a victory. The leaſt that could be expected, was his reſtitution into his own Kingdom, uſurped by *Syphax*, which to accompliſh, it no leſs concerned the *Romans* at the preſent, than it did himſelf. According to this order concluded, *Lælius* was ſent away with *Maſaniſſa*: and *Scipio* ſtayed behind, carrying the War from Town to Town. Many places yielded for fear; many were taken by force; and all the Subjects of *Carthage* wavered in their fidelity, as if the time were now come, wherein they might take notice of thoſe unreaſonable burdens, which their proud Maſters had laid upon them, for maintenance of the war in *Spain* and *Italy*. What to do in this caſe, the *Carthaginians* could hardly reſolve. Fortune was their enemy; they had loſt their Armies, and many of their Towns: neither durſt they make bold to trouble their own Subjects with any violent exaction of men or money; who nevertheleſs of their own free will were likely to give little help. Very much it grieved them to ſend for *Hannibal* out of *Italy*: yet ſince there was no other hope remaining, than in him and his good Army; it was decreed, That Embaſſadors ſhould be forthwith ſent to call him home. Some there were that gave advice, to ſet out a Fleet againſt that of *Scipio*, and rode before *Utica*, weakly manned, that eaſie to be taken, whilſt *Scipio* himſelf was buſied in the Iſland Countries. Some were of opinion, that it ſhould be their principal care to fortifie by all means the City of *Carthage*: upon the ſafety whereof they ſaid, all depended: adding, that whilſt they were true, and at unity among themſelves, they might well enough ſubſiſt, and expect thoſe opportunities, with which Fortune (doubtleſs) would preſent them. Theſe counſels were not rejected; but order was forthwith taken, both for all things concerning the defence of the City, and for the attempt upon the *Roman* Fleet at *Utica*. Nevertheleſs, it was conſidered, that thereby they ſhould only protract the war; without any advancing their own affairs towards likelihood of victory, no, though it ſhould fall out, that all the Ships at *Utica* might be taken, or deſtroyed. Wherefore the determination held concerning *Hannibal*, that he ſhould immediately come over into *Africk*, as the laſt refuge of *Carthage*. The Council was no ſooner broken up, than all the Senators betook themſelves to the execution of that which was decreed: ſome, to the Fortification of the Town: ſome, to make ready the Fleet; and ſome, appointed thereunto, forthwith to embarque themſelves for *Italy*.

In this their trepidation, *Scipio* came to *Tunes*, a City in thoſe days very ſtrong, and ſtanding in proſpect almoſt of every part of *Carthage*. This place, or rather ſome defenſible piece adjoyning, he eaſily took; the Garriſons forſaking it, and running away, as ſoon as he drew near. But whilſt he was about there to incamp, and fortifie himſelf againſt the City, he might perceive the *Carthaginian* Fleet ſetting forth, and making towards *Utica*: What this meant, he readily conceived, and ſtood in great fear, leſt his own Ships, that were very ill prepared for Sea-fight, (as being heavily loaden with Engines of Battery, and wholly diſpoſed in ſuch order, as was moſt convenient for aſſaulting the Town) ſhould make bad reſiſtance, againſt a Fleet appointed for that ſpecial Service. Wherefore he haſted away towards *Utica*, to aſſiſt with his preſence in this needful caſe. It fell out well, that he had ſent his Carriages, and all the great booty which he drew along with him, thither before, at his going to *Tunes*. For had not he now made great expedition, he ſhould have come too late. Neither could he indeed have been there in due time, if the *Carthaginians* had uſed ſuch diligence as was convenient. But they reſted one night in harbour by the way; and at their coming to *Utica*, they tarryed a while to make a bravado; preſenting themſelves in order

order of battle, as if the *Romans* would have put forth to Sea againſt them. But *Scipio* had no ſuch intent: he thought it would be ſufficient, if he could preſerve his Gallies. As for the pleaſure of their bravery at Sea; it ſhould little avail the *Carthaginians*, if they got nothing by it, and loſt their whole eſtate by Land. Wherefore he took his ſhips of burden, and faſtning them together with Cables, in four ranks, one behind another, made a four-fold Bridge over the Channel of the Haven; whereon he placed a thouſand of his choiſe men, with ſtore of Darts, and other caſting weapons, to make defence. Some other ſpaces he left, whereat his Frigots, and other ſmall Veſſels, might run out and back again upon any advantage or need: but theſe he covered with planks, uſing the Maſts and Yards of his Ships inſtead of Rafters, to joyn all together, that his men might help one another, and the Bridge it ſelf not be torn aſunder. Scarce was this work finiſhed, when the *Carthaginians*, ſeeing none iſſue forth againſt them, came into the Haven. The Fight between them, and the *Romans* that were in the Hulks, was rather like to the aſſaulting of a Wall, than to any Sea-fight. For they that ſtood upon the Bridge, had ſure footing, and threw their weapons downwards, with their whole ſtrength and violence; which the *Carthaginians* out of their Gallies, that were lower and unſteady, could not do, but the *Roman* Frigots and long Boats, adventuring forth from behind the Bridge, were greatly over-born by the force of the Gallies; and were one occaſion of that ſmall loſs that followed. They that ſtood upon the Bridge, were neither able to relieve them, nor yet could freely beſtow their weapons among the *Carthaginians*, as before; for fear of hurting theſe their friends, that were intangled and mixed among the enemies. The *Carthaginians* had brought with them grappling hooks, hanging at Iron chains. Theſe they threw upon the Maſts and Yards, which ſerved as Arches to joyn the Bridge together: then rowing backwards, they tore all aſunder: in ſuch ſort, that one Ship followed another, and all the firſt rank was broken or defaced. The Defendants had no other way, than to ſave themſelves as haſtily as they could, by ſhifting into the next rank of Ships, that lay behind them untouched. Neither did the *Carthaginians* trouble themſelves any further in this laborious work: but having haled away ſix Ships of burden, and towed them out of the Haven, returned home to *Carthage*. Their welcome was greater than their victory; becauſe among ſo many grievous loſſes, only this exploit had ſucceeded well, though it were of ſmall importance.

Whileſt things thus paſſed about *Carthage*, *Lælius* and *Maſaniſſa*, in their journey againſt *Syphax*, found as good ſucceſs as could be deſired. The fame of the victories already gotten, reſtored *Maſaniſſa* to his Kingdom, without farther contention: the *Maſæſyli*, his Subjects, joyfully receiving him, and forſaking the uſurpers. But here they ſtayed not: neither indeed would *Syphax* permit them to be quiet. He had ſuch abundance of men and horſes, that he felt not greatly the loſſes paſt: and therefore being ſolicited by *Aſdrubal* and *Sophonisba*, he prepared again for war. But beſide the inſtigation of his beloved wife; the loſs of the *Maſæſyli* would let him take no reſt: neither was it the purpoſe of *Lælius* and *Maſaniſſa*, to give him any breathing time. It is common in men, to depart no leſs unwillingly from that which they have gotten by extortion, than from their proper inheritance; but to think alike their own, whereof they are in poſſeſſion, be the title unto ſome part never ſo unjuſt. Hereunto alludes the fable of the young Kite; which thought that ſh[illegible] omited up her own Guts, when it was only the Garbage of ſome other Fowl, that ſhe had haſtily ſwallowed, and was not able to digeſt. But whether or no, *Syphax*, like the young Kite, believed the Kingdom of the *Maſæſyli* to be part of his entrails: *Lælius* and *Maſaniſſa* will ſhortly give him ſomewhat that ſhall make him caſt his Gorge. For to this purpoſe chiefly are they come ſo far. It concerned the *Romans* to diſpoſſeſs (if it might be) the King, whoſe falſe and hollow friendſhip towards them, had been converted into ſtrong enmity; as alſo to ſet in his place another, who might do them ſuch good offices, as *Syphax* had lately done unto the *Carthaginians*. How eaſily this might be effected, *Maſaniſſa* knew beſt, as being well acquainted with the nature of thoſe Countries; wherein, even to this day, though there be many ſtrong Towns, yet the fortune of a battle is enough, to tranſlate the Kingdom from one Competitor to another. So they met with *Syphax*, who came againſt them with no leſs an Army, than his former, and marſhalled in the *Roman* order, according to the skill, which he had learned of the *Roman Centurion*, long ago ſent unto him out of *Spain* from *Cn. Scipio*. But though he could teach his men how to march in order; yet he could not teach them how to fight couragiouſly. They were a rabble of all ſorts, gathered up in haſte: and few of them had ſeen war before. Encamping near unto the *Romans*, it fell out, as commonly, that ſome ſmall Troops of Horſe on both ſides, encountered one another in the mid-way: and they that had the worſt, were ſeconded by other of their fellows. By continuance of the skirmiſh, more and more were drawn out from either Camp: ſo that at length *Syphax*, unwilling to diſhearten his men by taking any foil at their firſt meeting with the Enemy, came up with all his horſe, which were the beſt part of his forces, and therewith over-charged *Maſaniſſa*, whoſe numbers were far leſs. But whilſt he was proſecuting ſome hope of victory: ſome *Roman* Squadrons of Foot came againſt him through their own Troops of Horſe; which fell to the ſides, and made a lane for them. So their battle ſtanding now more firm, than a little before; *Syphax* was unable, though he laboured much in vain, to make them give ground. *Maſaniſſa* likewiſe, and his Troops grew confident upon this aſſiſtance: and charging afreſh the Enemy, that could not make way forward, cauſed him to give back. Herewithal the Legions came in ſight: which terrified ſo the *Numidian* horſe, that they began preſently to disband. Fain would *Syphax* have ſtayed them from flight: and to that end made head in perſon againſt the *Romans*; with hope, that his men would be aſhamed to leave him. But it fell out unhappily, that he was caſt from his Horſe, which received a wound, and ſo taken priſoner. Of others that were ſlain or taken: the multitude was not great. It ſufficed, that they forſook the place, and fled, and that their King, upon whom all depended, was in the *Romans* hand. *Maſaniſſa* told *Lælius*, that this victory ſhould make an end of the *Numidian* war, if preſently they haſted away to *Cirta* the chief City of the Kingdom; whither he himſelf deſired to be ſent before with the Horſe, carrying

rying *Syphax* along with him. Hereunto *Lælius* agreed. *Masanissa* coming to *Cirta*, before any news of the Kings mischance was there arrived, called out the chief of the City to parlee: wherein by many fair promises and threats, but especially by shewing unto them *Syphax* bound, he prevailed so far, that the gates were forthwith opened unto him; and every one strove to get his favour: that was like to be their King hereafter. Among the rest, Queen *Sophonisba* yielded her self into his hands, and vehemently besought him, that she might not be delivered up unto the *Romans*. Her youth, and excellent beauty, so commended her suit, that *Masanissa* forthwith granted it; and to make good his promise, marryed her himself that very day; thereby to prevent *Lælius* and *Scipio* from determining otherwise of her, since she was his wife. But *Lælius*, when he came thither, took the matter hainously, so that at first he would have haled her away, together with *Syphax* and other prisoners, and have sent her unto *Scipio*. But being over-intreated by *Masanissa*, he suffered the matter to rest a while as he found it, and referred all to *Scipio*'s discretion; to whom he sent away *Syphax* and other Captives immediately; following shortly after himself with *Masanissa*, when they had done what was needful in the Kingdom.

At the coming of *Syphax*, there was great joy in the *Roman* Camp: the mighty Armies which he had lately brought into the field; and his entertainment of *Scipio* and *Asdrubal*, both at one time, when *Rome* and *Carthage* together sought his friendship; with such other commemoration of his past and present fortune, ministring to every one a large argument of discourse. *Scipio* demanded of him, what had moved him, not only to forsake the *Roman* friendship, but to make war upon them, unprovoked. He briefly answered, That his wife had moved him so to do; calling her a Fury, and a pestilent creature: and saying, that *Masanissa* was no wiser than himself, since he had now taken the same woman to his Wife, who would shortly draw him to the same courses. Hereat *Scipio* was greatly troubled: and stood in great doubt, lest this perilous woman should deprive him of *Masanissa*, as she had done of *Syphax*. It was not long, e're *Masanissa* and *Lælius* came unto him: both of whom together he lovingly welcomed; and highly commended in publick, for their notable service in this Expedition. Then taking *Masanissa* apart, he brake with him, as touching *Sophonisba*: letting him understand, that the *Romans* had title to her head, and that she was a mischievous enemy of theirs. Wherefore he intreated him to moderate his affections: and not to deface the memory of his great services already done (for which he should be highly rewarded to his own contentment) by committing a great offence upon little reason. *Masanissa* blusht, and wept: and finally promised to be governed by *Scipio*, whom he nevertheless intreated, to think upon his faith given to *Sophonisba*, that she should not be delivered into the *Romans* power. So he departed to his own Tent, where, after some time spent in agony, he called unto him a Servant of his that had the custody of his poyson, (which Princes used then to have in a readiness, against all mischances that might make them unwilling to live:) and tempering a potion for *Sophonisba*, sent it unto her with this message; that gladly he would have had her to live with him as his Wife: but since they who had power to hinder him of his desire, would not yield thereto, he sent her a cup, that should preserve her from falling alive into the hands of the *Romans*; willing her to remember her Birth and Estate, and accordingly to take order for her self.

At the receeit of this Message and Present, she only said; That if her Husband had no better Token to send unto his new Wife, she must accept of this; adding, That she might have dyed more honourably, if she had not Wedded so lately before her Funeral. And herewithall she boldly drank off the poison. Thus *Livie* reporteth. But *Appian* varies from this; and sets it down agreeably to that which hath been spoken before. concerning the pre-contract between *Masanissa* and *Sophonisba*. He saith, That after the taking of *Syphax*, Embassadors from *Cirta*, met with *Lælius* and *Masanissa* upon their way thither, yielding up their City, and the Kings Palace: and that *Sophonisba*, for her own private, sent messengers to excuse her Marriage with *Syphax*, as made against her will, by compulsion of those in whose power she was. *Masanissa* readily admitted this excuse; and accepted her to Wife. But when *Scipio* had received information from *Syphax*, how cunning in perswasion *Sophonisba* was: and that all her thoughts laboured for the good of *Carthage*; he fell out about her with *Masanissa* at his return, and challenged her, as a part of the booty belonging to the *Romans*; *Masanissa* said, she was his own Wife, and unto him betrothed many years before. But *Scipio* would not hear of this: or if it were true, yet he said it was no reason, that *Masanissa* should keep her in possession, as long as it was disputable, unto whom she might appertain. Wherefore he willed him first of all to produce her, and then afterwards to make his claim unto her, wherein he should have no wrong. Herewithall he sent to fetch her away: and *Masanissa* accompanied the messengers, as it were to deliver her: but making her acquainted with the necessity, gave unto her a cup of poison, wherewith she ended her life, before they came that should have apprehended her. So he shewed unto the *Romans* her dead body, which he royally interred. The sudden violence of *Masanissa* his love, and the ready consent of *Sophonisba* to marry with him, add not so much credit unto this relation of *Appian*, as doth the want of all other evident cause (which *Livie* notes) of the sudden falling out between him and the *Carthaginians*, under whom he had been trained up, and done them great Service. Howsoever it were; *Scipio*, hearing of this tragical accident, sent for *Masanissa*, and comforted him as well as he could, lest his melancholly should lead him to some inconvenience. Having therefore gently rebuked him for his rashness, he brought him forth in the presence of the Army: where extolling his noble acts, and shewing how highly he had deserved of the City of *Rome*, he proclaimed him King, and gave unto him a Crown of Gold, with other Royal Ornaments. This was indeed the ready way to divert his thoughts from the sad remembrance of that which was past, unto the more chearful contemplation of good fortune, that began to smile upon him. *Lib. 28.*

This was the first time that the *Romans* took upon them to create or proclaim a King. Which honour though *Masanissa* well deserved: yet would not the title have redounded unto his great benefit: neither should he have been much beholding to them for it, if he had not by their means recovered possession of his Country, together with the

the greatest parr of *Syphax* his Dominions. It seemeth not unlikely, that had he remained a *Neuter* in these wars, and sustained himself with his Troop of Horse, in such sort as he did before the coming of the *Romans*; he might nevertheless have recovered his proper Inheritance, by the love of his own Subjects without other help, when *Syphax* had once or twice been vanquished. As for the inlargement of his Kingdom, it was not more than he deserved: neither were the *Romans* then in case to make a Conquest of *Numidia* for themselves; neither could they have wished a fitter opportunity, than upon such a man upon whom to bestow it, that was their assured Friend, and passable withall among the *Numidians* as being (for the *Masesyli* were a *Numidian* Tribe) a great Prince of the same Nation. Yet this liberality of the *Romans*, was noised abroad as very glorious: and the *Romans* themselves, in a politick sort of gravity, took highly upon them; as if even their saluting him by the name of King, had been a matter of great consequence. He thrived indeed well after it: and by their maintenance waxed mighty in times following, incroaching upon his neighbours on all sides; but most of all upon the State of *Carthage*, whereat they were little displeased. Hence it grew that *Vermina* the Son of *Syphax* (of whom we shall shortly speak more) which held some pieces of his Fathers Kingdom, desiring Friendship of the *Romans*, and promising by all means to deserve their love, requested therewithall, that they would call him *King*. But though it were so, that never any before him had made this a matter of suit, yet the *Roman* Senate was *Punctilious* herein, and answered very bravely, That it was not their custom to give the honour of that appellation, save only unto such Kings, as had greatly deserved of their City. Thus they made it a matter of State; and in process of time grew so proud of this their imaginary prerogative, that they imputed as a singular benefit unto Kings that no way depended upon them, the salutation by †*that name*, though it were not accompanied with any other favour or profit thence redounding.

Liv. l. 31.

† *Cæsar. Comm. l.* 1.

SECT. XIX.

The Carthaginians *desired Truce, and break it.*

THe *Carthaginians* were extreamly dismayed, when they heard of the great calamity, that was befallen their good Friend *Syphax*, and understood that *Masanissa* their mortal enemy, had got possession of his Kingdom. To increase their fear, *Scipio* returned again to *Tunes* in view of their City: where he made an end of that Fortification, which he had begun at his last being there. The *Carthaginians* had neither Forces, nor Courage, to withstand him: but their hearts so failed them, that they sent forth unto them thirty Embassadors, Princes of the City, which were their Privy Councel, to make suit for peace. These being admitted into the presence of *Scipio*, did not only prostrate themselves on the ground; but kissed the *feet of him, and of those that sat in Councel with him.

*Excerpt è *Polyb. l.* 15. *Liv. lib.* 30

Answerable to this base adoration was their speech that followed. They confessed themselves to have unjustly broken the Peace between them and *Rome*; and to have deserved whatsoever punishment it should please the *Romans* to inflict upon them. Yet they humbly besought *Scipio* and the rest, that in common regard of those misfortunes whereto all men are subject, they would shew mercy unto the City of *Carthage*, and let it remain, as a monument of their clemency; which by the folly of her Citizens, had now twice deserved to be overthrown. Herewithall they did not forget, to lay the blame upon *Hannibal*: who without their appointment had begun the War; and was maintained in his doings by a Faction, without the good liking of the whole City. By this it appears, that these Embassadors were no *Barchines*: but rather, that they were *Hanno*, and the choice of his company; who had now their long desired work in hand, of suing unto the *Romans* for peace. Whatsoever they were, it must needs be that they were most insolent men over those that were subject unto their power, for they would not have made such adoration to the *Romans* in their own necessity, unless they themseves had expected the like, wherein they had the advantage.

It was not unknown to *Scipio*, or to his Assistants, in what poor case the City of *Rome* then was; and how unable to defray the charges of continuing the War. Neither were the *Carthaginians*, notwithstanding the loss of so many Armies, in such ill case, as the *Romans* themselves had very lately been. For they had money enough, wherewith to wage more men: they had a City far stronger then *Rome*; and they had the Sea free. But they wanted the *Roman* resolution: and therefore distrusted the Walls of *Carthage*, though *Utica*, a weaker City, had all this while held out against *Scipio*, and could not yet be forced by him and his Army, though so often victorious in the Field. *Scipio* therefore accepted their submission, and told them, That though he came into *Africk*, to make a Conquest, and not Peace: yet having the Conquest as it were in his hand, he would not deny to grant them the Peace which they desired; for thereby should all Nations understand, that the People of *Rome* did follow the rule of Justice, both in making War, and in concluding it. The Conditions which he imposed upon them, were these; That they should render up unto him all the prisoners that they had taken, together with all *Renegadoes* and fugitive Slaves: That they should withdraw their Armies out of *Italy* and *Gaule*: That they should not meddle in *Spain*, nor yet in any Island between *Italy* and *Africk*: That they should deliver up all their Ships of War, save Twenty; and that they should pay a great sum of money, with certain hundred thousand bushels of Wheat and Barley. To consider of these Articles, he gave them three days: and when they had approved them, he granted a Truce; that they might send Embassadors unto the *Roman Senate*.

This done, *Masanissa* was dismissed, and went home into his Kingdom, as if the War had been already at an end. *Syphax* was a little before sent with *Lælius* unto *Rome*: where the fame of these victories filled men with joy, and gave hope, that the long endured miseries would be shortly at an end. Wherefore all the Temples were set open, and an Holy-day appointed for Thanksgiving and Supplication to their Gods. *Lælius* was accompanied with Embassadors from King *Masanissa*: who gratulating the happy success of the *Romans* in their *African* War, and giving thanks unto the Senate for the benefits done by *Scipio* unto their Master,

Master made request for the *Numidians*, such as were now his Subjects and prisoners in *Rome*, that they might be bestowed upon him, who by rendring them to liberty, should do an act very plausible, that would make him gracious among his people in the beginning of his reign. The *Roman* Senate were not behind with *Masanissa* in complement: but shewing themselves to be highly pleased with all that *Scipio* had done, and should do for him, they called him King again; released his *Numidians* that were captives; and sent him two purple Cassocks, that had each of them one gold button, with such other presents, as in time of their poverty might serve to testifie their good will. Scarcely were these and *Lælius* gone from *Rome*, when the news came, that Embassadors from *Carthage* were arrived to desire peace. These Embassadors were not admitted into the City, but were lodged without: untill *Lælius* being sent for, came back from *Ostia*, to be present when their demands were to be heard. Then was audience given them in the Temple of *Bellona*; that stood in the Suburbs, The errand of these Embassadors, was peace, but the meaning of them and of their City was only to win time, and get respite for war; until *Hannibal* and *Mago* should come out of *Italy*, either to chase the *Romans* out of *Africk*, or to obtain peace for *Carthage*, by terrour of their great Names and Armies, upon more easie conditions. Wherefore they made an idle discourse of the League, that was concluded between them and *Lutiatius Catulus*, at the end of the former war. This League they said, all things well considered, did still remain in force: neither had there since been any war at all, between the people of *Rome* and the *Carthaginians*. For it was only *Hannibal*, that without any leave from *Carthage*, had of his own head besieged and razed the Town of *Saguntum*: and after that adventured in like sort, without Commission, to pass the *Alps*, and trouble (as he had done) the quiet of *Italy*. This being so, their message was none other than to desire, that the League before spoken of, made in the time of *Catulus*, might hereafter stand in force; as indeed it hereto did, and ought to do. The Senators had cause to wonder at this tale, hearing these Embassadors make (as it were) a jest of war, that had been so terrible. Wherefore they asked them a great many questions, concerning that peace made by *Lutiatius*, and other passages following between the two Cities. But they excused themselves, by their age: (for they were all young men) and said, that those things were beyond their knowledge and remembrance. Forthwith it appeared, That all was but collusion, and that they sought no other than to gain time untill they might repair the war. Wherefore they were sent home, in company of *Lælius* without any conclusion at all of peace, and in effect, without answer. This notwithstanding, we find in *Polybius*, that the Senate received advertisement from *Scipio*, of that which had passed between him and the *Carthaginians* in this Treaty of peace: approved the Conditions by him propounded, and gave him licence thereupon, to proceed unto Conclusion. This may with good reason be believed, since it was not unknown that if the war continued, all these goodly hopes must rest upon the most uncertain issue of one battle between *Hannibal* and *Scipio*: wherein if fortune should be averse to them, their forces in *Africk* were no better than quite lost.

Matters thus hanging in suspence, before the *Carthaginian* Embassadors came back from *Rome*, a Fleet out of *Sicil*, wherein were two hundred ships of burden, and thirty Gallies, being bound for *Africk*, to victual the *Roman* Camp, was over-taken by foul weather at Sea, and hardly escaping wrack, was dispersed, and driven a-ground in divers parts of the Bay *Carthage*, even in view, and under command of the City. There was at that time, as we find in *Appian*, and may gather out of *Polybius*, a great dearth of victuals in *Carthage*, which caused the people to cry out upon their Magistrates, that they should not let such a booty escape them, saying, that the danger of famine was greater and worse, than of breaking Truce. Whether it were so, that hunger urged them, or that they yielded to their own greedy desires: the multitude in *Carthage* understood (as it seems) that all this discourse of Peace in hand, was no better than meer mockery, and therefore cared not for observation of particular points, when they meant deceit in the whole. It was the manner in *Carthage*, as likewise in *Alexandria*, for all the *rascality*, together with women and boys, to be medling in uproars: the clamors of the boys being in such tumults no less violent than of the men. Wherefore it is no marvel, if little regard were had of reason, or of honour, in any such commotion. A Fleet was sent out under *Asdrubal*, to gather up the dispersed *Roman* ships of burden (for the Gallies, by force of Oars recovered the station whereto their camp adjoyned) and bring them into *Carthage*; which was done. *Scipio* was hereat much offended: not only for the loss; and for that the Town was thereby relieved: but for that by this breach of Truce, he foresaw the intention of the *Carthaginians* to renew the war, and put him to more trouble. Wherefore he sent Embassadors unto them, both to require satisfaction for the injurie done; and to deterr them from entertaining any other hope, than in the peace which they had so much desired. These gave the *Carthaginians* to understand, that Letters were come from *Rome* unto *Scipio*, with allowance to conclude the Peace; upon those conditions which he had propounded. But (say they) *we hold it strange, That ye, who so lately have cast your selves to the ground before us, and kissed our feet after an unusal manner of humility, confessing your selves to have perfidiously broken the League that was between us, and thereby to have deserved such punishment as is due unto Rebels; should so soon forget what ye then uttered, and run headlong again into the same crimes for which ye acknowledged your selves worthy to be destroyed, having only recourse unto our mercy. We are not ignorant, that it is the confidence which ye repose in* Hannibal, *that thus emboldens you. Yet were it not amiss, that ye should consider, how long he hath been pent up in a corner of* Italy, *among the* Brutians; *where he is in a manner besieged, and unable to stir: so that ye are like to find his help wanting in your greatest need. Or let it be supposed that he were now in* Africk, *and ready to give us battle: yet should it well agree with your wisdom to doubt what might befall, remembring that he is a man; and not invincible. Now if it should happen that he were overcome, what refuge have ye left unto your selves against hereafter? What gods will ye either swear by, to be believed, or call upon in your misery? What words, and lamentable gesture will ye henceforth use, to move compassion? Surely ye have already wasted all your force of perswasion, and shall not again deceive us, if ye refuse the grace, whereof at this present ye are capable.* It is

App. de bello Punico.

Excerpt. è Polyb. lib. 15.

no

no marvel though the *Carthaginians* were angry, when they heard themſelves upbraided with the baſe demeanour of their Embaſſadors. For it was not the general opinion of the City, that the Truce was broken by themſelves: though it had pleaſed *Hanno*, or ſuch as were of his faction, to gratifie the *Romans* with all manner of ſubmiſſion; and to renounce not only the hope of the future, but all juſtification of matters paſt. And indeed it ſeems, that the *Roman* Embaſſadors were very much delighted, in the rehearſal of that point which was yielded unto them, as knowing that thereon depended the juſtice of the quarrel. But the *Carthaginians* took this in ſo ill part, that hardly they could refrain from doing violence unto the men, who had uſed unto them ſuch inſolent ſpeeches. Yet the fury of the multitude was in ſome ſort appeaſed; either by *Hanno*, whom *Appian*, (I know not why) calls *Hanno the Great*: or by the very reverence, due unto the place of thoſe that had uttered ſuch liberal words. So they were dimiſſed in friendly ſort, although it were without anſwer to their propoſition. There were alſo two gallies appointed for their ſafe convoy home; though with little intent of good unto their perſons. *Aſdrubal* was then in the midway, as men ſailed from *Carthage* towards *Utica*. He, whether only deſirous to pleaſe the multitude, of whoſe diſpoſition he was informed, or whether directed by publick order to cut off theſe Embaſſadors in their way homeward, lay waiting for them Behind a Cape, that was a little beyond the mouth of the River *Bagradas*. Their Convoy having brought them on the way, as far as to the mouth of *Bagradas*, wiſhed them a good voyage; and ſo took leave of them, as if they had been then in ſafety, ſince the *Roman* Camp was even in ſight. The Embaſſadors took this in ill part; not as fearing any danger toward, but thinking themſelves too much neglected, foraſmuch as their attendants did ſo abruptly leave them. But no ſooner had they doubled the Cape, than *Aſdrubal* fell upon them, in ſuch manner, as they might well diſcern his purpoſe: which was to have ſtemmed them. They rowed hard therefore: and being in a *Quinquereme*, that had more banks of Oars, than had any Galley of *Aſdrubal*, they ſlipt away, and made him over-ſhoot himſelf. Yet he gave them chaſe, and had well-near ſurpriſed them. But they diſcovered ſome *Roman* Companies on the ſhoar over againſt them, and therefore adventured to run their Veſſel aground: whereby they ſaved their own lives, though a great part of their company were ſlain, or hurt. This practice of the *Carthaginians* was inexcuſable: and for the ſame cauſe perhaps were the Citizens heartned in ſuch a diſhonourable attempt, by thoſe that were deſirous to continue the war; that thereby they might be driven to ſtudy nothing elſe, than how to get the victory, as having none other hope remaining. Yet likely it is, that the ſame fear, which had cauſed them to make ſuch earneſt ſuit for peace, would alſo have cauſed them to be better adviſed, than thus to abandon all hope of Treaty; had they not been given to underſtand, that *Hannibal* was already landed in *Africk*, in whom they repoſed no ſmall confidence, but verily perſwaded themſelves, that he would change their fortune, and teach the *Romans* to hold themſelves contented with more eaſie conditions, than were thoſe that *Scipio*, in the pride of his fortune, had of late propounded.

SECT. XX.

In what ſort Hannibal *ſpent the time after the Battle of* Metaurus: *The doings of* Mago *in* Italy. Hannibal *and* Mago *called out of* Italy. *How the* Romans *were diverſly affected by* Hannibals *departure.*

EVer ſince the loſs of that battle at *Metaurus*, *Hannibal* remaining in the Country of the *Brutians*, waiting for another ſupply from *Carthage*. The *Roman* Conſuls that ſucceeded unto *Claudius* and *Livius*, by whom *Aſdrubal* was overcome and ſlain, were contented to be quiet all their year. Neither did *Licinius* the Colleague of *Scipio* ought worthy of remembrance againſt *Hannibal*, being hindred by the Peſtilence that was in his Army. *Sempronius* the Conſul, who followed *Licinius*; and *Cn. Servilius Capio*, who followed *Sempronius*, were earneſtly bent to have done ſomewhat: but their diligence was in a manner fruitleſs. In ſome skirmiſhes with *Hannibal*, they had the better; in ſome the worſe: and a few poor Towns they got from him, as it were by ſtealth; his care being more to preſerve his Army, than to keep thoſe places that were weak.

The *Romans* had at this time ſo many great pieces of work in hand, that their chief enemy was become not the chief part of their care. Their thoughts were mainly bent upon *Africk*, wherein they were at no ſmall charges to maintain the Army, which (as was hoped) ſhould bring the War to a ſhort and happy concluſion. They ſtood nevertheleſs in much fear of *Mago*, the brother of *Hannibal*: who took exceeding pains among the *Ligurians* and *Gauls* to raiſe an Army, wherewith to kindle anew the War in *Italy*, that began to wax cold. *Mago* ſolicited alſo the *Hetrurians*, and found them ſo ready to ſtir in his behalf, that if he could have entred their Country ſtrong, it might have proved no leſs needful for *Scipio* to return home out of *Africk*, than ſhortly it was for *Hannibal* to make ſpeed unto the defence of *Carthage*. Theſe dangers cauſed the *Romans* to imploy one of their Conſuls or Pro-conſuls, with an Army, among the *Hetrurians*; another among the *Gauls*; and a third among the *Ligurians*: foraſmuch as it was uncertain, upon which ſide *Mago* would break out: Being thus buſied, it was no wonder though they forbore to overcharge *Hannibal* with any great power.

As for *Mago*, when things were in ſome readineſs for his ſetting forwards, he met in the Country of the *Inſubrians*, which is about *Milan*, with *M. Cornelius* the *Roman* Proconſul, and *P. Quintilius Varrus* one of the Prætors. With theſe he fought a battle, wherein though his vertue ſhewed it ſelf worthy of his Father and Brethren: yet his fortune was *Carthaginian*. The fight continued a long while doubtful; in ſuch ſort that the *Roman* Commanders began to diſtruſt the iſſue. Wherefore *Quintilius* the Prætor taking unto him all the *Roman* Horſe, thought to have ſhaken the Enemies to pieces. The Legions at the ſame time gave a loud ſhout: and ſtrained themſelves hard, as if at that brunt the victory ſhould have been carried before them. But *Mago* oppoſed his Elephants to the Horſe: the ſervice of thoſe

beasts being fitter for such use, than against the squadrons of Foot. The figure, sent, and braying of these Elephants, did so affright the Horse, that they started aside, and were scattered over the field; their Riders being unable to manage them. Hereby the *Numidians* got advantage upon them: whose manner of fight was more available against those that were loose, than against the troops that were close and thick. Then fell the Elephants upon the Legions: which entertained them after the accustomed manner, with a shour of darts, and killed four of them; causing all the rest to give back. This notwithstanding the same Legions were so vehemently pressed by the Enemy; that more for shame of running away, than by any great force to make resistance, they held their ground. The Pro-consul therefore brought up those forces, which he had kept unto the last, to succour where need should most require. Against these, *Mago* imployed some of his *Gauls*, whom he had in readiness for the like occasion. But the *Gauls* discharged their parts very ill. They were soon beaten off, and recoiled so hastily, that they brought fear upon all the rest. When *Mago* saw that his men began to shrink, he put himself in the head of his Army; and held them so well to it, that keeping their order, they made a fair Retreat, with their faces toward the Enemy. But at length he received a grievous wound in his thigh; whereof shortly after he dyed. He was taken up, and carried out of danger by some of his own men: the rest of them, after a little further resistance, provided every one for himself: So the *Romans* obtained victory, not without great cost: as purchasing the death of about five thousand enemies, with the less of two thousand and three hundred of the Prætors Army, besides those that dyed of the proconsul Legions; also besides divers Colonels, Captains, and Gentlemen of mark that fell in this hot piece of service. Neither were there any prisoners taken; whereby it may seem that the Enemies did not fall to rout, before they had recovered some ground that might assure them from pursuit. However it were, this victory would have much imported for the assurance of *Italy*, if the State of *Carthage* could longer have permitted these valiant sons of *Amilcar* to abide therein. But *Mago* with-drawing himself (by easie journeys, because of his wound) into *Liguria*, found there Embassadours from *Carthage* attending him: who gave him to understand the pleasure of their City, which was, That both he and *Hannibal* should presently repair home with all their forces; not staying any longer to think upon the conquest of *Italy*, since *Carthage* it self was ready to be lost. He obeyed this Commandment, and imbarqued shortly his Army; but dyed of his wound about *Sardinia*, in the way homewards.

About the same time *Hannibal* received the like command from *Carthage*, to return into *Africk*. He heard it with great impatience; gnashing his teeth, and groaning, and hardly keeping in the tears, that were ready to burst out, whilst the Embassadors were delivering their errand. When their message was done: He told them, that *this was yet plain dealing: For*, said He, *They that now directly bid me come home, have long ago done their best to hale me out of* Italy; *though more closely and crookedly they went to work, by stopping the supply that should have enabled me to manage the War here.* Scipio *therefore shall not need to brag, that he hath drawn me home by the heels: it is* Hanno *that hath wrought this noble feat; and overwhelmed the house of the* Barchines, *for lack of other means to do it, with the ruine of* Carthage. He had before prepared a Fleet in readiness, doubting that which after came to pass: wherein he imbarqued, besides his own men, as many of the *Italians* as were content to be partakers of his fortune. Many there were that shrunk back from him, and refused to do service in this expedition; of whom, such as he could take, he slew; not sparing those that fled into the Temple of *Juno Lacinia*, which had been held an inviolable Sanctuary unto that day. He was indeed then wholly transported with rage; and departed out of *Italy* no less passionate, than men are wont to be, when they leave their own Countreys to go into exile. He looked back unto the shoar accusing both gods and men; cursing his own dulness; in that he had not led his Army from *Cannæ*, hot and bloody as it was, directly unto the walls of *Rome*. With such vexation of spirit He quitted the possession of *Italy*; wherein he had lived almost half his time.

If it could have been foretold unto the *Romans*; in the first beginning of this War, with what exceeding joy in times following they should entertain the news of *Hannibal* his departure out of *Italy*: they would (I think) less earnestly have pressed the *Carthaginians* to send him over thither. When sure advertisement was brought into the City, that *Hannibal* was gone with all his Army: an Holy-day was appointed for thanksgiving unto their gods; and extraordinary good sacrifices publickly made, for joy of such tydings. Yet old *Q. Fabius* was of opinion, That the danger did still remain the same, though the place were changed: for that *Hannibal* at his coming into *Africk*, would find *P. Scipio* other manner of work, than he had been troubled with at any time before; and would do greater matters in his own Country, than ever he was able to perform abroad in a land of strangers. The remove of the War from their own doors, and the conceit of that victory for which they hoped; was enough to make them presume further, than at other times they would have done. When therefore the *Saguntine* Embassadors brought unto them a great mass of Gold and Silver, together with some Agents of the *Carthaginians* taken by them in *Spain*: only the *Carthaginian* prisoners were excepted, the treasure was rendred back unto the *Saguntines* that had surprised it. Upon like confidence of the future, a little before this, order was taken for the repayment of those moneys that had been borrowed in time of more necessity from private men. Hence also proceeded the severe chastisement laid upon those twelve Colonels, that for want either of means, or of good will, had refused to give aid to the *Romans*. They were commanded, and enforced to give double the number of Foot to that which they had been wont to set out for the Wars, with a proportion of Horse answerable to the very most of their ability. So confident were the *Romans* grown (though their wealth were not as yet suitable to the greatness of their spirit) upon the good success of the battle at *Metaurus*, and the hopes which they reposed in *Scipio*. All this notwithstanding, when they considered more nearly of that which might happen: and were informed that the terrible Army, wherof *Italy* had been few dayes since discharged, was landed safe in *Africk*: they began to revolve a thousand fearful matters in their heads, and to stand in doubt, lest *Q. Fabius* (who

(who died about the same time) would be found a true Prophet. For, bethinking themselves of that which might comfort them in their hopes: they found in the victories against *Syphax* and *Asdrubal* no specialty of so great worth, as might promise the like success against another manner of General, followed by another manner of men, than were either of those two. The *Numidian* King had been wont to bring into the field a rascal multitude of half skullions, that were good for nothing; being himself a fit Captain for such Souldiers. Likewise *Asdrubal* the son of *Gesco* was a Commander well thought of by the *Carthaginian* Senate, but otherwise, one, that in the field was only good at saving himself by a swift retreat. But now there came an Army of men hardened from their childhood with incredible patience, fleshed many hundred times in *Roman* blood, and wearing the spoils, not only of good Souldiers, but of brave Captains, by them slain. Such talk used the people of *Rome*, saying, That *Scipio* was like to meet in battle with many that had slain *Roman* Prætors, yea, and Consuls with their own hands: with many that had been first in getting over the Trenches of several *Roman* Camps, or in winning the tops of walls at the siege of towns; briefly, that he should now be opposed by an Army, as good as ever had served in war, and following the dreadful name of *Hannibal*.

SECT. XXI.

Hannibal *in* Africk *prepares to fight with* Scipio; *treats with him about peace in vain*; *loseth a battle at* Nedagra, *and perswades the* Carthaginians *to sue for peace. Of the peace granted from* Rome *to* Carthage.

Hannibal disembarqued his Army at *Leptis*, almost an hundred miles from *Carthage*, Eastward from the Headland of *Mercury*, and somewhat more than one degree to the South. He was ill provided of Horse; which it was not easie for him to transport out of *Italy*. Therefore it behoved him to land, as he did, somewhat far from the enemy; that he might furnish himself of these and the like needful helps against the day of battle. From *Leptis* he passed on to *Adrumetum*, and so along through the Inland Country gathering friends unto him by the way. *Tychæus* a *Numidian* Prince, and familiar friend of *Syphax*, was said to have in those dayes the best Horses of service, that were to be found in *Africk*. Him therefore did *Hannibal* allure unto his party; making him understand, that if the *Romans* got the victory, it should be easie for *Masanissa*, by their countenance and help to oppress both him, and as many other of the neighbour Princes, as hindred his prospect. This argument, and the fame of him that used it, prevailed with *Tychæus*, who shortly after brought unto the *Carthaginian* two thousand Horse. *Appian* further adds, That *Mezetellus*, (the same who had made himself Protector over *Masanissa* his Cousins; and was Head of a Family, and adverse to the *Numidian* Kings of that race) brought to *Hannibal* another thousand Horse: as likewise, that *Vermina* the Son of *Syphax*, holding a great part of his Fathers Kingdom, began at the same time to assail the places that yielded the obedience to *Masanissa*. This *Vermina*, as we find in *Livie*, came with more than 16 thousand men (for he lost more than so many) to succour *Hannibal* whan it was too late.

The *Carthaginians* were at this time in such hard estate, or (at least) so impatient of the state wherein they were; that they could not attend the leisure of those preparations, which would have made the victory assured. When they considered the worth of *Hannibal*, and the greatness of his Acts: it offended them to think, that they had been so base as to make humble suit unto the *Romans* for peace; whilst they had such a brave Champion alive, to maintain their cause by War. But when as they bethought themselves of their own sufferings, which, for want of *Roman* magnanimity to endure them, appeared greater than indeed they were: than cried they out earnestly that it was no time to linger, but presently to fight; that so they might see an end of these troubles, either good or bad; and to this purpose they sent their Mandates to *Hannibal*, requiring him without any further protraction, to do what he could out of hand. *Hannibal* made answer, that they were his good Lords, and had power to dispose of him and his Army; but since he was general of their forces, He thought it reasonable that they should suffer him to do as a General ought to do; and to choose his own times. Nevertheless, to give them satisfaction, He made great marches to *Zama*, and there encamped.

The Breach of Truce made by the *Carthaginians*: the violence done to his Embassadours: and the news of *Hannibal* his being landed in *Africk*, made *Scipio* to understand the resolution of the *Carthaginians*, which was, not to yield unto any conditions unprofitable for themselves, as long as they were able to make resistance. Wherefore he sent unto *Masanissa*: and informed him of all that was fallen out: praying him to come away with speed, and lay all other business apart. Ten *Roman* Companies of Horse and Foot together, *Masanissa* had with him; that were lent unto him by *Scipio*, to do him service in the establishing and inlarging of his Kingdom. But he well understood, that those and many more besides all his own forces, would but little avail him; if *Hannibal* should drive the *Romans* out of *Africk*. Wherefore taking such order as he could upon the sudden, for the safety of his own Kingdom; with four thousand Horse, and six thousand Foot, he made all haste unto *Scipio*.

Soon after the beginning of these new troubles, the *Carthaginian* Embassadors that had been at *Rome*, returned back under the conduct of *Lælius* and *Fulvius*, who brought them safe into the *Roman* Camp. There when they arrived, and understood what lately passed, especially how their Citizens had behaved themselves towards the *Roman* Embassadours: they made little doubt, how their own heads should answer for such notorious outrage. To confirm them in this opinion.

M. Bæbius one of the late Embassadors that had been in *Carthage*, being left by *Scipio* to take charge of the Camp, laid hands upon them and detained them; sending word unto his General, who was gone abroad to make War in the Country, that he had them in his power, and that now the *Carthaginians* might be repaid in their own Coyn, for the injury by them lately done. *Sci-*

pio was very glad to hear of this; and commanded *Bæbius* to use them with all possible courtesie, and send them safe home. By thus doing, He brake the hearts of his Enemies; and caused them to acknowledge themselves (which was a great Victory) far less honourable than the *Romans*. This notwithstanding, he made more cruel War upon them than before: taking their Towns by force; and putting them to sack, without hearkning to any Composition. It was the manner of the *Romans*, as often as they took a Town by assault, to put all that came in their way, to the Sword, whatsoever they were, without regard. This they did, to make themselves terrible: and the better to work such impression in the minds of those, with whom they had to do; they used oftentimes to kill the very Dogs and other Beasts, that ran athwart them in the Streets: hewing their bodies asunder: as men delighted in shedding of blood. This being their practice at other times; it is likely that now they omitted no piece of cruelty; when they meant to give proof of their vehement indignation, and revengful minds, for the injuries received. Hence it partly grew, that the *Carthaginians* were so earnest in pressing *Hannibal* to fight.

Excerpt. è Polyb. lib. 10.

Hannibal being incamped at *Zama*, sent forth his Scouts and Spies, to discover where the *Romans* lay, what they were adoing, and as much as might be, of their demeanour. Some of these were taken, and brought unto *Scipio:* who instead of Trussing them up, gave them free leave to view his Camp at pleasure, appointing one to conduct them up and down, and shew them whatsoever they desired. This done, he gave them leave to depart; and sent them unto their General. *Hannibal* understanding this, admired the bravery and courage of his Enemy: with whom on the sudden he grew so desirous to have an Enterview, and personal conference; and signified so much unto him by a messenger sent of purpose. Of this motion the *Roman* liked well: and returned answer, that he would meet him shortly in a place convenient. The next day *Masaniſſa* came with his Army: whom *Scipio* taking with him, removed unto a Town called *Nedagara:* near unto which he sat down, in a place otherwise commodious, and close by a water that might opportunely serve his Camp. Thence he sent word unto the *Carthaginian*, That the time and place did fitly serve, if he had ought to say to him. *Hannibal* thereupon removed from *Zama*, and came within four miles of the Enemy; where he incamped well to his own good liking in all things else; excepting that his men were driven to take much pains in fetching their Water somewhat far off. Then was order taken for their meeting: and the two Generals, each of them with a Troop of Horse, rode forth of their Camps, till they came unto a piece of ground; which was before well searched for fear of ambush. There they will their followers to stand off: and themselves, with each of them one Interpreter, encountred each other in the mid-way between their Companies. They remained a while silent, viewing one the other with mutual admiration. Then began the *Carthaginian*, saluting the *Roman*, to deliver his mind to this effect: That it had been better both for *Carthage*, and *Rome*, if they could have limited and contained their ambition within the shores of *Africk* and of *Italy*; for that the Countreys of *Sicil* and *Spain*, about which their Fathers and themselves had striven, were no sufficient recompence for so many Fleets as had been lost, and of so much blood as had been shed, in making those costly purchases. But since things past could not be recalled: He said, That it was meet for them to consider, unto what extream dangers their own Cities had been exposed, by the greedy desire of extending their Empires abroad; and that it was even time for them now at length to make an end of their obstinate contention, and pray the gods to endue them with greater wisdom hereafter. And to such peaceable disposition, He affirmed, That his own years, and long tryal of Fortune, both good and evil, had made him inclinable. But much he feared, that *Scipio*, by want of the like experience, might rather fix his mind upon uncertain hopes, than upon a contemplation of that mutability, whereto all humane affairs are subject. *Yet* (said he) *mine own example may peradventure suffice to teach thee moderation. For I am that same* Hannibal, *who after my Victory at* Cannæ, *won the greatest part of* Italy; *and devised with my self, what I should do with your City of* Rome, *which I hoped verily to have taken. Once I brought my Army to your Walls, as thou hast since brought thine to ours of* Carthage: *but now, see the change! I stand here intreating thee to grant us peace: This may serve as a document of Fortunes instability. I have fought with thy Father* Scipio; *He was the first of the* Roman *Generals that ever met me in the Field. I did then little think, that the time would come, that I should have such business, as now at the present, with his Son. But this is even one of Fortunes pageants, whereof she hath many. And thou maist have experience of the like in thy self, who knows how soon? Think upon* M. Atilius: *If he would have hearkned unto such perswasions, as I now use to thee, he might have turned home to* Rome *an happy man, and so maist thou do now, if any reasonable offer will give thee satisfaction. How saist thou? Canst thou be contented, that all* Spain, Sicil, Sardinia, *and whatsoever Islands else are scituate between* Italy *and* Africk *be abandoned by the* Carthaginians *for ever, and left unto the* Romans, *to bear dominion therein? Thou shalt have glory enough by effecting thus much: and the* Romans *may well be glad of such a bargain. As for us, our own quiet shall henceforth give us contentment. And the same contentment of ours, shall make us faithfully observe the peace with you. But if thou thinkest all too little, I must desire thee to ponder well how great an hazard thou must undergo for obtaining a very little more, than that which thou maist have without contention. It is now in thine own power to lay hold upon good fortune, if it please thee: stay but untill to morrow night, and thou maist take such fortune as it please the Gods. The issue of Battle is uncertain, and many times beguileth expectation. Men and Steel we shall each of us bring into the field; but of the Victory neither of us have assurance. Let us therefore without more ado make Peace. And do not tell me that some false-hearted Citizens of ours dealt fraudulently of late in the like Treaty: It is I* Hannibal *that now desire Peace with thee, which I would never do, if I thought it not expedient for my Countrey. And thinking it expedient, I will always maintain it, like as I have maintained, unto my power, as long as the Gods did not envy me, the War by me begun.*

Hereunto *Scipio* made answer, That it was no ambitious desire of ruling in *Sicil* and in *Spain* which had moved the *Romans* to enter into this or the former War: but that the defence of the *Mamertines*, and afterwards of the *Saguntines*, their

their Confederates, had cauſed them to put on thoſe arms; which the gods by the final iſſue of Wars had approved, and would approve to be moſt juſt. As for the mutability of Fortune, he ſaid, that he was not thereof ignorant; and that without any note of inſolence or overweaning, he might well refuſe the conditions offered. *For was it not plain that all theſe Countreys, with which the* Carthaginians *now ſo willingly departed, were already won from the* Romans? *If*, ſaid he, *theſe conditions had been propounded whilſt as yet ye detained ſome part of* Italy, *they might peradventure not have been rejected. But as the caſe now ſtands, I ſee no reaſon why I ſhould remit unto you any one piece of theſe my former demands, to which the* Carthaginians *have yielded already, and thought me to be gracious in dealing ſo moderately. Rather I ſay, that the injuries which they have done me ſince, have made them unworthy of obtaining Peace upon ſo friendly terms. But I cannot blame thee* Hannibal, *though thou wouldſt be glad to make thy Citizens underſtand, from how much of their burden they are by thy means eaſed. Only thou muſt think, that in like ſort it concerns me in honour, not to let them be gainers or ſavers by the wrongs which they have done of late. Thou knoweſt well, that beſides thoſe offers which thou here haſt made, they were well contented to reſtore unto us ranſome-free, all Priſoners that they have of ours, to pay us five thouſand Talents, to deliver up their Gallies, and to deliver hoſtages for aſſurance of fair dealing. And muſt they now be diſcharged of all this by their breach of Truce, their ſpoiling of our Fleet, and their violating our Embaſſadors? Not ſo. But if they can be contented, beſides all this, to make ſuch amends as I ſhall require, for theſe injuries newly done; then will I take advice with my counſel what anſwer to give you; otherwiſe you may even prepare for war, and blame your own ſelves for that I have denied you peace.*

Hereupon they brake off: and returned each to his own Camp, with no other news than war; bidding their Souldiers prepare for a battle, wherein ſhould be decided the quarrel between *Rome* and *Carthage*. The next morning at break of day they iſſued into the Field: a notable march, and ſuch as hath very ſeldom been found: whether we regard the Generals, their Armies, the two Cities that contended, or the great importance of the battle at hand. *Scipio* ordered his men after the *Roman* manner: placing firſt the *Haſtati*, divided into their Maniples, or ſmall Battalions, with a reaſonable diſtance between them: Not far behind theſe followed the *Principes*, likewiſe divided; and ſo after them the *Triarii*. But herein *Scipio* altered a little the ordinary cuſtom of the *Romans:* He placed not the Maniples of his *Principes* oppoſite unto the void ſpaces between the *Haſtati*, that ſo the *Haſtati*, as was uſual, might fall back between the *Principes*; but he placed them directly one behind another, as it were, in File. This he did, becauſe of the Elephants, whereof *Hannibal* had many. For of thoſe Beaſts, the danger was leſs whilſt there was open way to let them through. Therefore he took ſuch order, that when they had paſſed through the ſpaces between the firſt Battalions, they ſhould not come upon the *Principes* in Front. Unto his *Velites*, or thoſe of the light armature that were to begin the Fight, he gave direction, that when they found themſelves to be overcharged, either by the Enemies; or (which was moſt to be feared) by the Elephants, they ſhould run back through thoſe Lanes that were between the Maniples; and that thoſe which were ſwifteſt, or otherwiſe beſt able, ſhould continue on their flight, until they were got behind all their own Army; thereby leaving room enough unto thoſe that were wounded, or caſt behind, to ſave themſelves on the void ground, that was betwixt the firſt and ſecond, or the ſecond and third battels, without cloying up the way between the Maniples, which he deſired to keep open. His *Italian* Horſe he placed in the left wing, under *C. Lælius*. In the right wing was *Maſaniſſa* with his *Numidians*. He himſelf riding up and down, exhorted his men to do valiantly; uſing words, not many, but forcible. He bad them remember what they had atchieved, ſince their coming into *Africk*. He told them, that if this day were theirs, the War was at an end: and that their Victory in this War, ſhould make them Lords of all the World, for that afterwards, none would be found able to reſiſt them. On the contrary, if they were beaten, he asked them whither they would flie. They were far from home, yea, and far from their own ſtanding Camp: neither was there any place in *Africk*, that would give them ſhelter: if they fell into the *Carthaginians* hands, they knew what to expect. And therefore there was none other way, but death or victory: unleſs they would live like wretched ſlaves, under moſt mercileſs Enemies. In ſuch neceſſity he ſaid, that they which conſider themſelves to be, and take reſolution anſwerable thereunto, have never been known to fail of getting Victory.

Hannibal on the other ſide placed his Elephants, that were more in number than fourſcore, in Front of his Battle. Next behind theſe he made his Vant-guard of all Mercenaries, *Ligurians*, *Gaules*, *Balcares* and *Moors*. Then followed his Battle; which was of *Carthaginians* and *Africans*, more intereſſed in the quarrel than were thoſe Mercenaries; though not ſo good Souldiers: but to help (if it might be) their want of courage, they had with them four thouſand *Macedonians*, lately ſent from King *Philip*. More than the ſpace of a Furlong, behind theſe, came his Rere-ward, conſiſting of thoſe brave Souldiers, which had ſerved him in his *Italian* Wars, and were the only men, in whom he repoſed any confidence. Oppoſite to *Lælius*, in his own right wing, he beſtowed the *Carthaginian* Horſe. *Tychæus* and the *Numidians*, he placed in his left wing againſt *Maſaniſſa*. He was indeed far too weak for the Enemy in Horſe, both in number and in goodneſs. For *Tychæus* and *Mezetullus* had no more than three thouſand; and thoſe not ſo well exerciſed, as were the four thouſand of *Maſaniſſa*. The *Carthaginians* alſo were no more, nor none other, than ſuch as could be levied in the haſt of a few days; and the remainder of thoſe, that had of late been often vanquiſhed, and accuſtomed to fly. But it was no time for *Hannibal*, neither had he perhaps authority, to make theſe his companions alight and ſerve on Foot, ſetting better men in their Saddle. All that he could have done, was to ſtay a little longer, and expect more help. Had *Vermina* the Son of *Syphax* come thither, as he did in a few days after, with ſixteen thouſand and upwards, the moſt of them Horſe, the advantage of number might have ſerved well to ſupply all other defect. Yet ſince the Lords of *Carthage* would brook no delay, *Hannibal* muſt be fain to comfort himſelf with the hope that he repoſed in his old *Italian* Souldiers; whoſe vertue had wrought greater wonders, when it was more

ſtrongly

ſtrongly oppoſed. He encouraged therefore his men, with words agreeable to their ſeveral conditions: promiſing unto the Mercenaries bountiful rewards, threatning the *Carthaginians* with inevitable ſervitude, if they loſt that day: but eſpecially animating his old fellow-ſouldiers, by the many Victories which they had obtained againſt far greater numbers. He bad them to look upon the Enemies, and make an eſtimate, whether they were any thing like ſo many, as that huge Army which they had ſlaughtered at *Cannæ*. He willed them to remember, That it was one *P. Scipio*, even the Father of this man, whom they had firſt of all compelled to run away. He told them, that theſe Legions, which they yonder beheld, were for the moſt part of them, the very worſt of the *Roman* Souldiers; even ſuch, as for their daſtardly flight out of ſundry battels, could no longer be truſted to bear Arms in their own Country. As for the reſt, they were young men, the Sons of Cowards, and bred up in the continual fear of thoſe weapons, by which their Fathers were daily ſlain or chaſed. Wherefore he intreated theſe his old companions, upon whoſe vertue he meant wholly to repoſe himſelf, that they would this day ſtrive to make good their honour, and to purchaſe the fame of *men invincible*.

Such exhortations uſed the two Generals before the Fight. When they drew near together, the *Numidian* Horſe-men on both beſides began to skirmiſh. The Trumpets and other inſtruments of War, ſounded to battle: and *Hannibal* commanded his Elephants to break upon the *Romans*. Of theſe Elephants (as they were always an uncertain kind of help) thoſe that ſtood near unto the point of the left wing, turned back for fear: and ran upon their own *Numidian* Horſe; which they affrighted and diſordered. *Maſaniſſa* eſpying this, gave charge upon the ſame *Numidians*; and not ſuffering them to rally themſelves, drave them quite out of the Field. The reſt of thoſe Beaſts made a great ſpoil of the *Roman Velites*, whom they followed into the ſpaces between the Maniples: but without any harm to the Battalions themſelves; which gave them open way, accordingly as *Scipio* had well provided. Divers of them receiving many wounds, and growing therewith furious, could no longer be governed, but ran back upon the right point of their own battle, and beyond that into the open Field. Herewithal they diſordered the *Carthaginian* Horſe, which were in that wing: againſt whom they gave to *Lælius* the ſame advantage that *Maſaniſſa* had againſt the *Numidians*; which he uſed in like ſort. In the mean while, the battels of Foot advanced, and drew near together with a ſlow and ſtately pace, till they were almoſt within a weapons caſt: at what time they gave a ſhout, and ran one at the other. The Mercenaries for a time ſeemed both in audacity, and in quickneſs to have the better of the *Romans*; wounded many, and doing more harm, than they took. But the *Roman* Diſcipline after a while prevailed againſt the boiſterous violence of theſe untrained *Barbarians*. Whereunto it helped not a little, that the battle of the *Principes*, following ſomewhat near after the *Haſtati*, enconraged their fellows, and ſhewed themſelves ready, if need were, to relieve them. Contrariwiſe, the Mercenaries received no manner of help or comfort, from thoſe that ſhould have ſeconded them. For the new-levied *Carthaginians* and *Africans*, when they ſaw their hired Souldiers give back, did alſo themſelves retire. This cauſed the *Ligurians*, *Gaules*, and the reſt, to think themſelves betrayed: whereupon they inclined unto flight. The *Carthaginian* Battle was herewith more terrified than before, ſo as it refuſed to give way unto the Mercenaries for their ſafe retreat; and yet withall forbore to make head againſt the Enemies, that purſued them. It was no time to ask them what they meant by this: Fear and Indignation cauſed thoſe that were at once chaſed by the *Romans*, and betrayed, as they thought, by their own fellows, to turn their Arms with an heedleſs fury againſt the one and the other. Thus were many of the *Carthaginians* beaten down and ſlain, through their own indiſcretion, by their own Mercenaries. The *Roman Haſtati* in like ſort, fighting with deſperate men in a throng, had their hands ſo full of work, that the *Principes* were fain to come up unto them, and help to over-bear this great medly of Enemies, that were together by the ears among themſelves. In this place was was made a great ſlaughter, both of the Mercenaries and of the *Carthaginians*: which hindering one another, could neither fight, nor eaſily fly. Such of them as eſcaped, ran towards *Hannibal*: who kept his ground, and would not ſtir one foot, to help or ſave theſe Run-awayes. He cauſed his men to bend their Pikes at thoſe of his own ſide, that would have ruſhed upon him: whom he thereby compelled to turn aſide beyond his battle, and ſave themſelves in the open Field. The ground over which the *Romans* were now to march, e're they could meet with *Hannibal*, was covered with heaps of dead bodies and weapons; and ſo ſlippery with blood, that *Scipio* began to ſtand in great doubt, leſt the orders of his Battalions ſhould be diſſolved in paſſing that way. In ſuch caſe, if he ſhould fight with that war-like Army, which he ſaw before him, remaining yet entire, and without fear expecting him; He might be well aſſured to receive a notable overthrow. He cauſed therefore the *Haſtati* to make a ſtand there where they were, oppoſite to the main battle of the *Hannibalians*. Then drawing up his *Principes* and *Triarii*, he placed them, when they had overcome the bad way, all in one Front with the *Haſtati*, and made of them his two Cornets. This done, he advanced towards *Hannibal*: who entertained him after another manner, than ever he had been received in his life before. All the days work till now, ſeemed to have been a matter of paſtime, in regard of the ſharp Conflict, that was maintained between theſe notable Souldiers. The *Romans* were encouraged by their having prevailed all the day before: they were alſo far the more in number. But theſe old Souldiers of *Hannibal* were freſh; (and perhaps the better men.) They fought with ſuch obſtinate reſolution, that no man gave back one foot; but rather choſe to die on the ground whereon he ſtood. So that, after a long time it was uncertain which part had the worſe: unleſs it may ſeem, that the *Romans* were beginning to ſhrink; foraſmuch as the return of *Maſaniſſa* and *Lælius* from purſuit of the Enemies Horſe, is ſaid to have been *moſt happy*, and in a *needful time*. Theſe upon a ſudden charged the *Hanibalians* in the Rear; and over-bearing them by meer violence, compelled them to fall to Rout.

In this Battle there dyed of the *Romans* fifteen hundred and upwards: On the *Carthaginian* ſide, above twenty thouſand; beſides as many that were taken; of whom, *Sopater* Captain of the *Macedonians* was one. The ſingular skill that *Hannibal* ſhewed

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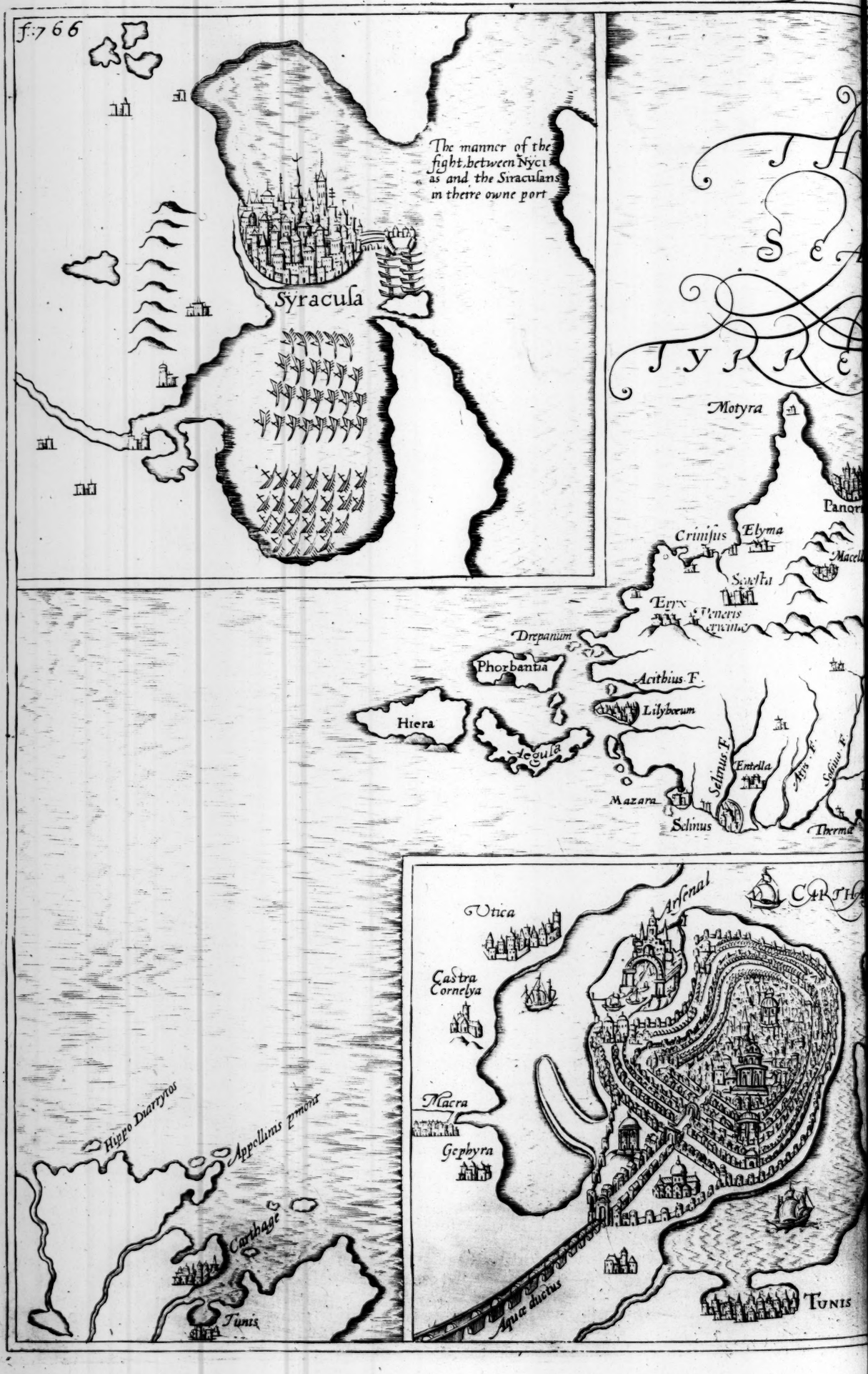
The manner of the fight, between Nycias and the Siracusans in theire owne port
Syracusa
Motyra
Panorm
Crimissus
Elyma
Macell
Segesta
Eryx
Veneris Templ
Drepanum
Phorbantia
Acithius F.
Lilybæum
Hiera
Tegula
Selinus F.
Entella
Agis F.
Sofgius F.
Mazara
Selinus
Therma
Utica
Arsenal
CARTH
Castra Cornelya
Macra
Gephyra
Hippo Diarrytos
Appellanis Promont
Carthage
Tunis
Aquæ ductus
TUNIS

Lipara
Vulcans Temple
Rhegium
Messana or Zancle
Tauromenia or Naxos
Actna M.
Asines F.
Simethus F.
Cyclopum Scopuli
Catana
Himera
Himera F.
Erbessus
Enna
Terias F.
Chrysas F.
CYCLOPES
Trotilum
Morgentium
Leontium
Herbessus
Mactorium
Megara or Hybla
Megaris Sinus
Thapsus
Lucus F.
SICANIA REGIO
Trinacia
SYRACVSII
Anapus F.
Syracusæ
Agragas F.
Himera or Gela F.
Hypsa F.
Heraclia or Minoa
Agrigentum
Sicanus F.
Gela
Scpas
Cyparis F.
Erineus
Camerina
The ouerthrow of Nicias
Elorus
Asinarus flu.
Pachynus P:
Callipolis
Motya
AFRICA
SEA

ſhewed in this his laſt Fight, is highly commended by *Polybius*; and was acknowledged, as *Livie* reports, by *Scipio* himſelf. But the Enemies were too ſtrong for him in Horſe: and being enjoyned, as he was, by the State of *Carthage*, to take Battle with ſuch diſadvantage, he would work no marvels. He ſaved himſelf with a few Horſe; and ſtayed not in his Journey, till he came to *Adrumetum*. Thence he was ſent for to *Carthage*; from which he had been abſent ſix and thirty years. At his coming into the Senate, He ſaid plainly, That there was none other way left, than to take ſuch Peace as could be gotten. Wherefore the *Carthaginians*, not knowing what other courſe to take, reſolved to ſend Embaſſadors again, and try the favour of *Scipio*, whoſe Arms they could not now reſiſt.

Scipio having ſpoiled the Enemies Camp, returned back to *Utica*: where he found *P. Lentulus* newly arrived, with fifty Gallies, and an hundred Ships of burden. With this Fleet, and that which he had before, He thought it beſt to make towards *Carthage*: rather of purpoſe to terrifie the City; than with any hope to take it. His Legions he committed unto *Cn. Octavius*; whom he willed to meet him there by Land. Then ſending *Lælius* away to *Rome*, with news of the Victory, ſet Sail from *Utica* towards *Carthage*. He was encountred on the way by ten Embaſſadors from the City: who bearing up with the Admirals Gally, began to uſe the pittiful geſture of ſuppliants. But they received none other anſwer, than that they ſhould meet him at *Tunes*, where he would give them audience. So rowing along before the City, and viewing it more in bravery, than with meaning to attempt it; he returned back to *Utica*, and called back *Octavius* thither, with whom in perſon he ſet forwards for *Tunes*. As they were in their Journey thither, they heard the news, that *Vermina* the Son of *Syphax*, was coming with an Army of more Horſe than Foot, to the ſuccour of thoſe that were already vanquiſhed. This *Vermina* ſeems to have been both careleſs of getting intelligence how things paſſed, and very defective in all other duties requiſite in the Commander of an Army. Part of the *Roman* Foot, with all their power of Horſe, was ſent againſt him, which did not only beat him, but ſo compaſs him in, that he hardly eſcaped himſelf with a few; leaving fifteen thouſand of his followers dead behind him, and twelve hundred taken Priſoners. If this good company had been with *Hannibal* at *Nadagara*, they ſhould have been far better conducted, and might well have changed the Fortune of the day; which the *Carthaginian* loſt by default of Horſe. But God had otherwiſe determined. It is not to be doubted, that this Victory, though it were no great acceſs unto the former; yet ſerved well to daunt the *Carthaginians*, and imprint in them the greater fear of *Scipio*. When he came to *Tunes*, there met him thirty Embaſſadors from *Carthage*: whoſe behaviour, though it was more pittiful than it had been before, yet it procured leſs commiſeration, by reaſon of their late falſe dealing, after they had in like ſort humbled themſelves. Nevertheleſs it was conſidered, what a long and laborious work it would prove, to beſiege the mighty City of *Carthage*. And particularly, *Scipio* ſtood in great doubt, leſt the honour of this War, if it were protracted, ſhould be taken out of his hands, and given to one of the Conſuls. *Cn. Servilius Cæpio*, that Conſul who had charge of the War againſt *Hannibal* at ſuch time as he departed out of *Italy*: was bold to paſs over into the Iſle of *Sicil* (as it were in chaſe of *Hannibal* by him terrified and driven away) with a purpoſe thence to have proceeded into *Africk*, and taken from *Scipio* the command of the Army there. But a Dictator was choſen of purpoſe, to reſtrain the ambition of this Conſul *Servilius*. After him followed *Tiberius Claudius*, who made ſuit for the ſame Province of *Africk*: and was therein ſo earneſt, that though neither the Senate, nor People, would grant him his deſire; yet he needs would be going, procuring only leave of the Senate, that he being Conſul might joyn with *Scipio*, were it no more than with equal authority. But e're he could have his Fleet, and all things in a readineſs for the Journey wherein no man cared to further him, Winter came on, and he was only toſt at Sea with foul weather; firſt upon the Coaſt of *Hetruria*, and afterwards by *Sardinia*; where his Conſulſhip expired, and ſo he returned home a private man. Then came the joyful news to *Rome*, of the Victory obtained againſt *Hannibal*, and that the War was now even at an end. Yet was *Lentulus* the new Conſul ſo paſſionate, in deſiring *Africk* for his Province, that he ſaid he would ſuffer nothing to paſs in the Senate, until he had firſt his will. Much ado there was about this: and after many contentions, both in the Senate, and before the People, at laſt it was ordered, That if Peace were granted, it ſhould be granted by *Scipio*; if the War continued, *Scipio* ſhould have command therein by Land, and the Conſul at Sea. The ambition of theſe men, cauſed *Scipio* to give the more favourable anſwer unto the *Carthaginian* Embaſſadors. He willed them to conſider what they had deſerved: and in regard thereof, to think themſelves well dealt withall; in that he was contented to leave unto them their liberty and their own Laws, without appointing any Governour over them, or Garriſon to hold them in ſubjection; leaving alſo unto them their poſſeſſions in *Africk*, ſuch as they were at the beginning of this War. As touching the reſt he was at a point, that, before he either granted them Peace or Truce, they ſhould make ſatisfaction for wrongs which they had done, whilſt the late Treaty was in dependance. Hereunto if they would yield, then required, He, *That immediately they ſhould deliver up to the* Romans *all Priſoners, Fugitives, and Renegado's, that they had of theirs: likewiſe all their Gallies, excepting ten: and all their Elephants. That they ſhould make no War at all thenceforth out of* Africk, *neither yet within* Africk, *without licence of the* Romans: *That the Countries, Towns, Goods whatſoever, belonging any wiſe unto* Maſaniſſa, *or to any of his Anceſtors, which were in their poſſeſſion, ſhould be all by them reſtored unto him: That they ſhould find Corn for the* Roman *Army, and Wages for their Auxiliaries, during the time of Truce, untill the Peace were fully concluded; that they ſhould pay ten thouſand Talents of Silver, in the term of Fifty years, by two hundred Talents a year, and that for obſervance of Conditions, they ſhould give an hundred Hoſtages: ſuch as* Scipio *would chooſe, being none of them under fourteen years of age, nor above thirty.*

With theſe conditions the Embaſſadors returned home, and reported them unto the City. They were very unpleaſing; and therefore one *Geſco* ſtood up to ſpeak againſt them: and exhorted the People, who gave good attention, that they ſhould not condeſcend unto ſuch intolerable de-

demands. But *Hannibal* perceiving this, and noting withall what favourable audience was given to this vain Oratour, by the unquiet, yet unwarlike multitude, was bold to pull him down from his ſtanding, by plain force. Hereat all the People murmured, as if their common liberty were too much wronged, by ſuch inſolence of this preſumptuous Captain. Which *Hannibal* perceiving, roſe up and ſpake unto them, ſaying; That they ought to pardon him, if he had done otherwiſe than the cuſtoms of the City would allow; foraſmuch as he had been thence abſent ever ſince he was a Boy of nine years old, until he was now a man of five and forty. Having thus excuſed himſelf of the diſorder, he diſcourſed unto them concerning the Peace: and perſwaded them to accept it, as wanting ability to defend themſelves, had the Demands of the Enemy been yet more rigorous. Finally, upon good advice they reſolved to yield unto the Conditions propounded by *Scipio:* to whom they paid out of hand five and twenty thouſand pounds weight in Silver, in recompence of damages, and injuries by them done to his Fleet and Embaſſadors. *Scipio* granted them Truce for three Months, in which time they might negotiate with the State of *Rome*, about confirmation of the League. But herewithall he gave injunction, that they ſhould neither in the mean while ſend Embaſſadors any whither elſe, not yet diſmiſs any Embaſſadors to them ſent, without firſt making him acquainted what they were, and what their errand was.

At this time *Hanno*, and they of his Faction, were become wiſe and honourable men, by the miſeries whereinto *Carthage* was fallen, through their malicious counſels. *Aſdrubal*, ſurnamed *the Kid*, a venerable man, and a great Friend of *Hanno*, was chief of the Embaſſages which they ſent to *Rome* for obtaining Peace. They went thither in company of *Scipio* his Embaſſadors, who related unto the Senate and People theſe joyful news. About the ſame time arrived at *Rome* Embaſſadors from *Philip* King of *Macedon:* who, together with the *Carthaginians*, were fain to wait a while for Audience, till the Election of new Conſuls, then in hand, was finiſhed; and order taken, for the Provinces of them, and the new Prætors. Then were the *Macedonian* Embaſſadors called into the Senate: who firſt anſwering unto ſome points, wherein the *Romans* had lately ſignified unto their King, that they found themſelves grieved; returned the blame upon thoſe *Greeks* themſelves, that had made their complaint at *Rome*. Then accuſed they *Marcus Aurelius:* who being one of the three Embaſſadors, that had lately been ſent from *Rome* unto King *Philip*, tarried in *Greece* behind his fellows, and there levying men, made War upon the King, without any regard at all of the League, that was between him and the *Romans*. Further they deſired of the Senate, That one *Sopater*, a *Macedonian* Gentleman, with other of their Country-men, that had lately ſerved *Hannibal* for Pay; and being taken Priſoners in *Africk*, were kept in Bonds by *Scipio*, might be releaſed and delivered unto them. Unto all this *M. Furius*, whom *Aurelius* had ſent to *Rome* for that purpoſe, made a ſharp anſwer. He ſaid, that the *Greeks*, which were confederate with *Rome*, enduring ſo many injuries at the hands of *Philip*, that *M. Aurelius* was fain to ſtay behind, to help them as he might; which elſe were like to be brought under the Kings Subjection. As for *Sopater*, he affirmed it to be one of the Kings Counſel, and very inward with him: one that ſerved not for money, but carryed money with him, and four thouſand men, ſent from the King to the aid of *Hannibal*. About theſe points, when the *Macedonian* Embaſſadors could make unto the Senate no good anſwer, they were willed to return, and tell their Maſter, That War he ſought, and War he ſhould find, if he proceeded as he had begun. For in two main points He had broken the League that was between him and the *Romans:* Firſt, in that he had wronged their Confederates: and Secondly, in that he had aided their Enemies againſt them, with men and money.

Theſe quarrels with *Philip*, that promiſed to open a way into *Greece* and the Eaſtern Countreys, helped well the *Carthaginian* Embaſſadors in their ſolicitation of Peace. They appeared a very reverend company, when they entred into the Senate: and *Aſdrubal* above the reſt was much reſpected, as one, whoſe good offices had kept the *Romans* from neceſſity of ſending Embaſſadors to *Carthage*, upon the like errand. He liberally granted, that the juſtice of the quarrel had been wholly on the *Romans* ſide; ſaying, that it was the fault of ſome violent men, through which the Peace was broken. Yet could he not altogether excuſe the City, that had been too vehement in the proſecution of bad counſel. But if *Hanno*, and himſelf might have had their wills, the *Carthaginians*, even at the beſt of their Fortune, ſhould have granted the Peace, which they now deſired. Herewithall he commended the moderation of the *Romans*, as no ſmall argument of their Valour; by which always they had been Victorious. To the ſame effect ſpake the reſt of the Embaſſadors: all of them entreating to have the Peace ratified; though ſome with more lamentable words than others, according to the diverſity of their ſtile. They had patience enough to endure ſuch reproof of Perjury, as they themſelves might have laid upon the *Romans*, if their diligence and fortune had been ſuch as the *Romans* was. Among the reſt, when one of the Senators demanded, by what gods they would ſwear to keep the Peace hereafter: *Aſdrubal* made anſwer; *Even by the ſame gods, that are ſo ſevere unto thoſe that violate their Leagues.*

Lentulus the Conſul, interpoſing the authority of his office, would have hindred the Senate from proceeding unto concluſion of Peace; for that hereby he was like to loſe the honour, which he purpoſed to get by making War in *Africk*. But the matter was propounded unto the People, in whom reſted the Soveraign Command of *Rome*; and by them referred wholly unto the pleaſure of the Senate. So it was decreed, That *Scipio*, with ten Delegates, ſent unto him from *Rome* of purpoſe, ſhould make a League with the *Carthaginians*, upon ſuch conditions as ſeemed beſt: which were none other, than the ſame which he had already propounded. For this favour, the *Carthaginian* Embaſſadors humbly thanked the Senate; and craved licence, that they might viſit their Country-men, which were Priſoners in *Rome:* afterwards, that they might ranſome and carry home with them ſome that were their eſpecial Friends; of whom they gave in writing almoſt two hundred names. Whereupon the Senate ordained, that two hundred of thoſe Priſoners, which the Embaſſadors would chooſe, ſhould be ſent over into *Africk*, and be freely reſtored

ſtored to liberty by *Scipio*, when the Peace was fully concluded. So they took leave, and returned home, in company of the ten Delegates, that were appointed by the Senate to joyn with *Scipio* in Commiſſion.

At their coming into *Africk*, the Peace was given, and accepted, without any controverſie or diſputation. The Priſoners, Fugitives, and Renegado's, were delivered up to *Scipio*: likewiſe the Gallies, and the Elephants. *Scipio* took more vengeance upon the Renegado's than upon the Fugitives; and upon thoſe of the *Romans*, than upon the *Latines*, or other *Italians*. The *Latines* he beheaded: the *Romans* he crucified. About the firſt payment of their money, the *Carthaginians* were ſomewhat troubled. For though perhaps their common Treaſury could have ſpared two hundred Talents for the preſent; yet ſince the penſion was annual, and to continue fifty years: it was thought meet to lay the burden upon the Citizens. At the collection of the ſum there was piteous lamentation, as if now the *Roman* yoke had begun to pinch them; ſo as many, even of the Senators, could not forbear weeping. Contrariwiſe, *Hannibal* could not refrain from laughter. For which, when he was checked by *Aſdrubal Hædus*, and told, That it worſt of all beſeemed him to laugh, ſince he had been the cauſe why all others did weep; He anſwered, *That laughter did not always proceed from joy; but ſometimes from extremity of indignation: Yet*, ſaid He, *My laughter is more ſeaſonable, and leſs abſurd, than your tears. For ye ſhould have wept when ye gave up your Ships and Elephants, and when ye bound your own hands from the uſe of Arms, without the good leave of the* Romans *firſt obtained. This miſerable condition keeps us under, and holds us in aſſured ſervitude. But of theſe matters ye had no feeling. Now, when a little money is wrung out of your private purſes, ye have thereof ſome ſenſe. God grant that the time come not hereafter, wherein ye ſhall acknowledge, that it was the very leaſt part of your miſery for which ye have ſhed theſe tears.* Thus diſcourſed *Hannibal* unto thoſe, who taſting the bitter fruits of their own malicious counſel, repented when it was too late; and inſtead of curſing their own diſorders, which had bred this grievous Diſeaſe, accuſed the Phyſician, whoſe noble endeavours had been employed in procuring the remedy.

Scipio being to take leave of *Africk*, produced *Maſaniſſa*, and magnified him in preſence of the Army, with high commendations not undeſervedly. To him he alſo conſigned over thoſe towns of King *Syphax*, which the *Romans* at that preſent held; wherein, to ſay truth, he gave him but his due; and that which otherwiſe he knew not well how to beſtow. But the love of the *Romans*, and friendſhip of *Scipio*, was fully anſwerable, now and hereafter, to all the deſervings of this *Numidian* King. About *Carthage* there reſted no more to be done. Wherefore the *Romans* embarqued themſelves for *Sicil*: where when they arrived at *Lylibæum*, *Scipio* with ſome part of his Army took his way home to *Rome* by Land; and ſent the reſt before him thither by Sea. His Journey through *Italy* was no leſs glorious than any triumph: all the People thronging out of the Towns and Villages, to do him honour as he paſſed along. He entred the City in Triumph: neither was there ever before, or after, any Triumph celebrated with ſo great joy of the People, as was this of *Scipio*; though, in bravery of the pomp, there were others in time ſhortly following, that exceeded this. Whether *Syphax* were carried through the City in this Triumph, and dying ſoon after in priſon; or whether he were dead a while before: it cannot be affirmed. Thus much may be avowed, that it was a barbarous cuſtom of the *Romans*, to inſult over the calamities of mighty Princes, by leading them contumeliouſly in Triumph; yea, though they were ſuch, as had always made fair and courteous War. But hereof we ſhall have better example e're the ſame age paſs. It was neither the perſon of *Syphax*, nor any other glory of the ſpectacle, that ſo much beautified the Triumph of *Scipio*, as did the contemplation of that grievous War paſt, whereof the *Romans* had been in a manner *without hope that ever they ſhould ſee* Italy *free*. This made them look chearfully upon the Author of ſo great a converſion; and filled them with more joy, than they well could moderate. Wherefore they gave to *Scipio* the Title of the *African*: ſtiling him by the name of that Province, which he had ſubdued. This honourable kind of ſurname, taken from a conquered Province, grew afterwards more common, and was uſurped by men of leſs deſert: eſpecially by many of the *Cæſars*, who ſometimes arrogated unto themſelves the title of Countreys, wherein they had performed little or nothing; as if ſuch glorious Attributes could have made them like in vertue unto *Scipio* the *African*.

Excerpt. è Pol. lib. 16.

CHAP. IV.

Of Philip *the father of* Perseus *King of* Macedon; *his first Acts and War with the* Romans, *by whom he was subdued.*

SECT. I.

How the Romans *grew acquainted in the East-Countreys, and desirous of War there. The beginning of many Princes, with great Wars, at one time. The* Ætolians *over-run* Peloponnesus. Philip *and his Associates make War against the* Ætolians. *Alteration of the state in* Sparta. *The* Ætolians *invade* Greece *and* Macedon, *and are invaded at home by* Philip.

Plut. in vita Sertorii.

OF the great similitude found in worldly event, the limitation of *matter* hath been assigned as a probable cause. For since Nature is confined unto a subject that is not unbounded; the works of Nature must needs be finite, and many of them resemble one the other. Now in those actions, that seem to have their whole dependance upon the will of man, we are less to wonder, if we find less variety: since it is no great portion of things which are obnoxious unto the humane power; and since they are the same affections, by which the wills of sundry men are over-ruled, in managing the affairs of our daily life. It may be observed in the change of Empires, before those times whereof we now write, how the *Assyrians* or *Chaldeans* invaded the kingdom of the *Medes*, with two hundred thousand Foot, and threescore thousand Horse; but failing in their intended conquest, they became subject within a while themselves unto the *Medes* and *Persians*. In like manner *Darius*, and after him *Xerxes*, fell upon the *Greeks* with such number of men, as might have seemed resistless. But after that the *Persians* were beaten home again, their Empire was never secure of the *Greeks*: who at all times of leisure from intestine War, devised upon the conquest thereof, which finally they made under the great *Alexander*. If *Nabuchadonosor* with his rough old Souldiers, had undertaken the *Medes*: or *Cyrus* with his well trained Army, had made attempt upon *Greece*, the issue might, in humane reason, have been far different. Yet would it then have been expedient for them, to employ the travel and vertue of their men, rather then the greatness of their names against those people, that were of no less valiant, (though less renowned,) than their own. For the menacing words used by *Cyrus*, and some small displeasures done to the *Greeks* (in which kind it may be, that *Nabuchadonosor* likewise offended the *Medes* and *Persians*) were not so available to victory, as to draw on revenge in the future. Great Kingdoms, when they decay in strength, suffer as did the old Lion, for the oppression done in his youth; being pinched by the Wolf, gored by the Bull, yea and kickt by the Ass. But Princes are often carried away from reason, by mis-understanding the language of Fame: and despising the vertue that makes little noise, adventure to provoke it against themselves; as if it were not possible that their own glory should be foiled by any of less-noted excellence. Against the same stone: whereat *Xerxes*, and before him (as I take it) *Evilmerodach*, had stumbled, *Pyrrhus* the *Epirot* had dasht his foot. He was not indeed the King of all *Greece*; though most of mark, and a better Souldier than any other *Greekish* King, when he entered into the war against the *Romans*. This war he undertook as it were for his minds sake; having received no injury; but hoping by the glory of his name, and of the *Greeks* that served under him, to prevail so easily against the barbarous *Romans*, that they should only serve as a step to his further intended conquests, of *Sicil* and *Africk*. But when the *Romans* by their victory against *Pyrrhus* had found their own vertue to be of richer metal; than was the more shining valour of the *Greeks*: than did all the bravery of the *Epirots* (his Elephants, and whatsoever else had served to make him terrible) serve only to make the *Romans*, in time following, to think more highly of themselves. *For since they had overcome the best Warrior in *Greece*, even Him, that being thus beaten by them, could in a year after make himself Lord of *Greece* and *Macedon*: what should hinder them from the conquest of all those unwarlike Provinces, which in compass of 12. years a *Macedonian* King of late memory had won? Certainly there was hereunto requisite no more: than to bring to their own devotion by some good means, the whole Country of *Greece*: all the rest, this done, would follow it self. How to deal with the *Greeks*, *Philip* and *Alexander* had shewed a way: which, or perhaps a better, they might learn, by getting more acquaintance with the Nation.

*The King of *Spains* pretended invincible Navy, being beaten out of the British Seas, invited us to those of *Spain*; and having broken the greatest Fleet that ever the *Spaniards* gathered together, we never made account of any of his preparations after that time.

When therefore the first Punick war was ended, which followed soon after the wars of *Pyrrhus* and of the *Tarentines*: then were the *Romans* at good leasure to hearken after news in *Greece*; and to entertain any good occasion: that should be on that side presented. They had also then a strong Fleet: and were become, though not otherwise very skilfull Marriners; yet good fighters at Sea. So it fell out as happily as could be wished, that the *Illyrian* Queen *Teuta* made at the same time cruel war upon the *Greeks*: wasting their Countrey, and sacking their Towns, only because they were unable to resist, though they had done her none offence. Into this quarrel, if the *Romans* were desirous to enter; the Queen was not slow to give them cause. And their accomplishing of that war, which they made with her, was, in their own opinion, a matter not unworthy to make their Patronage to be desired by the *Greeks*. But no such thing here hapned: though they sent Embassadours, as it were to offer themselves; by signifying, that for the love of *Greece* they

Lib. 5. c. 2. sect. 7.

they had undertaken this *Illyrian* war. Thus began the first acquaintance betwixt the *Greeks* and *Romans:* which afterwards encreased very hastily, through the indiscretion of King *Philip* the *Macedonian*; whose business with them, now being the subject of our story, it is meet that we should relate (though somewhat briefly) the beginning of his reign, and his first actions. It was like to prove a busie time in the world, when, within the space of 4 years, new Kings began to reign in the most of all Countreys known; and 3. of them young boyes, in 3 of the greatest kingdoms. This hapned from the third year of the hundred thirty ninth Olympiad, unto the third of the Olympiad following. For in this time died *Seleucus Ceraunus* King of *Asia* and *Syria*, in whose room succeeded his brother *Antiochus*, afterwards called *the Great*. *Ptolomy Philopater* succeeded in in the Kingdom of *Egypt* unto his father *Evergetes*. And *Philip* the son of *Demetrius*, being 16 or 17 years old, received the Kingdom of *Macedon*, together with the Patronage of the *Achæans* and most of the *Greeks*, by the decease of his Uncle *Antigonus Doson*, that was called the Tutor or Protector. About the same time also was the like change in *Cappadocia*, *Lacedæmon*, and the Countreys about Mount *Taurus*. For *Ariathes* then began his reign in *Cappadocia*. *Lycurgus* found means to make himself King over the *Lacedemonians*, whose Common-wealth, since the flight of *Cleomenes*, had continued in a manner headless; and *Achæus*, a kinsman of *Antiochus* but a Rebel unto him, occupied the Regions near unto Mount *Taurus*, and kept a while the State of a mighty King. Lastly, in the second and third years of the one hundred and fortieth Olympiad it was, that open war brake out between *Rome* and *Carthage*; and that *Hannibal* began his great Invasion upon *Italy*. Those troubles of the Western world, which were indeed the greatest, we have already followed unto an end: Of *Antiochus*, *Ptolomy*, and the rest; we shall speak hereafter, when the *Romans* find them out.

Philip, soon after the beginning of his reign, came into *Peloponnesus*; greatly desired of the *Achæans*, and many other his dependants. That Country, having freed it self by the help of *Antigonus* from the danger (accounted great) of an easie subjection unto *Cleomenes*; was now become no less obnoxius to the *Macedonian*, than it should have been to the *Spartan*; and therewithal it lay open unto the violence of the *Ætolians*; who despised even the *Macedonian* Kings, that were Patrons thereof. The *Ætolians* were no men to be idle; nor were much addicted unto any other Art than war. Therefore wanting employment, they fell upon the *Messenians* that were their own Clients, and (excepting the *Eleans*, that were anciently of their consanguinity) the only good friends which they had at the present in *Peloponnesus*. Their invasion was no less unexpected, then it was unjust: whereby with greater ease they made spoil of the Conntrey; finding none prepared to make resistance. The *Achæans*, were called by the *Messenians* to help: which they did the more willingly: because the *Ætolians* passing without leave through their Territory, had (as was their manner) done what harm they listed. Old *Aratus* could hardly abide these *Ætolians*; as both knowing well their nature, and remembring the injuries, wherewith most ingratefully they had required no small benefits done to them by the *Achæans*. He was therefore so hasty to fall upon this their Army, that he could hardly endure to stay few dayes until the time of his own Office came; being chosen Prætor of the *Achæans* for the year following. But his anger was greater than his courage: and he shewed himself a man fitter (as hath been already noted of him) for any other service, than leading of Army. He suffered them to pass quietly along with their booty, through a part of the Country, wherein he might very easily have distressed them; and afterwards pressed them so near, when they had recovered ground of advantage, that they easily defeated all his Army. So they departed home rich, and well animated to return again. As for the *Achæans*, they got hereby only the friendship of the *Messenians*: with whom, by licence of King *Philip*, they made Confederacy. Shortly after, the *Ætolians* invaded *Peloponnesus* again: having no more to do, than to pass over the narrow Straights of the *Corinthian* Bay, called now the Gulph of *Lepanto*, where they might land in the Countrv of the *Eleans*. There joyned with them, in this their second invasion, a great number of the *Illyrians*: who neglecting that Condition imposed upon them by the *Romans*, of setting out no Ships of war unto the Coast of *Greece*; made bold to seek adventures again, and did great mischief. *Demetrius Pharius*, a creature of the *Romans*, commanded a part of these *Illyrians:* who shortly repented him of this his voyage; which caused him to lose his Kingdom, as is shewed before. But this *Demetrius* went another way, and fell upon the Islands of the *Cyclades* in the *Ægean* sea: whence returning, he did some good offices for King *Philip*, or his friends. The rest of the *Illyrians* under *Scerdilaides*, or *Scerdiletus*, having gotten what they could elsewhere by roving at Sea, accompanied the *Ætolians* into *Peloponnesus:* who made greater havock in the Country now, than in their former Expedition, and returned home without finding any resistance.

Of these things great complaint was made unto *Philip*, when he came to *Corinth*. And because men were desirous to satisfie themselves with some speedy revenge: there were that urged to have some grievous punishment to be laid upon the *Lacædemonians*; who were thought underhand to have favoured the *Ætolians*, in meer despight of the *Achæans* and *Macedonians*, by whom themselves had lately been subdued. It is true, that the *Lacedæmonians* had been so affected: and (which was worse) at the arrival of *Philip*, they slew such friends of his, as having checked their inclination, seemed likely to appeach them of the intended rebellion. Neither durst they well commit themselves to judgement: but intreated the King, that he would abstain from coming to them with an Army: since their Town was lately much disquieted with civil discord, which they hoped soon to appease, and meant always to remain in his devotion. *Philip* was easily satisfied with this: not for that he (or rather old *Aratus*, who then wholly governed him) did misunderstand the *Lacedæmonians*: but for that a greater work was in hand, which ought not to be interrupted. There met at *Corinth* in presence of the King, the Embassadors of the *Achæans*, *Bœotians*, *Epirots*, and *Acarnanians*; all complaining upon the *Ætolians:* and desiring to have War decreed against them, by common assent. *Philip* sent his letters unto the *Ætolians*, requiring them to make ready their answer in some covenient time; if they could alledge any thing in excuse of that

which they had done. They returned word, that a Diet ſhould be holden at *Rhium* for that purpoſe: whither if it pleaſed him to come, or ſend, he ſhould be well informed of them and their whole meaning. The King prepared to have been there at the day. But when the *Ætolians* underſtood this for certain, they adjourned the Counſel unto a further time, ſaying, That ſuch weighty matters ought not to be handled, ſave in the great Parliament of all *Ætolia*. This trick of Law notwithſtanding, open War was proclaimed againſt them. And they, as it were, to ſhew how well they had deſerved it, made election of *Scopas* to be their prætor, that was Author of theſe Invaſions made on *Peloponneſus*; and the only man, in a ſort, upon whom they muſt have laid the blame of theſe actions, if they would have ſhifted it from the publick.

After this, *Philip* went unto *Macedon*, where he prepared buſily for the War againſt the year following. He alſo aſſayed the *Illyrians Scerdilaidas*, with fair words and promiſes; whom he eaſily won from the *Ætolian* ſide, for as much as the *Ætolians* had couzened him of his ſhare, when he was partner with them in their late robberies. In like ſort the *Achæans*, who had firſt of all others proclaimed the War in their own Country, ſent unto the *Acarnanians*, *Epirots*, *Meſſenians*, *and Lacedæmonians*; requeſting them forthwith to declare themſelves, and to denounce war unto the *Ætolians*; without ſtaying (as it were) to wait the event. Hereunto they received divers anſwers according to the qualities of thoſe with whom they dealt. The *Acarnanians*, a free-hearted and valiant, though a ſmall Nation, and bordering upon the *Ætolians*, of whom they ſtood in continual danger; ſaid, that they could not honeſtly refuſe to ſhew their faithful meaning in that War, which was concluded by general aſſent. The *Epirots* that were more mighty, were nevertheleſs more cunning and reſerved: ſo that they ſtood upon a needleſs point, and deſired to be held excuſed, until *Philip* (of whoſe meaning they needed not to have made any doubt) ſhould firſt proclaim the war. The *Meſſenians*, for whoſe cauſe the war was undertaken, excuſed themſelves, by reaſon of a Town which the *Ætolians* held upon their borders, and ſaid, that they durſt not be over-bold, until that bridle were taken out of their mouths. As for the *Lacedæmonians*, the chief of them ſtudied only, how to manage the treaſon for which their City had been ſo lately pardoned: and therefore diſmiſſed the Embaſſadors of the Confederates, without any anſwer at all. They had three years together continued ſubject againſt their wills to the *Macedonians*, expecting ſtill when *Cleomenes* ſhould return out of *Egypt* to reign over them again, and maintain, as he was wont, the honour of their City. In this regard they choſe not any Kings, but were contented with the rule of *Ephori*. Of theſe there were ſome, that thought the publick ſafety to conſiſt, in holding their faith with the *Macedonians* that had preſerved them. And hereto they referred all their counſels: being perhaps a little moved with reſpect of the benefit, which might redound unto themſelves, by adhering firmly to thoſe which at the preſent bore rule over them. Others, and thoſe the greater part were ſtill deviſing, how to make all ready for *Cleomenes* againſt his return; and ſought to joyn with the *Ætolians*, which were moſt likely to give im ſtrong aſſiſtance. The *Macedonian* faction had the more authority, and durſt more freely ſpeak their minds: but the contrary ſide was the more paſſionate, and ſpared not by murders or any other violent courſes, to ſet forward their deſire. Neither did it ſuffice, that about theſe times there came certain report of *Cleomenes* his death. For it was the liberty and honour of *Sparta*, which theſe intended, fancying unto themſelves the glory of their Anceſtors in ſuch Ages paſt, as it were not like to come again. *Cleomenes* was, they knew, the moſt able man to reſtore them unto their greatneſs and luſtre; which once he had in a manner performed: But ſince he was dead, and that, without injury to his well-deſerving vertue, they might proceed to the election of new Kings: Kings they would have, and thoſe of the race of *Hercules*, as in former times; for that without ſuch helps, they muſt continue little better than ſubjects unto the *Macedonian*, and far leſs by him reſpected, than were the *Achæans*. Thus were they tranſported by contemplation of their old Nobility and fame. Some of the moſt working ſpirits among them, procured the *Ætolians* to ſend an Embaſſie to *Sparta*: which propounded the matter openly unto the people, whereof no one of the Citizens durſt have made himſelf the Author. Much diſputation, and hot, there was, between thoſe of the *Macedonian* party, and theſe their oppoſites: in ſuch wiſe that nothing could be concluded; until by maſſacre or baniſhment of all, or the chief, that ſpake againſt the *Ætolians*: the diverſity of opinion was taken quite away. Then forthwith a League was concluded between the *Lacedæmonians* and *Ætolians*: without all regard of the *Macedonians* or *Achæans*, who had ſpared the City, when they might have deſtroyed it. Then alſo they went in hand with election of new Kings: wherein their diligence was ſo nice, and ſo regardful of their antient Laws, as touching the chooſing of the one King, that we may juſtly wonder, how they grew ſo careleſs in making choice of the other. In the one of their Royal Families they found *Ageſipolis*, the ſon of *Ageſipolis*, the ſon of King *Cleombrotus*: and him they admitted to reign over them, as heir apparent to his Grandfather. This *Ageſipolis* was a young Boy, ſtanding in need of a Guardian; and had an Uncle, his Fathers Brother, that was fit for the Government. Yet becauſe the Law required, that the ſon, how young ſoever, ſhould have his fathers whole right and Title: the *Lacedæmonians*, though ſtanding in need of a man, were ſo punctual in obſervation of the Law, that they made this child their King, and appointed his Uncle *Cleomenes* to be his Protector. But in the other branch of the Royal Family, though there was no want of heirs: yet would not the people trouble themſelves about any of them, to examine the goodneſs of his Claim; but made election of one *Lycurgus*, who having no manner of title to the Kingdom, beſtowed upon each of the *Ephori*, a Talent, and thereby himſelf be ſaluted King of *Sparta*, and a Gentleman of the race of *Hercules*. This *Lycurgus* to gratifie his Partiſans, and to approve his worth by action, invaded the Country of the *Argives*: which lay open and unguarded, as in a time of peace. There he did great ſpoil, and won divers Towns; whereof two he retained, and annexed unto the State of *Lacedæmonian*. After ſuch open hoſtility, the *Lacedæmonians* declared themſelves on the *Ætolian* ſide; and proclaimed War againſt the *Achæans*.

Thus

Thus the beginnings of the War fell out much otherwiſe, than the *Achæans* and their Confederates had expected, when they firſt made preparation. *Philip* was not ready: the *Epirots* gave uncertain anſwer: the *Meſſenians* would not ſtir: all the burden muſt lye upon themſelves and the poor *Acarnanians*, whom the *Ætolians*, by favour of the *Eleans*, could invade at pleaſure, as they were like to do; and by help of the *Lacedæmonians*, could aſſail on all parts at once. It was not long e're the *Ætolians*, paſſing over the Bay of *Corinth*, ſurpriſed the Twon of *Ægira*: which if they could have held, they ſhould thereby grievouſly have moleſted the *Achæans*, for that it ſtood in the mid-way between *Ægium* and *Sycion*, two of their principal Cities, and gave open way into the heart of all the Country. But as *Ægira* was taken by ſurpriſe: ſo was it preſently loſt again, through greedineſs of ſpoil; whileſt they that ſhould have made it their firſt care, to aſſure the place unto themſelves, by occupying the citadel and other pieces of ſtrength, fell heedleſly to ranſack private houſes, and thereby gave the Citizens leave to make head, by whom they were driven with great ſlaughter back unto their Fleet. About the ſame time, another *Ætolian* Army landing among the *Eleans*, fell upon the Weſtern Coaſt of *Achaia*; waſting all the Territory of the *Dymæans* and other people, that were firſt beginners of the *Achæan* Confederacy. The *Dymæans* and their neighbours made head againſt theſe Invaders; but were ſo well beaten, that the enemy grew bolder with them than before. They ſent for help unto their Prætor, and to all the Towns of their Society in vain. For the *Achæans* having lately been much weakened by *Cleomenes*, were now able to do little of themſelves: neither could they get any ſtrength of Mercenaries; foraſmuch as at the end of *Cleomenes* his war, they had covetouſly with-held part of their due from thoſe that ſerved them therein. So through this diſability of the *Achæans*, and inſufficiency of their Prætor; the *Dymæans*, with others, were driven to with-hold their contribution heretofore made for the publick ſervice, and to convert the money to their own defence. *Lycurgus* alſo with his *Lacedæmonians*, began to win upon the *Arcadians* that were confederate with *Philip* and the *Achæans*.

Philip came to the borders of the *Ætolians*, whilſt their Army was thus employed a far off in *Peloponneſus*. The *Epirots* joyned all their forces with him: and by ſuch their willing readineſs, drew him to the ſiege of a Frontier piece, which they deſired to get into their own hands; for that, by commodity thereof, they hoped ſhortly to make themſelves Maſters of *Ambracia*. There he ſpent forty dayes, e're he could end the buſineſs; which tended only to the benefit of the *Epirots*. Had he entred into the heart of *Ætolia* at his firſt coming in; it is thought that he might have had an end of the War. But it happens oft, that the violence of great Armies is broken upon ſmall Towns or Forts: and not ſeldom, that the importunity of Aſſociates, to have their own deſires fulfilled, converts the preparations of great Kings to thoſe uſes for which they never were intended; thereby hindring the proſecution of their main deſignes. Thus was our King *Henry* the VIII. led aſide, and quite out of his way, by *Maximilian* the Emperour to the ſiege of *Tournay*: at ſuch time as the *French* King *Lewis* the XII. hearing that the ſtrong City of *Terwin* was loſt, and that his Cavallry, wherein reſted his chief confidence, two thouſand were beaten by the Earl of *Eſſex* with ſeven hundred *Engliſh*; was thinking to withdraw himſelf into *Britain*, in fear that *Henry* would have come to *Paris*.

The ſtay that *Philip* made at *Ambrachus* did wondrouſly embolden the *Ætolians* in ſuch ſort, as their Prætor *Scopas* adventured to lead all their forces out of the Country; and therewith not only to over-run *Theſſalie*, but to make impreſſion into *Macedon*. He ran as far as to *Dium*, a City of *Macedon* upon the *Ægean* Sea: which, being forſaken by the Inhabitants at his coming, he took, and razed to the ground. He ſpared neither Temple, nor any other of the goodly building therein, but overturned all: and among the reſt, he threw down the Statua's that were there erected, of the *Macedonian* Kings. For this he was highly honoured by his Country-men at his return; foraſmuch as hereby they thought their Nation to be grown terrible, not only (as before) unto *Peloponneſus*, but even to *Macedon* it ſelf. But this their pride was ſoon abated; and they rewarded ſhortly at home in their own Country, for their pains taken at *Dium*. *Philip* having diſpatched his work at *Ambracus*, made a ſtrong invaſion upon *Ætolia*. He took *Phætiæ*, *Metropolis*, *Oeniade*, *Pæanium*, *Elæus*, and divers other Towns and Caſtles of theirs, of which he burnt ſome, and fortified others. He alſo beat the *Ætolians* in ſundry skirmiſhes: and waſted all the Country over, without receiving any harm. This done, while he was about to make a cut over the Straights into *Peloponneſus*, and to do the like ſpoil in the Country of the *Eleans*, whereto he was vehemently ſolicited by the *Achæan* Embaſſadors; news came out of *Macedon*, that the *Dardanians* were ready with a great Army to fall upon the Country. Theſe *Dardanians* were a barbarous people, divided by Mount *Hæmus* from the Northern part of *Macedon*, and were accuſtomed to ſeek booty in that wealthy Kingdom, when they found their own times. Having therefore intelligence, that *Philip* was about to make a journey into *Peloponneſus*; they purpoſed in his abſence, which they thought would be long, to get what they could for themſelves in his Countrey: as had been their manner upon the like advantages. This made the King to diſmiſs the *Achæan* Embaſſadors, (whom he ſhould have accompanied home with his Army) and to bid them have patience until another year. So he took his way home-wards: and as he was paſſing out of *Acarnania* into *Epirus*, there repaired unto him *Demetrius Pharius*, with no more than one Ship; that was newly chaſed out of his Kingdom by the *Romans*. This *Demetrius* had lately ſhewed himſelf a friend to *Antigonus Doſon* in the wars of *Cleomenes*: and returning in his laſt Voyage from the *Cyclades*, was ready at their firſt requeſt, to take part with *Philips* Captains. Theſe, or the like conſiderations, made him welcome unto the *Macedonian* King: whoſe Counſellor he was ever after. The *Dardanians* hearing of the Kings return, brake up their Army, and gave over for the preſent their invaſion of *Macedon*, towards which they were already on their way.

All that Summer following the King reſted at *Lariſſa* in *Theſſaly*, whilſt his People gathered in their Harveſt. But the *Ætolians* reſted not. They avenged themſelves upon the *Epirots*: whom for the harms by them and *Philip* done in *Ætolia*, they requited with all extremities of War; among which, the

the moſt notable was, the ruine of the moſt famous Temple of *Dodona*. When Winter grew on, and all thought of War, until another year, was laid aſide: *Philip* ſtole a Journey into *Peloponneſus*, with 5000 Foot, and about 400 Horſe. As ſoon as he was within *Corinth*; He commanded the Gates to be ſhut, that no word ſhould be carryed forth of his arrival. He ſent privily for old *Aratus* to come thither unto him: with whom he took order, when, and in what places, he would have the *Achæan* Souldiers ready to meet him. The Enemies were then abroad in the Country, without ſomewhat more than two thouſand Foot, and an hundred Horſe; little thinking to meet with oppoſition. Indeed they had little cauſe to fear: ſince the *Achæans* themſelves were not aware that the King was in their Land with his *Macedonians*; until they heard, that theſe two thouſand *Eleans*, *Ætolians*, and their fellows, were by him ſurprized, and all made Priſoners, or ſlain. By this exploit which he did at his firſt coming *Philip* got very much reputation and likewiſe he purchaſed both reputation and love, by divers actions immediately following. He won *Pſophis*, an exceeding ſtrong Town, in the Borders of *Arcadia*, which the *Eleans* and *Ætolians* then held. He won it by aſſault at his firſt coming: wherein it much availed him, that the Enemy, not believing that he would undertake ſuch a piece of work at ſuch an unſeaſonable time of the year, was careleſs of providing even ſuch ſtore of Weapons, as might have ſerved to defend it. The Town was preſerved by the King from ſacking; and given to the *Achæans* of his meer motion, before they requeſted it. Thence went he to *Laſion*, which yielded for very fear; hearing how eaſily he had taken *Pſophis*. This Town alſo he gave to the *Achæans*. The like liberality he uſed towards others, that had ancient title unto places by him recovered. Then fell he upon the Country of *Elis*, where was much wealth to be gotten: for that the People were addicted to Husbandry, and lived abroad in Villages; even ſuch as were of the wealthier ſort among them. So he came to the City of *Olympia*: where having done ſacrifice to *Jupiter*, feaſted his Captains, and refreſhed his Army three days; He proceeded on to the ſpoil of thoſe, that had taken pleaſure to ſhare with the *Ætolians*, in the ſpoils of their otherwiſe-deſerving neighbours. Great abundance of Cattle he took, with great numbers of Slaves, and much wealth of all ſorts, ſuch as could be found in rich Villages. Then he fell in hand with the Towns, whereinto a great multitude of the Country People were fled. Some of theſe were taken at the firſt aſſault. Some yielded for fear. Some prevented the labour of his Journey, by ſending Embaſſadors to yield before he came. And ſome that were held with Garriſons againſt their wills, took courage to ſet themſelves at liberty, by ſeeing the King ſo near: to whoſe Patronage thenceforth they betook themſelves. And many places were ſpoiled by the *Ætolians* Captains; becauſe they diſtruſted their ability to hold them. So the King won more Towns in the Country, than the ſharpneſs of Winter would ſuffer him to ſtay there days. Fain he would have fought with the *Ætolians*: but they made ſuch haſte from him, that he could not overtake them, till they had covered themſelves within the Town of *Samicum*; where they thought to have been ſafe. But *Philip* aſſaulted them therein ſo forcibly, that he made them glad to yield the place; obtaining licence to to depart with their Lives and Arms. Having performed ſo much in this expedition, the King repoſed himſelf a while in *Megalopolis*, and then removed to *Argos*, where he ſpent all the reſt of the Winter.

Before the Kings arrival in *Peloponneſus*, the *Lacedæmonians*, with *Lycurgus* their new King, had gotten ſomewhat in *Arcadia*; and threatned to do great matters. But when they were admoniſhed, by the calamity that fell upon the *Eleans*, of the danger hanging over their own heads; they quitted their winnings, and withdrew themſelves home. This *Lycurgus*, as he had no other right to the Kingdom of *Sparta*, than that which he could buy with mony, ſo was he neither free from danger of conſpiracies made againſt him: nor from thoſe jealouſies, with which Uſurpers are commonly perplexed. There was one *Chilon*, of the Royal blood, that thinking himſelf to have beſt right unto the Kingdom, purpoſed to make way thereunto by maſſacre of his oppoſites; and afterwards to confirm himſelf, by propounding unto the Multitude ſuch reformation of the State as was moſt popular: namely, by making an equal diſtribution of all the Lands among the whole number of the Citizens, according to the ancient inſtitution of that Common-wealth. He won to his party ſome two hundred men; with whom he fell upon the *Ephori*, as they were together at Supper, and ſlew them all. Then went he to *Lycurgus* his Houſe: who perceiving the danger, ſtole away and fled. It remained that he ſhould give account of theſe doings to the People, and procure them to take part with him. But their minds not being hereto pre diſpoſed; they ſo little regarded his goodly offers, as even whilſt he was uſing his beſt perſwaſions, they were conſulting how to apprehend him. *Chilon* perceived whereabout they went, and ſhifted preſently away. So he lived afterwards among the *Achæans*, a baniſhed man, and hated of his own People. As for *Lycurgus* he returned home: and ſuſpecting thenceforth all thoſe of *Hercules* his race, found means to drive out his fellow-King young *Ageſipolis*, whereby he made himſelf Lord alone. His doings grew to be ſuſpected in ſuch ſort, as once he ſhould have been apprehended by the *Ephori*. But though his actions hitherto might have been defended; yet rather than to adventure himſelf into Judgment, he choſe to flie for a time, and ſojourn among his Friends the *Ætolians*. His well-known vehemency in oppoſition to the *Macedonians*, had procured unto him ſuch good liking among the People, that in his abſence they began to conſider the weakneſs of their own ſurmiſes againſt him; and pronouncing him innocent, recalled him home to his Eſtate. But in time following, he took better heed unto himſelf: not by amending his condition (for he grew a Tyrant, and was ſo acknowledged) but by taking order, that it ſhould not be in the power of the Citizens to expell him when they liſted. By what actions he got the name of a Tyrant; or at what time it was, that he chaſed *Ageſipolis* out of the City; I do not certainly find. Like enough it is, That this being the firſt of three Uſurpers, which followed in order one after another, made him to be placed in the rank of Tyrants; which the laſt of the three very juſtly deſerved. Whatſoever he was toward ſome private Citizens, in the War againſt *Philip*, he behaved himſelf as a provident man, and careful of his Countreys good.

SECT.

SECT. II.

How Philip *was misadvised by ill Counsellors: who afterwards wrought Treason against him; and were justly punished. He invadeth the* Ætolians *a second time: and forceth them to sue for Peace: which is granted unto them.*

WHilst the King lay at *Argos* devising upon his business for the year following, some ambitious men that were about him, studied so diligently for their own greatness, as they were like to have spoiled all that he took in hand. *Antigonus Doson* had left unto *Philip* such Counsellors, as to him did seem the fittest men for governing of his Youth. The chief of these was *Apelles*; that had the charge of his Person, and also the ordering of his Treasures. This man, seeming to himself a great Politician, thought that he should do a notable piece of service to his Prince, if he could reduce the *Achæans* unto the same degree of subjection, wherein the *Macedonians* lived. To bring this to pass; during the late expedition, he had caused some of the *Macedonians* to thrust the *Achæans* out of their Lodgings, and to strip them of the booty that they had gotten. Proceeding further, as occasion fell out; he was bold to chastise some of that Nation; causing his Ministers to take and whip them. If any of them offered (as there were some of them that could not refrain) to help their Fellows; them he laid by the Heels, and punished as Mutineers. Hereby he thought to bring it to pass by little and little, that they should be qualified with an habit of blind obedience; and think nothing unjust that pleased the King. But these *Achæans* were tenderly sensible in matters of liberty: whereof if they could have been contented to suffer any little diminution, they needed not have troubled the *Macedonians* to help them in the War against *Cleomenes*. They bemoaned themselves unto old *Aratus*: and besought him to think upon some good order, that they might not be oppressed by degrees. *Aratus* forthwith dealt earnestly with the King; as in a matter more weighty than at first it might seem. The King bestowed gracious words upon those that had been wronged, and forbade *Apelles* to follow the course begun. Hereat *Apelles* was inwardly vexed, though he dissembled his choler for a time. He thought so well of his own Project, that he could not endure to lay it aside; being perhaps unable to do the King any valuable Service, in business of other nature. He purposed therefore hereafter to begin at the head: since, in biting at the Tail, the Fish had shot away from his mouth. It could not otherwise be, than that among the *Achæans* there were some, who bore no hearty affection to *Aratus*. These he enquired out, and sending for them, entertained them with words of Court: promising to become their especial Friend, and commend them unto the King. Then brake he his purpose with the King himself: letting him know, that as long as he continued to make much of *Aratus*, he must be fain to deal precisely with the *Achæans*, and as it were by Indenture, according to the letter of the Contract: whereas if he would be pleased, to give countenance unto those others whom he himself commended, then should the *Achæans*, and all other *Peloponnesians*, be quickly brought to conform themselves unto the duty of obedient Subjects By such perswasions, he drew the King to be present at *Ægium*, where the *Achæans* were to hold Election of a new Prætor. There with much more labour, than would have been needful in a business of more importance, the King by fair words and threatnings together, obtained so much, That *Eperatus*, a very insufficient man, but one of *Apelles* his new Favourites, was chosen Prætor, instead of one more worthy, for whom *Aratus* had laboured. This was thought a good introduction unto greater matters that should follow. The King from thence passed along by *Patras* and *Dyma*, to a very strong Castle held by the *Eleans*, which was called *Tichos*. The Garrison yielded it up for fear, at his first coming: whereof he was glad, for that he had an earnest desire to bestow it upon the *Dymæans*, as he presently did.

The King thought it strange, that all this while he heard of no Messengers from the *Eleans*, to sue for Peace. For at his departure out of their Country the last Winter, he had let loose one *Amphidamus* a Captain of theirs, that was his Prisoner; because he found him an intelligent man, and one that undertook to make them forsake their alliance with the *Ætolians*, and joyn with him upon reasonable terms. This if they could be contented to do, he willed *Amphidamus* to let them understand, That he would render unto them freely all Prisoners which he had of theirs; That he would defend them from all forrain invasion; and that they should hold their liberty entire, living after their own Laws, without paying any manner of Tribute, or being kept under by any Garrison. These conditions were not to be despised, if they had found credit, as they might have done. But when *Philip* came to the Castle of *Tichos*, and made a new invasion upon their Country: then began the *Eleans*, (that were not before over-hasty to believe such fair promises) to suspect *Amphidamus* as a Traitor, and one that was set on work for no other end, than to breed a mutual diffidence between them and the *Ætolians*. Wherefore they purposed to lay hands upon him, and send him Prisoner into *Ætolia*. But he perceived their intent, and got away to *Dyma*: in good time for himself; in better for *Aratus*. For the King (as was said) marvailing what should be the cause, that he heard no news from the *Eleans*, concerning the offers which he had made unto them by *Amphidamus*: *Apelles* his Counsellor, thereby took occasion to supplant *Aratus*. He said, that old *Aratus*, and his Son together, had such devices in their Heads, as tended little to the Kings good: And long of them he said it was, that the *Eleans* did thus hold out. For when *Amphidamus* was dismissed home, the two *Arati*, (the Father and the Son) had taken him aside, and given him to understand, that it would be very prejudicial to all *Peloponnesus*, if the *Eleans* once became at the devotion of the *Macedonian*: And this was the true cause, why neither *Amphidamus* was very careful in doing this message; nor the *Eleans* in hearkning to the Kings offers. All this was a false lye, devised by *Apelles* himself, upon no other ground than his own malice. *Philip* had no sooner heard this tale, but in a great rage he sent for the two *Arati*, and bade *Apelles* rehearse it over again to their Faces. *Apelles* did so, and with a bold countenance, talking to them as to men already convicted. And when he had said all the rest, e're either *Philip* or they spake any word;

word; He added this clauſe, as it were, in the Kings name: Since the King hath found you ſuch ungrateful wretches, it is his meaning to hold a Parliament of the *Achæans*; and therein having made it known what ye are, to depart into *Macedon*, and leave you to your ſelves. Old *Aratus* gravely admoniſhed the King; That whenſoever he heard any accuſation, eſpecially againſt a Friend of his own, or a man of worth, He ſhould forbear a while to give credit, until he had diligently examined the buſineſs. For ſuch deliberation was Kingly, and he ſhould never thereof repent him. At the preſent he ſaid there needed no more, than to call in thoſe that had heard his talk with *Amphidamus*, and eſpecially him that brought this goodly tale to *Apelles*. For it would be a very abſurd thing, That the King ſhould make himſelf the Author of a report in the open Parliament of *Achaia*, whereof there was none other evidence, than one mans *yea*, and anothers *no*. Hereof the King liked well; and ſaid, that he would make ſufficient inquiry. So paſſed a few days: wherein whilſt *Apelles* delayed to bring in the proof, which indeed he wanted, *Amphidamus* came from *Elis*, and told what had befaln him there. The King was not forgetful, to examine him about the conſpiracy of the *Arati*: which, when he found no better than a meer device againſt his honourable Friends, he entertained them in a loving manner as before. As for his love to *Apelles*, though it was hereby ſomewhat cooled; yet by means of long acquaintance, and daily employment, no remiſſion therein could be diſcerned.

The unreſtful temper of *Apelles*, having with much vehemency brought nothing to paſs, began (as commonly Ambition uſeth) to ſwell and grow venemous for want of his free motion. He betakes himſelf to his cunning again: and as before, being checkt in his doings with thoſe of the Vulgar, he had prepared a Snare for the *Arati*: ſo failing of them, he thinks it wiſdom to lay for the King himſelf, and for all at once which were about him. In ſuch manner ſometime, the Spider thought to have taken the Swallow, which drave away flyes out of the Chimny; but was carryed (Net and all) into the Air by the Bird, that was too ſtrong to be caught, and held by the ſubtle workmanſhip of a Cob-web. Of the four that next unto *Apelles* were left by *Antigonus* in chief place about *Philip*; *Taurion*, his Lieutenant in *Peloponneſus*, and *Alexander* Captain of the Guard, were faithful men, and ſuch as would not be corrupted. The other two, *Leontius* Captain of the *Targettiers*, and *Megaleas* chief of the Secretaries, were eaſily won to be at *Apelles* his diſpoſition. This politician therefore ſtudied how to remove the other two from their places, and put ſome Creatures of his own into their rooms. Againſt *Alexander* he went to work the ordinary way, by calumniation and privy detraction. But for the ſupplanting of *Taurion* he uſed more fineneſs; loading him with daily commendations, as a notable man of War, and one, whom for his many vertues the King might ill ſpare from being always in his preſence. By ſuch Art he thought to have removed him, as we ſay, *Out of Gods bleſſing into a warm Sun*. In the mean ſeaſon *Aratus* retired himſelf: and ſought to avoid the dangerous friendſhip of the King, by forbearing to meddle in affairs of State. As for the new Prætor of *Achaia*, lately choſen by ſuch vehement inſtance of the King; He was a man of no diſpatch, and one that had no grace with the people. Wherefore a great deal of time was loſt, whilſt *Philip* wanted both the money and the Corn, wherewith he ſhould have been furniſhed by the *Achæans*. This made the King underſtand his own errour: which he wiſely ſought to reform betimes. He perſwaded the *Achæans* to rejourn their Parliament from *Ægium*, to *Sycion*, the Town of *Aratus*. There he dealt with the old man and his ſon, perſwading them to forget what was paſt; and laying all the blame upon *Apelles*, on whom thenceforth he intended to keep a more diligent eye. So by the travel of theſe worthy men, he eaſily obtained what he would of the *Achæans*. Fifty Talents they gave him out of hand; with great ſtore of Corn; and further decreed, That ſo long as he himſelf in perſon followed the Wars in *Peloponneſus*, he ſhould receive ten Talents a month. Being thus enabled, he began to provide Shipping, that ſo he might invade the *Ætolians*, *Eleans*, and *Lacedæmonians*, that were maritime People, at his pleaſure, and hinder their excurſions by Sea.

It vexed *Apelles* beyond meaſure, to ſee things go forward ſo well without his help; even by the miniſtry of thoſe whom he moſt hated. Wherefore he entred into conſpiracy with *Leontius* and *Magaleas*: binding himſelf and them by Oath, to croſs and bring to nought, as well as they were able, all that the King ſhould take in hand. By ſo doing, they thought to bring it to paſs, that very want of ability to do any thing without them; ſhould make him ſpeak them fair, and be glad to ſubmit himſelf to their directions. The King it is like had ſtood in ſome awe of them whilſt he was a child; and therefore theſe wiſe men perſwaded themſelves, that by looking big upon him; and imputing unto him all that fell out ill through their own miſ-government of his affairs, they might rule him as a Child ſtill. *Apelles* would needs go to *Chalcis*, there to take order for the proviſions, which were to come that way out of *Macedon*: The other two ſtaid behind with the King, to play their parts; all more mindful of their wicked Oath, than of their Duty.

His Fleet and Army being in a readineſs: *Philip* made countenance, as if he would have bent all his Forces againſt the *Eleans*; to whoſe aid therefore the *Ætolians* ſent men, little fearing that the miſchief would have fallen, as ſoon after it did, upon themſelves. But againſt the *Eleans*, and thoſe that came to help them, *Philip* thought it enough to leave the *Achæans*, with ſome part of his and their Mercenaries. He himſelf, with the body of his Army putting to Sea, landed in the Iſle of *Cephalonia*: whence the *Ætolians*, dwelling over againſt it, uſed to furniſh themſelves of Shipping, when they went to rove abroad. There he beſieged the Town of *Palæa*, that had been very ſerviceable to the Enemy againſt him and his Confederate; and might be very uſeful to him, if he could get it. Whilſt he lay before this Town, there came unto him fifteen Ships of War from *Scerdilaidas*; and many good Souldiers from the *Epirots*, *Acarnanians* and *Meſſenians*. But the Town was obſtinate; and would not be terrified with numbers. It was naturally fenced on all parts ſave one, on which ſide *Philip* carried a Mine to the wall, wherewith he overthrew two hundred Foot thereof. *Leontius* Captain of the *Targettiers*, was appointed by the King to make the aſſault. But he, remembring his covenant with *Apelles*, did both wilfully forbear to do his beſt:

and

and caused others to do the like. So the *Macedonians* were put to foile, and many slain, not of the worst Souldiers, but such as had gotten over the breach, and would have carried the Town, if the Treason of their Captain, and some by him corrupted, had not hindred the Victory. The King was angry with this, but there was no remedy: and therefore he thought upon breaking up the Siege. For it was easier unto the Towns-men to make up the Gap in their Wall, than for him to make it wider. Whilst he stood thus perplexed and uncertain what course to take: the *Messenians* and *Acarnanians* lay hard upon him, each of them desirous to draw him into their own Countrey. The *Messenians* alledged, that *Lycurgus* was busie in wasting their Countrey: upon whom the King might come unawares in one day; the *Etesian* Winds which then blew, serving fitly for his Navigation. Hereto also *Leontius* perswaded; who considered that those Winds, as they would easily carry him thither, so would they detain him there perforce (blowing all the Dog-days) and make him spend the Summer to small or no purpose. But *Aratus* gave better counsel, and prevailed: he shewed how unfitting it were, to let the *Ætolians* overrun all *Thessaly* again, and some part of *Macedon*, whilst the King withdrew his Army far off to seek small adventures. Rather, he said, that the time now served well to carry the War into *Ætolia*: since the Prætor was gone thence abroad on roving, with the one half of their strength. As for *Lycurgus*, he was not strong enough to do much harm in *Peloponnesus*: and it might suffice, if the *Achæans* were appointed to make head against them. According to this advice, the King set Sail for *Ætolia*, and enters the Bay of *Ambracia*, which divided the *Ætolians* from *Acarnania*. The *Acarnanians* were glad to see him on their Borders; and joyned with him as many of them as could bear Arms, to help in taking vengeance upon their bad Neighbours. He marched up into the inland Countrey: and taking some places by the way, which he filled with Garrisons to assure his Retreat; He passed on to *Thermum*, which was the Receptacle of the *Ætolians*, and surest place of defence in all extremities. The Countrey round about was a great fastness, environed with rocky Mountains of very narrow steep, and difficult assent. There did the *Ætolians* use to hold all their chief meetings their Fairs, their election of Magistrates, and their solemn Games. There also they used to bestow the most precious of their goods, as in a place of greatest security. This opinion of the natural strength, had made them careless in looking unto it. When *Philip* therefore had overcome the bad way, there was nothing else to do than to take spoil: whereof he found such plenty, that he thought the pains of his journey well recompenced. So he loaded his Army: and consuming all that could not be carried away, forgot not to raze a goodly Temple, the chief of all belonging unto the *Ætolians*; in remembrance of their like courtesie, shewed upon the Temples of *Dium* and *Dodana*. This burning of the Temple, might (questionless) more for the Kings honour have been forborn. But perhaps he thought as *Monsieur du Gourgues* the French Captain told the *Spaniards* in *Florida*, That they which had no Faith, needed no Church. At his return from *Thermum*, the *Ætolians* laid for him: which that they would do, he believed before, and therefore was not taken unawares. Three thousand of them there were that lying in ambush, fell upon his skirts: but he laid a Counter-ambush for them, of his *Illyrians*; who staying behind the rest, did set upon the backs of the *Ætolians*, whilst they were busily charging in Rear the Army that went before. So with slaughter of the enemy, he returned the same way that he came: and burning down those places that he had taken before, as also wasting the Country round about him, He safely carried all that he had gotten aboard his Fleet. Once the *Ætolians* made countenance of Fight, issuing out of *Stratus* in great bravery. But they were beaten home faster than they came, and followed to their very Gates.

The joy of this victorious expedition being every way compleat, and not deformed (as commonly happens) by any sinister accident; it pleased the King to make a great Feast unto all his Friends and Captains. Thither were invited among the rest *Leontius*, with his fellow *Megaleas*. They came because they could not choose: but their heavy looks argued, what little pleasure they took in the Kings prosperity. It grieved them to think, that they should be able to give on better account unto *Apelles*, of their hindering the Kings business; since *Apelles* himself, as will be shewed anon, had played his own part with a most mischievous dexterity. Finding *Aratus* no the way home to his Tent: they fell to reviling him, throwing Stones at him, so that they caused a great uproar: many running in (as happens in such cases) to take part with the one or the other. The King sending to enquire of the matter, was truly informed of all that had passed: Which made him send for *Leontius* and his fellows. But *Leontius* was gotten out of the way: *Megaleas*, and another with him, came. The King began to rate them for their disorder: and they, to give him froward answers: insomuch, as they said at length, That they would never give over, till they had rewarded *Aratus* with a mischief as he deserved. Hereupon the King committed them to Ward. *Leontius* hearing of this, comes boldly to the King, with his *Targettiers* at his heels: and with a proud grace demanded, who it was that had dared to lay hands upon *Megaleas*, yea, and to cast him into Prison? Why said the King, it was even I. This resolute answer, which *Leontius* had not expected, made him depart both sad and angry; seeing himself out-frowned, and not knowing how to remedy the matter. Shortly after *Megaleas* was called forth to his answer, and was charged by *Aratus* with many great crimes. Among which were, The hinderance of the Kings Victory at *Palea*, and the Compact made with *Apelles*: matters no less touching *Leontius*, that stood by as a looker on, than *Megaleas* that was accused. In conclusion, the presumptions against him were so strong, and his answers thereto so weak; that he, and *Crinon* one of his fellows, were condemned in twenty Talents: *Crinon* being remanded back to Prison; and *Leontius* becoming Bail for *Megaleas*. This was done upon the way home-wards, as the King was returning to *Corinth*.

Philip dispatched well a great deal of business of this year. For as soon as he was at *Corinth*, he took in hand an Expedition against the *Lacedæmonians*. These and the *Eleans* had done what harm they could in *Peloponnesus*, whilst the King was absent. The *Achæans* had opposed them as well as they could; with ill success, yet so, as they

hindred them from doing ſuch harm as elſe they would have done. But when *Philip* came, he over-ran the Country about *Lacedæmon*; and was in a manner at the Gates of *Sparta*, e're men could well believe that he was returned out of *Ætolia*. He took not in this Expedition any Cities, but made great waſt in the fields; and having beaten the enemy in ſome skirmiſhes, carried back with him to *Corinth* a rich booty of cattle, ſlaves, and other Country ſpoil. At *Corinth* he found attending him, Embaſſadors from the *Rhodians* and *Chians*, that requeſted him to ſet *Greece* at quiet, by granting peace unto the *Ætolians*. They had gracious audience: and he willed them to deal firſt with the *Ætolians*, who if they would make the ſame requeſt, ſhould not find him unreaſonable. The *Ætolians* had ſped ill that year: neither ſaw they any likely hopes for the years following. The Army that they had ſent forth to waſte *Theſſaly* and *Macedon* found ſuch oppoſition on the way, that not daring to proceed, it returned home without bringing any thing to effect. In the mean ſeaſon they had been grievouſly afflicted, as before is ſhewed, by *Philip* in the centre of their own Countrey. All *Greece* and *Macedon* was up in arms againſt them, and their weak Allies the *Eleans* and *Lacedæmonians*. Neither was it certain, how long the one or other of theſe their *Peloponneſian* friends ſhould be able to hold out, ſince they were not ſtrong enough to keep the field, but had already ſuffered thoſe miſeries of war, which by a little continuance would make them glad, each to ſeek their own peace, without regard of their Confederates. Wherefore the *Ætolians* readily entertain'd this negotiation of peace: and taking truce for thirty dayes with the King, dealt with him by interceſſion of the ſame Embaſſadors, to intreat his preſence at a Diet of the Nation, that ſhould be held at *Rhium*; whither if he would vouchſafe to come, they promiſed that he ſhould find them conformable to any good reaſon.

Whileſt theſe things were in hand, *Leontius* and *Megaleas* thought to have terrified the King, by raiſing ſedition againſt him in the Army. But this device ſorted to no good effect. The Souldiers were eaſily and quickly incenſed againſt many of the Kings friends, who were ſaid to be the cauſe, why they were not rewarded with ſo much of the booty, as they thought to belong of right unto them. But their anger ſpent it ſelf in a noiſe, and breaking open of doors, without further harm done. This was enough to inform the King (who eaſily pacified his men with gentle words) that ſome about him were very falſe. Yea, the Souldiers themſelves repenting of their inſolence, deſired to have the Authors of the tumult ſought out, and puniſhed according to their deſerts. The King made ſhew as if he had not cared to make ſuch inquiſition. But *Leontius* and *Megaleas* were afraid, leſt the matter would ſoon come out of it ſelf to their extream danger. Wherefore they ſent unto *Appelles*, the Head and Architect of their treaſon: requeſting him ſpeedily to repair unto *Corinth*, where he might ſtand between them and the Kings diſpleaſure. *Apelles* had not all this while been wanting to the buſineſs undertaken by him and his treacherous companions. He had taken upon him, as a man that had the Kings heart in his own hand: and thereby was he grown into ſuch credit, that all the Kings Officers in *Macedon* and *Theſſaly* addreſſed themſelves unto him, and received from him their diſpatch in every buſineſs. Likewiſe the *Greeks* in all their flattering Decrees, took occaſion to magnifie the vertue of *Apelles*, making ſlight mention (only for faſhion ſake) of the King: who ſeemed no better than the Miniſter and Executioner of *Apelles* his will and pleaſure. Such was the arrogancy of this great man, in ſetting himſelf out unto the people: but in managing the Kings affairs, he made it his ſpecial care, that money and all things needful for the publick ſervice, ſhould be wanting. Yea, ſell his own Plate and houſhold veſſels: thinking to reſolve theſe and all other difficulties, by only ſaying, *Sir, be ruled wholly by me, and all ſhall be as you would wiſh.* Hereto if the King would give aſſent, then had this Politician obtained his hearts deſire. Now taking his journey from *Chalcis* in the Iſle of *Eubœa*, to the City of *Corinth*, where *Philip* then lay: he was fetcht in with great pomp and royalty, by a great number of the Captains and Souldiers; which *Leontius* and *Megaleas* drew forth to meet him on the way. So entring the City with a goodly train, he went directly to the Court, and towards the Kings chamber. But *Philip* was well aware of his pride, and had vehement ſuſpition of his falſhood. Wherefore one was ſent to tell him, that he ſhould wait a while, or come another time, for the King was not now at leiſure to be ſpoken with. It was a pretty thing, that ſuch a check as this, made all his attendants forſake him, as a man in diſgrace; in ſuch ſort, that going thence to his lodging, he had none to follow him ſave his own Pages. After this, the King vouchſafed him now and then, ſome ſlender graces: but in conſultations, or other matters of privacy, he uſed him not at all. This taught *Megaleas* to look to himſelf, and run away betimes. Hereupon the King ſent forth *Taurion* his Lieutenant of *Peloponneſus*, with all the *Targettiers*, as it were to do ſome piece of ſervice, but indeed of purpoſe to apprehend *Leontius* in the abſence of his followers. *Leontius* being taken, diſpatched away a meſſenger preſently to his *Targettiers*, to ſignifie what was befallen him: and they forthwith ſent unto the King in his behalf. They made requeſt, That if any other thing were objected againſt him, he might not be called forth to trial before their return: as for the debt of *Megaleas*, if that were all the matter, they ſaid they were ready to make a purſe for his diſcharge. This affection of the Souldiers made *Philip* more haſty then elſe he would have been, to take away the Traitors life. Neither was it long, e're letters of *Megaleas* were intercepted, which he wrote unto the *Ætolians*; villifying the King with opprobrious words, and biding them not to hearken after peace, but to hold out a while, for that *Philip* was even ready to ſink under the burden of his own poverty. By this the King underſtood more perfectly the falſhood, not only of *Megaleas*, but of *Apelles*; whoſe cunning head had laboured all this while to keep him ſo poor. Wherefore he ſent one to purſue *Megaleas* that was fled to *Thebes*. As for *Apelles*, he committed both him, his ſon, and another that was inward with him, to priſon; wherein all of them ſhortly ended their lives. *Megaleas* alſo, neither daring to ſtand to trial, nor knowing whither to flie, was weary of his own life, and ſlew himſelf about the ſame time.

The *Ætolians*, as they had begun this war upon hope of accompliſhing what they liſted in the Nonage of *Philip*: ſo finding that the vigour of this young

young Prince tempered with the cold advice of *Aratus*, wrought very effectually toward their overthrow; they grew very desirous to make an end of it: Nevertheless, being a turbulent Nation, and ready to lay hold upon all advantages, when they heard what was happened in the Court, the death of *Apelles*, *Leontius*, and *Megaleas*, together with some indignation thereupon conceived by some of the Kings Targettiers, they began to hope anew, that these troubles would be long lasting, and thereupon brake the day appointed for the meeting at *Rhium*. Of this was *Philip* nothing sorry. For being in good hope throughly to tame this unquiet Nation; he thought it much to concern his own honour, that all the blame of the beginning and continuing the War should rest upon themselves. Wherefore he willed his Confederates to lay aside all thought of peace, and to prepare for War against the year following, wherein he hoped to bring it to an end. Then gratified he his *Macedonian* Souldiers, by yielding to let them winter into their own Countrey. In this return homeward, he called into judgement one *Ptolomy*, a companion with *Apelles*, and *Leontius* in their Treasons: who was therefore condemned by the *Macedonians*; and suffered death. These were the same *Macedonians*, that lately could not endure to hear of *Leontius* his imprisonment; yet now they think the man worthy to die that was but his adherent. So vain is the confidence, on which Rebels use to build, in their favour with the multitude.

During his abode in *Macedon*, *Philip* won some bordering Towns, from which the *Dardanians*, *Ætolians*, and other his ill neighbours, were accustomed to make rodes into his Kingdom: when he had thus provided for safety of his own; the *Ætolians* might well know what they were to expect. But there came again Embassadors from the *Rhodians* and *Chians*, with others from *Ptolomy* King of *Ægypt*, and from the City of *Bizantium*, recontinuing the former solicitation about the peace. This fashion had been taken up in mattters of *Greece*, ever since the Kings that reigned after *Alexander*, had taken upon them to set the whole Country at liberty: No sooner was any Province or City in danger to be oppressed and subdued by force of war, but presently there were found Intercessors, who pittying the effusion of *Greekish* blood, would importune the stronger to relinquish his advantage. By doing such friendly offices in time of need, the Princes and States abroad sought to bind unto them those people, that were howsoever weak in numbers, yet very good Souldiers. But hereby it came to pass, that the more froward sort, especially the *Ætolians*, whose whole Nation was addicted to falshood and robbery, durst enter boldly into quarrels with all their neighbours: being well assured that if they had the worst, *The love of Greece* would be sufficient for to redeem their quiet. They had, since the late Treaty of Peace, done what harm they could in *Peloponnesus*: but being beaten by the *Achæans*, and standing in fear to be more soundly beaten at home, they desired now, more earnestly than before, to make an end of the War as soon as they might. *Philip* made such answer unto the Embassadors, as he had done the former year; That he gave not occasion to the beginning of this War, nor was at the present afraid to continue it, or unwilling to end it: But that the *Ætolians*, if they had a desire to live in rest, must first be dealt withal, to signifie plainly their determination, whereto himself would return such answer as he should think fit.

Philip had at this time no great liking unto the Peace, being a young Prince, and in hope to increase the honour which he daily got by the War. But it happened in the middest of this Negotiation, that he was advertised by letters out of *Macedon*, what a notable victory *Hannibal* had obtained against the *Romans* in the battle at *Thrasymene*. These letters he communicated unto *Demetrius Pharius*: who greatly encouraged him to take part with *Hannibal*: and not to sit still, as an idle beholder of the *Italian* War. Hereby he grew more inclinable than before unto Peace with the *Ætolians*: which was concluded shortly in a meeting a *Nanpactus*. There did *Agelaus* an *Ætolian* make a great Oration: telling, how happy it was for the *Greeks*, that they might at their own pleasure dispute about finishing War between themselves, without being molested by the *Barbarians*. For when once either the *Romans* or *Carthaginians* had subdued one the other; it was not to be doubted, that they would forthwith look Eastward, and seek by all means to set footing in *Greece*. For this cause he said it were good, that their Country should be at peace within it self: and that *Philip*, if he were desirous of War, should lay hold on the opportunity, now fitly serving to enlarge his Dominion, by winning somewhat in *Italy*.

Such advice could the *Ætolians* then give, when they stood in fear of danger threatning them at hand: but being soon after weary of rest, as being accustomed to enrich themselves by pillage, they were so far from observing and following their own good counsel, that they invited the *Romans* into *Greece*, whereby they brought themselves and the whole Country (but themselves before any other part of the Country) under servitude of strangers. The Condition of this Peace was simple, That every one should keep what they held at the present, without making restitution, or any amends for damages past.

SECT. III.

Philip, *at the perswasion of* Demetrius Pharius, *enters into League with* Hannibal *against the* Romans. *The tenour of the League between* Hannibal *and* Philip.

THis being agreed upon: the *Greks* betook themselves to quiet courses of life; and *Philip* to prepare for the business of *Italy*, about which he consulted with *Demetrius Pharius*. And thus passed the time away, till the great battle of *Canna*: after which he joyned in league with *Hannibal*, as hath been shewed before. *Demetrius Pharius* bore great malice unto the *Romans*; and knew no other way to be avenged upon them, or to recover his own lost Kingdom, than by procuring the *Macedonian*, that was in a manner wholly guided by his counsel, to take part with their enemies. It had otherwise been far more expedient for *Philip*, to have supported the weaker of those two great Cities against the more mighty. For by so doing, he should perhaps have brought them to peace upon some equal terms; and thereby, as did *Hero*, a far weaker Prince, have both

ſecured his own Eſtate, and cauſed each of them to be deſirous of chief place in his friendſhip. The iſſue of the counſel which he followed, will appear ſoon after this. His firſt quarrel with the *Romans*; the trouble which they and the *Ætolians* did put him to in *Greece*; and the Peace which they made with him for a time, upon ſuch Conditions that might eaſily be broken, have been related in another place, as belonging unto the ſecond Punick War. Wherefore I will only here ſet down the tenour of the League between him and *Carthage*, which may ſeem not worthy to be read, if only in regard of the form it ſelf then uſed: though it had been over long to have been inſerted into a more buſie piece.

The Oath and Covenants between *Hannibal* General of the *Carthaginians*, and *Xenophanes*, Embaſſadour of *Philip* King of *Macedon*.

THis *is the Leagure ratified by Oath, which* Hannibal *the General, and with him* Mago, Myrcal, *and* Barmocal, *as alſo the Senators of* Carthage *that are preſent, and all the* Carthaginians *that are in his Army, have made with* Xenophanes *the ſon of* Cleomachus Athenian, *whom King* Philip *the ſon of* Demetrius *hath ſent unto us, for himſelf and the* Macedonians, *and his Aſſociates:* * Dæmon. *Before* Jupiter, *and* Juno, *and* Appollo, *before** the God of the *Carthaginians*, Hercules *and* Tolaus: *before* Mars, Triton, Neptune: *before the* Gods *accompanying Arms, the* Sun, *the* Moon, *and the* Earth: *before* Rivers *and* Meadows, *and* Waters: *before all the* Gods *that have power over* Carthage: *before all the* Gods *that rule over* Macedon, *and the reſt of* Greece: *before all the* Gods *that are Preſidents of War, and preſent at the making of this League.* Hannibal *the General hath ſaid, and all the Senators that are with him, and all the* Carthaginians, *in his Army:* Be *it agreed between You and Us, that this Oath ſtand for friendſhip and loving affection, that We become friends familiar, and brethren, upon Covenant*; that *the ſafety of the Lords the* Carthaginians *and of* Hannibal *the General, and thoſe that are with him, and of the Rulers of Provinces of the* Carthaginians *uſing the ſame Laws, and of the* Uticans, *and as many Cities and Nations as obey the* Carthaginians, *and of the Souldiers and Aſſociates, and of all Towns and Nations with which we hold friendſhip in* Italy, Gaule, *and* Liguria, *and with whom we ſhall hold friendſhip, or make alliance hereafter in this Region; be preſerved by King* Philip *and the* Macedonians, *and ſuch of the* Greeks *as are their Aſſociates*, In like manner, *ſhall King* Philip *and the* Macedonians, *and other the* Greeks *his Aſſociates, be ſaved and preſerved by the* Carthaginian *Armies, and by the* Uticans, *and by all Cities and Nations that obey the* Carthaginians, *and by their Aſſociates and Souldiers, and by all Nations and Cities in* Italy, Gaule, Liguria, *that are of our Alliance, or ſhall hereafter joyn with Us in* Italy. We *ſhall not take Counſel one againſt the other, nor deal fraudulently one with the other. With all readineſs and good will, without deceit or ſubtlety, We ſhall be enemies unto the enemies of the* Carthaginians, *excepting thoſe Kings, Towns, and Havens, with which we have already league and friendſhip. We alſo ſhall be enemies to the enemies of King* Philip, *excepting thoſe Kings, Cities, and Nations, with which we have already league and friendſhip. The War that We have with the* Romans, *have ye alſo with them, until the* Gods *ſhall give Us a new and happy end. Ye ſhall aid Us with thoſe things whereof we have need, and ſhall do according to the Covenants between Us. But if the* Gods *ſhall not give unto You and Us their help in this War againſt the* Romans *and their Aſſociates*; *then if the* Romans *offer friendſhip*, We *ſhall make friendſhip in ſuch wiſe, that ye ſhall be partakers of the ſame friendſhip, With Condition*, That *they ſhall not have power to make War upon You: Neither ſhall the* Romans *be Lords over the* Corcyræans, *nor over thoſe of* Apollonia, *nor* Dyrrhachium, *nor over* Pharus, *nor* Dimalle, *nor the* Parthini, *nor* Atintania. *They ſhall alſo render unto* Demetrius Pharius *all that belong unto him, as many as are within the* Romans *Dominions. But if the* Romans *(after ſuch peace made) ſhall make War upon You or Us; We will ſuccour one another in that War, as either ſhall have need. The ſame ſhall be obſerved in War made by any other, excepting thoſe Kings, Cities, and States, with whom we hold already league and friendſhip.* To this league, *if We or Ye ſhall think fit to add or detract, ſuch addition or detraction ſhall be made by our common conſent.*

SECT. IV.

How Philip *yielded to his natural vices, being there in ſoothed by* Deemetrius Pharius. *His deſire to tyrannize upon the free States his Aſſociates: With the troubles into which he thereby fell, whileſt he bore a part in the ſecond Punick War. He poiſoneth* Aratus: *and grows hateful to the* Achæans.

HItherto *Philip* had carried himſelf as a vertuous Prince. And though with more commendation of his wiſdom, he might have offered his friendſhip to the *Romans* that were like to be oppreſſed, than to the *Carthaginians*, who had the better hand: yet this his medling in the Punick War, proceeded from a royal greatneſs of mind, with a deſire to ſecure and increaſe his own eſtate, adding therewithall reputation to his Country. But in this buſineſs he was guided (as hath been ſaid) by *Demetrius Pharius*: who looking throughly into his nature, did accommodate himſelf to his deſires: and thereby ſhortly governed him as he liſted. For the vertues of *Philip* were not indeed ſuch as they ſeemed. He was luſtful, bloody, and tyrannical: deſirous of power to do what he liſted, and not otherwiſe liſting to do what he ought, than for ſo far forth, as by making a fair ſhew he might breed in men ſuch good opinion of him, as ſhould help to ſerve his turn in all that he took in hand. Before he ſhould buſie himſelf in *Italy*, he thought it requiſite in good policy, to bring the *Greeks* that were his Aſſociates under a more abſolute form of ſubjection. Hereunto *Apelles* had adviſed him before: and he had liked reaſonably well of the courſe. But *Apelles* was a boyſterous Counſellor, and one that referring all to his own glory, thought himſelf deeply wronged, if he might not wholly have his own way, but were driven to await the Kings opportunity at other times. *Demetrius Pharius* could well be contented to obſerve the Kings humours: and guided like a

Coach-

Coach-man, with the reins in his hand, those affections which himself did only seem to follow. Therefore he grew daily more and more in credit: so as, without any manner of contention, he supplanted *Aratus*; which the violence of *Apelles* could never do.

There arose about these times a very hot Faction among the *Messenians*, between the Nobility and Commons: their vehement thoughts being rather diverted (as happens often after a forreign War) unto domestical objects, than allayed and reduced unto a more quiet temper. In process of no long time, the contention among them grew so violent, that *Philip* was intreated to compound the differences. He was glad of this: resolving so to end the matter, that they should not henceforth strive any more about their Government: for that he would assume it wholly to himself. At his coming thither, he found *Aratus* busie among them to make all Friends, after a better manner than agreed with his own secret purpose. Wherefore he consulted not with this reverend old man: but talked in private with such of the *Messenians* as repaired unto him. He asked the Governours, what they meant to stand thus disputing: and whether they had not Laws to bridle the insolence of the unruly Rabble: Contrariwise, in talking with the heads of the popular Faction, he said it was strange, that they being so many, would suffer themselves to be opposed by a few; as if they had not hands to defend themselves from Tyrants. Thus whilst each of them presumed on the Kings assistance; they thought it best to go roundly to work, e're that he were gone, that should countenance their doings. The Governours therefore would have apprehended some seditious Orators, that were, they said, the stirrers up of the multitude unto sedition. Upon this occasion, the people took Arms: and running upon the Nobility and Magistrates, killed of them in a rage, almost two hundred. *Philip* thought, it seems, that it would be easie to worry the Sheep, when the Dogs their Guardians were slain. But his falshood and double dealing was immediately found out. Neither did the younger *Aratus* forbear to tell him of it in publick, with very bitter and disgraceful words. The King was angry at this. But having already done more than was commendable, or excusable: and yet further intending to take other things in hand, wherein he should need the help and countenance of his best Friends; he was content to smother his displeasure, and make as fair weather as he could. He led old *Aratus* aside by the hand; and went up into the Castle of *Ithome*, that was over *Messene*. There he pretended to do sacrifice: and sacrifice he did. But it was his purpose to keep the place to his own use: for that it was of notable strength, and would serve to command the further parts of *Peloponnesus*, as the Citadel of *Corinth*, which he had already, commanded the entrance into that Country. Whilst he was therefore sacrificing, and had the entrails of the Beast delivered into his hands, as was the manner; he shewed them to *Aratus*, and gently asked him, whether the tokens that he saw therein did signifie, That being now in possession of this place, he should quietly go out of it, or rather keep it to himself. He thought perhaps, that the old man would have soothed him a little, were it only for desire for to make amends for the angry words newly spoken by his Son. But as *Aratus* stood doubtful what to answer, *Demetrius Pharius* gave this verdict: *If thou be a Soothsayer, thou maist go thy way, and let slip this good advantage; if thou be a King, thou must not neglect the opportunity, but hold the Oxe by both his Horns.* Thus he spake; resembling *Ithome* and *Acrocorinthus* unto the two horns of *Peloponnesus*. Yet would *Philip* needs hear the opinion of *Aratus:* who told him plainly, That it were well done to keep the place, if it might be kept without breach of his faith unto the *Messenians:* But if, by seizing upon *Ithome*, he must lose all the other Castles that he held, and especially the strongest Castle of all that was left unto him by *Antigonus*, which was his credit; then were it far better to depart with his Souldiers, and keep men in duty, as he had done hitherto, by their own good wills, than by fortifying any strong places against them, to make them of his Friends become his Enemies.

To this good advice *Philip* yielded at the present: but not without some dislike thenceforth growing between him and the *Arati*: whom he thought more froward than beseemed them, in contradicting his will. Neither was the old man desirous at all, to deal any longer in the Kings affairs, or be inward with him. For, as he plainly discovered his tyrannous purposes; so likewise he perceived, that in resorting to his house, he had been dishoneſt with his Sons Wife. He therefore staid at home: where at good leisure he might repent, that in despight of *Cleomenes*, his own Countrey-man, and a temperate Prince, he had brought the *Macedonians* into *Peloponnesus*.

Philip made a Voyage out of *Peloponnesus* into *Epirus*, wherein *Aratus* refused to bear him company. In this Journey he found by experience what *Aratus* had lately told him, That unhoneſt counsels are not so profitable in deed, as in appearance. The *Epirots* were his followers and dependants; and so they purposed to continue. But he would needs have them so to remain, whether they purposed it or not. Wherefore to make them the more obnoxious unto his will, he seized upon their Town of *Oricum*, and laid siege to *Apollonia*; having no good colour of these doings: but thinking himself strong enough to do what he listed, and not seeing whence they should procure Friends to help them. Thus instead of setling the Countrey, as his intended Voyage into *Italy* required: he kindled a fire in it which he could never quench, until it had laid hold on his own Palace. Whilst he was thus labouring to bind the hands that should have fought for him in *Italy*, *M. Valerius* the *Roman* came into those parts; who not only maintained the *Epirots* against him, but procured the *Ætolians* to break the Peace, which they had lately made with him.

Thus began that War; the occurrents whereof we have related before, in the place whereto it belonged. In managing whereof, though *Philip* did the offices of a good Captain: yet when leisure served, he made it apparent that he was a vicious King. He had not quite left his former desire, of oppressing the liberty of the *Messenians*; but made another journey into their own Countrey, with hope to deceive them as before. They understood him better now than before; and therefore were not hasty to trust him too far. When he saw that his cunning would not serve, he went to work by force; and calling them his Enemies, invaded them with open War. But in that War he could do little good; perhaps, because none of his Confederates were desirous to help him in such an enterprise. In this attempt upon

Messene;

Meſſene, he loſt *Demetrius Pharius*; that was his Counſellor and Flatterer, not his Perverter; as appears by his growing daily more naught in following times. The worſe that he ſped, the more angry he waxed againſt thoſe that ſeemed not to favour his injurious doing. Wherefore, by the miniſtery of *Taurion*, his Lieutenant, he poiſoned old *Aratus*; and ſhortly after that, he poiſoned alſo the younger *Aratus*: hoping that theſe things would never have been known, becauſe they were done ſecretly, and the poiſons themſelves were more ſure than manifeſt in operation. The *Sicyonians*, and all the people of *Achaia*, decreed unto *Aratus* more than humane honours, as Sacrifices, Hymns, and Proceſſions, to be celebrated every year twice, with a Prieſt unto him for that purpoſe; as was accuſtomed unto the *Heroes*, or men, whom they thought to be tranſlated into the number of the gods. Hereunto they are ſaid to have been encouraged by an Oracle of *Apollo*: which is like enough to have been true, ſince the help of the Devil is never failing to the increaſe of Idolatry.

The living memory of *Aratus* their Patron, and ſingular Benefactor, could not but work in the *Achæans* a marvellous diſlike of that wicked King which had made him thus away. He ſhall therefore hear of this hereafter, when they better dare to take counſel for themſelves. At the preſent, the murder was not generally known or believed: neither were they in caſe to ſubſiſt, without his help that had committed it. The *Ætolians* were a moſt outragious people, great darers, and ſhameleſs robbers. With theſe the *Romans* made a League: whereof the Conditions were ſoon divulged, eſpecially that main point, concerning the diviſion of the purchaſe which they ſhould make, namely, That the *Ætolians* ſhould have the Countrey and Towns; but the *Romans* the ſpoil, and carry away the people to ſell for Slaves. The *Achæans*, who in times of greater quiet, could not endure to make ſtrait alliance with the *Ætolians*, as knowing their uncivil diſpoſition; were much the more averſe from them, when they perceived how they had called in the *Barbarians* (for ſuch did the *Greeks* account all other Nations, except their own) to make havock of the Country. The ſame conſideration moved alſo the *Lacedæmonians* to ſtand off a while, before they would declare themſelves for the *Ætolians*, whoſe friendſhip they had embraced in the late War. The induſtry therefore of *Philip*, and the great care which he ſeemed to take of the *Achæans* his Confederates, ſufficed to retain them: eſpecially, at ſuch time, as their own neceſſity was thereto concurrent. More particularly he obliged unto himſelf the *Dymæans* by an ineſtimable benefit: recovering their Town, after it had been taken by the *Romans* and *Ætolians*; and redeeming their people whereſoever they might be found, that had been carried away Captive, and ſold abroad for Slaves. Thus might he have blotted out the memory of offences paſt: if the malignity of his natural condition had not other-whiles broken out, and given men to underſtand, that it was the Time, and not his Vertue, which cauſed him to make ſuch a ſhew of goodneſs. Among other foul acts, whereof he was not aſhamed, he took *Polycratia* the Wife of the younger *Aratus*, and carried her into *Macedon*: little regarding how this might ſerve to confirm in the people their opinion, that he was guilty of the old mans death, But of ſuch faults he ſhall be told, when the *Romans* make War upon him the ſecond time: for, of that which happened in this their firſt Invaſion, I hold it ſuperfluous to make repetition.

SECT. V.

Of Philopœmen *General of the* Achæans: *and* Machanidas, *Tyrant of* Lacedæmon. *A battle between them, wherein* Machanidas *is ſlain.*

IT happens often, that the deceaſe of one eminent man, diſcovers the vertue of another. In the place of *Aratus* there ſtood up *Philopœmen*: whoſe notable Valour, and great skill in Arms, made the Nation of the *Achæans* redoubtable among all the *Greeks*, and careleſs of ſuch protection, as in former times they had needed againſt the violence of their Neighbours. This is that *Philopœmen*, who being then a young man, and having no command, did eſpecial ſervice to *Antigonus* at the battle of *Sellaſia* againſt *Cleomenes*. Thence forward until now, he had ſpent the moſt part of his time in the Iſle of *Crete*: the Inhabitants whereof being a valiant people, and ſeldom or never at Peace between themſelves, he bettered among them his knowledge, and practice in the Art of War. At his return home, he had charge of the Horſe: wherein he carried himſelf ſo ſtrictly, travelling with all the Cities of the Confederacy to have his followers well mounted, and armed at all pieces; as alſo he ſo diligently trained them up in all exerciſe of Service, that he made the *Achæans* very ſtrong in that part of their Forces. Being afterward choſen Prætor or General of the Nation, he had no leſs care to reform their Military Diſcipline throughout, whereby his Countrey might be ſtrong enough to defend it ſelf, and not any longer (as in former times) need to depend upon the help of others. He perſwaded the *Achæans* to cut off their vain expence of bravery, in Apparel, Houſhold-ſtuff, and curious fare, and to beſtow that coſt upon their Arms: wherein by how much they were the more gallant, by ſo much were they like to prove the better Souldiers, and ſutable in behaviour, unto the pride of their furniture. They had ſerved hitherto with little light Bucklers, and ſlender Darts, to caſt afar off; that were uſeful in skirmiſhing at ſome diſtance, or for ſurpriſes, or ſudden and haſty Expeditions, whereto *Aratus* had been moſt accuſtomed. But when they came to handy-ſtrokes, they were good for nothing, ſo long as they were wholly driven to rely upon the courage of their Mercenaries. *Philopœmen* altered this: cauſing them to arm themſelves more weightily, to uſe a larger kind of ſhield, with good Swords, and ſtrong Pikes, fit for Service at hand. He taught them alſo to fight in cloſe order, and altered the form of their embattelling: not making the Files ſo deep as had been accuſtomed, but extending the Front, that he might uſe the ſervice of many hands.

Eight months were ſpent of that year, in which he firſt was *Prætor* of the *Achæans*, when *Machanidas* the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon* cauſed him to make trial, how his Souldiers had profited by his Diſcipline. This *Machanidas* was the ſucceſſor unto *Lycurgus*, a man more violent than his fore goer. He kept in pay a ſtrong Army of Mercenaries: and he kept them not only to fight for *Sparta*, but

to

to hold the City in obedience to himself perforce. Wherefore it behoved him not to take part with the *Achæans*, that were favourers of liberty; but to strengthen himself by friendship of the *Ætolians*: who, in making Alliances, took no further notice of vice or vertue, than as it had reference to their own profit. The people also of *Lacedæmon*, through their inveterate hatred unto the *Argives*, *Achæans*, and *Macedonians*, were in like sort (all or most of them) inclinable to the *Ætolian* Faction. Very unwisely. For in seeking to take revenge upon those, that had lately hindered them from getting the Lordship of *Peloponnesus*; they hindered themselves thereby from recovering the Mastery of their own City. This affection of the *Spartans*, together with the regard of his own security, and no small hope of good that would not follow, suffered not *Machanidas* to be idle; but always make him ready to fall upon his Neighbours backs, and take of theirs what he could, whilst they were enforced, by greater necessity, to turn face another way. Thus had he often done, especially in the absence of *Philip*: whose sudden coming into those parts, or some other opposition made against him, had usually made him fail of his attempts. At the present he was stronger in men, than were the *Achæans*, and thought his own men better Souldiers than were theirs.

Whilst *Philip* therefore was busied elsewhere, he entred into the Countrey of the *Mantinæans*: being not without hope to do as *Cleomenes* had done before him; yea and perhaps to get the † *Lordships of Peloponnesus*; as having stronger friends, and weaper opposition, than *Cleomenes* had found. But *Philopœmen* was ready to entertain him at *Mantinæa*; where was fought between them a great battle. The Tyrant had brought into the Field upon Carts, a great many of Engines, wherewith to beat upon the Squadrons of his Enemies, and put them in disorder. To prevent this danger, *Philopœmen* sent forth his light Armature a good way before him; so as *Machanidas* was fain to do the like. To second these, from the one and the other side came in continual supply; till at length all the Mercenaries, both of the *Achæans* and of *Machanidas*, were drawn up to the Fight: being so far advanced, each before their own Phalanx, that it could no otherwise be discerned, which pressed forward, or which recoyled, than by riling of the dust. Thus were *Machanidas* his Engines made unserviceable, by the interposition of his own men; in such manner as the Cannon is hindered from doing execution, in most of the battels fought in these our times. The Mercenaries of the Tyrant prevailed at length: not only by their advantage of number, but (as *Polybius* well observeth) by surmounting their oppposites in degree of courage; wherein usually the hired Souldiers of Tyrants, exceed those that are waged by free States. For as it is true, that a free people are much more valiant than they which live oppressed by Tyranny, since the one, by doing their best in fight, have hope to acquire somewhat beneficial to themselves, whereas the other do fight (as it were) to assure their own servitude: so the Mercenaries of a Tyrant, being made partakers with him in the fruits of his prosperity, have as good cause to maintain his quarrel as their own; whereas they that serve under a free State, have no other motive to do manfully, than their bare stipend. Further than this, when a free State hath gotten the Victory, many companies (if not all) of forreign Auxiliaries are presently cast; and therefore such good fellows will not take much pains to bring the War to an end. But the Victory of a Tyrant, makes him stand in need of more such helpers; because that after it he doth wrong to more, as having more Subjects; and therefore stands in fear of more, that should seek to take revenge upon him. The stipendaries of the *Achæans*, being forced to give ground, were urged so violently in their retreat by those of *Machanidas*; that shortly they betook themselves to flight: and could not be staid by any perswasions of *Philopœmen*, but ran away quite beyond the battle of the *Achæans*. This disaster had been sufficient to have taken from *Philopœmen* the honour of the day; had he not wisely observed the demeanour of *Machanidas*, and found in him that error which might restore the Victory. The Tyrant with his Mercenaries gave chace unto those that fled: leaving behind him in good order of battle his *Lacedæmonians*; whom he thought sufficient to deal with the *Achæans*, that were already disheartned by the flight of their companions. But when this his rashness had carried him out of sight, *Philopœmen* advanced towards the *Lacedæmonians* that stood before him. There lay between them athwart the Countrey, a long Ditch, without water at that time, and therefore passable (as it seemed) without much difficulty, especially for Foot. The *Lacedæmonians* adventured over it, as thinking themselves better Souldiers than the *Achæans*, who had in a manner already lost the day. But hereby they greatly disordered their own Battle; and had no sooner the foremost of them recovered the further bank, than they were stoutly charged by the *Achæans*, who drave them headlong into the Ditch again. Their first ranks being broken, all the rest began to shrink: so as *Philopœmen* getting over the Ditch, easily chaced them out of the Field. *Philopœmen* knew better how to use his advantage, than *Machanidas* had done. He suffered not all his Army to disband and follow the chace, but retained with him a sufficient strength, for the custody of a Bridge that was over the Ditch, by which he knew that the Tyrant must come back. The Tyrant with his Mercenaries returning from the chace, looked very heavily when he saw what was fallen out. Yet, with a lusty Troop of Horse about him, he made towards the Bridge: hoping to find the *Achæans* in disorder; and to set upon their backs, as they were carelesly pursuing their Victory. But when he and his Company saw *Philopœmen* ready to make good the Bridge against them; then began every one to look, which way he might shift for himself. The Tyrant, with no more than two in his company, rode along the Ditch side; and searched an easie passage over. He was easily discovered by his purple Cassock, and the costly trappings of his Horse. *Philopœmen* therefore leaving the charge of the Bridge unto another, coasted him all the way as he rode, and falling upon him at length in the Ditch it self, as he was getting over it, slew him there with his own hand. There died in this Battle on the *Lacedæmonians* side about four Thousand: and more than four Thousand were taken Prisoners. Of the *Achæan* Mercenaries, probable it is, that the loss was not greatly cared for; since that War was at an end, and for their money they might hire more when they should have need.

† *Excerpt. e. Pol. l.* 11. *Plut. in vita* Philopœmen.

Polyb. ibid.

SECT.

SECT. VI.

Philip *having Peace with* Rome, *and with all* Greece, *prepares againſt* Aſia. *Of the Kings of* Pergamus, Cappadocia, Pontus, Paphlagonia, Bithynia, *and their Lineages. Of the* Galatians.

BY this Victory the *Achæans* learned to think well of themſelves. Neither needed they indeed after a while (ſuch was their diſcipline and continual exerciſe) to account themſelves in matter of War inferiour to any, that ſhould have brought againſt them no great odds of number. As for the *Macedonian*, he made no great uſe of them. But when he had once concluded Peace with the *Romans* and *Ætolians*, he ſtudied how to enlarge his Dominion Eaſtward; ſince the fortune of his Friends the *Carthaginians* declined in the Weſt. He took in hand many matters together, or very neerly together, and ſome of them not honeſt: wherein if the *Achæans* would have done him ſervice, they muſt by helping him to oppreſs others that never had wronged him, have taught him the way how to deal with themſelves. He greatly hated *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*, who had joy with the *Romans* and *Ætolians* in War againſt him.

This *Attalus* though a King, was ſcarce yet a Nobleman, otherwiſe than as he was ennobled by his own, and by his Fathers virtue. His fortune began in *Philetærus* his Uncle: who being guelded, by reaſon of a miſhap which he had when he was a Child, grew afterwards thereby to be the more eſteemed: as great men in thoſe times repoſed much confidence in Eunuchs, whoſe affections could not be obliged upon Wives or Children. He was entertained into the Family of *Docimus*, a Captain following *Antigonus the firſt*; and after the death of *Antigonus*, he accompanied his Maſter, that betook himſelf to *Lyſimachus* King of *Thrace*. *Lyſimachus* had a good opinion of him; and put him in truſt with his money and accounts. But when at length he ſtood in fear of this King, that grew a bloody Tyrant; he fled into *Aſia*, where he ſeized upon the Town of *Pergamus*, and nine thouſand Talents belonging to *Lyſimachus*. The Town and Money, together with his own Service, he offered unto *Seleucus the firſt*, that then was ready to give *Lyſimachus* his battle. His offer was kindly accepted, but never performed; for that *Seleucus*, having ſlain *Lyſimachus*, died ſhortly after himſelf, before he made uſe of *Philetærus* or his money. So this Eunuch ſtill retained *Pergamus*, with the Countrey round about it; and reigned therein as an abſolute King. He had two brethren: of which the elder is ſaid to have been a poor Carter; and the younger perhaps not much better, before ſuch time, they were raiſed by the fortune of this Eunuch. *Philetærus* left his Kingdom to the elder of theſe, or to the Son of the elder, called *Eumenes*. This *Eumenes* enlarged his Kingdom; making his advantage of the diſſention between *Seleucus Calinicus* and *Antiochus Hierax*, the Sons of the *ſecond Antiochus*. He fought a battle with *Hierax*, neer unto *Sardis*, and won the Victory. At which time, to animate his men againſt the *Gaules* that ſerved under his Enemy, he uſed a pretty device. He wrote the word * *Victory* upon the hand of his Soothſayer, in ſuch colours as would eaſily come off: and when the hot liver of the Beaſt that was ſacrificed, had cleanly taken the Print of the Letters, He publiſhed this unto his Army as a Miracle, plainly foreſhewing that the gods would be aſſiſtant in that Battle.

* *Jul. Front. Strat. l. 1. c. 11.*

After this Victory, he grew a dreadful enemy to *Seleucus*: who never durſt attempt to recover from him, by War, the Territory that he had gotten and held. Finally, when he had reigned two and twenty years, he died by a ſurfeit of overmuch drink, and left his Kingdom to *Attalus*, of whom we now entreat, that was Son unto *Attalus* the youngeſt Brother of *Philetærus*. *Attalus* was an undertaking Prince, very bountiful, and no leſs valiant. By his own proper Forces he reſtored his Friend *Ariarathes* the *Cappadocian* into his Kingdom, whence he had been expelled. He was grievouſly moleſted by *Achæus*: who ſetting up himſelf as King againſt *Antiochus the Great*, reigned in the leſſer *Aſia*. He was beſieged in his own City of *Pergamus*: but by the help of the *Tectoſages*, a Nation of the *Gauls*, whom he called over out of *Thrace*, he recovered all that he had loſt. When theſe *Gauls* had once gotten footing in *Aſia*, they never wanted employment, but were either entertained by ſome of the Princes reigning in thoſe quarters, or interpoſed themſelves without invitation; and found themſelves work in quarrels of their own making. They cauſed *Pruſias* King of *Bithynia* to ceaſe from his War againſt *Byzantium*. Whereunto when he had condeſcended; they nevertheleſs within a while after, invaded his Kingdom. He obtained againſt them a great Victory; and uſed it with great cruelty, ſparing neither Age nor Sex. But the ſwarm of them increaſing, they occupied the Region about *Helleſpont*, where, in ſeating themſelves, they were much beholding unto *Attalus*. Nevertheleſs, preſuming afterwards upon their ſtrength, they forced their Neighbour Princes and Cities to pay them tribute: in the ſharp exaction whereof, they had no more reſpect unto *Attalus*, than to any that had worſe deſerved of them. By this they compelled him to fight againſt them: and he being victorious, compelled them to contain themſelves within the bounds of that Province, which took name from them in time following, and was called *Galatia*. Yet continued they ſtill to oppreſs the weakeſt of their Neighbours, and to fill up the Armies of thoſe that could beſt hire them.

The Kings reigning in thoſe parts, were the poſterity of ſuch, as had ſaved themſelves and their Provinces, in the ſlothful reign of the *Perſians*; or in the buſie times of *Alexander*, and his *Macedonian* followers. The *Cappadocians* were very ancient. For the firſt of their line had married with *Atoſſa*, ſiſter unto the great King *Cyrus*. Their Countrey was taken from them by *Perdiccas*, as is ſhewed before. But the Son of that King, whom *Perdiccas* crucified, eſpying his time while the *Macedonians* were at civil wars among themſelves; recovered his Dominion, and paſſed it over to his off-ſpring. The King of *Pontus* had alſo their beginning from the *Perſian* Empire; and are ſaid to have iſſued from the royal houſe of *Achæmenes*. The *Paphlagonians* derived themſelves from *Pylemenes*, a King that aſſiſted *Priamus* at the war of *Troy*. Theſe, applying themſelves unto the times, were always conformable unto the ſtrongeſt. The Anceſtors of *Pruſias* had begun to reign in *Bythinia*, ſome few generations before that of *the Great Alexander*. They lay ſomewhat out of the *Macedonians* way: by whom therefore,

having

having other employment, they were the leſs moleſted. *Calantus*, one of *Alexanders* Captains, made an expedition into their Country, where he was vanquiſhed. They had afterwards to do with a Lieutenant of *Antigonus*, that made them ſomewhat more humble. And thus they ſhuffled, as did the reſt, untill the reign of *Pruſias*, whom we have already ſometimes mentioned.

SECT. VII.

The Town of Chios *taken by* Philip, *at the inſtance of* Pruſias, *King of* Bithynia, *and cruelly deſtroyed. By this and the like actions,* Philip *grows hateful to many of the* Greeks: *and is warred upon by* Attalus *King of* Pergamus, *and by the* Rhodians.

Pruſias as a neighbour King, had many quarrels with *Attalus*; whoſe greatneſs he ſuſpected. He therefore ſtrengthened himſelf, by taking to wife the daughter of *Philip*; as *Attalus*, on the contrary ſide, entred into a ſtrict Confederacy with the *Ætolians*, *Rhodians*, and other of the *Greeks*. But when *Philip* had ended his *Ætolian* war, and was deviſing with *Antiochus* about ſharing between them two the Kingdom of *Egypt*, wherein *Ptolomy Philopater*, a friend unto them both, was newly dead; and had left his ſon *Ptolomy Epiphanes*, a young child, his heir: the *Bythinian* entreated this his Father-in-law to come over into *Aſia*, there to win the Town of the *Ciani*, and beſtow it upon him. *Pruſias* had no right unto the Town, nor juſt matter of quarrel againſt it: but it was fitly ſeated for him, and therewithal rich. *Philip* came, as one that could not well deny to help his Son-in-law. But hereby he mightily offended no ſmall part of *Greece*. Embaſſadors came to him whilſt he lay at the ſiege, from the *Rhodians*, and divers other States: intreating him to forſake the enterpriſe. He gave dilatory, but otherwiſe gentle anſwers: making ſhew as if he would have condeſcended to their requeſt, when he intended nothing leſs. At length he got the Town: where, even in preſence of the Embaſſadours, of whoſe ſolicitation he had ſeemed ſo regardful, he omitted no part of cruelty. Hereby he rendred himſelf odious to his neighbours, as a perfidious and cruel Prince. Eſpecially his fact was detected of the *Rhodians*, who had made vehement interceſſion for the poor *Ciani*: and were advertiſed by Embaſſadors of purpoſe ſent unto them from *Philip*, That howſoever it were in his power to win the Town as ſoon as he liſted, yet in regard of his love to the *Rhodians*, he was contented to give it over. And by this his clemency, the Embaſſadors ſaid, that he would manifeſt unto the world what ſlanderous tongues they were, which noiſed abroad ſuch reports, as went of his falſhood and oppreſſion. Whilſt the Embaſſadours were declaiming at *Rhodes* in the Theater to this effect; there came ſome that made a true relation of what had hapned, ſhewing that *Philip* had ſacked and deſtroyed the Town of *Chios*, and, after a cruel ſlaughter of the Inhabitants, had made ſlaves of all that eſcaped the ſword. If the *Rhodians* took this in great deſpight, no leſs were the *Ætolians* inflamed againſt him: ſince they had ſent a Captain to take charge of the Town; being warned before of his doings at *Lyſimachia* and *Chalcedon* (which he had withdrawn from their Confederacy to his own) what little truſt was to be repoſed in the faith of this King. But moſt of all others was *Attalus* moved with conſideration of the *Macedonians* violent ambition, and of his own eſtate. He had much to loſe; and was not without hope of getting much, if he could make a ſtrong party in *Greece*. He had already, as a new King followed the example of *Alexanders* Captains, in purchaſing with much liberality the love of the *Athenians*; which were notable Trumpeters of other mens vertue, having loſt their own. On the friendſhip of the *Ætolians* he had cauſe to preſume; having bound them unto him by good offices, many and great, in their late war with *Philip*. The *Rhodians* that were mighty at Sea, and held very good intelligence with the *Egyptians*, *Syrians*, and many other Princes and States, he eaſily drew into a ſtraight alliance with him, by their hatred newly conceived againſt *Philip*.

Upon confidence in theſe his friends, but moſt of all, in the ready aſſiſtance of the *Rhodians*, *Attalus* prepared to deal with the *Macedonian* by open war. It had been unſeaſonable to procraſtinate, and expect whereto the doings of the enemy tended; ſince his deſire to faſten upon *Aſia* was manifeſt, and his falſhood no leſs manifeſt, than was ſuch his deſire. They met with him ſhortly not far from *Chios*, and fought with him a battle at Sea wherein though *Attalus* was driven to run his own Ship on ground, hardly eſcaping to land: though the Admiral of the *Rhodians* took his deaths wound: and though *Philip* after the battle took harbour under a Promontory, by which they had fought, ſo that he had the gathering of the wracks upon the ſhore: Yet foraſmuch as he had ſuffered far more greater loſs of Ships, and men, than had the enemy; and ſince he durſt not in few dayes after put forth to Sea, when *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* came to brave him in his Port; the honour of the victory was adjudged to his enemies. This notwithſtanding, *Philip* afterwards beſieged and won ſome Towns in *Caria*: whether only in a bravery; and to deſpight his oppoſites: or whether upon any hopeful deſire of conqueſt, it is uncertain. The ſtratagem, by which he won *Prinaſſus*, is worthy of nothing. He attempted it by a mine: and finding the earth ſo ſtony, that it reſiſted his work; he nevertheleſs cammanded the Pioneers to make a noiſe under ground; and ſecretly in the night time he raiſed great mounts about the entrance of the mine, to breed an opinion in the beſieged, that the work went marvelouſly forward. At length he ſent word to the Towns-men, that by his undermining two acres of their wall ſtood only upon wooden props, to which if he gave fire, and entred by a Breach, they ſhould expect no mercy. The *Prinaſſians* little thought, that he had fetcht all his earth and rubbiſh by night a great way off, to raiſe up thoſe heaps which they ſaw; but rather that all had been extracted out of the Mine. Wherefore they ſuffered themſelves to be outfaced, and gave up the Town as loſt, which the enemy had no hope to win by force. But *Philip* could not ſtay to ſettle himſelf in thoſe parts. *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* were too ſtrong for him at Sea, and compelled him to make haſte back into *Macedon*; whither they followed him all the way in manner of purſuit.

SECT. VIII.

The Romans, *after their* Carthaginian *War, ſeek matter of quarrel againſt* Philip. *The* Athenians *upon ſlight cauſe, proclaim War againſt* Philip; *moved hitherto by* Attalus; *whom they flatter.* Philip *wins divers Towns; and makes peremptory anſwer to the* Roman *Embaſſador. The furious reſolution of the* Abydeni.

THeſe *Aſiatique* matters, which no way concerned the *Romans*, yet ſerved well to make a noiſe in *Rome*; and fill the peoples heads, if not with a deſire of making war in *Macedon*, at leaſt with a conceit that it were expedient ſo to do. The *Roman* Senate was perfectly informed of the ſtate of thoſe Eaſtern Countries, and knew, that there was none other Nation than the *Greeks*, which lay between them and the Lordſhip of *Aſia*. Theſe *Greeks* were factious, and ſeldom or never at peace. As for the *Macedonians*, though length of time and continual dealings in *Greece* ever ſince the reigns of *Philip* and *Alexander*, had left no difference between him and the Naturals: yet moſt of them abhorred his Dominion, becauſe he was originally forſooth a *Barbarian*: many of them hated him upon antient quarrels: and they that had been moſt beholding unto him, were nevertheleſs weary of him, by reaſon of his perſonal faults. All this gave hope, that the affairs of *Greece* would not long detain the *Roman* Armies: eſpecially ſince the diviſions of the Country were ſuch, that every petty Eſtate was apt to take Counſel apart for it ſelf, without much regarding the generality. But the poor Commonalty of *Rome* had no great affection to ſuch a chargeable enterpriſe. They were already quite exhauſted, by that grievous war with *Hannibal*: wherein they had given by Loan to the Republick all their money, neither had they as yet received, (neither did they receive untill fifteen or ſixteen years after this,) their whole ſum back again. That part of payment alſo which was already made, being not in preſent money, but much of it in Land: it behoved them to reſt a while; and beſtow the more diligence in telling their grounds, by how much they were the leſs able to beſtow coſt. Wherefore they took no pleaſure to hear, that *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* had ſent Embaſſadours to ſolicite them againſt *Philip*, with report of his bold attempts in *Aſia*: or that *M. Aurelius*, their Agent in *Greece*, had ſent letters of the ſame tenour to the Senate, and magnified his intelligence, by ſetting out the preparations of this dangerous enemy, that ſolicited not only the Towns upon the Continent, but all the Iſlands in thoſe Seas, viſiting them in perſon, or ſending Embaſſadours, as one that meant ſhortly to hold war with the *Romans* upon their own ground. *Philip* had indeed no ſuch intent: neither was he much too ſtrong, either of himſelf, or by his alliance in *Greece*, to be reſiſted by *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*; eſpecially with the help of the *Ætolians* their good friends, and (in a manner) his own profeſſed enemies. But ſuch things muſt be publiſhed abroad, if only to prediſpoſe men unto the war, and give it the more honeſt colour.

Philip was a man of ill condition; and therefore could not thrive by intermeddling in the affairs of thoſe that were more mighty than himſelf. He was too unskilful, or otherwiſe too unapt, to retain his old friends: yet would he needs be ſeeking new enemies. And he found them ſuch, as he deſerved to have them; for he offered his help to their deſtruction, when they were in miſery, and had done him no harm. It behoved him therefore, either to have ſtrained his forces to the utmoſt in making war upon them; or in deſiſting from that injurious courſe, to have made amends for the wrongs paſt, by doing friendly offices of his own accord. But he, having broken that League of peace, which of all other the moſt natural, binding all men to offer no violence willingly, unleſs they think themſelves juſtly provoked; was afterwards too fondly perſwaded, that he might well be ſecure of the *Romans*, becauſe of the *written* Covenants of peace between him and them. There is not any form of Oath, whereby ſuch Articles of peace can be held inviolable, ſave only * *by the water of Styx*, that is, by *Neceſſity*: which whilſt it binds one party, or both unto performance, making it apparent, that he ſhall be a loſer that ſtarts from the Conditions; it may ſo long (and ſo long only) be preſumed, that there ſhall be no breach. Till *Hannibal* was vanquiſhed, the *Romans* never hearkened after *Philip*: for neceſſity made them let him alone. But when once they had a peace with *Carthage*; then was the River of *Styx* dryed up: and then could they ſwear as * *Mercury* did in the Comedy, by their own ſelves, even by their good ſwords, that they had good reaſon to make war upon him. The voyage of *Sopater* into *Africk*, and the preſent war againſt *Attalus*, were matter of quarrel as much as needed: or if this were not enough; the *Athenians* helped to furniſh them with more.

* *Sir Francis Bacon de ſap. Veterum.*

* *Plaut. Amphitr.*

The *Athenians*, being at this time Lords of no more than their own barren Territory, took ſtate upon them nevertheleſs, as in their ancient fortune. Two young Gentlemen of *Acarnania* entring into the Temple of *Ceres*, in the dayes of Initiation (wherein were delivered the myſteries of Religion, or rather of idolatrous ſuperſtition, vainly ſaid to be available unto felicity after this life) diſcovered themſelves by ſome impertinent queſtions, to be none of thoſe that were initiated. Hereupon they were brought before the officers: and though it was apparent, that they came into the place by meer error, not thinking to have therein done amiſs; yet, as it had been for ſome hainous crime, they were put to death. All their Countrey-men at home took this in ill part; and ſought to revenge it as a publick injury, by war upon the *Athenians*. Procuring therefore of *Philip* ſome *Macedonians* to help them, they entred into *Attica*: who waſted it with fire and ſword; and carried thence a great booty. This indignity ſtirred up the high-minded *Athenians*; and made them think upon doing more, than they had ability to perform. All which at the preſent they could do, was to ſend Embaſſadors to King *Attalus*; gratulating his happy ſucceſs againſt *Philip*, and intreating him to viſit their City. *Attalus* was hereto the more willing, becauſe he underſtood that the *Roman* Embaſſadors, hovering about *Greece* for matter of intelligence, had a purpoſe to be there at the ſame time. So he went thither, accompanied, beſides his own followers, with ſome of the *Rhodians*. Landing

ing in the *Pirœus*, he found the *Romans* there, with whom he had much friendly conference: they rejoycing that he continued enemy to *Philip*; and he being no less glad, when he heard of their purpose to renew the war. The *Athenians* came out of their City, all the Magistrates, Priests, and Citizens, with their wives and children, in as solemn a pomp as they could devise, to meet and honour the King. They entertained the *Romans* that were with him, in very loving manner: but towards *Attalus* himself they omitted no point of observance which their flattery could suggest. At his first coming into the City, they called the people to Assembly: where they desired him to honour them with his presence, and let them hear him speak. But he excused himself, saying, That with an evil grace he should recount unto them those many benefits, by which he studied to make them know what love he bore them. Wherefore it was thought fit, that he should deliver in writing, what he would have propounded. He did so. The points of his Declaration were; first, what he had willingly done for their sake: then, what had lately passed between him and *Philip*: lastly, an exhortation unto them, to declare themselves against the *Macedonians*, whilest he with the *Rhodians* and the *Romans*, were willing and ready to take their part: which if they now refused to do, he protested, that afterwards it would be vain to crave his help. There needed little intreaty: for they were as willing to proclaim the war, as he to desire it. As for other matters, they loaded him with immoderate honours: and obtained, That unto the ten Tribes, whereof the body of their Citizens consisted, should be added another, and called after his name; as if he were in part one of their Founders. To the *Rhodians* they also decreed a Crown of Gold, in reward of their vertue; and made all the *Rhodians* free Citizens of *Athens*.

Thus began a great noise of war, wherein little was left unto the *Romans* for their part; *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* taking all upon them. But while these were vainly mis-spending the time, in seeking to draw the *Ætolians* to their party: that contrary to their old manner were glad to be at quiet: *Philip* won the Towns of *Maronea* and *Ænus*, with many other strong places about the *Hellespont*. Likewise passing over the *Hellespont*, he laid siege unto *Abydus*; and won it, though he was fain to stay there long. The Town held out, rather upon an obstinate resolution, and hope of succour from *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, than any great ability to defend it self against so mighty an Enemy. But the *Rhodians* sent thither only one *Quadrireme* Gallie: and *Attalus* no more than three hundred men, far too weak an aid to make good the place. The *Roman* Embassadors wondred much at this great negligence of them that had taken so much upon them.

These Embassadors, *C. Claudius*, *M. Æmylius*, and *P. Sempronius*, were sent unto *Ptolomy Epiphanes* King of *Egypt*, to acquaint him with their victory against *Hannibal* and the *Carthaginians*; as also to thank him for his favour unto them shewed in that War; and to desire the continuance thereof, if they should need it against *Philip*. This *Egyptian* King was now in the third or fourth year of his reign, which (as his father *Philopater* had done before him) he began a very young boy. The courtesie for which the *Romans* were to thank him, was that out of *Egypt* they had lately been supplied with corn, in a time of extream Dearth; when the miseries of War had made all their own Provinces unable to relieve them. This message could not but be welcome to the *Egyptian*: since it was well known, how *Philip* and *Antiochus* had combined themselves against him, conspiring to take away his Kingdom. And therefore it might in reason be hoped, that he, or his Council for him, should offer to supply the *Romans* with corn: since this their *Macedonian* Expedition concerned his Estate no less than theirs.

But as the errand was for the most part complemental; so had the Embassadors both leisure and direction from the Senate, to look unto the things of *Greece* by the way. Wherefore they agreed that *M. Æmylius*, the youngest of them should step aside, and visit *Philip*, to try if he could make him leave the siege of *Abydus*; which else he was like to carry. *Emylius*, coming to *Philip*, tells him that his doings was contrary to the League that he had made with the *Romans*. For *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, upon whom he made War, were Confederate with *Rome*: and the Town of *Abydus*, which he was now besieging, had a kind of dependency upon *Attalus*. Hereto *Philip* answered, That *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* had made War upon him: and that he did only requite them with the like. *Do you also* (said *Æmylius*) *requite these poor Abydeni with such terrible War, for any the like Invasion by them first made upon you?* The King was angry to hear himself thus taken short: and therefore he roundly made answer to *Æmylius*: *It is your youth, Sir; and your beauty, and* (above all,) *your being a* Roman, *that makes you thus presumptuous. But I wish you to remember the League that ye have made with me, and to keep it: If ye do otherwise, I will make ye understand, that the Kingdom, and Name of* Macedon *is in matter of War, no less noble than the* Roman. So he dismissed the Embassador; and had the Town immediately yielded to his discretion. The people had entertained a resolution, to have died every one of them, and set their Town on fire; binding themselves hereto by a fearful oath when *Philip* denied to accept them upon reasonable conditions. But having in desperate fight, once repelling him from the Breach, lost the greatest number of their Youth; it was thought meet by the Governours and Ancients of the City, to change this resolution; and take such peace as could be gotten. So they carried out their Gold and Silver to *Philip*; about which, whilest they were busie, the memory of their oath wrought so effectually in the younger sort, that, by exhortation of the Priest, they fell to murdering their women, children, and themselves. Hereof the King had so little compassion, that he said, he would grant the *Abydeni* three dayes leisure to die: and to that end forbade his men to enter the Town; or hazard themselves in interrupting the violence of those mad fools.

SECT. IX.

The Romans *decree War against* Philip, *and send one of their Consuls into* Greece, *as it were in defence of the* Athenians *their Confederates. How poor the* Athenians *were at this time both in quality and estate.*

THis calamity of the *Abydeni*, was likened by the *Romans* unto that of the *Saguntines*: which indeed it neerly resembled: though *Rome* was not alike interessed in the quarrel. But to help themselves with pretence for the War, they had found out another *Saguntum*, even the City of *Athens*: which if the *Macedonian* should win, then rested there no more to do, than that he should presently embarque himself for *Italy*, whither he would come, not as *Hannibal* from *Saguntum*, in five moneths, but in the short space of five days sayling. Thus *P. Sulpitius* the Consul told the multitude, when he exhorted them to make War upon *Philip*; which at his first propounding they had denied. The example of *Pyrrhus* was by him alledged; to shew, what *Philip*, with the power of a greater Kingdom, might dare to undertake: as also the fortunate voyage of *Scipio* into *Africk*; to shew the difference of making War abroad, and admitting it into the bowels of their own Country. By such arguments was the Commonalty of *Rome* indeed to believe, that this War with the *Macedonian* was both just and necessary. So it was decreed: and immediately the same Consul hasted away toward *Macedon*, having that Province allotted unto him before, and all things in a readiness, by order from the Senate; who followed other Motives than the people must be acquainted with. Great thanks were given to the *Athenian* Embassadors, of their constancy (as was said) in not changing their faith at such times as they stood in danger of being besieged. And indeed great thanks were due to them, though not upon the same occasion. For the people of *Rome* had no cause to think it a benefit unto themselves; that any *Greek* Town refusing to sue unto the *Macedonian* for peace, requested their help against him. But the Senate, intending to take in hand the Conquest of the Eastern parts, had reason to give thanks unto those, that ministred the occasion. Since therefore it was an untrue suggestion, That *Philip* was making ready for *Italy*: and since neither *Attalus* the *Rhodians*, nor any other State in those quarters, desired the *Romans* to give them protection: these busie-headed *Athenians*: who falling out with the *Acarnanians*, and consequently with *Philip*, a matter of May-game, (as was shewed before) sent Embassadors into all parts of the World, even to *Ptolomy* of *Egypt*, and to the *Romans*, as well as to *Attalus* and others their neighbours; but be accepted as cause of the War, and Authors of the the benefit thence redounding.

Nevertheless as it loves to fall out where the meaning differs from the pretence; the doings of *P. Sulpitius* the Consul were such, as might have argued *Athens* to be the least part of his care. He failed not about *Peloponnesus*, but took the ready way to *Macedon*, and landing about the River of *Apsus*, between *Dyrrhachium* and *Appolonia*, there began the War. Soon upon his coming, the *Athenian* Embassadours were with him and craved his help: whereof they could make no benefit whilest he was far from them. They bemoaned themselves as men besieged, and intreated him to deliver them. For which cause he sent unto them *C. Claudius* with twenty Gallies, and a competent number of men: but the main of his forces he retained with him, for the prosecution of a greater design. The *Athenians* were not indeed besieged: only some Rovers from *Chalcis*, in the Isle of *Eubœa*, and some bands of adventures out of *Corinth* used to take their Ships, and spoil their fields, because they had declared themselves against King *Philip*, that was Lord of these two Towns. The robberies done by these Pyrats and Free-booters, were by the more eloquent than wary like *Athenians*, *in this declining Age of their* Fortune and Vertue, called a Siege. From such detriment the arrival of *Claudius*, and shortly after of three *Rhodian* Gallies, easily preserved them. As for the *Athenians* themselves, they that had been wont, in ancient times to undertake the conquests of *Egypt*, *Cyprus* and *Cicil*; to make War upon the great *Persian* King, and to hold so much of *Greece* in subjection, as made them redoubtable unto all the rest; had now no more than three Ships, and those open ones, not much better than long boats. Yet thought they not themselves a whit the worse men, but stood as highly upon the glory and vertue of their Ancestors, as if it had been still their own.

SECT. X.

The Town of Chalcis *in* Eubœa *taken and sackt by the* Romans *and their Associates, that lay in Garrison at* Athens. Philip *attempteth to take* Athens *by surprise: wasteth the Country about, and makes a journey into* Peloponnesus. *Of* Nabis *the Tyrant of* Lacedæmon, *and his wife.* Philip *offers to make War against* Nabis *for the* Achæans. *He returneth home through* Attica, *which he spoileth again: and provides against the Enemies. Some exploits of the* Romans. *Divers Princes joyn with them. Great labouring to draw the* Ætolians *into the War.*

PHilip returning home from *Abydus*, heard news of the *Roman* Consul his being about *Apollonia*. But e're he stirred forth to give him entertainment, or perhaps before he had well resolved, whether it were best a while to sit still, and try what might be done for obtaining of peace, or whether to make opposition, and resist these Invaders with all his forcess he received advertisement from *Chalcis* of a grievous mishap there befallen him, by procurement of the *Athenians*. For *C. Claudius* with his *Romans*, finding no such work at *Athens*, as they had expected, or was answerable to the fame that went abroad, purposed to do somewhat that might quicken the War, and make his own imployment better. He grew soon weary of sitting as a Scar-crow, to save the *Athenians* grounds from spoil, and therefore gladly

gladly took in hand a busines of more importance. The Town of *Chalcis* was very negligently guarded by the *Macedonian* Souldiers therein, for that there was no Enemy at hand: and more negligently by the Towns-men, who reposed themselves upon their Garrison. Hereof *Claudian* having advertisement, sailed thither by night, for fear of being descried: and arriving there a little before break of day, took it by Scalado. He used no mercy, but slew all that came in his way: and wanting men to keep it, (unless he should have left the heartless *Athenians* to their own defence) he set it on fire; consuming the Kings Magazines of Corn, and all provisions for War, which were plenteously filled. Neither were he and his Associates contented with the great abundance of spoil which they carried aboard their Ships, and with inlarging all those, whom *Philip*, as in a place of most security, kept there imprisoned: but to shew their despight and hatred unto the King, they overthrew, and break in pieces the Statues to him there erected. This done, they hasted away towards *Athens*: where the news of their exploit was like to be joyfully welcomed. The King lay then at *Demetrias*, about some 20 miles thence; whither then these tidings, or part of them, were brought him, though he saw that it was too late to remedy the matter; yet he made all haste to take revenge. He thought to have taken the *Athenians*, with their trusty Friends, busie at work in ransacking the Town, and loading themselves with spoil: but they were gone before his coming. Five thousand light-armed Foot he had with him, and three hundred Horse: whereof leaving at *Chalcis* only a few to bury the dead, he marched from thence away speedily toward *Athens*: thinking it not impossible to take his Enemies in joy of their Victory, as full of negligence, as they had taken *Chalcis*. Neither had he much failed of his expectation, if a Foot-post that stood Scout for the City upon the Borders, had not descried him afar off, and swiftly carried word of his approach to *Athens*. It was mid-night when this Post came thither: who found all the Town asleep, as fearless of any danger. But the Magistrates, hearing this report, caused a Trumpet out of their Citadel to sound the Alarm, and with all speed made ready for defence. Within a few hours *Philip* was there; who seeing the many lights, and other signs of busie preparation usual in such a case, understood that they had news of his coming; and therefore willed his men to repose themselves till it were day. It is like, that the paucity of his followers did help well to animate the Citizens, which beheld them from the walls. Wherefore though *Claudius* were not yet returned (who was to fetch a compass about by Sea, and had no cause of haste) yet having in the Town some mercenary Souldiers, which they kept of their own, besides the great multitude of Citizens; they adventured to issue forth at a Gate, whereto they saw *Philip* make approach. The King was glad of this; reckoning all those his own, that were thus hardy. He therefore only willed his men to follow his example; and presently gave charge upon them. In that fight he gave singular proof of his valour: and beating down many of the Enemies with his own hands, drave them with great slaughter back into the City. The heat of his courage transported him further than discretion would have allowed, even to the very Gate. But he retired without harm taking; for that they which were upon the Towers over the Gate, could not use their casting weapons against him, without much indangering their own people that were thronging before him into the City. There was a Temple of *Hercules*, a place of exercise, with a Grove, and many goodly Monuments besides, neer adjoyning unto *Athens*: of which he spared none; but suffered the rage of his anger to extend, even unto the Sepulchres of the dead. The next day came the *Romans*, and some Companies of *Attalus* his men from *Ægina*; too late in regard of what was already past: but in good time to prevent him of satisfying his anger to the full, which as yet he had not done. So he departed from thence to *Corinth*, and hearing that the *Achæans* held a Parliament at *Argos*, he came thither to them unexpected.

The *Achæans* were devising upon War: which they intended to make against *Nabis* the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*: who being started up in the room of *Machanidas*, did greater mischief than any that went before him. This Tyrant relied wholly upon his Mercenaries: and of his Subjects had no regard. He was a cruel oppressor, a greedy extortioner upon those that lived under him; and one that in his natural condition smelt rankly of the Hangman. In these qualities, his wife *Apega* was very fitly matched with him, since his dexterity was no greater in spoiling the men, then hers in fleecing their wives; whom she would never suffer to be at quiet, till they had presented her with all their *Jewels* and *Apparel*. Her Husband was so delighted with her property, that he caused an Image to be made, lively representing her; and apparelled it with such costly garments, as she used to wear. But it was indeed an Engine, serving to torment men. Hereof he made use, when he meant to try the vertue of his Rhetorick. For calling unto him some rich man, of whose money he was desirous; he would bring him into the room where this counterfeit *Apega* stood, and there use all his art of perswasion, to get what he desired, as it were by good will. If he could not so speed, but was answered with excuses; then took he the refractory denyer by the hand, and told him, that perhaps his Wife *Apega* (who sate by in a Chair) could perswade more effectually. So he led him to the Image, that rose up and opened the Arms, as it were for imbracement. Those arms were full of sharp iron nails, the like whereof was also sticking in the Breasts, though hidden with her clothes: and herewith she griped the poor wretch, to the pleasure of the Tyrant, that laughed at his cruel death. Such, and worse (for it were long to tell all here that is spoken of him) was *Nabis* in his government. In his dealings abroad he combined with the *Æsolians*, as *Machanidas* and *Lycurgus* had done before him. By these he grew into acquaintance with the *Romans*; and was comprehended in the League which they made with *Philip*, at the end of their former War. Of *Philopæmens* virtue he stood in fear: and therefore durst not provoke the *Achæans*, as long as they had such an able Commander. But when *Cycliades*, a far worse Captain, was their Prætor, and all, or the greatest part of their Mercenaries were discharged; *Philopæmen* being also gone into *Crete*, to follow his beloved occupation of War; then did *Nabis* fall upon their Territory; and wasting all the Fields, made them distrust their own safety in the Towns.

Liv. l. 32.

Excerpt. è Polyb. l. 13.

Against this Tyrant the *Achæans* were preparing for War, when *Philip* came among them, and had set down what proportion of Souldiers every City

City of their Corporation ſhould furniſh out. But *Philip* willed them not to trouble themſelves with the care of this buſineſs, foraſmuch as he alone would eaſe them of this War, and take the burden upon himſelf. With exceeding joy and thanks they accepted of this kind offer. But then he told them, That whilſt he made War upon *Lacedæmon*, he ought not to leave his own Towns unguarded. In which reſpect he thought they would be pleaſed to ſend a few men to *Corinth*, and ſome Companies into the Iſle of *Eubœa*; that ſo he might ſecurely purſue the War againſt *Nabis*. Immediately they found out his device; which was none other, than to engage their Nation in this War againſt the *Romans*. Wherefore their Prætor *Cycliades* made him anſwer, That their Laws forbade them to conclude any other matters in their Parliament, than thoſe for which they were aſſembled. So paſſing the Decree, upon which they had agreed before, for preparing War againſt *Nabis*, he brake up the Aſſembly, with every mans good liking; whereas in former time, he had been thought no better than one of the Kings Paraſites.

It grieved the King to have thus failed in his purpoſe with the *Achæans*. Nevertheleſs, he gathered up among them a few Voluntaries, and ſo returned by *Corinth* back into *Attica*. There he met with *Philocles* one of his Captains, that with two thouſand men had been doing what harm he might unto the Countrey. With this addition of ſtrength, he attempted the Caſtle of *Eleuſine*, the Haven of *Pyreus*, and even the City of *Athens*. But the *Romans* made ſuch haſte after him by Sea, thruſting themſelves into every of theſe places; that he could no more wreak his anger upon thoſe goodly Temples, with which the Land of *Attica* was at that time ſingularly beautified. So he deſtroyed all the works of their notable Artificers, wrought in excellent Marble; which they had in plenty of their own: or having long ago been Maſters of the Sea, had brought from other places, where beſt choice was found. Neither did he only put all down: but cauſed his men to break the very Stones, that they might be unſerviceable to their reparation. His loſs at *Chalcis* being thus revenged upon *Athens*, he went home into *Macedon*: and there made proviſion, both againſt the *Roman* Conſul that lay about *Apollonia*; and againſt the *Dardanians*, with other his bad Neighbours, which were likely to infeſt him. Among other his cares, he forgot not the *Ætolians*: to whoſe Parliament, ſhortly to be held at *Naupactus*, he ſent an Embaſſage, requeſting them to continue in his Friendſhip. Thus was *Philip* occupied.

Sulpitius the *Roman* Conſul encamped upon the River of *Apſus*. Thence he ſent forth *Apuſtius* his Lieutenant, with part of the Army to waſt the borders of *Macedon*. *Apuſtius* took ſundry Caſtles and Towns, uſing ſuch extremity of Sword and Fire at *Antipatria*, the firſt good Town which he won by force, that none durſt afterwards make reſiſtance, unleſs they knew themſelves able to hold out. Returning towards the Conſul with his ſpoil, he was charged in the Rear, upon the paſſage of a brook, by *Athenagoras* a *Macedonian* Captain: but the *Romans* had the better, and killing many of theſe Enemies, took Priſoners many more, to the increaſe of their booty, with which they arrived in ſafety at their Camp. The ſucceſs of this Expedition, though it were not great, yet ſerved to draw into the *Roman* friendſhip thoſe that had formerly no good inclination to the *Macedonian*. Theſe were *Pleuratus*, the Son of *Scerdilaidas* the *Illyrian*: *Aminander* King of the *Athamanians*, and *Bato* the Son of *Longarus*, Prince of the *Dardanians*. They offered their aſſiſtance unto the Conſul, who thanked them: and ſaid, That he would ſhortly make uſe of *Pleuratus* and *Bato*, when he entred into *Macedon*: but that the friendſhip of *Aminander*, whoſe Countrey lay between the *Ætolians* and *Theſſaly*, might be perhaps available with the *Ætolians*, to ſtir them up againſt *Philip*.

So the preſent care was wholly ſet upon the *Ætolian* Parliament at hand. Thither came Embaſſadors from the *Macedonian*, *Romans*, and *Athenians*. Of which, the *Macedonian* ſpake firſt, and ſaid: That as there was nothing fallen out, which ſhould occaſion the breach of Peace between his Maſter and the *Ætolians*; ſo was it to be hoped, that they would not ſuffer themſelves, without good cauſe to be carried away after other mens fancies. He prayed them to conſider, how the *Romans* heretofore, had made ſhew, as if their War in *Greece* tended only to the defence of the *Ætolians*, and yet notwithſtanding had been angry, that the *Ætolians*, by making Peace with *Philip*, had no longer need of ſuch their Patronage. What might it be that made them ſo buſie, in obtruding their protection upon thoſe that needed it not? Surely it was even the general hatred, which theſe *Barbarians* bore unto the *Greeks*. For even after the ſame ſort had they lent their help to the *Mamertines*: and afterwards delivered *Syracuſe*, when it was oppreſſed by *Carthaginian* Tyrants; but now both *Syracuſe* and *Meſſana*, were ſubject unto the Rods and Axes of the *Romans*. To the ſame effect he alledged many examples, adding, That in like ſort it would happen to the *Ætolians*: who if they drew ſuch maſters into *Greece*, muſt not look hereafter to hold, as now, free Parliaments of their own, wherein to conſult about War and Peace: the *Romans* would eaſe them of this care, and ſend them ſuch a Moderator, as went every year from *Rome* to *Syracuſe*. Wherefore he concluded, that it was beſt for them, whilſt as yet they might, and whilſt one of them as yet could help the other, to continue in their League with *Philip*: with whom if at any time, upon light occaſion, they hapned to fall out, they might as lightly be reconciled: and with whom they had three years ago made the Peace which ſtill continued; although that the very ſame *Romans* were then againſt it, who ſought to break it now. It would have troubled the *Romans*, to frame a good anſwer to theſe objections. For the *Macedonian* had ſpoken the very truth, in ſhewing whereunto this their Patronage, which they offered with ſuch importunity, did tend. Wherefore the *Athenians* were ſet on by them to ſpeak next: who had ſtore of eloquence, and matter of recrimination enough, to make *Philip* odious. Theſe affirmed, that it was a great impudence in the *Macedonian* Embaſſador, to call the *Romans* by the name of *Barbarians*; knowing in what barbarous manner his own King had, in few days paſt, made War upon the gods themſelves, by deſtroying all their Temples in *Attica*. Herewithal they made a pittiful rehearſal of their own calamities: and ſaid, that if *Philip* might have his will, *Ætolia*, and all the reſt of *Greece*, ſhould feel the ſame that *Attica* had felt; yea, that *Athens* it ſelf, together with *Minerva*, *Jupiter*, *Ceres*, and other of the gods, were like to have felt, if the Walls and the *Roman* Arms had not defended them.

Then

Then ſpake the *Romans:* who excuſing, as well as they could, their own oppreſſion of all thoſe, in whoſe defence they had heretofore taken Arms, went roundly to the work in hand. They ſaid, that they had of late made War in the *Ætolians* behalf, and that the *Ætolians* had without their conſent made Peace: whereof ſince the *Ætolians* muſt excuſe themſelves, by alledging that the *Romans*, being buſied with *Carthage*, wanted leiſure to give them aid convenient; ſo this excuſe being now taken away, and the *Romans* wholly bent againſt their common Enemy, it concerned the *Ætolians* to take part with them in their War and Victory, unleſs they had rather periſh with *Philip*.

It might eaſily be perceived, that they which were ſo vehement, in offering their help e're it was deſired, were themſelves carried unto the War by more earneſt motives, than a ſimple deſire to help thoſe Friends, with whom they had no great acquaintance. This may have been the cauſe, why *Dorymachus* the *Ætolian* Prætor, ſhifted them off a while with a dilatory anſwer: though he told his Country-men, That by reſerving themſelves, till the matter were inclined one way or other, they might afterwards take part with thoſe that had the better fortune. His anſwer was, firſt, in general terms; That over-much haſte was an enemy to good counſel: for which cauſe they muſt deliberate, e're they concluded. But coming nearer to the matter in hand, he paſſed a Decree, *That the* Prætor *might at any time call an Aſſembly of the States, and therein conclude upon this buſineſs; any Law to the contrary notwithſtanding:* whereas otherwiſe, it was unlawful to treat of ſuch affairs, excepting two of their great Parliaments, that were held at ſet times.

SECT. XI.

The meeting of Philip *with the* Romans, *and ſkirmiſhing with them on his borders. The* Ætolians *invade his Dominions, and are beaten home. Some doings of* Attalus *and the* Roman *Fleet.*

PHilip was glad to hear that the *Romans* had ſped no better in their ſolicitation of the *Ætolians*. He thought them hereby diſappointed in the very beginning, of one great help; and meant himſelf to diſappoint them of another. His Son *Perſeus*, a very boy, was ſent to keep the Streights of *Pelagonia* againſt the *Dardanians*; having with him ſome of the Kings Councel, to govern both him and his Army. It was judged, as may ſeem, that the preſence of the Kings Son, how young ſoever, would both encourage his Followers, and terrifie the Enemies, by making them at leaſt believe, that he was not weakly attended. And this may have been the reaſon, why the ſame *Perſeus*, a few years before this, was in like manner left upon the Borders of *Ætolia* by his Father; whom earneſt buſineſs called thence another way. No danger of Enemies being left on either hand; it was thought that the *Macedonian* Fleet under *Heraclides*, would ſerve to keep *Attalus*, with the *Rhodians* and *Romans*, from doing harm by Sea, when the Kings back was turned: who took his Journey Weſtward againſt *Sulpicius* the Conſul.

The Armies met in the Country of the *Deſſaretii*, a people in the utmoſt borders of *Macedon* towards *Illyria*, about the Mountains of *Candavia*; that running along from *Hæmus* in the North, until they joyn in the South with *Pindus*, incloſe the Weſtern parts of *Macedon*. Two or three days they lay in ſight one of the other, without making offer of battle. The Conſul was the firſt that iſſued forth of his Camp into the open Field. But *Philip* was not confident in the ſtrength which he had then about him; and therefore thought it better to ſend forth ſome of his light-armed Mercenaries, and ſome part of his Horſe, to entertain them with skirmiſh. Theſe were eaſily vanquiſhed by the *Romans*, and driven back into their Camp. Now although it was ſo, that the King was unwilling to hazard all at firſt upon a Caſt, and therefore ſent for *Perſeus* with his Companies, to increaſe his own Forces: yet being no leſs unwilling to loſe too much in reputation; he made ſhew a day after, as if he would have fought. He had found the advantage of a place fit for ambuſh, wherein he beſtowed as many as he thought meet of his Targettiers: and ſo gave charge to *Athenagoras*, one of his Captains, to provoke out the *Romans* to fight; inſtructing both him and his Targettiers, how to behave themſelves reſpectively, as opportunity ſhould fall out. The *Romans* had no miſtruſt of any ambuſh, having fought upon the ſame ground a day before. Wherefore perhaps they might have ſuſtained ſome notable detriment, if the Kings directions had been well followed. For when *Athenagoras* began to fall back, they charged him ſo hotly, that they drave him to a haſty flight, and purſued him as hard as they were able. But the Captains of the Targettiers, not ſtaying to let them run into the danger, diſcovered themſelves before it was time; and thereby made fruſtrate the work to which they were appointed. The Conſul hereby gathered, that the King had ſome deſire to try the fortune of a battle: which he therefore preſented the ſecond time: leading forth his Army, and ſetting it in order, with Elephants in the Front: a kind of help which the *Romans* had never uſed before, but had taken thoſe of late from the *Carthaginians*. Such are the alterations wrought by time. It was ſcarce above fourſcore years e're this, that *Pyrrhus* carried Elephants out of *Greece* into *Italy*, to affright the *Romans*, who had never ſeen any of thoſe Beaſts before. But now the ſame *Romans* (whilſt poſſibly ſome were yet alive, which had known that Expedition of *Pyrrhus*) came into *Macedon*, bringing Elephants with them: whereof the *Macedonians* and *Greeks* have none. *Philip* had patience to let the Conſul brave him at his Trenches: wherein he did wiſely; for the *Romans* had greater need to fight than he. *Sulpicius* was unwilling to loſe time: neither could he without great danger, lying ſo near the Enemy, that was ſtrong in Horſe, ſend his men to fetch in Corn out of the Fields. Wherefore he removed 8 miles off: preſuming that *Philip* would not adventute to meet him on even ground: and ſo the more boldly he ſuffered his Forragers to over-run the Country. The King was nothing ſorry of this: but permitted the *Romans* to take their good pleaſure: even till their preſumption, and his own ſuppoſed fear, ſhould make them careleſs. When this was come to paſs, he took all his Horſe, and light-armed Foot, with which he occupied a place in the mid-way, between the Forragers and their Camp. There he ſtayed in Covert with part of his Forces, to keep the paſſages that none ſhould eſcape. The reſt he ſent abroad the Countrey, to fall upon the ſtrag-

ſtragglers: willing them to put all to the Sword, and let none home with the news to the Camp. The ſlaughter was great: and thoſe which eſcaped the hands of them that were ſent abroad to ſcowre the Fields, lighted all or moſt of them upon the King and his Companies in their flight: So as they were cut off by the way. Long it was e're the Camp had news of this. But in the end there eſcaped ſome: who though they could not make any perfect relation how the matter went: yet by telling what had hapned to themſelves, raiſed a great multitude. *Sulpicius* hereupon ſends forth all his Horſe, and bids them help their fellows where they ſaw it needful: He himſelf with the Legions followed. The Companies of Horſe divided themſelves, accordingly as they met with advertiſements upon the way, into many parts, not knowing where was moſt of the danger. Such of them as lighted upon *Philips* Troops, that were canvaſſing the Field, took their task where they found it: But the main bulk of them fell upon the King himſelf; They had the diſadvantage; as coming fewer, and unprepared, to one that was ready for them. So they were beaten away; as their fellows alſo might have been, if the King had well bethought himſelf, and given over in time. But while, not contented with ſuch an Harveſt, he was too greedy about a poor gleaning; the *Roman* Legions appeared in ſight: which emboldened their Horſe to make a re-charge. Then the danger apparent, enforced the *Macedonians* to look to their own ſafety. They ran which way they could: and (as men that lie in wait for others, are ſeldom heedful of that which may befall themſelves) to eſcape the Enemy, they declined the faireſt way; ſo as they were plunged in Mariſhes and Bogs, wherein many of them were loſt. The Kings Horſe was ſlain under him: and there had been caſt away, if a loving Subject of his had not alighted, mounted him upon his own Horſe, and delivered him out of peril, at the expence of his own life, that running on Foot was overtaken and killed.

In the common opinion *Philip* was charged with improvident raſhneſs; and the Conſul with as much dulneſs, for his days ſervice. A little longer ſtay would have delivered the King from theſe Enemies without any blow: ſince when all the fields about them were waſted, they muſt needs have retired back to the Sea. On the other ſide, it was not thought unlikely, That if the *Romans* following the King, had ſet upon his Camp, at ſuch time as he fled thither, half amazed with either being ſlain or taken, they might have won it. But that noble Hiſtorian, *Livie*, (as is commonly his manner) hath judiciouſly obſerved, That neither the one, nor the other, were much too blame in this days work. For the main body of the Kings Army lay ſafe in his Camp; and could not be ſo aſtoniſhed with the loſs of two or three hundred Horſe, that it ſhould therefore have abandoned the defence of the Trenches. And as for the King himſelf, he was advertiſed, that *Pleuratus* the *Illyrian*, and the *Dardanians*, were fallen upon his Countrey: when they found the paſſage thereinto open, after *Perſeus* was called away from cuſtody of the Streights. This was it which made him adventure to do ſomewhat betimes; that he might ſet the *Romans* going the ſooner, and afterwards look unto his troubleſome Neighbours. In conſideration of this, *Philip* was deſirous to clear himſelf of the *Romans*, as ſoon as he might. And to that purpoſe he ſent unto the Conſul: requeſting a day of Truce for burial of the dead. But inſtead of ſo doing, he marched away by Night, and left Fires in his Camp to beguile the Enemy, as if he had not ſtirred out of the place. *Sulpicius*, when he heard of the Kings departure, was not ſlow to follow him. He overtook the *Macedonians* in a place of ſtrength, which they had fenced (for it was a woody ground) by cutting down Trees, and laying them athwart the way where it was moſt open. In making of ſuch places good, the *Macedonian Phalanx* was of little uſe; being a ſquare battle of Pikes, not fit for every ground. The Archers of *Crete* were judged, and were indeed, more ſerviceable in that caſe. But they were few; and their Arrows were of ſmall force againſt the *Roman* Shields. The *Macedonians* therefore helped them by flinging of Stones. But to no purpoſe. For the *Romans* got within them; and forced them to quit the place. This Victory (ſuch as it was) laid open unto the Conſul ſome poor Towns thereabout, which partly were taken by ſtrong hand, partly yielded for fear. But the ſpoil of theſe, and of the Fields adjoyning, was not ſufficient to maintain his Army; and therefore he returned back to *Apollonia*.

The *Dardanians*, hearing that *Philip* was come back, withdrew themſelves apace out of the Country. The King ſent *Athenagoras* to wait upon them home; whilſt he himſelf went againſt the *Ætolians*. For *Damocritus* the Prætor of the *Ætolians*, who had reſerved himſelf and his Nation unto the event of things, hearing report, that *Philip* was beaten once and again: as alſo that *Pleuratus* and the *Dardanians* were fallen upon *Macedon*; grew no leſs buſie on the ſudden, than before he had been wiſe. He perſwaded his Nation to take their time: and ſo, not ſtaying to proclaim War, joyned his Forces with *Aminander* the *Athamanian*; and made invaſion upon *Theſſaly*. They took, and cruelly ſacked a few Towns: whereby they grew confident; as if, without any danger, they might do what they liſted. But *Philip* came upon them e're they looked for him: and killing them as they lay diſperſed, was like to have taken their Camp, if *Aminander* more warie than the *Ætolians*, had not helped at need, and made the Retreat through his own mountainous Country.

About the ſame time the *Roman* Fleet, aſſiſted by *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, had taken ſome ſmall Iſlands in the *Ægean* Sea. They took likewiſe the Town of *Oreum* in the Iſle of *Euboea*: and ſome other places thereabout. The Towns were given unto *Attalus*, after the ſame Compact that had formerly been made with the *Ætolians*: the goods therein found were given unto the *Romans*: and the People, for Slaves. Other attempts on that ſide were hindred: either by foul weather at Sea: or by want of daring, and of means.

SECT.

SECT. XII.

Villius *the* Roman *Consul wasts a year to no effect. War of the* Gaules *in* Italy. *An Embassador of the* Romans *to* Carthage, Masanissa *and* Vermina. *The* Macedonian *prepares for defence of his Kingdom: and* T. Quintius Flaminius *is sent against him.*

THus the time ran away: and *P. Villius* a new Consul, took charge of the War in *Macedon.* He was troubled with a mutiny of his oldest Souldiers: whereof two thousand, having served long in *Sicil* and *Africk*, thought themselves much wronged, in that they could not be suffered to look unto their own Estates at home. They were (belike) of the Legions that had served at *Canne:* as may seem by their complaint, of having been long absent from *Italy:* whither fain they would have returned, when by their Colonels they were shipped for *Macedon.* How *Villius* dealt with them, it is uncertain. For the History of his year is lost; whereof the miss is not great, since he did nothing memorable. *Valerius Antius*, as we find in *Livie*, hath adorned this *Villius* with a great exploit against *Philip.* Yet since *Livie* himself, an Historian to whom few of the best are matchable, could find no such thing recorded in any good Author: we may reasonably believe, that *Villius* his year was idle.

In the beginning of this *Macedonian* War, the *Romans* found more trouble than could have been expected with the *Gauls.* Their Colony of *Placentia*, a goodly and strong Town, which neither *Hannibal*, nor after him *Asdrubal*, had been able to force: was taken by these *Barbarians*, and burnt in a manner to the ground. In like sort *Cremona* was attempted: but saved her self, taking warning by her Neighbours calamity. *Amilcar* a *Carthaginian*, that stayed behind *Asdrubal*, or *Mago* in those parts: was now become Captain of the *Gaules*, in these their enterprises. This when the *Romans* heard, they sent Embassadours to the *Carthaginians*: giving them to understand, That if they were not weary of the Peace, it behoved them to call home, and deliver up, this their Citizen *Amilcas*; who made War in *Italy.* Hereunto it was added (perhaps lest the message might seem otherwise to have savoured a little of some fear) That of the fugitive slaves belonging to the *Romans*, there were some reported to walk up and down to *Carthage:* which if it were so, then ought they to be restored back to their Masters: as was conditioned in the late Peace. The Embassadors that were sent on this errand, had further charge to treat with *Masanissa*, as also with *Vermina* the Son of *Syphax.* Unto *Masanissa*, besides matter of Complement, they were to signifie what pleasure he might do them, by lending them some of his *Numidian* Horse, to serve in their War against the *Macedonian. Vermina* had entreated the Senate, to vouchsafe unto him the name of King; and promised thereafter to deserve it, by his readiness in doing them all good offices. But they were somewhat scrupulous in the matter, and said, That having been, and being still (as they took it) their Enemy, He ought first of all to desire Peace; for that the name of King, was an honour that they used not to confer upon any; save only upon such as had royally deserved it at their hands. The authority to make Peace with him; was wholly committed unto these Embassadors, upon such terms as they should think fit; without further relation to the Senate and People: For they were then busied with greater cares. The *Carthaginians* made a gentle answer, That they wholly disclaimed *Amilcar:* banishing him, and confiscating his goods. As for the Fugitives, they had restored as many as they could find; and would in that point, as far as was requisite, give satisfaction to the Senate. Herewithal they sent a great proportion of Corn to *Rome*; and the like unto the Army that was in *Macedon.* King *Masanissa* would have lent unto the *Romans* two thousand of his *Numidian* Horse: but they were contented with half the number; and would accept no more. *Vermina* met with the Embassadours, to give them entertainment, on the Borders of his Kingdom; and without any disputation, agreed with them upon terms of Peace.

Thus were the *Romans* busied in taking order for their *Macedonian* War, that they might pursue it strongly, and without interruption. As for *Amilcar* and his *Gaules*, they laid siege unto *Cremona*; where *L. Furius* a *Roman* Prætor, came upon them, fought a battle with them, and overcame them. *Amilcar* the *Carthaginian* died in this battle: and the fruit of the Victory was such, as both made amend for losses past, and left the work easie to those, that afterwards should have the managing of War among those *Gaules.* So there was good leisure to think upon the business of *Macedon*: where *Philip* was carefully providing to give contentment unto his Subjects, by punishing a bad Counsellor whom they hated: as also to assure unto himself the *Achæans*, by rendring unto them some Towns that he held of theirs; and finally to strengthen his Kingdom, not only by exercising and training his people, but by fortifying the passages that led thereinto out of *Epirus.* This was in doing when *Villius*, having unprofitably laboured to find way into *Macedon*, taking a Journey (as *Sulpicius* had done before him) wherein he could not be supplied with Victuals, determined at length to trie a new course. But then came advertisement, that *T. Quintius Flaminius* was chosen Consul, and had *Macedon* allotted him for his Province; whose coming he expected; and he very shortly arrived at the Army.

SECT. XIII.

The Romans *begin to make War by Negotiation.* T. Quintius *wins a passage against* Philip. Thessaly *wasted by* Philip, *the* Romans *and* Ætolians. *The* Achæans *forsaking the* Macedonian, *take part with the* Romans. *A Treaty of Peace, that was vain.* Philip *delivers* Argos *to* Nabis *the Tyrant, who presently enters into League with the* Romans.

THe *Romans* had not been wont in former times, to make War after such a trifling manner. It was their use, to give battle to the Enemy, as soon as they met with him. If he refused it, they besieged his Towns: and so forced him to try the fortune of a day, with his disadvantage in reputation, when he had long forborn it (as

it would be intercepted) upon knowledge of his own weakneſs. But in this their War with *Philip*, they began to learn of the ſubtile *Greeks*, the art of Negotiation: wherein hitherto they were not grown ſo fine, as within a little while they proved. Their Treaſury was poor, and ſtood indebted, many years after this unto private men, for part of thoſe moneys that had been borrowed in the ſecond Punick War. This had made the Commonalty averſe from the *Macedonian* War; and had thereby driven the Senators, greedy of the enterprize, to make uſe of their cunning. Yet being weary of the ſlow pace wherewith their buſineſs went forward, they determined to increaſe their Army, that they might have the leſs need to relie upon their Confederates. So they levied eight thouſand Foot, and eight hundred Horſe (the greater part of them of the *Latines*) which they ſent with *T. Quintius Flaminius*, the new Conſul, into *Macedon*. Their Navie, and other means could well have ſerved, for the ſetting forth and tranſportation of a greater Army; but by ſtraining themſelves to the moſt of their ability, they ſhould (beſides other difficulties incident unto the ſuſtenance of thoſe that are too many and too far from home) have bred ſome jealouſie in their friends of their enemies, more than of their own Souldiers. This preſent augmentation of the forces was very requiſite; for that *Attalus*, about the ſame time, excuſed himſelf unto them by his Embaſſadour, requeſting that either they would undertake the defence of his Kingdom, againſt *Antiochus* who invaded it; or elſe that they would not take it uncourteouſly, that he quitted the War with *Philip*, and returned home, to look unto that which moſt concerned him. Their anſwer was remarkable. They ſaid, That it was not their manner to uſe the aid of their friends, longer then their friends had good opportunity, and could alſo be well contented to afford it; That they could not honeſtly take part with *Attalus*, their good friend, though he were againſt *Antiochus*, whom they held in the like account; but, That they would deal with *Antiochus* by Embaſſadors, and (as common friends unto both of the Kings) do their beſt to perſwade an atonement between them. In ſuch loving faſhion did they now carry themſelves, towards their good friend the King *Antiochus*; who reciprocally at their intreaty, withdrew his Army from the Kingdom of *Attalus*. But how little they regarded theſe terms of friendſhip, after that once they had made an end with *Philip*, it will very ſoon appear.

T. Quintius haſting away from *Rome*, came betimes into his Province, with the ſupply decreed unto him; which conſiſted for the moſt part, of old Souldiers, that had ſerved in *Spain* and *Africk*. He found *Villius* the old Conſul, (whom at his coming he preſenly diſcharged) and King *Philip* of *Macedon*, encamped one againſt the other, in the Streights of *Epirus*; by the river of *Apſus*, or *Aous*. It was manifeſt, that either the *Romans* muſt fetch a compaſs about, and ſeek their way into *Macedon*, through the poor Country of the *Daſſaretians*; or elſe win, by force, that paſſage which the King defended. In taking the former way, they had already two years together miſ-ſpent their time, and been forced to return back without profit, for want of victuals: whereof they could neither carry with them ſtore ſufficient, nor find it on the way. But if they could once get over theſe Mountains, which divided the South of *Epirus* from *Theſſaly*, then ſhould they enter into a plentiful Country; and, which by long dependance on the *Macedonian*, was become (in a manner) part of his Kingdom, whereof it made the South border. Nevertheleſs, the deſire of winning this paſſage, was greater than the likelihood. For the river of *Apſus* running along through that valley which alone was open between the Mountains, made it all a deep *Mariſh* and unpaſſable Bogge: a very narrow way excepted, and a path cut out of the main rock by mans hand, Wherefore *Quintius* aſſailed to climb in the Mountains: but finding himſelf diſappointed of this hope, through the diligence of his enemy, who neglected not the guard of them that was very eaſie; he was compelled to ſit ſtill, without doing any thing for the ſpace of forty dayes.

This long time of reſt gave hope unto *Philip*, that the War might be ended by compoſition, upon ſome reaſonable terms. He therefore ſo dealt with ſome of the *Epirots*, (among whom he had many friends) that He and the Conſul had a meeting together. But nothing was effected. The Conſul would have him to ſet all Towns of *Greece* at liberty, and make amends for the injuries, which he had done to many people in his late Wars. *Philip* was contented to give liberty to thoſe whom he had ſubdued of late; but unto ſuch, as had been long ſubject unto him and his Anceſtors, He thought it againſt all reaſon, that he ſhould relinquiſh his claim and dominion over them. He alſo ſaid, that as far forth as it ſhould appear that he had done wrong unto any Town or people whatſoever, He could well be pleaſed to make ſuch amends, as might ſeem convenient in the judgement of ſome free State, that had not been intereſſed in thoſe quarrels. But herewithal *Quintius* was not ſatisfied. There needed (he ſaid) no judgement or com-promiſe; foraſmuch as it was apparent that *Philip* had alwayes been the invader; and had not made War as one provoked, in his own defence. After this altercation, when they ſhould come to particulars: and when the Conſul was required to name thoſe Towns, that he would have to be ſet at liberty; the firſt that he named were the *Theſſalians*: Theſe had been ſubjects (though conditional) unto the *Macedonian* Kings, ever ſince the dayes of *Alexander* the Great, and of *Philip* his Father. Wherefore, as ſoon as *Flaminius* had named the *Theſſalians*; the King in a rage demanded what ſharper condition he would have laid upon him, had he been but vanquiſhed. And herewithal abruptly he flang away: refuſing to hear any more of ſuch diſcourſe.

After this the Conſul ſtrove in vain two or three dayes together, to have prevailed againſt the difficulties of that paſſage which *Philip* kept. When he had well wearied himſelf, and could not reſolve what courſe to take: there came to him an Heards-man ſent from *Charopus* a Prince of the *Epirots* that favoured the *Romans*, who having long kept beaſts in thoſe Mountains, was throughly acquainted with all by-paths, and therefore undertook to guide the *Romans* without any danger, to a place where they ſhould have advantage of the Enemy. This guide, for fear of treacherous dealing, was faſt bound: and being promiſed a great reward, in caſe he made good his word, had ſuch Companies as was thought fit, appointed to follow his directions. They travelled by night (it being then about the full

full of the Moon) and rested in the day time, for fear of being discovered. When they had recovered the hill-tops, and were above the *Macedonians*, (though undiscovered by them, because at their banks) they raised a great smoak, whereby they gave notice of their success unto the Consul. Some skirmishes, whilst these were on their journey, *T. Quintius* had held with the *Macedonians*, thereby to avert him from the thought of that which was intended. But when on the third morning he saw the smoke arise more and more plainly, and thereby knew that his men had attained unto the place whither they were sent, he pressed as near as he could unto the Enemies Camp, and assailed them in their strength. He prevailed as little as in former times, until the shoutings of those that ran down the hill, and charged *Philip* on the back, astonished so the *Macedonians*, that they betook themselves unto flight. The King, upon first apprehension of the danger, made all speed away to save himself. Yet anon considering, that the difficulty of the passage must needs hinder the *Romans* from pursuing him: he made a stand at the end of five miles, and gathered there together his broken troops, of whom he found wanting no more than two thousand men. The greatest loss was of his Camp and provisions: if not rather perhaps of his reputation: for that now the *Macedonians* began to stand in fear, lest being driven from a place of such advantage, they should hardly make good their party against the Enemy, upon equal ground. Neither was *Philip* himself much better perswaded. Wherefore he caused the *Thessalians*, as many of them as in his hasty retreat he could visit, to forsake their Towns and Country, carrying away with them as much as they were able, and spoiling all the rest. But all of them could not be perswaded, thus to abandon (for the pleasure of their King) their ancient habitations, and all the substance which they had gotten. Some there were that forcibly resisted him; which they might the better do, for that he could not stay to use any great compulsion. He also himself took it very grievously, that he was driven to make such waste of a most pleasant and fruitful Country, which had ever been well affected unto him: so that a little hindrance did serve, to make him break off his purpose, and withdraw himself home into his Kingdom of *Macedon*.

The *Ætolians* and *Athamanians*, when this fell out, were even in a readiness to invade *Thessaly*; whereinto the ways lay more open out of their several Countries. When therefore they heard for certainty, that *Philip* was beaten by the *Romans*: they foreslowed not the occasion, but made all speed, each of them to lay hold upon what they might. *T. Quintius* followed them within a little while: but they had gotten so much before his coming, that he, in gleaning after their harvest, could not find enough to maintain his Army. Thus were the poor *Thessalians*, of whose liberty the *Romans* a few days since had made shew to be very desirous, wasted by the same *Romans* and their Confederates; not knowing which way to turn themselves, or whom to avoid. *T. Quintius* won *Phaleria* by assault: *Metropolis* and *Piera* yielded unto him. *Rhage* he besieged: and having made a fair breach, yet was unable to force it: so stoutly it was defended both by the Inhabitants, and by a *Macedonian* garrison therein. *Philip* also at the same time, having somewhat recollected his spirits, hovered about *Tempe* with his Army, thrusting men into all places, that were like to be distressed. So the Consul, having well near spent his victuals, and seeing no hope to prevail at *Rhage*: brake up his siege, and departed out of *Thessaly*. He had appointed his Ships of burden to meet him at *Anticyra*, an Haven Town of *Phocis*, on the Gulph of *Corinth*: which Country being friend to the *Macedonian*, he presently invaded; not so much for hatred unto the people, as because it lay conveniently seated between *Thessaly* and other regions, wherein he had business, or was shortly like to have. Many Towns in *Phocis* he won by assault: many were yielded up unto him for fear; and within short space he had (in effect) mastered it all.

In the mean time *L. Quintius* the Consuls brother, being then Admiral for the *Romans* in this War, joyned with King *Attalus* and the *Rhodian* Fleet. They won two Cities in *Eubœa*; and afterward laid siege unto *Cenchree*, an Haven and Arcenal of the *Corinthians* on their Eastern Sea. This enterprise did somewhat help forward the *Achæans*, in their desire to leave the part of *Philip*; since it might come to pass, that *Corinth* it self, e're long time were spent; and that *Cenchree*, with other places appertaining to *Corinth*, now very shortly should be rendered unto their Nation, by favour of the *Romans*.

But there were other motives, inducing the *Achæans* to preferr the friendship of the *Romans*, before the patronage of *Philip*; whereto they had been long accustomed. For this King had so many ways offended them in time of peace, that thought it best course to rid their hands of him, whilst being intangled in a dangerous War, he wanted means to hinder the execution of such counsel as they should hold the safest. His tyrannous practises to make himself their absolute Lord: his poysoning of *Aratus* their old Governour: his false dealing with the *Messenians*, *Epirots*, and other people their Confederates, and his own dependants: together with many particular outrages by him committed: caused them long since to hold him as a *necessary evil*, even whilst they were unable to be without his assistance. But since by the vertue of *Philopœmen*, they were grown somewhat confident in their own strength: so as without the *Macedonians* help they could as well subsist, as having him to friend: then did they only think how *evil* he was; and thereupon rejoyce the more, in that he was become no longer *necessary*. It angred him to perceive how they stood affected: and therefore he sent murderers to take away the life of * *Philopœmen*. But failing in this enterprise; and being detected, he did thereby only set fire to the Wood, which was throughly dry before, and prepared to burn. *Philopœmen* wrought so with the *Achæans*, that no discourse was more familiar with them, than what great cause they had to withdraw themselves from the *Macedonian*. *Cycliadus*, a principal man among them: and lately their Prætor, was expelled by them, for shewing himself passionate in the cause of *Philip*; and *Aristænus* chosen Prætor, who laboured to joyn them in society with the *Romans*.

*Plut. in vi. Philopœm. Just. l. 29.

These news were very welcome to *T. Quintius*. Embassadors were sent from the *Romans* and their Confederates, King *Attalus*, the *Rhodians* and *Athenians*, to treat with the *Achæans* making promise, that they should have *Corinth* restored

unto them if they would forſake the *Macedonians*. A Parliament of the *Achæans* was held at *Sycion*, to deliberate and reſolve in this weighty caſe. Therein the *Romans* and their adherents deſired the *Achæans* to joyn with them in making War upon *Philip*. Contrariwiſe the Embaſſadors of *Philip*, whom he had alſo ſent for his buſineſs, admoniſhing the *Achæans* of their Alliance with the King, and of their faith due unto him; requeſted them, that they would be contented to remain as Neuters. This moderate requeſt of *Philips* Embaſſadors did no way advance their Maſters cauſe. Rather it gave the *Achæans* to underſtand, That he, who could be ſatisfied with ſo little at their hands, knew himſelf unable to gratifie them in any reciprocal demand. Yet were there many in that great Councel, who remembring the benefits of *Philip* and *Antigonus*, laboured earneſtly for the preſervation of the ancient League. But in fine, the ſenſe of late injuries, and expectation of like or worſe from him in the future; prevailed againſt the memory of thoſe old good turns, which he (and *Antigonus* before him) had partly ſold unto them, and partly had uſed as baits, whereby to allure them into abſolute ſubjection. Neither was it perhaps of the leaſt importance; That the *Romans* were ſtrong, and likely to prevail in the end. So after much altercation, the Decree paſſed, That they ſhould thence-forward renounce, the *Macedonian*, and take part with his enemies in this War. With *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* they forthwith entred into ſociety; with the *Romans* (becauſe no League would be of force, until the Senate and people had approved it) they forbore to decree any ſociety at the preſent, until the return of thoſe Embaſſadors from *Rome*, which they determined to ſend thither of purpoſe. The *Megalopolitans*, *Dymeans*, and *Argives*, having done their beſt for the *Macedoneans*, as by many reſpects they were bound, roſe up out of the Councel, and departed before the paſſing of the Decree; which they could not reſiſt, nor yet with honeſty thereto give aſſent. For this their good will, and greater, which they ſhortly manifeſted, the *Argives* had ſo little thanks, that all the reſt of the *Achæans* may be the better held excuſed, for eſcaping how they might, out of the hands of ſo fell a Prince.

Soon after this, upon a ſolemn day at *Argos*, the affection of the Citizens diſcovered it ſelf ſo plainly, in the behalf of *Philip*, that they which were his Partiſans within the Town, made no doubt of putting the City into his hands, if they might have any ſmall aſſiſtance. *Philoeles* a Lieutenant of the Kings, lay then in *Corinth*, which he had manfully defended againſt the *Romans* and *Attalus*. Him the Conſpirators drew to *Argos*; whither coming on a ſudden, and finding the multitude ready to joyn with him, he eaſily compelled the *Achæan* Garriſon to quit the place.

This getting of *Argos*, together with the good defence of *Corinth*, aud ſome other Towns, as it helped *Philip* a little in his reputation, ſo they gave him hope to obtain ſome good end by Treaty, whilſt as yet with his honour he might ſeek it: and when (the Winter being now come on) a new Conſul would ſhortly be choſen; who ſhould take the work out of *Titus* his hands, if it were not concluded the ſooner. *Titus* had the like reſpect unto himſelf; and therefore thought it beſt, ſince more could not be done, to pre-diſpoſe things unto a concluſion, for his own reputation; The meeting was appointed to be held upon the Sea-ſhore, in the *Bay* then called the *Malian*, or *Lamian Bay*, now (as is ſuppoſed) the *Gulf of Ziton*; in the *Ægean Sea*, or *Archipelago*. Thither came *Titus* with *Animander* the *Athamanian*; an Embaſſadour of *Attalus*; the Admiral of *Rhodes*; and ſome Agents for the *Ætolians* and *Achæans*. *Philip* had with him ſome few of his own Captains, and *Cycliadas*, lately baniſhed for his ſake out of *Achia*. He refuſed to come on ſhore: though fearing (as he ſaid) none but *the immortal Gods*: yet miſdoubting ſome treachery in the *Ætolians*, The demands of *Titus* in behalf of the *Romans*, were, That he ſhould ſet all Cities of *Greece* at liberty; deliver up to the *Romans* and their Confederates, all priſoners which he had of theirs, and Renegadoes; likewiſe whatſoever he held of theirs in *Illyria*: and whatſoever about *Greece* or *Aſia* he had gotten from *Ptolomy* then King of *Egypt*, after his fathers death *Attalus* demanded reſtitution to be made, entire of Ships, Towns, and Temples by him taken and ſpoiled in the late War between them. The *Rhodians* would have again the Country of *Perea*, lying over againſt their Iſland, as alſo that he ſhould withdraw his garriſons out of divers Towns about the *Helleſpont*, and other Havens of their friends. The *Achæans* deſired reſtitution of *Argos* and *Corinth*: about the one of which they might, not unjuſtly, quarrel with him: the other had been long his own by their conſent. The *Ætolians* took upon them angerly, as Patrons of *Greece*: willing him to depart out of it, even to the whole Country, leaving it free; and withall to deliver up unto them, whatſoever he held that had at any time been theirs. Neither were they herewithall content: but inſolently declaimed againſt him, for that which he had lately done in *Theſſaly*; corrupting (as they ſaid) the rewards of the Victors, by deſtroying, when he was vanquiſhed, thoſe Towns, which elſe they might have gotten. To anſwer theſe malapert *Ætolians*, *Philip* commanded his Gally to be rowed nearer the ſhore. But they began to plie him afreſh: telling him that he muſt obey his betters, unleſs he were able to defend himſelf by force of Arms. He anſwered them (as he was much given to jybing) with ſundry ſcoffs; and eſpecially with one, which made the *Roman* Conſul underſtand what manner of companions theſe *Ætolians* were. For he ſaid, That he had often dealt with them; as likewiſe the beſt of the *Greeks*; deſiring them to abrogate a wicked law, which permitted them *to take ſpoil from ſpoil*: yet could he get no better an anſwer, than that *they would ſooner take* Ætolia *out of* Ætolia. *Titus* wondred what might be the meaning of this ſtrange Law. So the King told him, That they held it a laudable cuſtome, as often as War happened between their friends, to hold up the quarrel, by ſennding Voluntaries to ſerve on both ſides, that ſhould ſpoil both the one and the other. As for the liberty of *Greece*, he ſaid it was ſtrange, that the *Ætolians* ſhould be ſo careful thereof, ſince divers Tribes of their own, which he there named, were indeed no *Græcians*: wherefore he would fain know, whether the *Romans* would give him leave to make ſlaves of thoſe *Ætolians*, which were no *Greeks*. *Titus* hereat ſmiled, and was no whit offended, to hear the *Ætolians* well ratled up; touching whom he began to underſtand, how odious they were in all the Country. As for that general demand of ſetting all *Greece* at liberty, *Philip* acknow-

Excerp. è Polyb. l. 17.

knowledged, that it might well beſeem that greatneſs of the *Romans*; though he would alſo conſider, what might beſeem his own dignity. But that the *Ætolians*, *Rhodians*, and other petty Eſtates, ſhould thus preſume, under countenance of the *Romans*, to take upon them, as if by their great might he ſhould be thereunto compelled: it was, he ſaid, a ſtrange and ridiculous inſolence. The *Achæans* he charged with much ingratiude; reciting againſt them ſome Decrees of their own; wherein they loaded both *Antigonus* and him, with more than humane honours. Nevertheleſs, he ſaid, that he would rendor *Argos* unto them: but as touching *Corinth*, that he would further deliberate with *Titus* himſelf. Thus he addreſſed himſelf wholly to the *Roman* General; unto whom if he could give ſatisfaction, he cared little for all the reſt. With *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, his late War (he ſaid) was only defenſive; they having been the offerers: or if he gave them any occaſion, it was only in helping *Pruſias*, his Son-in-law; neither did he ſee why they ſhould rather ſeek amends at his hands, than he at theirs. For whereas they complained, that ſpoiling a Temple of *Venus*, he had cut down the Grove, and pleaſant walks thereabouts: what could he do more, than ſend Gardners thither with young Plants, if one King of another would ſtand to ask ſuch recompence? Thus he jeſted the matter out: but offered nevertheleſs, in honour of the *Romans*, to give back the Region of *Peræa* to the *Rhodians*; as likewiſe to *Attalus*, the Ships and Priſoners of his, whereof he had then poſſeſſion. Thus ended that days conference, becauſe it was late: *Philip* requeſting a Nights leiſure to think upon the Articles, which were many, and he ill provided of Counſel, wherewith to adviſe about them. *For your being ſo ill provided of Counſel* (ſaid *Titus*) *you may even thank your ſelf; as having murdered all your Friends, that were wont to adviſe you faithfully.* The next day *Philip* came not, until it was late at night; excuſing his long ſtay by the weightineſs of the things propounded, whereon he could not ſuddenly tell how to reſolve. But it was believed, that he thereby ſought to abridge the *Ætolians* of leiſure to rail at him. And this was the more likely, for that he deſired conference in private with the *Roman* General. The ſum of his diſcourſe, as *Titus* afterward related it, was, That he would give the *Achæans* both *Argos* and *Corinth*; as alſo that he would render unto *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, what he had promiſed the day before; likewiſe to the *Ætolians*, that he would grant ſome part of their demands; and to the *Romans*, whatſoever they did challenge. This when *Titus* his aſſociates heard, they exclaimed againſt it, ſaying, That if the King were ſuffered to retain any thing in *Greece*, he would ſhortly get poſſeſſion of all which he now rendred up. The noiſe that they made came to *Philips* ear: who thereupon deſired a third day of meeting; and proteſted, that if he could not perſwade them, he would ſuffer himſelf to be perſwaded by them. So the third day they met early in the morning: at what time the King intreated them all, that they would with ſincere affection hearken unto good offers of Peace; and immediately conclude it, if they could like well of thoſe Conditions which he had already tendred; or otherwiſe, that they would make Truce with him for the preſent, and let him ſend Embaſſadors to *Rome*, where he would refer himſelf to the courteſie of the Senate.

This was even as *Quintius* would have it: who ſtood in doubt, leſt a new Conſul might happen to defraud him of the honour which he expected by ending of the War. So he eaſily prevailed with the reſt to aſſent hereunto: foraſmuch as it was Winter, a time unfit for ſervice in the War; and ſince, without authority of the Senate, he ſhould be unable to proceed reſolvedly either in War or Peace. Further, he willed them to ſend their ſeveral Embaſſadors to *Rome*, which intimating unto the Senate what each of them required, ſhould eaſily hinder *Philip* from obtaining any thing to their prejudice. Among the reſt, he perſwaded King *Aminander* to make a Journey to *Rome* in perſon: knowing well, that the name of a King, together with the confluence of ſo many Embaſſadors, would ſerve to make his own actions more glorious in the City. All this tended to procure that his own command of the Army in *Greece* might be prorogued. And to the ſame end had he dealt with ſome of the Tribunes of the people at *Rome*: who had already (though as yet he knew not ſo much) obtained it for him, partly by their authority, partly by good reaſons which they alledged unto the Senate.

The Embaſſadors of the *Greeks*, when they had audience at *Rome*, ſpake bitterly againſt the King, with good liking of the Senate; which was more deſirous of Victory than Satisfaction. They magnified the honourable purpoſe of the *Romans*, in undertaking to ſet *Greece* at liberty. But this (they ſaid) could never be effected: unleſs eſpecial care were taken, that the King ſhould be diſpoſſeſſed of *Corinth*, *Chalcis*, and *Demetrias*. In this point they were ſo vehement, producing a Map of the Country, and making demonſtration how thoſe places held all the reſt in ſervility; that the Senate agreed to have it ſo as they deſired. When therefore the Embaſſadors of *Philip* were brought in, and began to have made a long Oration; they were briefly cut off in the midſt of their Preface, with this one demand: *Whether their Maſter would yield up* Corinth, Chalcis, *and* Demetrias. Hereto they made anſwer, That concerning thoſe places, the King had given them no direction or commiſſion what to ſay or do. This was enough. The Senate would no longer hearken to *Philips* deſire of Peace: wherein they ſaid he did no better than triſle. Yet might his Embaſſadors have truly ſaid, That neither the *Ætolians*, *Achæans*, nor any of their fellows, had in the late Treaty required by name, that *Chalcis* and *Demetrias* ſhould be yielded up. For which of them indeed could make any claim to either of theſe Towns? As for *Corinth*, whereto the *Achæans* had ſome right; (though their right were no better, than that, having ſtoln it from one *Macedonian* King in a Night, they had, after mature deliberation, made it away by bargain unto another) *Philip* had already condeſcended to give it back unto them. And this perhaps would have been alledged, even againſt the *Greeks*, in excuſe of the King, by ſome of *T. Quintius* his Friends; that ſo he might have had honour to conclude the War, if a ſucceſſor had been decreed unto him. But ſince he was appointed to continue General: neither his Friends at *Rome*, nor he himſelf, after the return of the Embaſſadours into *Greece*, cared to give ear unto any talk of Peace.

Philip ſeeing that his *Achæans* had forſaken him, and joyned with their common Enemies, thought even to deal with them in the like manner, by reconciling himſelf unto *Nabis*, whom they hated moſt

moſt. There were not many years paſt, ſince the *Lacedæmonians* under *Cleomenes*, with little other help then their own ſtrength, had been almoſt ſtrong enough both for the *Macedonians* and *Achæans* together. But now the condition of things was altered. *Nabis* his force conſiſted, in a manner, wholly in his Mercenaries: for he was a Tyrant, though ſtiling himſelf King. Yet he ſorely vexed the *Achæans*: and therefore ſeemed to *Philip*, one likely to ſtand him in great ſtead, if he could be won. To this purpoſe it was thought meet, that the Town of *Argos*, which could not otherwiſe be eaſily defended, ſhould be conſigned over into his hands; in hope, that ſuch a benefit would ſerve to tie him faſt unto the *Macedonians*. *Philocles* the Kings Lieutenant, who was appointed to deal with *Nabis*, added further, That it was his Maſters purpoſe to make a ſtreight alliance with the *Lacedæmonian*, by giving ſome Daughters of his own in Marriage unto *Nabis* his Sons. This could not but be well taken. Yet *Nabis* made ſome ſcruple in accepting the Town of *Argos*; unleſs by decree of the Citizens themſelves he might be called into it. Hereabout *Philocles* dealt with the *Argives*: but found them ſo averſe, that, in open Aſſembly of the People, they deteſted the very name of the Tyrant, with many railing words. *Nabis* hearing of this, thought he had thereby a good occaſion, to rob and fleece them. So he willed *Philocles*, without more ado, to make over the Town, which he was ready to receive. *Philocles* accordingly did let him with his Army into it by Night; and gave him poſſeſſion of the ſtrongeſt places therein. Thus dealt *Philip* with the *Argives*: who for very love had forſaken the *Achæans* to take his part. Early in the morning, the Tyrant made himſelf maſter of all the Gates. A few of the principal men, underſtanding how things went, fled out of the City at the firſt tumult. Wherefore they were all baniſhed, and their goods confiſcated. The reſt of the chief Citizens that ſtayed behind, were commanded to bring forth, out of hand, all their Gold and Silver. Alſo a great impoſition of money was laid upon all thoſe that were thought able to pay it. Such as made their contribution readily, were diſmiſſed without more ado. But if any ſtood long upon the matter: or played the Thieves in purloyning their own Goods: they were put to the whip; and beſides loſs of their wealth, had their torments to boot. This done, the Tyrant began to make popular Laws: namely, ſuch as might ſerve to make him gracious with the raſcal multitude: abrogating all debts, and dividing the lands of the rich among the poor. By ſuch art of oppreſſing the great ones, it hath been an old cuſtom of Tyrants, to aſſure themſelves of the Vulgar for a time.

As ſoon as *Nabis* had gotten *Argos*, He ſent the news to *T. Quintius* and others to joyn with him againſt *Philip*. *Titus* was glad of it: ſo as he took the pains to croſs over the Streights into *Peloponneſus*, there to meet with *Nabis*. They had ſoon agreed (though King *Attalus*, who was preſent with the Conſul, made ſome cavil touching *Argos*) and the Tyrant lent unto the *Roman*, ſix hundred of his Mercenaries of *Crete*: as alſo he agreed with the *Achæans*, upon a Truce for four months, reſerving the final concluſion of Peace between them, until the War of *Philip* ſhould be ended; which after this continued not long.

SECT. XIV.

The Battle at Cynoſcephalæ, *wherein* Philip *was vanquiſhed by* T. Quintius.

Titus Quintius, as ſoon as he underſtood that he was appointed to have command of the Army, without any other limitation of time, than during the will and pleaſure of the Senate; made all things ready for diligent purſuit of the War. The like did *Philip*: who having failed in his negotiation of Peace, and no leſs failed in his hopes of getting *Nabis* to be his friend in that War, meant afterwards wholly to rely upon himſelf.

Titus had in his Army about ſix and twenty thouſand: and *Philip* a proportionable number. But neither of them knew the others ſtrength, or what his Enemy intended to do. Only *Titus* heard that *Philip* was in *Theſſaly*, and thereupon addreſſed himſelf to ſeek him out. They had like to have met unawares, near unto the City of *Pheræ*: where the vant-currers on both ſides diſcovered each other; and ſent word thereof unto their ſeveral Captains. But neither of them were over-haſty to commit all to hazard upon ſo ſhort warning. The day following each of them ſent out three hundred Horſe, with as many light-armed Foot, to make a better diſcovery. Theſe met, and fought a long while: returning finally back into their ſeveral Camps, with little advantage unto either ſide. The Country about *Pheræ* was thick ſet with Trees: and otherwiſe full of Gardens and Mud-walls; which made it unproper for the ſervice of the *Macedonian Phalanx*. Wherefore the King diſlodged, intending to remove back into *Scotuſa*, in the Frontier of *Macedon*; where he might be plentifully ſerved with all neceſſaries. *Titus* conceived aright his meaning: and therefore purpoſed alſo to march thitherwards; were it only to waſt the Country. There lay between them a great ledge of Hills, which hindered the one from knowing what courſe the other took. Nevertheleſs they encamped not far aſunder, both the firſt and the ſecond night; though neither of them underſtood what was become of the other. The third day was very tempeſtuous; and forced each of them to take up his lodging by chance. Then ſent they forth diſcoverers again, in greater number than before. Theſe meeting together, held a long fight, wherein at firſt the *Macedonians* had the worſt. But *Philip* anon ſent in ſuch ſtrong ſupply, that if the reſiſtance of the *Ætolians* had not been deſperate, the *Romans* their fellows had been driven back into their Camp. Yet all reſiſtance notwithſtanding, the *Macedonians* prevailed: ſo that *Titus* himſelf was fain to bring forth his Legions, that were not a little diſcouraged, by the defeat of all their Horſe, to animate thoſe which were in flight.

Plut. *in vit. T. Q. Flam.*

It was altogether beſides the Kings purpoſe, to put the fortune of a battle in truſt that day, with ſo much of his Eſtate as might thereupon depend. But the news came to him thick and tumultuouſly, how the Enemies fled, and how the day was his own, if he could uſe an occaſion, the like whereof he ſhould not often find. This cauſed him to alter his purpoſe: inſomuch as he embattelled his men; and climbed up thoſe Hills, which, for that the knops thereon had ſome reſemblance unto Dogs heads, were called, by a word ſignifying as much, *Cynoſcephalæ*. As ſoon as he was on the Hill-

Hill-top; it did him good to see that they of his own light armature were busie in fight, almost at the very Camp of the Enemies; whom they had repelled so far. He had also liberty to choose his ground, as might serve best his advantage; forasmuch as the *Romans* were driven from all parts of the Hill. But of this commodity he could make no great use: the roughness of the place among those *Dogs heads*, as they were called, serving nothing aptly for his *Phalanx*. Nevertheless he found convenient room, wherein to marshal the one part of his Army: and gave order unto his Captains, to follow with the rest, embattelling them as they might. Whilst he was doing this: He perceived that his Horse-men and light Armature began to shrink; as being fallen upon the *Roman* Legions, by force whereof they were driven to recoyle. He sets forward to help them: and they no less hastily draw unto him for succour; having the *Romans* not far behind them.

As the Legions began to climb the Hill; *Philip* commanded those of his *Phalanx* to charge their Pikes, and entertain them. Here *Titus* found an extream difficult piece of work. For this *Phalanx* being a great square battle of armed Pikes, like in all points to those which are now used in our modern Wars: and being in like manner used, as are ours; was not to be resisted by the *Roman* Targettiers, as long as the *Phalanx* it self held together undissolved. The *Macedonians* were embattelled in very close order: so that two of them stood opposite to one of the *Romans*; as also the Pikes of the first ranks had their points advanced two or three Foot before their fore-man. Wherefore it is no marvel if the *Romans* gave back: every one of them being troubled (as it were) with ten enemies at once; and not able to come nearer to the next of them, than the length of a dozen Foot, or thereabout. *Titus* finding this, and not knowing how to remedy it, was greatly troubled: for that the *Phalanx* bare down all which came in the way. But in the mean while he observed, That they which were appointed by *Philip* to make his left wing, were not able through the much unevenness of the ground, to put themselves in order: so as either they kept their places on the Hill-tops; or else (which was worse) upon desire either of beholding the pastime, or of seeming to be partakers in the work, ran foolishly along by the side of their fellows, which were occupied in fight.

Of this their disorder he made great and present use. He caused the right wing of his battle to march up the Hill against these ill-ordered Troops: his Elephants leading the way, to increase the terrour. The *Macedonians* were readier to dispute what should be done in such a case, than well advised what to do; as having no one man appointed to command that part in chief. Indeed if they should have done their best, it could not have served; since the ground whereon they stood, made their Weapons unuseful. For let it be supposed, that *Philip* having six and twenty thousand in his Army (as he is said to have been equal to the Enemy in number) had four thousand Horse, four thousand Targettiers, and four thousand light-armed: so shall there remain fourteen thousand Pikes: whereof himself had embattelled the one half in a *Phalanx*; the other half in the left wing, are they whom *Quintius* is now ready to charge. The *Phalanx* having usually sixteen in File, must, when it consisted of seven thousand, have well-near four hundred and forty in rank: but four hundred would serve, to make a Front long enough; the other forty or seven and thirty Files might be cut off, and reckoned in the number of the Targettiers, or light-armed. Allowing therefore, as *Polybius* doth, to every man of them three foot of ground: this Front must have occupied twelve hundred Foot, or two hundred and forty paces; that is, very near a quarter of a mile in length. Such a space of open Champian, free from incumberance of Trees, Ditches, Hillocks, or the like impediments, that must of necessity disjoyn this close battle of the *Phalanx*, was not every where to be found. Here at *Cynoscephalæ Philip* had so much room, as would only suffice for the one half of his men; the rest were fain to stand still and look about them, being hindred from putting themselves in order, by the roughness of the *Dogs-heads*. But the *Romans*, to whom all grounds were much alike, were not hindred from coming up unto them; nor found any difficulty in mastering those Enemies, whose Feet were in a manner bound by the discommodity of the place. The very first impression of the Elephants, caused them to give back; and the coming on of the Legions, to betake themselves to flight. A *Roman* Tribune or Colonel, seeing the Victory on that part assured, left the prosecution of it unto others: and being followed by twenty Ensigns or Maniples, that is, (as they might fall out) by some two thousand men, took in hand a notable piece of work; and mainly helpful to making of the Victory compleat. He considered that *Philip*, in pursuing the right wing of the *Romans*, was run on so far, as that himself with his fellows, in mounting the Hill to charge the left wing of the *Macedonians*, was already gotten above the Kings head. Wherefore he turned to the left hand, and making down the Hill after the Kings *Phalanx*, fell upon it in the Rear. The hindermost ranks of the *Phalanx*, and all of them indeed, save the first five, were accustomed, when the battels came to joyning, to carry their Pikes upright; and with the whole weight of their bodies, to thrust on their fore-men: and so were they doing at the present. This was another great inconvenience in the *Macedonian Phalanx*. That it served neither for offence nor defence, except only in Front. For though it were so, that *Alexander*, when he was to fight with *Darius* in *Mesopotamia*, arranged his *Phalanx* in such order, that all the four sides of it were as so many Fronts looking sundry ways, because he expected that he should be encompassed round: yet is it to be understood, that herein he altered the usual form; as also at the same time he embattelled his men in loose order, that so with ease they might turn their weapons which way need should require. Likewise it is to be considered, That *Alexanders* men being thus disposed, were fit only to keep their own ground; not being able to follow upon the Enemy, unless their hindmost ranks could have marched backwards. But in this present case of *Philip*, there was no such provision for resistance. Therefore his men, being otherwise unable to help themselves, threw down their weapons and fled. The King himself that thought until now, that the fortune of the battle was every where alike, and the day his own. But hearing the noise behind him, and turning a little aside with a Troop of Horse, to see how all went; when he beheld his men casting down their weapons, and the *Romans* at his back on the higher ground; he presently betook himself to flight. Neither staid he afterwards

Excerp. è Polyb. l. 17.

in

in any place (except only a ſmall while about *Tempe*, there to collect ſuch as were diſperſed in this overthrow) until he was gotten into his own Kingdom of *Macedon*.

There died of the *Roman* Army in this battle, about ſeven hundred: of the *Macedonians* about eight thouſand were ſlain; and five thouſand taken Priſoners.

SECT. XV.

**T. Quintius *falleth out with the* Ætolians, *and grants Truce unto* Philip, *with conditions upon which the Peace is ratified. Liberty proclaimed unto the* Greeks. *The* Romans *quarrel with* Antiochus.

THe *Ætolians* wonderfully vaunted themſelves, and deſired to have it noiſed through all *Greece*, that the Victory at *Cynoſcephalæ* was gotten (in a manner) wholly by their valour. They had gotten indeed the moſt of the booty by ſacking the *Macedonian* Camp, whilſt the *Romans* were buſied in the chaſe. *Titus* therefore being offended both at their vain-glory, and at their ravenous condition; purpoſed to teach them better manners, by regarding them as ſlightly, as they thought highly of themſelves. He alſo well perceived, That by uſing them with any extraordinary favour, he ſhould greatly offend the reſt of his confederates in *Greece*; who deteſted the *Ætolians* much more vehemently, than ever they had done the *Macedonians*. But this diſpleaſure brake not forth yet a while.

After the battle, *Titus* made haſte unto *Lariſſa*, a City in *Theſſaly*, which he preſently took. Before his coming, *Philip* had ſent thither one of his Courtiers to burn all his Letters, and paſſages whatſoever in writing, betwixt him and others: of which many were there kept. It was well done of the King, that among the cares of ſo much adverſity, he forgot not to provide for the ſafety of his Friends. Yet by thus doing, they of *Lariſſa* might well perceive, that he gave them as already loſt. Wherefore we find not that they, or any of their Neighbours, did make delay of opening their Gates to *Titus*. At the ſame time, the Town of *Leucas*, bordering upon *Arcanania*, was taken by the *Roman* Fleet, and very ſoon after, all the *Arcanianians*, a war-like Nation, and in hatred of the *Ætolians* ever true to *Philip*; gave up themſelves unto the *Romans*, hearing of the Victory at *Cynoſcephalæ*. The *Rhodians* were alſo then in hand with the Conqueſt of *Perea*, a Region of the Continent over againſt the Iſland; whereof they had demanded reſtitution in the late Treaty of Peace. They did herein more manly than any other of the *Greeks*: foraſmuch as they awaited not the good leiſure of the *Romans*; but with an Army of their own, and ſome help which they borrowed of the *Achæans*, and other their Friends, gave battle to *Dinocrates* the Kings Lieutenant, wherein they had the Victory, and conſequently recovered the whole Province. It angred *Philip* worſe then all this, that the *Dardanians* gathered courage out of his affliction, to invade his Kingdom; waſting and ſpoiling, as if all had been abandoned to their diſcretion. This made him gather an Army in all haſte of 6000 Foot, and 500 Horſe: wherewith coming upon them, he drave them, with little or no loſs of his own, and great ſlaughter of theirs, haſtily out of the Kingdom. Which done, he returned to *Theſſalonica*.

In this one enterpriſe he had ſucceſs anſwerable to his deſire: but ſeeing what bad fortune accompanied his affairs, in all other parts at the ſame time, he thought it wiſdom to yield unto neceſſity; and therefore ſent in all haſte *Limnæus* and *Demoſthenes*, with *Cycliadas* the baniſhed *Achæan*, in whom he repoſed much confidence, Embaſſadours unto *Titus*. Theſe had conference a long while in private, with *Titus* and ſome of his *Roman* Colonels: by whom they were gently entertained, and in very friendly wiſe diſmiſſed. It ſeems that they had Commiſſion, to refer all unto *Titus* his diſcretion; as *Philip* himſelf in few days after did. There was granted unto him a Truce for fifteen days: in which time, the King himſelf might come and ſpeak with the *Roman* General. In the mean ſeaſon, many ſuſpicious rumours went of *Titus*, as if he had been corrupted with great rewards from the King, to betray the *Greeks* his Confederates. Of theſe bruits the *Ætolians* were chief Authors: who being wont to regard neither friendſhip nor honeſty, where profit led them a wrong way, judged alike of all men elſe. But againſt the day appointed for the meeting betwixt him and *Philip*, *Titus* had ſent Letters unto his Aſſociates; willing them to have their Agents ready by a time appointed, at the entrance of *Tempe*, where the Treaty ſhould be held. There when they were all Aſſembled, they entred into Conſultation before the Kings arrival, what ſhould be moſt expedient for the common benefit of them all, and for every ſtate in particular. The poor King *Aminander* beſought them all, and eſpecially the *Romans*, that they would think upon him; and, conſidering his weakneſs, which he confeſſed, make ſuch proviſion, that after the *Romans* had turned their backs, and were gone home, *Philip* might not wreak his anger upon him, who was not able to reſiſt. Then ſpake *Alexander*, one of the *Ætolians*: who commended *Titus*, foraſmuch as he had thus aſſembled the Confederates to adviſe upon their own good, and had willed them to deliver their minds freely: added, That in the main of the purpoſe, which he had in hand, he was utterly deceived: for that by making Peace with *Philip*, he could neither aſſure the *Romans* of their quiet, nor the *Greeks* of their liberty. There was, he ſaid, none other end to be made of the War, which could agree either with the purpoſe of the Senate and People of *Rome*, or with the fair promiſes made by *Titus* himſelf unto the *Greeks*, than the chaſing of *Philip* quite out of his Kingdom. And to this effect, he made a long diſcourſe. But *Titus* anſwered, That this *Ætolian* was ill acquainted, either with the good pleaſure of the Senate and People of *Rome*, or with the laudable cuſtoms which they generally held: for that it was not the manner of the *Romans*, to ſeek the utter deſtruction of any King or Nation, at ſuch time as they firſt made War with them, until by ſome rebellion they found it a matter of neceſſity, to take ſuch a rigorous courſe. And hereof he alledged the *Carthaginians* as a notable example: adding, That Victory, to generous minds, was only an inducement to moderation. As concerning the publick benefit of *Greece*, it was (he ſaid) expedient, that the Kingdom of *Macedon* ſhould be greatly weakned, and brought low; not that it ſhould utterly be deſtroyed: foraſmuch as it ſerved as a bar to the *Thracians*, *Gaules*,

Gaules, and a multitude of other ſalvage Nations which would ſoon over-flow the whole continent of *Greece*, if this Kingdom were not interpoſed. Wherefore he concluded, that if *Philip* would yield unto thoſe demands, wherewith he had preſſed him in the former Treaty; then was there no reaſon to deny him Peace. As for the *Ætolians*, if they thought otherwiſe, it ſhould be at their own pleaſure, to take Counſel apart for themſelves as they thought good. Then began *Phaneas*, another of the *Ætolians*, to ſay, that all was come to nothing: for that e're long, *Philip* would trouble all the *Greeks*, no leſs than he had done in time before. But *Titus* interrupted him, and bade him leave his bablings: ſaying, That himſelf would take ſuch order, as that *Philip*, were he never ſo deſirous, ſhould thenceforth not have it in his power to moleſt the *Greeks*.

The next day King *Philip* came thither: whom *Titus* uſed friendly: and ſuffering him to repoſe himſelf that Night, held a Counſel the day following: wherein the King yielded unto all that had been required at his hands; offering yet further, to ſtand to the good pleaſure of the Senate, if they would have more added to the Conditions. *Phaneas* the *Ætolian*, inſulting over him, ſaid, It was to be hoped, that he would then at lengh give up to the *Ætolians* a many of Towns, (which he there named) bidding him ſpeak whether he would or no. His anſwer was, that they might take them all. But *Titus* interpoſing himſelf, ſaid, it ſhould be otherwiſe. Theſe were *Theſſalonian* Towns, and ſhould be all free; one of them only excepted, which not long ago had refuſed to commit it ſelf to the faith of the *Romans*, and therefore ſhould now be given to the *Ætolians*. Hereat *Phaneas* cried out, that it was too great an injury, thus to be defrauded of the Towns that had ſometimes belonged unto their Commonweal. Rather he willed *Titus* to conſider, that by an ancient Covenant between him and the *Romans*, all the Towns taken ought to be their own, and the *Romans* to have nothing ſave the Pillage and Captives. It is true, that there had been ſuch a condition in the former War: but it ceaſed to be of any validity, as ſoon as the *Ætolians* made Peace with *Philip*. And thus much *Titus* gave them to underſtand; asking them whether they thought it reaſonable, that all the Towns in *Greece*, which had let in the *Romans* by compoſition, ſhould be delivered into ſubjection of the *Ætolians*. The reſt of the Confederates were very much delighted with theſe angry paſſages between the *Romans* and the *Ætolians*: neither had they great reaſon to fear any hard meaſure; ſince *Titus* was ſo earneſt in the behalf of thoſe *Theſſalians*, to give them liberty, though they had ſtood out againſt him, even till very fear made them open their Gates. Wherefore they oppoſed not themſelves; but gave their conſent willingly unto a Truce for four Months.

The chief cauſe that moved *Titus* to grant Peace ſo readily to the *Macedonians*, beſides that laudable cuſtom by him before alledged, was, the fame of *Antiochus* his coming with an Army from *Syria*, and drawing near toward *Europe*. He had alſo perhaps yet a greater motive; even the conſideration that his ſucceſſor might happen to defraud him of the honour, if the War ſhould happen to be protracted. And he was in the right. For when his Letters, together with Embaſſadors from the *Macedonian*, and ſundry States of *Greece*, came unto *Rome*, new Conſuls were choſen: who (eſpecially the one of them) ſtood very earneſtly againſt the Peace; alledging frivolous matter of their own ſuſpition, in hope to get the honour of concluding the War. The Senate began to be doubtfully affected, between the Embaſſadors of *Philip*, offering to ſtand to whatſoever was demanded; and the Letters of *Titus*, preſſing them to accept this offer, on the one ſide, and the importunity of the Conſul on the other; who ſaid, that all theſe goodly ſhews were fraudulent, and that the King would rebel, as ſoon as the Army was called out of *Greece*. But the matter was taken out of the Senators hands by two of the Tribunes, that referred it to an Aſſembly of the People; by whoſe ſoveraign authority it was concluded, that Peace ſhould be granted to the King. So ten Embaſſadors were ſent from *Rome*, over into *Greece*: in which number were they that had been Conſuls before *Titus*: and it was ordained by their advice, that *Titus* ſhould go through with the buſineſs of Peace. Theſe would very fain have retained thoſe three important Cities of *Corinth*, *Chalcis*, and *Demetrias*, until the eſtate of *Greece* were ſomewhat better ſetled. But finally, *Titus* prevailed ſo, that *Corinth* was (though not immediately) rendred unto the *Achæans*; and all the other *Greek* Towns which *Philip* held, as well in *Aſia* as in *Greece*, reſtored unto liberty.

The Conditions of Peace granted unto *Philip*, were; That before the celebration of the next * *Iſthmian Games*, He ſhould withdraw his Garriſons out of all the *Greek* Towns which he held; and confine them over to the *Romans*: That he ſhould deliver up unto them all Captives that he had of theirs, and all Renegado's. Likewiſe all his Ships of War, reſerving to himſelf only five of the leſſer ſort, and one of extraordinary greatneſs, wherein ſixteen men laboured at every Oar: Further, that he ſhould pay a thouſand Talents, the one half in hand, the other in ten years following, by even portions. Hereto † *Livie* adds, That he was forbidden to make War out of *Macedon*, without permiſſion of the Senate. But I find not that he obſerved this Article; or was at any time charged with the breach of it. Four hundred Talents he had already delivered to *Titus*, together with his younger Son *Demetrius*, to remain as Hoſtage for his true dealing in this matter of Peace, at ſuch time as he lately ſent his Embaſſadors to *Rome*: when it was promiſed, that the Money, and his Son, ſhould be reſtored back unto him, if the Senate were not pleaſed with the agreement. Whether this money were reckoned as part of the thouſand Talents, I cannot find: and it ſeemeth otherwiſe, foraſmuch as young *Demetrius*, who, together with theſe four hundred Talents, was given for Hoſtage, remained ſtill in cuſtody of the *Romans*, as a part of the bargain which *Titus* formerly had made. Letters alſo were then ſent by *Titus* unto *Pruſias* King of *Bithynia*: giving him to underſtand, what agreement was made with *Philip* in behalf of the *Greeks*; and how the Senate held it reaſonable, that the *Ciani*, moſt miſerably ſpoiled and oppreſſed by *Philip*, to gratifie this *Bithynian* his Son-in-law, ſhould be reſtored to liberty, and permitted to enjoy the ſame benefit of the *Romans*, which other of their Nation did. What effect theſe Letters wrought, it was not greatly material; ſince the *Romans* were ſhortly buſied with *Antiochus*, in ſuch wiſe, that they had not leiſure to examine the conformity of *Pruſias* to their will.

* *Excerpt. è Polyb. Legat. 9.*

† *Liv. l.* 33

All *Greece* rejoyced at the good bargain which *Titus* had made with *Philip*. Only the *Ætolians* found themselves agrieved that they were utterly neglected: which was to the rest no small part of their contentment. The *Bœotians* continued to favour the *Macedonian*; and thereby occasioned much trouble unto themselves. There were some among them well-affected to the *Romans*: who, seeing how things were like to go, made their complaint unto *Titus*; saying, that they were no better than lost, for the good will which they had born unto him; unless at this time, when he lay close by them with his Army, their Prætor which was head of the opposite Faction, might be made away. *Titus* refused to have a hand in the execution, yet nevertheless did animate them in their purpose. So they committed the fact, and hoped to have kept themselves undiscovered. But when the murder came out, and somewhat was confessed by those which were put to Torture: the hatred of the people brake out violently against the *Romans*: in such wise, that howsoever they durst not take Arms against them, yet such of them as they found straggling from their Camp, they murdered in all parts of the Country. This was detested within a while, and many of the dead bodies found. Hereupon *Titus* requires of the *Bœotians*, to have the murderers delivered into his hands; and for five hundred Souldiers, which he had lost by them, to have paid unto him five hundred talents. Instead of making any such amends, they paid him with excuses; which he would not take as good satisfaction. He sends Embassadors to the *Achæans*, and *Athenians*, informing them what had hapned: and requested them not to take it amiss, though he dealt with these their friends as they had deserved. Herewithal he falls to wasting their Country; and besiegeth two such Towns of theirs, as did seem to be most culpable of the murders lately done. But the Embassadors of the *Achæans* and *Athenians* (especially of the *Achæans*, who offered, if he needed them, to help him in this War; yet besought him rather to grant peace unto the *Bœotians*) prevailed so far with him, that he was pacified with 30 talents, and the punishments of such as were known offenders.

In like sort, though not so violently, were many States of *Greece* distracted: some among them rejoycing that they were free from the *Macedonian*; others greatly doubting, that the *Roman* would prove a worse neighbour. The *Ætolian* would have been glad of any Commotion; and therefore published rumours abroad, That it was the purpose of the *Romans*, to keep in their own hands all those places, wherein *Philip* lately had his Garrison. Little did they, or the rest of the *Greeks*, conceive, that this *Macedonian* War served as an introduction to the War to be made in *Asia* against King *Antiochus*; where grew the fruit, that was to be reaped of this and many other victories. Wherefore to stay the progress of bad rumors, when the *Isthmian games* were held, which in time of peace were never without great assembly of all *Greece*, caused proclamation to be made by sound of Trumpet to this effect, That the Senate and people of *Rome*, and *Titus Quintius Flaminius* the General, having vanquished King *Philip* and the *Macedonians*, did will to be at liberty, free from Impositions, free from Garrisons, and living at their own Laws, the *Corinthians*, *Phocians*, *Locrians*, *Eubœans*, *Achæans*, of *Phthiotis*, *Magnesians*, *Thessalians*, and *Perrhæbians*. The suddenness of this Proclamation astonished men: so as though they applauded it with a great shout, yet presently they cryed out to hear it again, as if they durst scarce credit their own ears. The *Greeks* were Crafts-masters in the Art of giving thanks: which they rendred now to *T. Quintius* with so great affection, as that they had well-near smothered him, by thronging officiously about him.

This good will of the *Greeks*, was like to be much more available to the *Romans* in their War against *Antiochus*, then could have been the possession of a few Towns, yea, or of all those Provinces, which were named in the Proclamation. Upon confidence hereof, no sooner were the *Isthmian games* at an end, than *Titus*, with the *Romans* that were of his Councel, gave audience to *Hagesianax* and *Lysias*, King *Antiochus* his Embassadors: whom they willed to signifie unto their Lord, That he should do well to abstain from the Cities in *Asia*, and not vex them with War: as also to restore whatsoever he had occupied, belonging to the Kings, *Ptolomy* of *Philip*. Moreover they willed him by these his Embassadors, that he should not pass over his Army into *Europe*; adding, That some of them would visit him in person e're it were long, to talk with him further concerning these points. This done, they fell to accomplishing their promises unto the *Greeks*; to the rest they gave what they had promised. But the *Phocians* and *Locrians* they gave unto the *Ætolians*; whom they thought it no wisdom to offend overmuch, being shortly to take a greater work in hand. The *Achæans* of *Phthiotis*, the same which had been abandoned by *T. Quintius* to the *Ætolians* in the last Treaty with *Philip*. The *Ætolians* contended very earnestly about *Pharsalus* and *Leucas*. But they were put off with a dilatory answer, and rejected unto the Senate: for howsoever somewhat the Councel might favour them, yet was it not meet that they should have their wills, as it were in despight of *Titus*. So the *Achæans* were restored *Corinth*, *Triphylia*, and *Herea*. So the *Corinthians* were made free indeed, (though the *Romans* yet a while kept the *Acrocorinthus*) for that all which were partakers of the *Achæan* Commonwealth, enjoyed their liberty in as absolute manner as they could desire. To *Pleuratus* the *Illyrian* were given one or two places, taken by the *Romans* from *Philip*: and upon *Aminander* were bestowed those Castles, which he had gotten from *Philip* during this War; to reign in them, and the grounds which they commanded, as he did among his *Athamanians*. The *Rhodians* had been their own Carvers. *Attalus* was dead a little before the Victory; and therefore lost his share. Yet many that were with *Titus* in Councel, would have given the Towns of *Oreum* and *Eretria*, in the Isle of *Eubœa*, to his son and successor King *Eumenes*. But finally it was concluded, that these as well as the rest of the *Eubœans*, should be suffered to enjoy their liberty. *Orestes*, a little Province of the Kingdom of *Macedon*, bordering on *Epirus*, and lying towards the *Ionian* Sea, yet yielded unto the *Romans* long e're this, and since continued true to them: for which cause it was also set at liberty, and made it a free estate by it self.

These businesses being dispatcht, it remained, that all care should be used, not how to avoid the War with King *Antiochus*, but how accomplish it with most ease and prosperity. Wherefore

fore Embassadors were sent, both to *Antiochus* himself, to pick matter of quarrel; and about unto others, to pre-dispose them unto the assisting of the *Romans* therein. What ground and matter of War against this King; the *Romans* now had, or shortly after found: as also how their Embassadors and Agents dealt and sped abroad, I refer unto another place.

CHAP. V.

The Wars of the *Romans* with *Antiochus* the Great, and his Adherents.

SECT. I.

What Kings of the races of Seleucus *and* Ptolomy *reigned in* Asia *and* Egypt *before* Antiochus *the Great.*

SEleucus *Nicanor*, the first of his race, King of *Asia* and *Syria*, died in the end of the hundred twenty and fourth *Olympiad*. He was treacherously slain by *Ptolomy Ceraunus*, at an Altar called *Argos*, having (as is said) been warned before by an Oracle, to beware of *Argos*, as the fatal place of his death. But I never read that any mans life hath been preserved, or any mischance avoided by the predictions of such Divellish Oracles. Rather I believe, that many such predictions of the Heathen gods, have been ante-dated by their Priests; or by others, which devised them after the event.

Antiochus Soter, the son and heir of this *Seleucus*, was dearly beloved of his father, who surrendred unto him his own wife *Stratonica*, when he understood how much the young Prince was enamoured on her: Wherefore *Ptolomy Ceraunus* had great cause to fear, that the death of *Seleucus* would not be unrevenged by this his Successor: But *Antiochus* was contented to be pacified, either with gifts, or perhaps only with fair words, containing himself within *Asia*; and he had purchased in *Europe*, with the blood of *Seleucus*. It is said of this *Antiochus*, that although he married with the Queen *Stratonica* in his fathers life, yet out of modesty he forbore to embrace her, till his father was dead. So that perhaps his incestuous love was partly, if not chiefly, that cause of his not prosecuting that revenge, whereunto Nature should have urged him. Afterwards he had Wars with *Antigonus Gonatus*, and with *Nicomedes* King of *Bithynia*. Also *Lutarius* and *Leonorius* Kings or Captains of the *Gauls*, were set upon him by the same *Nicomedes*. With these he fought a great battle: wherein, though otherwise the enemies had all advantages against him, yet by the terrour of his Elephants, which affrighted both their horses and them, he won the victory. He took in hand an enterprise against *Ptolomy Philadelphus*: but finding ill success in the beginning, he soon gave it over. To this King *Antiochus Soter* it was, that *Berosus* the *Chaldean* dedicated his History of *Assyria*; the same which hath since been excellently falsified by the Friar *Annius*. He left behind him one son, called *Antiochus Theos*; and one daughter, called *Apame*, that was married unto the King of *Cyrene*. So he died about the end of the hundred twenty and ninth *Olympiad*, or the beginning of the *Olympiad* following, in the fiftieth or one and fiftieth year of *the Kingdom of the Greeks*, when he had reigned nineteen years.

Genebrard. l. 2. Just. Mart. in Paran.

Antiochus, surnamed *Theos*, or the *god*, had this vain and impious title given to him by flattery of the *Milesians*; whom he delivered from *Timarchus*, a Tyrant that oppressed them. He held long and difficult, but fruitless War with *Ptolomy Philadelphus* King of *Egypt*; which finally he compounded, by taking to wife *Berenice* the daughter of *Ptolomy*.

Of these two Kings, and of this Lady *Berenice*, S. *Hierom* and other interpreters have understood that Prophecy of *Daniel*: *The Kings daughter of the South shall come to the King of the North to make an agreement*; and that which followeth. *Dan. 11.5.*

Ptolomy Philadelphus was a great lover of Peace and Learning; and (setting apart his incestuous marriage with his own Sister *Arsinoe*) a very excellent Prince: howsoever, the worthiest of all that race. It was he that built, and furnished with Books the famous Library of *Alexandria*: which to adorn and to honour the more, he sent unto *Eleazar*, then high Priest of the *Jews*; for the Books of *Moses* and other Scriptures. The benefits of this King unto the *Jews* had formerly been very great; for he had set at liberty as many of them, as his father held in slavery throughout all *Ægypt*; and he had sent unto the * Temple of God in *Jerusalem* very rich Presents. Wherefore *Eleazar*, yielding unto the Kings desire, presented him with an *Hebrew* copy: which *Ptolomy* caused to be translated into *Greek*, by seventy two of the most grave and learned persons that could be found among all the Tribes. In this number of the 72. Interpreters, or (as they are commonly called) the *Seventy*, *Jesus* the son of *Syrach*, is thought by *Genebrard* to have been one; who that he lived in this Age, it seems to me very sufficiently proved by *Jansenius*, in his Preface unto *Ecclesiasticus*. The whole passage of this business between *Philadelphus* and the high Priest, was written (as [2] *Josephus* affirms) by *Aristæus* that was employed therein. Forty years *Ptolomy Philadelphus* was King; reckoning the time wherein he joyntly reigned with his father. He was exceedingly beloved of his people; and highly magnified by Poets, and other Writers. Towards his end he grew more voluptuous, than

* *Aug. de civit. Dei. l.18.c. 42.*

(a) *Jos. ant. l. 12. cap. 2.* Concerning that Book which goes under the name of *Aristæus*; many learned men, and among the rest *Lodovicus Vivis*, hold suspicion that it is counterfeit, and the invention of some late Author. Surely if it were to be suspected in the time of *Vivis*; it may be now much more justly suspected: since a new Edition of it is come forth, *purged from faults* (as the Papists term those Books, wherein they have changed what they please) and set forth by *Middendorpius* at *Colen.* An. Dom. 1578.

he had been in his former years: in which time he boasted that he alone had found out the way how to live for ever. If this had been referred unto his honourable deeds, it might have stood with reason: otherwise the Gout, with which he was often troubled, was enough to teach him his own errour. He was the first of the Kings derived from *Alexanders* Successors, that entred into League with the *Romans*: as also his offspring was the last among those Royal Families, which by them was rooted up.

Antiochus Theos had another wife called *Laodice*, at such time as he married with *Berenice* the daughter of this *Ptolomy*. After his second marriage, he used his first wife with no better regard, then if she had been the Concubine. *Laodice* hated him for this: yet adventured not to seek revenge, until her own son *Seleucus Callinicus* was of ability to be King. This was two or three years after the death of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*: at what time she poysoned her husband *Theos*, and, by permission of *Seleucus* her son, murdered *Berenice*, together with a son that she had born to *Antiochus*.

Just. l. 27. *Justine* reports, that *Berenice* saved her self, together with the young Prince her child, a while in the Sanctuary at *Daphne*: and that not only some Cities of *Asia* prepared to succour her, but her brother *Ptolomy Euergetes* King of *Ægypt*, came to rescue her with an Army; though too late, for she was slain before.

With such cruelties *Seleucus Callinicus*, succeeding unto his Father, that had fifteen years been King, began his reign. His subjects were highly offended at his wicked nature; which they discovered in his first entrance. Wherefore it was like, that his Estate would have been much endangered, if *Ptolomy Euergetes*, who came against him, had not been drawn back unto his own Countrey, by some commotions there in hand. For there were none that would bear armes against *Ptolomy*, in defence of their own King: but rather they sided with the *Ægyptian*: who took *Laodice* the Kings mother, and rewarded her with death as she had well deserved. Wherefore *Seleucus*, being freed from this invasion, by occasion of those domestical troubles which recalled *Euergetes* home into *Egypt*: went about a dangerous piece of work, even to make War upon his own subjects, because of their bad affection towards him; when it had been much better, by well deserving, to have changed their hatred into love. A great Fleet he prepared: in furnishing and manning whereof he was at such charges, that he scarce left himself any other hope, if that should miscarry. Herein he embarqued himself, and putting to Sea, did meet with such a tempest, as devoured all save himself, and a very few of his friends that hardly escaped. This calamity, having left him nothing else in a manner than his naked body, turned nevertheless to his great good; as anon after it seemed. For when his subjects understood in what sort the gods (as they conceived it) had punished him for his offences: they had commiseration of his Estate; and, presuming that he would henceforth become a new man, offered unto him their service with great alacrity. This revived him, and filled him such a spirit; as thinking himself well enough able to deal with the *Ægyptian*, he made ready a mighty Army for that purpose. But his fortune was no better at Land, than it had been at Sea. He was vanquished by *Ptolomy* in a great battle: whence he escaped hardly; no better attended, than after his late Shipwrack. Hasting therefore back to *Antioch*, and fearing that the enemy would soon be at his heels; He wrote unto his brother *Antiochus Hierax* who lay then in *Asia*, praying him to bring succour with all speed; and promising, in recompence of his faith and diligence, the Dominion of a great part of *Asia*. *Antiochus* was then but fourteen years old, but extreamly ambitious; and therefore glad of such an occasion to make himself great, He levied a mighty Army of the *Gaules*; wherewith he set forward to help his brother, or rather to get what he could for himself. Hereof *Ptolomy* being advertised: and having no desire to put himself in danger more then he needed; took Truce with *Seleucus* for ten years. No sooner was *Seleucus* freed from this care of the *Ægyptian* War, but his brother *Antiochus* came upon him, and needs would fight with him, as knowing himself to have the better Army. So *Seleucus* was vanquished again; and saved himself with so few about him, that he was verily supposed to have perished in the battle. Thus did Gods Justice take revenge of those murderers by which the Crown was purchased; and setled (as might have been thought) on the head of this bloody King. *Antiochus* was very glad to hear of his brothers death, as if thereby he had purchased his hearts desire. But the *Gaules*, his Mercenaries, were gladder then he, For when he led them against *Eumenes* King of *Pergamus*, being in hope to get honour by making a Conquest in the beginning of his Reign: these perfidious Barbarians took counsel against him, and devised how to strip him of all that he had. They thought it very likely, that if there were none of the Royal house to make head against them; it would be in their power, to do what should be best pleasing to themselves, in the lower *Asia*. Wherefore they laid hands on *Antiochus*; and enforced him to ransom himself with money, as if he had been their lawful Prisoner. Neither were they so contented: but made him enter into such composition with them, as tended but little to his honour. In the mean while *Seleucus* had gathered a new Army: and prepared once more to try his fortune against his brother. *Eumenes* hearing of this, thought the season fit for himself, to make his profit of their discord. *Antiochus* fought with him, and was beaten: which is no great marvail, since he had reason to stand in no less fear of the *Gaules*, his own Souldiers, than of the enemy with whom he had to deal. After this, *Eumenes* won much in *Asia*; whilst *Antiochus* went against his brother. In the second battle, fought between the brethren, *Seleucus* had the upper hand: and *Antiochus Hieraz* (or *Hawk*) which surname was given him, because he sought his prey upon every one, without care (whether he were provoked or not) soared away as far as he could, both from his brother, and from his own *Gaules*. Having fetcht a great compass through the *Mesopotamia* and *Armenia*, He fell at length in *Cappadocia*; where his father-in-law King *Artamenes* took him up. He was entertained very lovingly in outward shew; but with a meaning to betray him. This he soon perceived: and therefore betook him to his wings again; though he knew not well, which way to bend his flight. At length he resolved to bestow himself upon *Ptolomy*; his own conscience telling him, what evil he meant unto *Seleucus* his brother; and therefore what little good he was reciprocally to expect at his hands. Infidelity can find

find no ſure harbour. *Ptolomy* well underſtood the perfidious and turbulent nature of this *Hierax*. Wherefore he laid him up in cloſe priſon: whence though by means of an Harlot, he got out; yet flying from his Keepers, he fell into the hands of Thieves, by whom he was murthered. Near about the ſame time died *Seleucus*. The *Parthians* and *Bactrians* had rebelled againſt him, during his Wars with his Brother. He therefore made a Journey againſt *Arſaces* founder of the *Parthian* Kingdom: wherein his evil fortune, or rather Gods vengeance, adhered ſo cloſely to him, that he was taken priſoner. *Arſaces* dealt friendly with him, and diſmiſſed him, having every way given him royal entertainment: but in returning home, he brake his Neck by a fall from his Horſe, and ſo ended his unhappy reign of twenty years. He had to wife *Laodice* the ſiſter of *Andromachus*, one of his moſt truſty Captains: which was Father unto that *Achæus*, who making his advantage of this affinity, became ſhortly after (as he ſtiled himſelf) a King; though rather indeed, a great troubler of the world in thoſe parts. By *Laodice* he had two Sons; *Seleucus* the third, ſurnamed *Ceraunus*; and *Antiochus* the third, called afterwards *the Great*.

Seleucus Ceraunus reigned only 3 years: in which time he made War upon *Attalus* the firſt, that was King of *Pergamus*. Being weak of body through ſickneſs, and in want of money, he could not keep his men of War in good order: and finally he was ſlain by Treaſon of *Nicanor* and *Apaturius* a *Gaul*. His death was revenged by *Achæus*, who ſlew the Traitors: and took charge of the Army: which he ruled very wiſely, and faithfully a while; *Antiochus* the Brother of *Seleucus* being a Child.

SECT. II.

The beginning of the Great Antiochus *his Reign. Of* Ptolomy Euergetes, *and* Philopater, *Kings of* Egypt. *War between* Antiochus *and* Philopater. *The rebellion of* Molo: *an expedition of* Antiochus *againſt him. The re-continuance of* Antiochus *his* Egyptian *War: with the paſſages between the two Kings: the Victory of* Ptolomy, *and Peace concluded. Of* Achæus, *and his Rebellion; his greatneſs, and his fall.* Antiochus *his expedition againſt the* Parthians, Bactrians, *and* Indians. *Somewhat of the Kings Reigning in* India, *after the death of the Great* Alexander.

ANtiochus was ſcarcely fifteen years old, when he began his Reign, which laſted ſix and thirty years. In his minority he was wholly governed by one *Hermias*, an ambitious man, and one which maligned all vertue, that he found in any of the Kings faithful Servants. This vile quality in a Counſellor of ſuch great place, how harmful it was unto his Lord; and finally unto himſelf; the ſucceſs of things will ſhortly diſcover.

Soon after the beginning of *Antiochus* his Reign, *Ptolomy Euergetes* King of *Egypt* died, and left his heir *Ptolomy Philopater*, a young Boy likewiſe, as hath elſewhere been remembred. This was that *Energetes*, who relieved *Aratus* and the *Achæans*: who afterwards took part with *Cleomenes*: and lovingly entertained him, when he was chaſed out of *Greece* by *Antigonus Gonatus*. He annexed unto his Dominion the Kingdom of *Cyrene*, by taking to wife *Bernice*, the Daughter of King *Magas*. He was the third of the *Ptolomies*; and the laſt good King of that good race. The name of *Euergetes*, or *the doer of good*, was given to him by the *Egyptians*; not ſo much for the great ſpoils which he brought home, after his Victories in *Syria*; as for that he recovered ſome of thoſe Images or Idols, which *Cambyſes*, when he conquered *Egypt*, had carried into *Perſia*. He was ready to have made War upon the *Jews*, for that *Onias* their high Prieſt, out of meer covetouſneſs of money, refuſed to pay unto him his yearly tribute of 20 Talents: but he was pacified by the wiſdom of *Joſephus* a *Jew*, to whom afterwards he let in Farm the Tributes and Cuſtoms that belonged unto him in thoſe parts of *Syria* which he held. For *Cæloſyria*, with *Paleſtina*, and all thoſe parts of the Country that lay neareſt unto *Egypt*, were held by the *Egyptian*; either as having fallen to the ſhare of *Ptolomy* the firſt, at ſuch time as the great *Antigonus* was vanquiſhed and ſlain in the battle at *Ipſus*; or as being won by this *Euergetes*, in the troubleſome and unhappy reign of *Seleucus Callinicus*. The Victories of this *Euergetes* in *Syria*, with the contentions that laſted for many ſucceeding Ages between the *Ptolomies* and the *Seleucidæ*; were all foretold by *Daniel* in the Prophecy before cited, which is expounded by *S. Hierome*. Thus *Ptolomy Euergetes* reigned ſix and twenty years, and died towards the end of the hundred thirty and ninth Olympiad. It may ſeem by that which we find in the Prologue unto *Jeſus* the Son of *Syrach* his book, that he ſhould have reigned a much longer time. For *Siracides* there ſaith, that he came into *Egypt* in the eight and thirtieth year, when *Euergetes* was King. It may therefore be, That either this King reigned long together with his Father: or that thoſe eight and thirty years, were the years of *Jeſus* his own age; if not perhaps reckoned (as the *Jews* did other whiles reckon) from ſome notable accident that had befallen them.

Not long after the death of *Euergetes*, *Hermias* the Counſellor, and in a manner the Protector of King *Antiochus*, incited his Lord unto War againſt the *Egyptians*, for the recovery of *Cæloſyria*, and the Countries adjoyning. This Counſel was very unſeaſonably given, when *Molo*, the Kings Lieutenant in *Media*, was broken out in Rebellion, and ſought to make himſelf abſolute Lord of that rich Country. Nevertheleſs *Hermias*, being more froward than wiſe, maintained ſtiffly, that it was moſt expedient and agreeable with the Kings honour, to ſend forth againſt a rebellious Captain, other Captains that were faithful; whilſt he in perſon made War upon one that was like himſelf, a King. No man durſt gain-ſay the reſolution of *Hermias*, who therefore ſent *Xenætas* an *Achæan*, with ſuch Forces as he thought expedient, againſt the Rebel; whilſt in the mean ſeaſon an Army was preparing for the Kings expedition into *Cæloſyria*. The King having marched from *Apamea* to *Laodicea*, and ſo over the Deſarts into the Valley of *Maſſias*, between the Mountains of *Libanus* and *Anti-libanus*, found his way there ſtopped by *Theodotus* an *Ætolian*, that ſerved under *Ptolomy*. So he conſumed the time there a while to none effect: and then came news, that *Xenætas*, his Captain, was deſtroyed with his whole Army; and

and *Molo* thereby become Lord of all the Countrey, as far as unto *Babylon*.

Xenætas, whilſt he was yet on his Journey, and drew near to the River of *Tygris*, received many advertiſements, by ſuch as fled over unto him from the Enemy, That the followers of *Molo* were, for the moſt part, againſt their wills drawn by their Commander to bear Arms againſt their King. This report was not altogether falſe; but *Molo* himſelf ſtood in ſome doubt leſt his followers would leave him in time of neceſſity. *Xenætas* therefore making ſhew, as if he had prepared to paſs the River by Boats in face of his Enemy; left in the night time ſuch as he thought meet to defend his Camp: and with all the flower of his Army went over *Tygris*, in a place ten miles lower than *Molo* his Camp. *Molo* heard of this, and ſent forth his Horſe to give impediment: but hearing that *Xenætas* could not be ſo ſtopped, He himſelf diſlodged, and took his Journey towards *Media*; leaving all his baggage behind him in his Camp. Whether he did this, as diſtruſting the faith of his own Souldiers; or whether thereby to deceive his Enemy: the great folly of *Xenætas* made his ſtratagem proſperous. For *Xenætas*, having born himſelf proudly before, upon the countenance of *Hermias*, by whom he was advanced unto this charge; did now preſume that all ſhould give way to his authority, without putting him to much trouble of uſing the Sword. Wherefore he ſuffered his men to feaſt with the proviſions which they found ready in the forſaken Camp: or rather he commanded them ſo to do, by making Proclamation, That they ſhould cheriſh up themſelves againſt the Journey, which he intended to take the next day, in purſuit of the Rebels that fled. And to the ſame purpoſe he buſied himſelf, in tranſporting the remainder of his Army, which he had left on the other ſide of *Tygris*. But *Molo* went no further that day, than he could eaſily return the ſame night. Wherefore underſtanding what good rule the Kings men kept: he made ſuch haſte back unto them, that he came upon them early in the morning; whilſt they were yet heavy with the Wine, and other good cheer that they had ſpent at Supper. So *Xenætas* and a very few with him, died fighting in defence of the Camp: the reſt were ſlaughtered without making reſiſtance; and many of them e're they were perfectly awake. Likewiſe the Camp on the other ſide of *Tygris*, was eaſily taken by *Molo*: the Captains flying thence, to ſave their own lives. In the heat of this Victory, the Rebel marched unto *Seleucia*, which he preſently took: and, maſtering within a little while the Province of *Babylonia*, and all the Countrey down to the red Sea, or Bay of *Perſia*, he haſted unto *Suſa*; where at his firſt coming, he won the City: but failing to take the Caſtle, that was exceeding ſtrong, returned back to *Seleucia*, there to give order concerning this buſineſs.

The report of theſe things coming to *Antiochus*, whilſt he lay (as is ſaid before) in the Vale of *Mapſyas*; filled him with great ſorrow, and his Camp with trouble. He took Counſel what to do in this needful caſe: and was well adviſed by *Epigenes*, the beſt man of War he had about him, to let alone this enterpriſe of *Cœloſyria*; and bend his Forces thither, where more need required them. This Counſel was put in execution with all convenient haſte. Yet was *Epigenes* diſmiſſed by the way, and ſoon after ſlain, by the practice of *Hermias*: who could not endure to hear good Counſel given, contrary to his own good liking and allowance. In the Journey againſt *Molo*, the name and preſence of the King was more available, than any odds which he had of the Rebel in ſtrength. *Molo* diſtruſted his own followers: and thought, that neither his late good ſucceſs, nor any other conſideration, would ſerve to hold them from returning to the Kings obedience, if once they beheld his perſon. Wherefore he thought it ſafeſt for him to aſſail the Kings Camp in the night time. But going in hand with this, He was diſcovered by ſome that fled over from him to the King. This cauſed him to return back to his Camp: which by ſome errour, took alarm at his return: and was hardly quieted, when *Antiochus* appeared in ſight. The King was thus forward in giving battle to *Molo*, upon confidence which he had that many would revolt unto him. Neither was he deceived in this his belief. For not a few Men or Enſigns: but all the left wing of the Enemy, which was oppoſite unto the King, changed ſide forthwith as ſoon as ever they had ſight of the Kings perſon; and were ready to do him ſervice againſt *Molo*. This was enough to have won the Victory: but *Molo* ſhortned the work, by killing himſelf; as did alſo divers of his Friends, who for fear of torments, prevented the Hang-man with their own Swords.

After this Victory, came joyful news, that the Queen *Laodice*, Daughter of *Mithridates* King of *Pontus*, which was married unto *Antiochus* a while before, had brought forth a Son. Fortune ſeemed bountiful unto the King: and therefore he purpoſed to make what uſe he could of her friendly diſpoſition while it laſted. But now in the Eaſtern part of his Kingdom, He judged it convenient to viſit his Frontiers, were it only to terrifie the *Barbarians*, that bordered upon him. Hereunto his Counſellor *Hermias* gave aſſent: not ſo much reſpecting the Kings honour, as conſidering what good might thereby happen to himſelf. For if it ſhould come to paſs, that the King was taken out of the World by any caſualty: then made he no doubt of becoming Protector to the young Prince; and thereby of lengthning his own Government. *Antiochus* therefore went againſt *Artabanes*, who reigned among the *Atropatians*; having the greateſt part of his Kingdom ſcituate between the *Caſpian* and *Euxine* Sea. This barbarous King was very old and fearful; and therefore yielded unto whatſoever conditions it pleaſed *Antiochus* to lay upon him So in this Journey *Antiochus* got honour, ſuch as well contented him; and then returned homewards. Upon the way, a Phyſitian of his brake with him as concerning *Hermias*; informing him truly how odious he was to the People; and how dangerous he would be ſhortly unto the Kings own life. *Antiochus* belived this, as having long ſuſpected the ſame *Hermias*; but not daring for fear of him to utter his ſuſpitions. It was therefore agreed, that he ſhould be made away on the ſudden: which was done, he being trained forth by a ſleight, a good way out of the Camp, and there killed without warning or diſputation. The King needed not to have uſed ſo much art in ridding his hands of a man ſo much deteſted. For howſoever he ſeemed gracious whilſt he was alive: yet they that for fear had been moſt obſequious to him, whilſt he was in caſe to do them hurt, was ready as the foremoſt, to ſpeak of him as he had deſerved, when once they were ſecure of him: yea, his Wife and Children, lying then at *Apamea*, were ſtoned to death by the Wives and Children

dren of the Citizens; whose indignation brake forth the more outragiously, the longer that it had been concealed.

About these times, *Achæus* (of whom we spake before) thinking that *Antiochus* might happen to perish in some of these expeditions which he took in hand; was bold to set a Diadem upon his own head, and take upon him as a King. His purpose was to have invaded *Syria*: but the fame of *Antiochus* his returning thitherwards, made him quit the enterprise; and study to set some handsome colour on his former presumption. It is very strange, that *Antiochus* neither went against *Achæus*; nor yet dissembled the notice which he had taken of these his traiterous purposes: but wrote unto him, signifying that he knew all, and upbraiding him with such infidelity, as any offender might know to be unpardonable. By these means he emboldned the Traitor: who being already detected, might better hope to maintain his former actions by strong hand, than to excuse them, or get pardon by submission. *Antiochus* had at that time a vehement desire to recover *Cœlosyria*, or what else he could, of the Dominions of *Ptolomy Philopater* in those parts. He began with *Seleucia*, a very strong City near to the mouth of the River *Orontes*; which e're long he won, partly by force, partly by corrupting with bribes the Captains that lay therein. This was that *Seleucia*, whereto *Antigonus the Great*, who founded it, gave the name of *Antigonia*: but *Seleucus* getting it shortly after, called it *Seleucia*; and *Ptolomy Euergetes* having lately won it, might, if it had so pleased him, have changed the name into *Ptolomais*. Such is the vanity of men, that hope to purchase an endless memorial unto their names, by works proceeding rather from their greatness, than from their vertue; which therefore no longer are their own, than the same greatness hath continuance. *Theodotus* the *Ætolian*, he that before had opposed himself to *Antiochus*, and defended *Cœlosyria* in the behalf of *Ptolomy*; was now grown sorry, that he had used so much faith and diligence, in service of an unthankful and luxurious Prince. Wherefore as a Mercenary, he began to have regard to his own profit: which thinking to find greater, by applying himself unto him that was (questionless) the more worthy of these two Kings; he offered to deliver up unto *Antiochus*, the Cities of *Tyrus* and *Ptolomais*. Whilst he was devising about this Treason, and had already sent messengers to King *Antiochus*, his practice was detected, and he belieged in *Ptolomais*, by one of *Ptolomies* Captains, that was more faithful than himself. But *Antiochus* hasting to his rescue, vanquished this Captain who met him on the way: and afterwards got possession, not only of *Tyrus* and *Ptolomais*, with a good Fleet of the *Egyptian* Kings that was in those Havens: but of so many other Towns in that Country, as emboldned him to think upon making a Journey into *Egypt* it self. *Agathocles* and *Sosibius* bore all the sway in *Egypt* at that time: *Ptolomy* himself being loath to have his pleasures interrupted, with business of so small importance, as the safety of his Kingdom. Wherefore these two agreed together, to make provision as hastily, and yet as secretly as might be for the War: and nevertheless at the same time, to press *Antiochus* with daily Embassadors to some good agreement. There came in the heat of this business, Embassadors from *Rhodes*, *Byzantium*, and *Cyzicus*, as likewise from the *Ætolians*; according to the usual courtesie of the *Greeks*, desiring to take up the quarrel.

These were all entertained in *Memphis*, by *Agathocles* and *Sosibius*: who intreated to deal effectually with *Antiochus*. But whilst this Treaty lasted, great preparations were made at *Alexandria* for the War: wherein these two Counsellors perswaded themselves reasonably, that the Victory would be their own; if they could get, for money, a sufficient number of *Greeks* to take their parts. *Antiochus* heard only what was done at *Memphis*, and how desirous the Governours of *Egypt* were to be at quiet: whereunto he gave the readier belief, not only for that he knew the disposition of *Ptolomy*, but because the *Rhodians*, and other Embassadors, coming from *Memphis*, discoursed unto him all after one manner; as being all deceived by the cunning of *Agathocles* and his fellow: *Antiochus* therefore having wearied himself at the long siege of a Town called *Dura*, which he could not win: and being desirous to refresh himself and his Army in *Seleucia*, during the Winter which then came on, granted to the *Egyptian* a Truce for four months, with promise that he would be ready to hearken to equal Conditions, when they should be offered. It was not his meaning to be so courteous, as he would fain have seemed, but only to lull his Enemies asleep, whilst he took time to refresh himself; and to bring *Achæus* to some good order, whose Treason daily grew more open and violent. The same negligence which he thought the *Egyptian* would have used, he used himself, as presuming, that when time of the year better served, little force would be needful; for that the Towns would voluntarily yield unto him, since *Ptolomy* provided not for their defence. Nevertheless, he gave Audience to the Embassadors, and had often conference with those that were sent out of *Egypt*: pleasing himself well, to dispute about the justice of his quarrel which he purposed shortly to make good by the Sword, whether it were just or no. He said, that it was agreed between *Seleucus* his Ancestor, and *Ptolomy* the Son of *Lagi*, That all *Syria*, if they could win it from *Antigonus*, should be given in possession to *Seleucus*: and that this bargain was afterward ratified, by general consent of the Confederates, after the battle at *Ipsus*. But *Ptolomies* men would acknowledge no such bargain. They said that *Ptolomy* the Son of *Lagi*, had won *Cœlosyria*, and the Provinces adjoyning for himself: as also that he had sufficiently gratified *Seleucus*, by lending him Forces to recover his Province of *Babylon*, and the Countries about the River of *Euphrates*. Thus whilst neither of them greatly cared for Peace; they were in the end of their disputation, as far from concluding, as at the beginning. *Ptolomy* demanded restitution; *Antiochus* thought, that he had not as yet got ten all that was his own: Also *Ptolomy* would needs have *Achæus* comprehended in the League between them, as one of their Confederates; But *Antiochus* would not endure to hear of this, exclaiming against it as a shameful thing, that one King should offer to deal so with another, as to take his Rebel into protection, and seek to joyn him in Confederacy with his own Soveraign Lord. When the Truce was expired, and *Antiochus* prepared to take the field again: contrary to his expectation, he was informed, That *Ptolomy*, with a very puissant Army, was coming up against him out of *Egypt*. Setting forward therefore to meet with the Enemy, he was encountred on the way by these Captains

of

of *Ptolomy*, that had reſiſted him the year before. They held againſt him the paſſages of *Libanus*, whence nevertheleſs he drave them: and proceeding onwards in his journey, won ſo many places, that he greatly encreaſed his reputation; and thereby drew the *Arabians*, with divers of the bordering people, to become his followers. As the two Kings drew near together: many Captains of *Ptolomy* forſook his pay, and fled over to *Antiochus*. This notwithſtanding, the *Ægyptian* had the courage to meet his enemy in the field. The battle was fought at *Raphia*: where it was not to be decided, whether the *Ægyptians*, or the *Aſiatiques* were the better Souldiers, (for that the ſtrength of both Armies conſiſted in Mercenaries, chiefly of the *Greeks*, *Thracians*, and *Gauls*;) but whether of the Kings was the more fortunate. *Ptolomy*, with *Arſinoe* his Siſter and Wife, rode up and down encouraging his men; the like did *Antiochus* on the other ſide: each of them rehearſing the brave deeds of his Anceſtors, as not having of their own, whereby to value themſelves. *Antiochus* had the more Elephants: as alſo his being of *Aſia*, had they been fewer, would have beaten thoſe of *Africk*. Wherefore by the advantage of thoſe beaſts, He drave the Enemies before him, in that part of the battle wherein he fought himſelf. But *Ptolomy* had the better men by whoſe valour he brake the Groſs of his enemies battle, and won the victory: whilſt *Antiochus* was heedleſly following upon thoſe, whom he had compelled to retire. *Antiochus* had brought into the field above ſeventy thouſand foot, and ſix thouſand horſe; whereof though he loſt ſcarce ten thouſand foot, and not four hundred horſe; yet the fame of his overthrow took from him all thoſe places which he had lately won. When therefore he was returned home to *Antioch*: He began to ſtand in fear, leſt *Ptolomy* and *Achæus*, ſetting upon him both at once, ſhould put him in danger of his whole Eſtate. This cauſed him to ſend Embaſſadors to the *Egyptian*, to treat of peace; which was readily granted; it being much againſt the nature of *Ptolomy* to vex himſelf thus with the tedious buſineſs of War. So *Ptolomy* having ſtaïd three months in *Syria*, returned home into *Egypt*, clad with the reputation of a Conqueror; to the great admiration of his ſubjects, and all thoſe that were acquainted with his voluptuous and ſlothful condition.

Achæus was not compriſed in the league between theſe two Kings: or if he had been included therein; yet would not the *Egyptian* have taken the pains, of making a ſecond expedition for his ſake. The beſt was, that he thought himſelf ſtrong enough, if fortune were not too much againſt him to deal with *Antiochus*. Neither was he confident without great reaſon: for beſides his many victories, whereby he had gotten all that belonged unto *Antiochus* on this ſide of *Taurus*; he had alſo good ſucceſs againſt *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*: that was an able man of War, and commanded a ſtrong Army. Neither was he, as *Molo* the Rebel had been, one of mean regard otherwiſe, and carried beyond himſelf by apprehending the advantage of ſome opportunity: but Couſin-german to the King, as hath been ſhewed before; and now lately the Kings brother-in-law, by taking to wife a younger daughter of the ſame *Mithridates* King of *Pontus*, which was alſo called *Laodice*, as was her Siſter the Queen, *Antiochus* his wife. Theſe things had added Majeſty unto him, and had made his followers greatly to reſpect him, even as one to whom a Kingdom was belonging. Neither made it a little for him, that *Ptolomy* of *Ægypt* held him in the nature of a friend: and that King *Antiochus* was now lately vanquiſhed in the battle at *Raphia*: and had thereby loſt all his gettings in *Syria*. But all theſe hopes and likelihoods came to nothing: for the King of *Pontus*, if he would meddle in that quarrel between ſons-in-law, had no reaſon to take part againſt the more honourable. As for the *Egyptian*, he was not only ſlothful, but hindred by a rebellion of his own ſubjects, from helping his friends abroad. For the people of *Egypt*, of whom *Ptolomy*, contrary to the manner of his progenitors, had armed a great number to ſerve in the late expedition; began to entertain a good opinion of their own valour, thinking it not inferiour to the *Macedonian*. Hereupon they refuſed to ſuffer as much as formerly they had done, ſince they leſs eſteemed, than they had done, the force of the Kings mercenary *Greeks*: which had hitherto kept them in ſtraight ſubjection. Thus brake out a War between the King and his ſubjects: wherein though the ill-guided force of the multitude was finally broken; yet King *Ptolomy* thereby waſted much of his ſtrength, and much of his time, that might have been ſpent, as he thought, much better in revelling: or, as others thought, in ſuccouring *Achæus*. As for *Antiochus*, He had no ſooner made his peace with the *Egyptian*, than he turned all his care to the preparation of War againſt *Achæus*. To this purpoſe he entred into League with *Attalus*; that ſo he might diſtract the forces of his Rebel, and find him work on all ſides. Finally, his diligence and fortune were ſuch, that within a while he had pent up *Achæus* into the City of *Sardes*; where he held him about two years beſieged. The City was very ſtrong, and well victualled: ſo as there appeared not, when the ſecond year came, any greater likelihood of taking it, than in the firſt years ſiege. In the end, one *Lagoras* a *Cretan* found means how to enter the Town. The Caſtle it ſelf was upon a very high rock, and in a manner impregnable; as alſo the Town-wall adjoyning to the Caſtle, in that part which was called *the Sawe*, was in like manner ſcituate upon ſteep Rocks, and almoſt inacceſſible; that hung over a deep bottom, whereinto the dead carkaſſes of Horſes, and other beaſts, yea, and ſometimes of men, uſed to be thrown. Now it was obſerved by *Lagoras*, that the Ravens and other birds of prey, which haunted that place by reaſon of their food which was there never wanting, uſed to flye up unto the top of the Rocks, and to pitch upon the walls, where they reſted without any diſturbance. Obſerving this often, he reaſoned with himſelf, and concluded that thoſe parts of the wall were left unguarded, as being thought unapproachable. Hereof he informed the King: who approved his judgement, and gave unto him the leading of ſuch men, as he deſired for the accompliſhing of the enterpriſe. The ſucceſs was agreeable to that which *Lagoras* had afore conceived, and though with much labour, yet without reſiſtance, he ſcaled thoſe rocks, and whilſt a general aſſault was made, entred the Town in that part, which was at other times unguarded, then unthought upon. In the ſame place had the *Perſians*, under *Cyrus*, gotten into *Sardes*; when *Cræſus* thought himſelf ſecure on that ſide. But the Citizens took not warning by the example of a loſs of many ages paſt: and there-

but

fore out of memory. *Achæus* held ſtill the Caſtles: which not only ſeemed by nature impregnable, but was very well ſtored with all neceſſaries, and manned with a ſufficient number, of ſuch as were to him well aſſured. *Antiochus* therefore was conſtrained to waſte much time about it: having none other hope to prevail, than by famiſhing the incloſed. Beſides the uſual tedioufneſs of expectation, his buſineſs called him thence away into the higher *Aſia*, where the *Bactrians*, and *Parthians* with the *Hyrcanians*, had erected Kingdoms taken out of his Dominions, upon which they ſtill incroached. But he thought it not ſafe, to let *Aehæus* break looſe again. On the other ſide there were ſome Agents of *Ptolomy* the *Egyptian*, and good friends unto *Achæus*; that made it their whole ſtudy, how to deliver this beſieged Prince. If they could reſcue his perſon, they cared for no more: but preſumed that when he ſhould appear in the Countrys under *Taurus*, he would ſoon have an Army at command; and be ſtrong enough to hold *Antiochus* as hardly to work as at any time before. Wherefore they dealt with one *Bolis* a *Cretian*, that was acquainted well withall the wayes in the Country, and particularly with the by-paths and exceeding difficult paſſages among thoſe Rocks, whereon the Caſtle of *Sardes* ſtood. Him they tempted with great rewards, which he ſhould receive at the hands of *Ptolomy*, as well as of *Achæus*, to do his beſt for performance of their deſire. He undertook the buſineſs: and gave ſuch likely reaſons of bringing all to good effect, that they wrote unto *Achæus*, by one *Arianus*, a truſty meſſenger, whom *Bolis* found means to conveigh into the Caſtle. The faith of theſe Negotiators *Achæus* held moſt aſſured. They alſo wrote unto him in privie Characters, or Ciphers, wherewith none ſave he and they were acquainted: whereby he knew, that it was no fained device of his Enemies, in the name of his friends. As for the meſſenger, he was a truſty fellow, and one whom *Achæus* found by examination, heartily affected unto their ſide. But the Contents of the Epiſtle, which were that he ſhould be confident in the faith of *Bolis*, and of one *Cambylus* whom *Bolis* had won unto the buſineſs, did ſomewhat trouble him. They were men to him unknown: and *Cambylus* was a follower of *Antiochus*; under whom he had the command of thoſe *Cretans*, which held one of the Forts that blocked up the Caſtle of *Sardes*. Nevertheleſs other way to eſcape he ſaw none, than by putting himſelf to ſome adventure. When the meſſenger had therefore paſſed often to and fro, it was at length concluded, That *Bolis* himſelf ſhould come ſpeak with *Achæus*, and conduct him forth. There was none other than good faith meant by any of the reſt, ſave only by *Bolis* and *Cambylus*; which were *Cretans*, and (as all their Countrymen, *ſome few excepted, have been, and ſtill are,) falſe knaves. Theſe two held a conſultation together, that was, as (a) *Polybius* obſerves it, rightly *Cretical*: neither concerning the ſafety of him whoſe deliverance they undertook, nor touching the diſcharge of their own faith; but only how to get moſt with leaſt ado and danger to themſelves. Briefly they concluded, That firſt of all; they would equally ſhare between them ten Talents, which they had already received in hand: and then, That they would reveal the matter to *Antiochus*; offering to deliver *Achæus* unto him, if they might be well rewarded both with preſent money, and with promiſe of conſideration anſwerable to the greatneſs of ſuch a ſervice, when it ſhould be diſpatched. *Antiochus* hearing this promiſe of *Cambylus*, was no leſs glad, than were the friends of *Achæus* well pleaſed with the comfortable promiſes of *Bolis*. At length when all things were in readineſs on both ſides, and that *Bolis* with *Arianus* was to get up into the Caſtle, and conveigh *Achæus* thence: He firſt went with *Cambylus* to ſpeak with the King; who gave him very private audience; and confirmed unto him by word of mouth the aſſurance of his liberal promiſes. And after that, putting on the countenance of an honeſt man, and of one that was faithful unto *Ptolomy*, whom he had long ſerved, he accompanied *Arianus* up into the Caſtle. At his coming thither, he was lovingly entertained; yet queſtioned at large by *Achæus*, touching all the weight of the buſineſs in hand. But he diſcourſed ſo well, and with ſuch gravity; that there appeared no reaſon of diſtruſting either his faith or judgement. He was an old Souldier, had long been a Captain under *Ptolomy*, and did not thruſt himſelf into this buſineſs; but was invited by honourable and faithful men. He had alſo taken ſafe courſe, in winning (as it ſeemed) that other Country-man of his, who kept a Fort that ſtood in their way; and thereby had already ſundry times given ſafe paſſage and repaſſage unto *Arianus*: But againſt all theſe comfortable hopes, the importance of ſo great an adventure ſtirred up ſome diffidence. *Achæus* therefore dealt wiſely, and ſaid, that he would yet ſtay in the Caſtle a little longer: but that he meant to ſend away with *Bolis* three or four of his friends; from whom, when he received better advertiſement, concerning the likelihood of the enterpriſe, then would he iſſue forth himſelf. Hereby he took order, not to commit himſelf wholly unto the faith of a man unknown. But as *Polybius* well notes, he did not conſider what he played the *Cretian* with a man of *Crete*: which is to ſay, that he had to do with one, whoſe knavery could not be avoided by circumſpection. *Bolis* and *Cambylus* had laid their plots thus, That if *Achæus* came forth alone, then ſhould he eaſily be taken by the ambuſh prepared for him: if he were accompanied with many of his friends, then ſhould *Arianus* be appointed to lead the way, as one that of late had trodden it oft: and *Bolis* following behind, ſhould have an eye upon *Achæus*, to prevent him, not only from eſcaping in the tumult, but from breaking his own neck, or otherwiſe killing himſelf: to the end that being taken alive, he might be to *Antiochus* the more welcome Preſent. And in ſuch order came they now forth: *Arianus* going before as Guide: the reſt following as the way ſerved, and *Bolis* in the Rear. *Achæus* made none acquainted with his purpoſe, till the very inſtant of his departure: Then ſignified he the matter to his Wife *Laodice*; and comforting her with hope as well as he could, appointed four of his ſpecial friends to bear him company. They were all diſguiſed: and one of them alone took upon him to have knowledge of the *Greek* tongue;

* Among theſe few I do not except one, calling himſelf *Eudæmon*. *John Andrew* a *Cretan*, who in one of his late ſhameleſs Libels, wherein he traduceth our King, Religion, and Country, with all the good and worthy men of whom he could learn the names, hath by inſerting my name twice belied me, in calling me a *Puritan*, and one that hath been dangerous unto my Soveraign. It is an honour to be ill ſpoken of by ſo diligent a ſupporter of Treaſons, and Architect of Lies, in regard whereof I may not deny him the commendation of Creticiſm no leſs voluminous than he in multiplicity of name is beyond any the *Cretians* in elder times, that were alwayes Lyars, evil beaſts, and ſlow bellies. (a) *Pol. hiſt. l.* 8.

ſpeaking and anſwering as need ſhould require for all, as if the reſt had been *Barbarians*. *Bolis* followed them, craftily deviſing upon his buſineſs, and much perplexed. For (ſaith *Polybius*) *though he were of* Crete, *and prone to ſurmiſe any thing to the miſchief of another*; yet could he not ſee in the dark, nor know which of them was *Achæus*, or whether *Achæus* himſelf were there. The way was very uneaſie, and in ſome places dangerous; eſpecially to thoſe that knew it not. Wherefore they were fain to ſtay in divers places, and help one another up or down. But upon every occaſion they were all of them very officious towards *Achæus*; lending him their hands, and taking ſuch care of him, as eaſily gave *Bolis* to underſtand that he was the man: and ſo by there unſeaſonable duty, they undid their Lord. When they came to the place where *Cambylus* lay in wait, *Bolis* whiſtled, and preſently claſped *Achæus* about the middle, holding him faſt that he could not ſtir. So they were all taken by the Ambuſh, and carried forthwith to *Antiochus*; who ſate up watching in his Pavilion, expecting the event. The ſight of *Achæus*, brought in bound unto him, did ſo aſtoniſh the King, that he was unable to ſpeak a word, and anon brake out into weeping. Yet was he before informed of the plot, which might have kept him from admiration: as alſo the next morning betimes, aſſembling his friends together, he condemned *Achæus* to a cruel death: which argues, that he was not moved with pity towards this unhappy man. Wherefore it was the general regard of calamities, incident unto great fortunes, that wrung from him theſe tears, as alſo the rarity of the accident, that made both him and his friends to wonder: though it be ſo, that ſuch a courſe as this of his, in imploying two miſchievous knaves againſt one Traitor, doth not rarely ſucceed well; according to that *Spaniſh* Proverb, *A un traydor dos allevoſos*. The death of *Achæus* brought ſuch aſtoniſhment upon thoſe which held the Caſtle, that after a while they gave up the place and themſelves unto the King; whereby he got entire poſſeſſion of all to him belonging in the leſſer *Aſia*.

Some years paſſed after this, e're *Antiochus* was ready for his expedition againſt the *Parthians* and *Hyrcanians*. The *Parthians* were a little Nation of obſcure beginnings, and commonly ſubject unto thoſe that ruled in *Media*. In the great ſhuffling for Provinces, after the death of *Alexander*, the Government over them was committed by *Antipater*, to one *Philip*, a man of ſmall regard: ſhortly they fell to *Eumenes*, then to *Antigonus*: and from him, together with the *Medes*, to *Seleucus*; under whoſe proſperity they continued until the Reign of *Seleucus Calinicus*, being ruled by Lieutenants of the *Syrian* Kings. The luſtful inſolency of one of theſe Lieutenants, together with the misfortune of *Calinicus*, that was vanquiſhed and thought to be ſlain by the *Gauls*, did ſtir up *Arſaces*, a nobleman of the Country, to ſeek revenge of injuries done, and animate them to rebel. So he ſlew the Kings Lieutenant; made himſelf King of the *Parthians*, and Lord of *Hyrcania*, fought proſperouſly with thoſe that diſturbed him in his beginnings; and took *Seleucus Calinicus* priſoner in battle, whom he royally entertained and diſmiſſed. Hereby he won reputation as a lawful King: and by good government of his Countrey, procured unto himſelf ſuch love of his Subjects, that his name was continued unto his ſucceſſors; like as that of the *Ptolomies* in *Egypt*, and that of the *Cæſars* afterwards in *Rome*. Much about the ſame time the *Bactrians* rebelled: though theſe at length, and all belonging unto the *Seleucedæ* beyond *Euphrates*, increaſed the *Parthians* dominion. Now *Antiochus* went againſt them with ſo ſtrong an army, that they durſt not meet him in plain field; but kept themſelves in woods or places of ſtrength, and defended the Straights and paſſages of mountains. The reſiſtances they made availed them not. For *Antiochus* had with him ſo great a multitude, and ſo well ſorted, as he needed not to turn out of the way, from thoſe that lay fortified againſt him, in Woods and Straights between their mountains; it being eaſie to ſpare of ſo great a number, as many as fetching a compaſs about, might either get above the enemies heads; or come behind, and charge them on the back. Thus did he often imploy againſt them his light armature: wherewith he cauſed them to diſlodge, and give way unto his Phalanx; upon which they durſt not adventure themſelves in open ground. *Arſaces*, the ſecond of the name, (for his father was dead before this) was then King of *Parthia*: who though he was confident in the fidelity of his own ſubjects, yet feared to encounter ſo mighty an Invader. His hope was, that the bad wayes and Deſarts would have cauſed *Antiochus*, when he was at *Ecbatane* in *Media*, to give over the journey, without proceeding much further. This not ſo falling out: He cauſed the Wells and Springs in the Wilderneſs, through which his Enemy muſt paſs, to be dammed up and ſpoiled. By which means, and the reſiſtance before ſpoken of, when he could not prevail, He withdrew himſelf out of the way; ſuffering his Enemy to take his pleaſure for a time, in waſting the Countrey: wherein without ſome Victory obtained, he could make no long abode. *Antiochus* hereby found, That *Arſaces* was nothig ſtrongly provided for the War. Wherefore he marched through the heart of *Parthia*: and then forward into *Hyrcania*, where he won *Tambrace*, the chief City of that Province. This indignity, and many other loſſes, cauſed *Arſaces* at length, when he had gathered an Army that ſeemed ſtrong enough, to adventure a battle. The iſſue thereof was ſuch as gave to neither of the Kings hope of accompliſhing his deſires, without exceeding difficulty. Wherefore *Arſaces* craved peace, and at length obtained it: *Antiochus* thinking it not amiſs, to make him a friend, whom he could not make a ſubject.

The next expedition of *Antiochus*, was againſt *Euthydemus* King of the *Bactrians*; one that indeed had not rebelled againſt him or his Anceſtors: but having gotten the Kingdom from thoſe that had rebelled, kept it himſelf. With *Euthydemus* he fought a battle by the River *Artus*, where he had the Victory. But the Victory was not ſo greatly to his honour, as was the teſtimony which he gave of his own private valour, in obtaining it. He was thought that day to have demeaned him more couragiouſly, than did any one man in all his Army. His horſe was ſlain under him; and he himſelf received a wound in his mouth, whereby he loſt ſome of his teeth. As for *Euthydemus*, He withdrew himſelf back unto the futhermoſt parts of his Kingdom, and afterwards protracted the War, ſeeking how to end it by compoſition. So Embaſſadors paſſed between the Kings: *Antiochus* complaining, That a Country of his was unjuſtly uſurped from him: *Euthydemus* anſwering, That he had won it from the children of the Uſurpers:

pers: and further, that the *Bactrians*, a wild Nation, could hardly be retained in order, save by a King of their own; for that they bordered upon the *Scythians*, with whom if they should join; it would be greatly to the danger of all the Provinces that lay behind them. These allegations, together with his own wearineſs, pacified *Antiochus*, and made him willing to grant Peace, upon reaſonable Conditions. *Demetrius*, the ſon of *Euthydemus*, being a goodly Gentleman, and employed by his father, as Embaſſador in this Treaty of Peace, was not a little available unto a good concluſion: for *Antiochus* liked him ſo well, that he promiſed to give him in marriage, one of his own daughters; and therewithal permitted *Euthydemus* to retain the Kingdom, cauſing him nevertheleſs to deliver up his Elephants; as alſo to bind himſelf by oath, to ſuch Covenants as he thought requiſite.

So *Antiochus* leaving the *Bactrian* in quiet, made a journey over *Caucauſus*, and came to the borders of *India*, where he renewed with *Sophagaſenus*, King of the *Indians*, the ſociety that had been between their Anceſtors. The *Indians* had remained ſubject unto the *Macedonians* for a little while, after *Alexanders* death. *Eumenes* in his War againſt *Antigonus*, raiſed part of his forces out of their Country. But when *Antigonus* (after his victory) turned Weſtward, and was overbuſied in a great Civil War: then did one *Sandrocottus*, an *Indian*, ſtir up his country-men to rebellion; making himſelf their Captain, and taking upon him, as protector of their liberty. This Office and Title he ſoon changed, though not without ſome contention, into the Name and Majeſty of a King. Finally he got unto himſelf (having an Army of ſix hundred thouſand men) if not all *India*, yet as much of it as had been *Alexanders*: In this eſtate he had well confirmed himſelf, e're *Seleucus Nicanor* could find leiſure to call him to account. Neither did he faint, or humble himſelf at the coming of *Seleucus*; but met him in the field, as ready to defend his own, ſo ſtrongly and well appointed, that the *Macedonian* was contented to make both peace and affinity with him, taking only a reward of fifty Elephants. This League, made by the Founders of the *Indian* and *Syrian* Kingdoms, was continued by ſome offices of love between their children, and now renewed by *Antiochus*; whoſe number of Elephants were increaſed thereupon, by the *Indian* King, to an hundred and fifty: as alſo he was promiſed, to have ſome treaſure ſent after him; which he left one to receive. Thus parted theſe two great Kings. Neither had the *Indians*, from this time forwards in many generations, any buſineſs worthy of remembrance with the Weſtern countries. The poſterity of *Sandrocottus* is thought to have retained that Kingdom unto the dayes of *Auguſtus Cæſar*: to whom *Porus*, then reigning in *India*, ſent Embaſſadors with preſents, and an Epiſtle written in *Greek*, wherein among other things, he ſaid, That he had command over ſix hundred Kings. There is alſo found, ſcattered in ſundry Authors, the mention of ſome which held that Kingdom, in divers Ages, even unto the time of *Conſtantine the Great*: being all peradventure of the ſame race. But *Antiochus*, who in this Treaty with *Sophagaſenus* carryed himſelf as the worthier perſon, receiving preſents, and after marching home through *Drangiana* and *Carmania*, with ſuch reputation, that all the Potentates, not only in the higher *Aſia*, but on the higher ſide of *Taurus*, humbled themſelves unto him, and called him *The Great*: ſaw an end of his own greatneſs within few years enſuing, by preſuming to ſtand upon points with the *Romans*: whoſe Greatneſs was the ſame indeed, that his was only in ſeeming.

SECT. III.

The lewd reign of Ptolomy Philopater *in Ægypt: with the Tragical end of his favourites, when he was dead.* Antiochus *prepares to war on the young child* Ptolomy Epiphanes, *the ſon of* Philopater. *His reſolution in preparing for divers wars at once. His voyage towards the* Helleſpont. *He ſeeks to hold amity with the* Romans, *who make friendly ſhew to him; intending nevertheleſs to have war with him. His doings againſt the* Helleſpont; *which the* Romans *made the firſt ground of their quarrel to him.*

THis expedition being finiſhed, *Antiochus* had leiſure to repoſe himſelf a while; and ſtudy which way to convert the terrour of his puiſſance, for the enlargement of his Empire. Within two or three years *Ptolomy Philopater* died: leaving his ſon *Ptolomy Epiphanes*, a young Boy, his ſucceſſor in the Kingdom: unlikely by him to be well defended againſt a neighbour ſo mighty and ambitious. This *Ptolomy* ſurnamed *Philopater*, that is to ſay, *a lover of his Father*, is thought to have had that ſurname given him in meer deriſion; as having made away both his Father and Mother. His young years being newly paſt, his childhood when he began to reign, may ſeem to diſcharge him of ſo horrible a crime, as his Fathers death: yet the beaſtlineſs of all his following life, makes him not unlike to have done any miſchief, whereof he could be accuſed. Having won the battles at *Raphiah*, He gave himſelf over to ſenſuality, and was wholly governed by a Strumpet called *Agathoclea*. At her inſtigation, He murdered his own wife and ſiſter; which had adventured her ſelf with him, in that only dangerous action by him undertaken and performed with honour. The Lieutenant-ſhips of his Provinces, with all Commands in his Army, and Offices whatſoever, were wholly referred unto the diſpoſition of this *Agathoclea*, and her brother *Agathocles*, and *Oenanthe* a filthy bawd that was mother unto them both. So theſe three governed the Realm at their pleaſure, to the great grief of all the Country, till *Philopater* died; who having reigned ſeventeen years, left none other ſon than *Ptolomy Epiphanes*, a child of five years old, begotten on *Arſione* that was his ſiſter and wife. After the Kings death *Agathocles* began to take upon him, as protector of young *Epiphanes*, and Governour of the Land. He aſſembled the *Macedons* (which were the Kings ordinary forces in pay, not all born in *Macedonia*, but the race of thoſe that abode in *Egypt* with *Ptolomy the firſt*, and would not be accounted *Egyptians*; as neither would the Kings themſelves) and bringing forth unto them his ſiſter *Agathoclea*, with the young King in her armes; began a ſolemn Oration. He told them, That the deceaſed Father of this their King, had com-

committed the Child into the arms of his Sister: but unto the faith of them: on whose valiant right hands, the whole state of the Kingdom did now rely. He besought them therefore that they would be faithful, and, as great need was, defend their King against the Treason of one *Tlepolemus* an ambitious man; who traiterously went about to set the Diadem upon his own head, being a meer stranger to the Royal blood. Herewithall he produced before them a witness, that should justifie his accusation against *Tlepolemus*. Now though it were so, that he delivered all this with a fained passion of sorrow, and counterfeiting tears: yet the *Macedons* that heard him, regarded not any word that he spake; but stood laughing, and talking one to another, what a shameless dissembler he was, to take so much upon him, as if he knew not how greatly he was hated. And so brake up the Assembly: he that had called it, being scarce aware how. *Agathocles* therefore, whom the old Kings favour had made mighty, but neither wise nor well qualified, thought to go to work, as had formerly been his manner; by using his authority, to the suppression of those that he distrusted. He haled out of the Temple the Mother-in-law of *Tlepolemus*; and cast her into prison. This filled *Alexandria* with rumours, and made the people (though accustomed to suffer greater things, whilst they were committed in the old Kings name) to meet in knots together, and utter one to another their minds, wherein they had conceived extream hate, against these three pernicious Mis-governours of the old King. Besides their consideration of the present injury done to *Tlepolemus*, they were somewhat also moved with fear of harm; which in way of requital, *Tlepolemus* was likely to do unto the City. For he was thought a man most unapt for Government, as afterwards he proved, yet no bad Souldier, and well beloved of the Army. It was also then in his power, to stop the provision of Victuals which was to come into *Alexandria*. As these motives wrought with the people, so by the remedy which *Agathocles* used, were the *Macedons* more hastily, and more violently stirred unto uproar. He secretly apprehended one of their number, whom he suspected of conspiracy against him; and delivered him unto a follower of his own, to be examined by torture. This poor Souldier was carried into an inner room of the Palace, and there stripped out of all his Apparel to be tormented. But whilst the whips were brought forth, and all things even in a readiness for that purpose, there was brought unto the Minister of *Agathocles*, a sad report of *Tlepolemus* his being at hand. Hereupon the Examiner, and his Torturers, one after another, went out of the room; leaving *Moeragenes* the Souldier alone by himself, and the doors open. He perceiving this, naked as he was, conveighed himself out of the Palace, and got unto the *Macedonians*, of whom he found some in a Temple thereby at Dinner. The *Macedonians* were as fierce in maintenance of their Priviledges, as are the *Turks Janizaries*. Being assured therefore that one of their fellows had thus been used, they fell to Arms in a great rage, and began to force the Palace: crying out, That they would see the King, and not leave him in possession of a dangerous man. The whole multitude in the City, with loud clamours, made no less ado than the Souldiers, though to less effect. So the old Bawd *Oenantha* fled into a Temple: her Son and Daughter stayed in the Court, untill the King was taken from them, and they, by his permission, which he easily gave, and by appointment of those that now had him in their hands, delivered up to the fury of the people. *Agathocles* himself was stabbed to death, by some which therein did the Office of Friends; though in manner of Enemies. His Sister was dragg'd naked up and down the Streets; as was also his Mother, with all to them belonging; the enraged multitude committed upon them a barbarous execution of Justice: biting them, pulling out their eyes, and tearing them in pieces.

These troubles in *Egypt*, served well to stir up King *Antiochus*; who had very good leisure, though he wanted all pretence, to make War upon young *Ptolomy*. *Philip* of *Macedon* had the same desire to get what he could of the Childs Estate. But it hapned well, that *Ptolomy Philopater* in the *Punick* War, which was now newly ended, had done many good offices unto the *Romans*. Unto them therefore the *Egyptians* addressed themselves, and craved help against these two Kings: who, though they secretly maligned one the other; yet had entred into covenant to divide between them all that belonged unto this *Orphan*; whose Father had been confederate with them both. So † *M. Lepidus* was sent from *Rome*, to protect from all violence the King of *Egypt*; especially against *Antiochus*. As for the *Macedonian*; he was very soon found busied with War at his own Doors. Also *Scopas* the *Ætolian*, being a Pensioner to the *Egyptian*, was sent into *Greece* to raise an Army of Mercenaries. What *Lepidus* did in *Egypt*, I do not find: and therefore think it not improbable, that he was sent thither only one of the three Embassadors, in the beginning of the War with *Philip*, as hath been shewed before. As for *Scopas*; he shortly after went up into *Syria* with his Army; where, winning many places, among the rest of his Acts, he subdued the *Jews*, who seem to have yielded themselves a little before unto *Antiochus*, at such time as they saw him prepare for his War, and despaired of receiving help from *Egypt*. But it was not long e're all these Victories of *Scopas* came to nothing. For the very next year following, which was (according to *Eusebius*) the same year that *Philip* was beaten at *Cynoscephalæ*; *Antiochus* vanquished *Scopas* in battle, and recovered all that had been lost. Among the rest, the *Jews*, with great willingness, returned under his obedience; and were therefore by him very gently entreated.

† *Just. l. 30.*

Liv. l. 31.

Vide Joseph. Ant. Jud. lib. 12 cap. 3.

The Land of *Egypt*, this great King did forbear to invade; and gave it out, that he meant to bestow a Daughter of his own in Marriage unto *Ptolomy*: either hoping, as may seem, that the Country would willingly submit it self unto him, if this young Child should happen to miscarry; or else that greater purchase might be made in the Western parts of *Asia*, whilst *Philip* was held overlaboured by the *Romans*. It appears that he was very much distracted; hunting (as we say) two Hares at once with one Hound. The quarrels between *Attalus*, *Philip*, and the *Greeks*, promised to afford him great advantage, if he should bring his Army to the *Hellespont*. On the other side, the state of *Egypt* being such as hath been declared, seemed easily to be swallowed up at once. One while therefore he took what he could get in *Syria*: where all were willing (and the *Jews*, among the rest, though hitherto they had kept faith with the *Egyptian*) to yield him obedience. Another while, letting *Egypt* alone, he was about to make invasion upon *Attalus* his King-

dom;

dom; yet ſuffered himſelf eaſily to be perſwaded by the *Roman* Embaſſadors, and deſiſted from that enterpriſe. Having thus far gratified the *Romans*, he ſends Embaſſadors to the Senate, to conclude a perfect Amity between him and them. It is not lightly to be over-paſſed, That theſe his Embaſſadors were lovingly entertained at *Rome*; and diſmiſſed, with a Decree and anſwer of the Senate, altogether to the honour of King *Antiochus*. But this anſwer of the *Romans* was not ſincere; being rather framed according to regard of the Kings good liking, than of their own intent. They had not yet made an end with *Philip*: neither would they gladly be troubled with two great Wars at once. Wherefore, not ſtanding much upon the nice examination of what belonged unto their honour, they were content to give good words for the preſent. In the mean time *Antiochus* fights with *Scopas* in *Syria*, and ſhortly prepares to win ſome Towns elſewhere, belonging unto *Ptolomy*; yet withall he ſends an Army Weſtward, intending to make what profit he can of the diſtractions in *Greece*. Likewiſe it is conſiderable, as an argument of his much irreſolution, how, notwithſtanding his attempts upon both of their Kingdoms, he offered one of his Daughters to *Ptolomy*, and another to *Eumenes* the Son of *Attalus*, newly King of *Pergamus*: ſeeking each of their friendſhips at one and the ſame time, when he ſought to make each of them a ſpoil. Thus was he acting and deliberating at once; being carried with an inexplicable deſire of Repugnancies, which is a Diſeaſe of great and over-ſwelling-fortunes. Howſoever it was, he ſent an Army to *Sardes* by Land, under two of his Sons: willing them there to ſtay for him; whilſt he himſelf, with a Fleet of an hundred Gallies, and two hundred other Veſſels, intended to paſs along by the Coaſts of *Cilicia* and *Caria*, taking in ſuch places as held for the *Egyptian*. It was a notable act of the *Rhodians*, that, whilſt the War of *Philip* lay yet upon their hands, they adventured upon this Great *Antiochus*. They ſent unto him a proud Embaſſage; whereby they gave him to underſtand, That if he paſſed forward beyond a certain Promontory in *Cilicia*, they would meet with him, and fight with him; not for any quarrel of theirs unto him; but becauſe he ſhould not joyn with *Philip* their Enemy, and help him againſt the *Romans*. It was inſolently done of them, neither ſeemed it otherwiſe, to preſcribe ſuch limits unto the King: yet he tempered himſelf, and without any ſhew of indignation, gave a gentle anſwer; partly himſelf to their Embaſſadors; partly unto their whole City, by Embaſſadors whieh he thither ſent. He ſhewed his deſire to renew the ancient Confederacies between his Anceſtors and them: and willed them not to be afraid, leſt his coming ſhould tend unto any hurt, either of them, or of their Confederates. As touching the *Romans* whom they thought that he would moleſt: they were (he ſaid) his very good Friends; whereof, he thought there needed no better proof, than the entertainment and anſwer by them newly given to his Embaſſadors.

The *Rhodians* appear to have been a cunning People, and ſuch as could fore-ſee what Weather was like to happen. This anſwer of the King, and the relation of what had paſſed between his Embaſſadors and the Senate, moved them not a whit, when they were informed ſhortly after, that the *Macedonian* War was ended at the Battle of *Cynoſcephalæ*. They knew that *Antiochus* his turn would be next; and prepared to be forward on the ſtronger ſide. Wherefore they would not be contented to ſit ſtill, unleſs the Towns on the South Coaſt of *Aſia*, belonging to *Ptolomy* their Friend and Confederate, were ſuffered to be at quiet. Herein alſo they did well; for that they had ever been greatly beholding to all the Race of the *Ptolomies*. They therefore in this time of neceſſity, gave what aid they could unto all the Subjects of the *Egyptian* in thoſe parts. In like manner did King *Eumenes*, the Son of *Attalus*, prognoſticate as concerning the War that followed between *Antiochus* and the *Romans*. For when King *Antiochus* made a friendly offer, to beſtow one of his Daughters upon him in Marriage: He excuſed himſelf, and would not have her. *Attalus* and *Philetærus*, his Brethren, wondred at this. But he told them, that the *Romans* would ſurely make War upon *Antiochus*; and therein finally prevail. Wherefore he ſaid, that by abſtaining from this affinity, it ſhould be in his power to joyn with the *Romans*, and ſtrengthen himſelf greatly with their friendſhip. Contrariwiſe, if he leaned to *Antiochus*, as he muſt be partaker in his overthrow; ſo was he ſure to be oppreſſed by him, as by an over-mighty Neighbour, if he hapned to win the Victory.

Antiochus himſelf wintred about *Epheſus*; where he took ſuch order as he thought convenient for reducing of *Smyrna* and *Lampſacus* to obedience; that had uſurped their Liberty, and obſtinately ſtrove to maintain it, in hope that the *Romans* would protect them. In the beginning of the Spring he ſailed unto the *Helleſpont*; where, having won ſome Towns that *Philip* had gotten not long before this, he paſſed over into *Europe* ſide; and in ſhort ſpace maſtered the *Cherſoneſus*. Thence went he to *Lyſimachia*: which the *Thracians* had gotten and deſtroyed, when *Philip* withdrew his Garriſon thence, to employ it in the *Roman* War. The *Ætolians* objected as a crime unto *Philip*, in the conference between *T. Quintius*, that he had oppreſſed *Lyſimachia*, by thruſting thereinto a Garriſon. Hereupon *Philip* made anſwer, That his Garriſon did not oppreſs the Town, but ſave it from the *Barbarians*: who took and ſack'd it, as ſoon as the *Macedonians* were gone. That this anſwer was good and ſubſtantial, though it were not acceptable as ſuch; might appear by the miſerable caſe, in which *Antiochus* found *Lyſimachia* at his coming thither. For the Town was utterly raſed by the *Barbarians*, and the people carried away into ſlavery. Wherefore the King took order to have it re-edified: as alſo to redeem thoſe that were in bondage; and to recollect as many of the Citizens as were diſperſed in the Country thereabout. Likewiſe he was careful to allure thither, by hopeful promiſes, new Inhabitants, and to repleniſh the City with wonted frequency. Now to the end that men ſhould not be terrified from coming thither to dwell, by any fear of the neighbour *Thracians*: he took a Journey in hand againſt thoſe barbarous people, with the one half of his Army; leaving the other half to repair the City. Theſe pains he took, partly in regard of the convenient ſcituation, and former glory of *Lyſimachia*; partly for that he thought it highly redounding unto his own honour, to recover and eſtabliſh the Dominion in thoſe parts which his fore-father *Seleucus Nicator* had won from *Lyſimachus*, and thereby made his Kingdom of greater extent than it occupied in any following time. But for this ambition

he

he ſhall dearly pay: and as after that Victory againſt *Lyſimachus*, the death of King *Seleucus* followed ſhortly; ſo ſhall a deadly wound of the Kingdom, founded by *Seleucus*, enſue very ſpeedily after the re-conqueſt of the ſame Country, which was the laſt of *Seleucus* his Purchaſes.

SECT. IV.

The Romans *hold friendly correſpondence with* Antiochus, *during their War with* Philip: *after which they quarrel with him. The doings of* Hannibal *at* Carthage: *whence he is chaſed by his Enemies, and by the* Romans: *His flight unto the King* Antiochus. *The* Ætolians *murmur againſt the* Romans *in* Greece. *The War of the* Romans *and* Achæans, *with* Nabis *the Tyrant of* Lacedæmon. *The departure of the* Romans *out of* Greece. T. Quintius *his Triumph. Peace denied to* Antiochus *by the* Romans.

10. FOr the *Romans*, though they were unable to ſmother their deſire of War with *Antiochus*, whereof notice was already taken both by their Friends and by their Enemies: yet was it much againſt their will to keep the rumour on Foot, which they meant ſhortly to make good, of this intended War, ſo long as they wanted matter of quarrel; whereof they were furniſhed, by this enterpriſe of the Kings about *Lyſimachia*. It was not long, ſince King *Attalus*, a Friend and a helper of the *Romans* in their War with *Philip*, could obtain of them none other help againſt *Antiochus*, than Embaſſadors to ſpeak for him, becauſe the one of theſe Kings was held no leſs a Friend than the other. Neither did there afterwards paſs between them any other offices, than very Friendly. *Antiochus* at the requeſt of their Embaſſadors, withdrew his Invaſion from the Kingdom of *Pergamus*: alſo very ſhortly after he ſent Embaſſadors to them, to make a perfect League of amity between them. This was whilſt as yet they were buſied with *Philip*, and therefore had reaſon to anſwer his good will with good acceptation: as they did in outward ſhew. But when the *Macedonian* War was at an end, and all, or moſt of all the States in *Greece*, were become little better than Clients unto the *Romans*: then was all this good correſpondence changed into terms of worſe, but more plain meaning. For *T. Quintius*, with his ten Counſellors ſent from *Rome*, requited (as hath been † ſhewed before) with a commination of War, this Kings gratulation of their Victory; as alſo his long profeſſed amity, and deſire to continue in the ſame.

† *Chap. 4. Sect. ult.*

Theſe ten Counſellors were able to inform *T. Quintius*, and acquaint him with the purpoſe of the Senate: whereof yet it ſeems that he was not ignorant before; ſince, in regard of *Antiochus*, he was the more inclinable unto Peace with *Philip*. It was therefore agreed, when they divided themſelves to make progreſs through divers quarters of *Greece* for the execution of their late Decree, That two of them ſhould viſit King *Antiochus*; and the reſt, where occaſion ſerved, uſe diligence to make a party ſtrong againſt him. Neither was the Senate at *Rome* unmindful of the buſineſs; wherein, leſt *T. Quintius*, with his ten Aſſiſtants, ſhould happen to forget any thing to their parts belonging, *L. Cornelius* was ſent from *Rome*, of purpoſe to deal with the King about thoſe controverſies, that were between him and *Ptolomy*. What other private inſtructions *Cornelius* had, we may conjecture by the managing of this his Embaſſage. For coming to *Selymbria*: and there underſtanding that *P. Villius* and *L. Terentius*, having been ſent by *Titus*, were at *Lyſimachia*, He haſtened thither; whither alſo came *P. Lentulus* (another of the ten Counſellors) from *Bargilla*, to be preſent at the Conference. *Hegeſianax* and *Lyſias* were alſo there; the ſame, who had lately brought from *Titus* thoſe peremptory Conditions, which the Embaſſadors preſent ſhall expound unto their Maſter. After a few daies *Antiochus* returned from his *Thracian* Expedition. The meeting and entertainment between him and theſe *Romans*, was in appearance full of love. But when they came to treat of the buſineſs in hand; this good mood was quite altered. *L. Cornelius*, in two or three words, briefly delivered his errand from *Rome*: which was, That *Antiochus* had reaſon to deliver back unto *Ptolomy* thoſe Towns of his, whereof he had lately gotten poſſeſſion. Hereunto he added, and that very carneſtly, That he muſt alſo give up the Towns of late belonging unto *Philip*; and by him newly occupied. For what could be more abſurd, than ſuch folly in the *Romans*, as to let *Antiochus* enjoy the profit of that War, wherein they had laboured ſo much, and he done nothing? Further he warned the King, that he ſhould not moleſt thoſe Cities that were free: and finally he demanded of him, upon what reaſon he was come over with ſo great an Army into *Europe*; for that other cauſe of his Journey there was none probable, than a purpoſe to make War upon the *Romans*? To this the King made anſwer, That he wondred why the *Romans* ſhould ſo trouble themſelves, with thinking upon the matters of *Aſia*: wherewith he prayed them to let him alone: even as he, without ſuch curioſity, ſuffered them to do in *Italy* what they thought good. As for his coming over into *Europe*: they ſaw well enough what buſineſs had drawn him thither; namely, the War againſt the barbarous *Thracians*: the re-building of *Lyſimachia*, and the recovery of Towns to him belonging in *Thrace* and *Cherſoneſus*. Now concerning his title unto that Country, He derived it from *Seleucus*: who made Conqueſt thereof, by his Victory againſt *Lyſimachus*. Neither was it ſo, that any of the places in controverſie between him and the other Kings, had been ſtill of old belonging to the *Macedonians* or *Egyptians*; but had been ſeized on by them, or by others from whom they received them, at ſuch time as his Anceſtors, being Lords of thoſe Countries, were hindred by multiplicity of buſineſs, from looking unto all that was their own. Finally he willed them, neither to ſtand in fear of him, as if he intended ought againſt them from *Lyſimachia*; ſince it was his purpoſe to beſtow this City upon one of his Sons, that ſhould reign therein: nor yet to be grieved with his proceedings in *Aſia*; either againſt the free Cities, or againſt the King of *Egypt*; ſince it was his meaning to make the free Cities beholding unto himſelf, and to joyn e're long with *Ptolomy*, not only in Friendſhip, but in a Bond of near Affinity. *Cornelius* having heard this, and being perhaps unable to refute it, would needs hear further, what the Embaſſadors of *Smyrna* and *Lampſacus*, whom he had there with him, could

could ſay for themſelves. The Embaſſadors of *Lampſacus* being called in, began a tale, wherein they ſeemed to accuſe the King before the *Romans*, as it were before competent Judges. *Antiochus* therefore interrupted them, and bade them hold their peace, foraſmuch as he had not choſen the *Romans*, but would rather take the Citizens of *Rhodes*, to be Arbitrators between him and them.

Thus the Treaty held ſome few days, without any likelihood of effect. The *Romans*, having not laid their complaints in ſuch ſort, as they might be a convenient foundation of the War by them intended: nor yet having purpoſe to depart well ſatisfied, and thereby to corroborate the preſent Peace, were doubtful how to order the matter, in ſuch wiſe as they might neither too rudely, like boiſterous *Galle-Greeks*, pretend only the goodneſs of their Swords: nor yet over-modeſtly, to retain among the *Greeks* an opinion of their Juſtice, forbear the occaſion of making themſelves great. The King on the other ſide was weary of theſe tedious Gueſts; that would take no anſwer, and yet ſcarce knew what to ſay. At length came news, without any certain Author, That *Ptolomy* was dead. Hereof neither the King, nor the *Romans*, would take notice, though each of them were deſirous to haſten into *Egypt*: *Antiochus* to take poſſeſſion of the Kingdom, and *L. Cornelius*, to prevent him thereof, and ſet the Country in good order. *Cornelius* was ſent from *Rome* Embaſſador both to *Antiochus* and to *Ptolomy*: which gave him occaſion to take leave, and prepare for his *Egyptian* Voyage. Both he, and his fellow Embaſſadors, had good leave to depart all together: and the King forthwith made ready, to be in *Egypt* with the firſt. To his Son *Seleucus* he committed his Army, and left him to over-ſee the building of *Lyſimachia*: but all his Sea-forces he took along with him, and ſailed unto *Epheſus*. Thence he ſent Embaſſadors to *T. Quintius*: whom he requeſted to deal with him in this matter of Peace, after ſuch ſort as might ſtand with honeſty, and good faith. But as he was further proceeding on his Voyage, he was perfectly informed that *Ptolomy* was alive. This made him bear another way from *Egypt*: and afterwards a Tempeſt, with a grievous Shipwrack, made him, without any further attempt on the way, glad to have ſafely recovered his Port of *Seleucia*. Thence went he to *Antiochia*, where he wintered: ſecure as might appear, of the *Roman* War.

But the *Romans* had not ſo done with him. During the Treaty at *Lyſimachia*, (at leaſtwiſe not long before or after it) one of their Embaſſadors that had been ſent unto the *Macedonian*, gave him counſel, as in a point highly tending to his good; not to reſt contented with the Peace which was granted unto him by the *Romans*, but to deſire ſociety with them, whereby they ſhould be bound to have the ſame Friends and Enemies. And this he adviſed him to do quickly, before the War brake out with *Antiochus*: leſt otherwiſe he might ſeem, to have awaited ſome fit occaſion of taking Arms again. They who dealt thus plainly, did not mean to be ſatisfied with weak excuſes. In like manner ſome of the *Greeks* were ſolicited; and particularly the *Ætolians*, That conſtantly and faithfully they ſhould abide in the friendſhip of the People of *Rome*. It was needleſs to ſay plainly whereto this entreaty tended: the froward anſwer made by the *Ætolians*, declares them to have well underſtood the purpoſe. They complained, that they were not alike honoured by the *Romans* after the Victory, as they had been during the War. They that ſo complained, were the moſt moderate of them. Others cryed out, that they had been wronged, and defrauded of what was promiſed unto them: upbraiding withall the *Romans*, as men to them beholding: not only for their Victory over *Philip*, but even for helping them to ſet foot in *Greece*, which elſe they never could have done. Hereto the *Roman* gave gentle anſwers: telling them that there was no more to do, than to ſend Embaſſadors to the Senate, and utter their griefs: and then ſhould all be well.

Such care took the *Romans* in *Greece*, for their War intended againſt *Antiochus*. The fame hereof arriving at *Carthage*, gave matter unto the Enemies of *Hannibal*, wherewith both to pick a thank of the *Roman* Senate, and to chaſe out of their City this honourable Man, whom they ſo greatly hated. He had of late exerciſed his virtue againſt them in the Civil Adminiſtration: and given them an overthrow, or two, in the long Robe. The Judges at that time bore all the ſway in *Carthage*: holding their places during life; and having ſubject unto them, the Lives, Goods, and Fame of all the reſt. Neither did they uſe this their power with moderation: but conſpired in ſuch wiſe together, that whoſo offended any of them, ſhould have them all to be his Enemies: which being once known, He was ſure to be ſoon accuſed and condemed. In this their impotent rule of the City, *Hannibal* was choſen Prætor. By virtue of which Office, though he was ſuperiour unto them during that year: yet had it not been their manner to bear much regard unto ſuch an annual Magiſtrate, as at the years end muſt be accountable unto them, if ought were laid unto his charge. *Hannibal* therefore ſending for one of the Queſtors, or Officers of the Treaſury, to come and ſpeak with him: the proud Queſtor ſet lightly thereby, and would not come: For he was of the adverſe Faction to *Hannibal*: and men of his place were to be choſen into the Order of Judges: in contemplation whereof, he was filled already with the Spirit of future Greatneſs. But he had not to do with ſuch a tame Prætor, as were they that had occupied the place before. *Hannibal* ſent for him by a Purſivant; and having thus apprehended him, brought him into Judgement before a publick Aſſembly of the People. There he not only ſhewed, what the undutiful ſtubbornneſs of this Queſtor had been; but how unſufferable the inſolency of all the Judges at the preſent was: whoſe unbridled power made them to regard neither Laws nor Magiſtrates. To this Oration when he perceived that all the Citizens were attentive and favourable; He forthwith propounded a Law, which paſſed with the general good liking; That the Judges ſhould be choſen from year to year, and no one man be continued in that Office two years together. If this Law had been paſſed, before he paſſed over *Iberus*: it would not perhaps have been in the power of *Hanno*, to have brought him unto neceſſity of reforming another grievance, concerning the *Roman* Tribute. This Tribute the *Carthaginians* were fain to levy by Taxation, laid upon the whole Commonalty, as wanting money in their publick Treaſury, wherewith to defray either that, or divers other needful charges. *Hannibal* conſidering this, began to examine the publick Revenues; and to take a perfect note, both how much came into

into the Treasury, by wayes and means whatsoever: and in what sort it was thence laid out. So he found, That the ordinary charges of the Common-wealth did not exhaust the Treasury; but that wicked Magistrates, and corrupt Officers, turning the greatest part of the moneys to their own use, were thereby fain to load the people with needless burdens Hereof he made such plain demonstration, That these Robbers of the common Treasure were compelled to restore, with shame, what they had gotten by knavery: and so the *Carthaginians* were freed from the necessity of making such poor shifts, as formerly they had used, when they knew not the value of their own Estate. But as the vertue of *Hannibal* was highly commended by all that were good Citizens: so they of the *Roman* Faction, which had since the making of the peace until now, little regarded him, began to rage extreamly: as being by him stript of their ill-gotten goods and ill-employed authority, both at once, even when they thought themselves to have been in full possession of the vanquished *Carthage*. Wherefore they sent letters to their friends at *Rome*: wherein they complained, as if the *Barchine* Faction grew strong again, and *Hannibal* would shortly be in arms. Questionless, if oppressing the City by injustice, and robbing the Treasury, were the only way to hold *Carthage* in peace with *Rome*: these Enemies to the *Barchines* might well cry out, That having done their best already to keep all in quiet, they saw none other likelihood than of War. But having no other matter to alledge, than their own inventions: they said, That *Hannibal* was like unto a wild beast, which would never be tamed; That secret messages passed between him, and King *Antiochus*: and that he was wont to complain of idleness, as if it were harmful to *Carthage*; with what else to like effect they could imagine. These accusations they directed not unto the Senate: but addressing their letters craftily, every one to the best of his own friends at *Rome*, and such as were Senators; they wrought so well, that neither publick notice of their Conspiracy was taken at *Carthage*; nor the authority of the *Roman* Senate, wanting to the furtherance of their malicious purpose. Only *P. Scipio* is said to have admonished the *Fathers*, that they should not thus dishonourably subscribe, and become seconds to the accusers of *Hannibal*: as if they would oppress, by suborning or countenancing false witnesses against him; the man, against whom in war they had not of long time prevailed, nor used their victory in such base manner, when they obtained it. But the *Romans* were not all so great minded as *Scipio*: they wished for some such advantage against *Hannibal*; and were glad to have found it. Three Embassadors they sent over to *Carthage*, *C. Servilius*, *Q. Terentius*, and *M. Claudius Marcellus*: whose very names imports sufficient cause of bad affection to *Hannibal*. These having past the Sea, were entertained by those that had procured their coming: and being by them instructed how to carry themselves, gave out, That they were sent to end some controversies, between the *Carthaginians* and *Masanissa*. But *Hannibal* had kept such good espial upon the *Romans*, that he knew their meaning well enough: against which he was never unprepared. It were enough to say, That he escaped them by flight; but in the actions of so famous a man, I hold it not impertinent to rehearse the particularities. Having openly shewed himself, as was his manner, in the place of assembly, He went forth of the Town when it began to wax dark, accompanied with two which were ignorant of his determination; though such as he might well trust. He had appointed Horses to be in a readiness at a certain place: whence riding all night, He came to a Tower of his own by the Sea-side: There had he a ship furnished with all things needful; as having long expected the necessity of some such journey. So he bade *Africk* farewell; lamenting the misfortune of his Country, more than his own. Passing over to the Isle of *Cercina*; He found there in the Haven some Merchants ships of *Carthage*. They saluted him respectively: and the chief among them began to enquire, whither he was bound. He said, He went Embassador to *Tyre*: and that he intended there in the Island to make Sacrifice; whereto he invited all the Merchants, and Masters of the Ships. It was hot weather: and therefore he would needs hold his Feast upon the shore; where, because there wanted covert, He made them bring thither all their Sails and Yards to be used instead of Tents. They did so; and feasted with him till it was late at night: at which time he left them there asleep: and putting to Sea, held on his course to *Tyre*. All that night, and the day following, He was sure not to be pursued. For the Merchants did neither make haste to send any news of him to *Carthage*, as thinking him to be gone Embassadour: neither could they, without some loss of time, such of them as made most speed homeward, get away from *Cercina*; being busied a while in fitting their tackle. At *Carthage*, the miss of so great a person was diversly construed. Some guessed right, that he was fled. But the more common opinion was, That the *Romans* had made him away. At length came news where he had been seen; and then the *Roman* Embassadors, having none other errand thither, accused him (with an evil grace) as a troubler of the Peace; whereby they only discovered the mischief by them intended against him, and and the malice of the Senate: missing the while their purpose, and causing men to understand, that he fled not thus without great reason.

Hannibal coming to *Tyre*, the Mother-City of *Carthage*, was there entertained Royally: as one, in whose great worth and honour the *Tyrians*, by reason of affinity between their Cities, thought themselves to have interest. Thence went he to *Antioch*; and finding the King departed, visited his Son in *Daphne*: who friendly welcomed him, and sent him unto his Father at *Ephesus*, that exceedingly rejoyced at his coming.

As *Antiochus* had cause to be glad in that he had gotten *Hannibal*: so had the *Romans* no great cause to be therefore sorry: otherwise than as they had much disgraced themselves, by discovery of their impotent malice, in chasing him thus out of his Country. For it would not prove alike easie unto this great Commander to make stout Souldiers of base *Asiatiques*; as it had been by his training and discipline, to make very serviceable and skilful men of War of the *Spaniards*, *Africans*, *Gauls*, and other Nations, that were hardly, though unexperienced. Or were it supposed, that one mans worth, especially being so extraordinary, could altar the nature of a cowardly people: yet was it therewithall considerable, that the vanities of *Antiochus*, the pride of his Court, the baseness of his Flatterers, and a thousand other such

ſuch vexations, would be far more powerful in making unprofitable the vertue of *Hannibal*, now a deſolate and baniſhed man, than had been the villany of *Hanno* and his Complices, hindering him in thoſe actions, wherein he had the high Command, and was ſeconded by his warlike brethren. Wherefore the name of this *Carthaginian*, would only help to ennoble the *Roman* Victory: or if it further ſerved to hearten *Antiochus*, and make him leſs careful to avoid the war; then ſhould it further ſerve, to juſtifie the *Romans* in their quarrel. And ſeems indeed that it was no little part of their care, to get a fair pretence of making war. For *Antiochus*, as is ſaid before, having newly ſent Embaſſadors to *T. Quintius*, requiring that the peace might faithfully be kept: it was not probable, that he had any meaning to take Arms, unleſs by meer violence he were thereto inforced. Only the *Ætolians* were greatly ſuſpected, as a turbulent people, deſirous of innovation, and therefore practiſing with this Great King; whom they wiſhed to ſee among them in *Greece*. In this regard, and to appeaſe them; they had of late been anſwered with gentle words by one of the ten Counſellers, That the Senate would grant them whatſoever with reaſon they ſhould ask. But this promiſe was too large, and unadviſed. For when their Embaſſadors came to *Rome*, the Senate would grant them nothing: but wholly referred them to *T. Quintius*, who favoured them leaſt. Hereat they murmured, but knew not how to right themſelves, otherwiſe than by ſpeaking ſuch words, as might haſten the *Romans* out of *Greece* for very ſhame, who had no deſire to be thence gone.

The daily talk at *Rome*, was, of War with *Antiochus*; but in *Greece*, when the *Romans* would leave the Country. For the *Ætolians* were wont to upbraid the reſt of the *Greeks* with the vain liberty which the *Romans* had proclaimed, ſaying, That theſe their Deliverers had laid heavier Fetters upon them, than formerly they did wear; but yet brighter and fairer than thoſe of the *Macedonian*: likewiſe, that it was a gracious act of *Titus*, to take from the Legs of the *Greeks* their chain, and tie it about their Necks. There was indeed no cauſe of tarrying longer in *Greece*, if the *Romans* had no other meaning than what they pretended. For *Philip* had made no delay, in accompliſhment of that which was laid upon him: all the Towns of *Greece* were at liberty, and the whole Country, at peace, both with the *Romans*, and within it ſelf. As for *Antiochus*, He made it his daily ſuit, That the Peace between him and *Rome*, ſuch as it was, might be confirmed and ſtrengthened by a League of more aſſurance. Nevertheleſs, *T. Quintius* would needs fear that *Antiochus* meant forthwith to ſeize upon *Greece*, as ſoon as he and his Army were thence departed. And in this regard, he retained ſtill in his own hands *Chalcis*, *Demetrius*, and the *Acrocorinthus*: by benefit of which Towns he might the better withſtand the dangerous Invaſion like to be made by *Antiochus*. Suitable unto the doings of *Quintius*, were the reports of the ten Embaſſadors, that had been ſent over to aſſiſt him; when they returned back into the City. *Antiochus*, they ſaid, would queſtionleſs fall upon *Greece*: wherein he ſhould find not only the *Ætolians*, but *Nabis* the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, ready to give him entertainment. Wherefore there was none other way, than to do ſomewhat againſt theſe their ſuſpected Enemies: eſpecially againſt *Nabis*, who could worſt make reſiſtance: whilſt *Antiochus* was far away in *Syria*, and not intentive to his buſineſs. Theſe reports went not only current through the City among the Vulgar; but found ſuch credit with the chief of the Senate, that in the following year, againſt which time it was expected that *Antiochus* ſhould be ready to take his great enterpriſe in hand: *P. Cornelius Scipio* the *African*, deſired, and obtained, a ſecond Conſulſhip, with intention to be General in the War, againſt the King and his *Hannibal*. For the preſent, the buſineſs with *Nabis* was referred unto *Titus*, to deal with him as he thought good. This would be a fair colour of his longer tarrience in *Greece*. Therefore he was glad of the employment: whereof alſo he knew that many of the *Greeks* would not be ſorry: though for his own part, he wanted all good pretence of taking it in hand. For *Nabis* had entred into friendſhip with him, two or three years before this, as is already ſhewed, whileſt he had war with *Philip*: and had further been contented for the *Romans* ſake to be at peace with the *Achæans*: neither ſince that time had he done any thing, whereby he ſhould draw upon himſelf this War. He was indeed a deteſtable Tyrant, and hated of the *Achæans*: as one, that beſides his own wicked Conditions, had formerly done to them great miſchief. *Titus* therefore had a plauſible Theme whereon to diſcourſe before the Embaſſadors of all the Confederate Cities, which he cauſed to meet for that purpoſe at *Corinth*. He told them that in the War with *Philip*, not only the *Greeks*, but the *Romans* themſelves had each their motives apart (which he there briefly rehearſed) that ſhould ſtir them up, and cauſe them to be earneſt. But in this which he now propounded to them concerning *Nabis*, the *Romans* had none other Intereſt, than only the making perfect of their Honour, in ſetting all *Greece* at Liberty: which Noble Action was in ſome ſort maimed, or incompleat, whilſt the Noble City of *Argos* was left in ſubjection to a Tyrant that had lately occupied it. It therefore belonged unto them, the *Greeks*, duly to conſider, whether they thought the deliverance of *Argos* a matter worthy to be undertaken: or whether otherwiſe to avoid all further trouble, they could be well contented to leave it as it was. This concerned them, and not the *Romans*: who in taking this work in hand, or letting it alone, would wholly be ruled by the *Greeks* themſelves. The *Athenian* Embaſſador made anſwer hereunto very eloquently, and as pleaſing as he could deviſe. He gave thanks to the *Romans* for what was paſt; extolled their Vertues at large; and magnified them highly in regard of this their propoſition: wherein unrequeſted they freely made offer to continue that Bounty, which at the vehement requeſt of their poor Aſſociates they had already of late extended unto the *Greeks*. To this he added, That great pity it was to hear ſuch notable Vertue and high Deſerts ill ſpoken of by ſome: which took upon them, out of their own imagination, to foretell what harm theſe their Benefactors meant to do hereafter: when as thankfulneſs would rather have required an Acknowledgement of the Benefits and Pleaſures already received. Every one found the meaning of this laſt clauſe, which was directly againſt the *Ætolians*: Wherefore *Alexander* the *Ætolian* roſe up, and told the *Athenians* their own: putting them in mind of their antient glory, in thoſe times when their City had

been the Leader of all *Greece*, for defence and recovery of the Liberty general: from which Honour they were now so far fallen, that they became Parasites unto those whom they thought most mighty; and by their base assentation, would lead all the rest into servitude. Then spake he against the *Achæans*, Clients that had been a long time unto the *Macedonian*; and Souldiers of *Philip*, until they ran away from his adversity. These, he said, had gotten *Corinth*, and must now have War be made for their sakes, to the end that they might also be Lords of *Argos*: whereas the *Ætolians*, that had first made War with *Philip*, and alwayes been Friends unto the *Romans*, were now defrauded of some places, antiently to them belonging. Neither did he thus contain himself, but objected unto the *Romans*, fraudulent dealing: forasmuch as they kept their Garrisons in *Demetrius*, *Chalcis*, and the *Agrocorinth*; having been always wont to profess, That *Greece* could never be at Liberty, whilest those places were not free. Also now at last, what else did they seek by this discourse of War with *Nabis*, than businesses wherewith to find themselves occupied, that so they might have some seeming cause of abiding longer in the Country? But they should do well, if they meant as they spake, to carry their Legions home out of *Greece*, which could not indeed be free, till their departure. As for *Nabis*, the *Ætolians* themselves did promise, and would undertake, That they would either cause him to yield to reason, and relinquishing *Argos* freely, withdrawing thence his Garrison; or else compell him by force of Arms, to submit himself to the good pleasure of all *Greece*, that was now at unity. These words had been reasonable, if they had proceeded from better men. But it was apparent, that no regard of the common Liberty wrought so much with these *Ætolians*; did their own ravenous desire of oppressing others, and getting unto themselves, that worse would use it, the whole Dominion in *Greece*, which *Philip* had lost. Neither could they well dissemble this; making it no small part of their Grievance, That the old League was forgotten: wherein it had been covenanted, That the *Romans* should enjoy the spoil of all, but leave the Towns and Lands in possession of the *Ætolians*. This, and the remembrance of a thousand mischiefs by them done in former times, made the whole Assembly, especially the *Achæans*, cry out upon them: entreating the *Romans* to take such order before they went, that not only *Nabis* might be compelled to do right; but the *Ætolian* thieves be enforced to keep home, and leave their neighbours in quiet. All this was highly to the pleasure of *Titus*: who saw, that by discountenancing the *Ætolians*, He was become the more gracious with all the rest. But whether it pleased him so well that *Antiochus* his Embassadors did presently after lie hard upon him, to draw the peace to some good conclusion, it may be greatly doubted. He cast them off with a slight answer: telling them, That the ten Embassadors or Counsellors which had been sent unto him from *Rome*, to be his Assistants in these matters of weight, were now returned home, and that without them it was not in his power to conclude upon any thing.

Now concerning the *Lacedæmonian* War, it was very soon ended. For *Titus* used the help of all his Confederates; and made as great preparation against *Nabis*, both by Land and Sea, as if he should have had to do with *Philip*. Besides the *Roman* Forces, King *Eumenes* with a Navey, and the *Rhodian* Fleet, were invited to the Service: as also *Philip* of *Macedon* sent aid by Land; doing therein poorly, whether it were to get favour of the *Romans*; or whether to make one among the number, in seeking Revenge upon *Nabis*, that had done him injury. But the most forward in this Expedition were the *Achæans*, who set out ten thousand Foot, and a thousand Horse. As for the *Ætolians*, rather to hold good fashion, and found their dispositions, than in hope to speed, their help was required; whereof they excused themselves as well as they thought best. Thus are the *Achæans* now become the prime friends of the *Romans* in *Greece*; having removed the *Ætolians* from that degree of favour: like as they themselves hereafter (though not in all haste) shall be supplanted of the same *Lacedæmonians*, against whom they are now marching.

Some of the *Argives*, more bold than wise, began a conspiracy against the *Lacedæmonians* that held their Town; meaning to open their Gates unto the *Romans*. But e're *Titus* drew near, they were all detected and slain: excepting a very few, that escaped out of the Town. The fame of this Commotion, caused the Army to march apace toward *Argos*; with hope to be there, before things were at quiet. But there was no stir within the Walls: the execution done upon the first movers, having terrified all the rest of the Citizens. *Titus* then thought it better, to assail *Nabis* in the head of his strength at *Lacedæmon*, than to consume time about other places; especially at *Argos*: for the freedom whereof since the War was made, pity it were, that the calamities of the War should thereon fall most heavily.

Nabis had in readiness an Army of fifteen thousand, wherewith to defend himself against these Invaders. Five thousand of them were Mercenaries: the rest, of his own Country, but such as were of all others the worst, as manumised slaves, malefactors and base Peasants, unto whom his Tyrannie was beneficial. Of the good and worthy Citizens he stood in doubt; and since he could not hope to win their love, his meaning was to hold them quiet by fear. He called them all to an assembly, and compassing them round in with his Army, told them of the danger that was toward him and them. If they could agree within themselves; they might, he said, hope the better to withstand the common Enemy. But forasmuch as turbulent heads were invited by light occasions, to raise tumults, and work dangerous treasons: it seemed unto him the safest, and (withal) the mildest course to arrest before hand, and put in ward, all those whom he found most reason to suspect. So should he keep them innocent perforce; and thereby preserve not only the City and his own person from danger, but them also from the punishment, which else they might have incurred. Hereupon he cites and apprehends about fourscore of them; whom he leads away to prison, and the next night putteth them all to death. Thus was he sure that they neither should offend, nor yet break loose. As for the death of them, if it should happen to be noised abroad: what could it else do than terrifie the people; who must thereby understand, that it was a mortal crime to be suspected? And to the same purpose his cruelty extended it self unto some poor wretches: whom he accused of a meaning to flie to the Enemy. These were openly whipt through all the streets, and slain. Having thus af-

frighted the Citizens: He turned the more freely, all his thoughts toward the Enemy, that came on a pace. He welcomed them with a ſally: wherein, as commonly happens, the Souldiers of the Town had the better at firſt; but were at length repelled with loſs. *Titus* abode not many dayes before *Sparta*: but over-ran the Country; hoping belike to provoke the Tyrant forth to battle. The *Roman* Fleet at the ſame time with King *Eumenes* and the *Rhodians*, laid ſiege unto *Gytheum*, the only or principal Town that *Nabis* had. Likely they were to have taken it by force, when there appeared hope of getting it by treaſon. There were two Governours within the Town equal in authority: whereof the one, either for fear, or deſire of reward, had a purpoſe to let in the *Romans*. But the other finding what was in hand, and being ſomewhat more faithful, ſlue the Traitor; after whoſe death, he himſelf alone made the better defence. Yet when *T. Quintius* with part of his Army came thither to *Gytheum*: this Captain of the Town had not the heart to abide the uttermoſt, and await what either Time or his Maſter might do for him, but was contented to give up the place, yet upon Condition, to depart in ſafety to *Sparta* with his Garriſon. *Pythagoras*, the Son-in-law of *Nabis*, and brother unto his Wife, was come from *Argos*, whereof he had the Government; with a thouſand Souldiers, Mercenaries, and two thouſand *Argives*: it being (as may ſeem) the Tyrants purpoſe, to relieve *Gytheum*; which he thought would have held longer out. But when they heard that it was loſt, then began they to think upon finiſhing the War, by ſome reaſonable Compoſition. *Pythagoras* therefore was ſent his Embaſſador to *Titus*: requeſting only that he would appoint a time and place for *Nabis* to meet and ſpeak with him. This was granted. In that Parlee the Tyrant ſpake very reaſonable for himſelf: proving, that he ſuffered wrong, and had done none, and that by many good arguments: whereof the ſum was, That whatſoever they now did, or could object unto him, was of elder date than the League which they had made with him. Whereupon he inferred, That neither for this keeping the Town of *Argos*, nor for any other cauſe by them alledged, they ought to make war upon him, ſince *Argos*, and all other their allegations whatſoever, had not hindered them, in time of their own need of him, from entring into that League with him: which was never broken on his part, nor ought to be on theirs. But *Quintius* was not herewith ſatisfied. He charged him with tyranny: and gave inſtance, as eaſily he might, of divers barbarous cruelties by him committed. In all which points foraſmuch as they knew this *Nabis* to be guilty, before they made Peace and Confederacy with him; it was expedient, that ſome other cauſe of this Invaſion ſhould be alledged. Whereto he ſaid further, that this Tyrant had occupied *Meſſene*, a Town Confederate with the *Romans*: That he had bargained to joyn with *Philip*; when he was their enemy, not only in League, but alſo in affinity: and that his Fleet had robbed many of their ſhips, about the Cape of *Malea*. Now touching this Piracy, ſince in the Articles by *Titus* propounded unto *Nabis*, there was no reſtitution mentioned, other than of ſhips, by him taken from the *Greeks* his neighbours, with whom he had long held War: it may ſeem to have been objected, only by way of Complement, and to enlarge the volume of thoſe complaints, that were otherwiſe very frivolous. As for *Meſſene*, and the bargain of Alliance made with *Philip*: they were matters foregoing the League, that was made between the *Romans* and this Tyrant: and therefore not to have been mentioned. All this it ſeems that *Ariſtænus*, the Prætor of the *Achæans*, very well perceived: who therefore doubting leſt the *Romans* (that were wont to talk ſo much of their own juſtice, honour, and faithful dealing) ſhould now relent, and forbear to moleſt him, who, though a wicked man, was yet their Confederate, and had never done them wrong: framed his diſcourſe to another end. He entreated *Nabis* to conſider well of his own eſtate: and to ſettle his fortunes, whilſt he might do it without hazard: alledging the examples of many Tyrants that had ruled in the neighbour-cities, and therein committed great outrages; yet were afterwards contented to ſurrender their Eſtates, and lived in great ſecurity, honour, and happineſs, as private men. Thus they diſcourſed until night. The next day *Nabis* was contented to relinquiſh *Argos*; and requeſted them, to deliver to him in writing their other commands, that he might take counſel with his friends. The iſſue of all was, that, in regard of the charges whereat the Confederates muſt be, for maintenance of an Army to lie in Leaguer all that Winter (as there was no hope of making ſhort work) before the City of *Sparta*: they were contented to make peace with the Tyrant, upon ſuch Conditions as *Titus* ſhould think meet. Beſides the reſtitution of *Argos*, and all the places thereon depending; *Titus* propounding many other Conditions to *Nabis*, and ſome of them very grievous He would not ſuffer the *Lacedæmonians* to have ought to do in the Iſle of *Crete*; no, nor to make any Confederacies, nor war, either in that Iſland or elſewhere; not to build any Town or Caſtle upon his own Lands: not to keep any other ſhipping, than two ſmall Barks; beſides many other troubleſome injunctions; with impoſition of an hundred talents in ſilver to be paid out of hand, and fifty talents yearly, for eight years next enſuing, For obſervance of theſe Covenants he demanded five hoſtages, ſuch as he himſelf ſhould name: and one of them to be the Tyrants own Son. If it had been the meaning of *Titus*, to withdraw the War from *Nabis*, becauſe it was not grounded upon juſtice: then had it been enough, if not more than enough, to take *Argos* from him; which he himſelf did offer, though it were for fear, to deliver up. But if it were thought reſonable, to diſpenſe a little with the *Roman* faith, in regard of the great benefit which thereby might redound unto the ſtate of their beſt friends in *Greece*, by the extirpation of this Tyranny: then ſhould this enterpriſe, when once it was taken in hand, have been proſecuted unto the very utmoſt. As for this middle courſe which the *Romans* held: as it was not honourable unto them, to enrich themſelves by the ſpoil of one that had not offended them; nor pleaſing to the *Achæans*, who judged it ever after a great blemiſh to the noble acts of *Titus*: ſo did it miniſter unto the *Ætolians*, and to ſuch as curiouſly pried into the faults of thoſe which took upon them to be Patrons of *Greece*, no barren ſubject of malicious diſcourſe. For ſince *Philip*, a King, and deſcended of many famous Kings, might not be ſuffered by theſe Maſterly *Romans*, to hold any one of thoſe Countrys or Towns in *Greece*, that had belonged unto his Anceſtors: it was thought

very ſtrange, that *Lacedæmon*, once the moſt famous City among all the *Greeks*, was by the ſame *Romans* left in poſſeſſion of a Tyrant, that had uſurped it but yeſterday; and he therein rooted by their authority, as their friend and Confederate. *Nabis* on the other ſide thought himſelf unmercifully dealt withall, by the ſelf-ſame *Romans*, whoſe amity he had prefered in time of a doubtful war, before the love and affinity of the *Macedonian* King, that had committed the City of *Argos* into his hands. But falſly had he dealt with the *Macedonian*: and falſly was he dealt with by thoſe, to whom he did betake himſelf. Among theſe Articles propounded, there was nothing that pleaſed him, ſave only that for the baniſhed *Lacedæmonians*, (of whom a great number were in the *Roman* Camp; having among them *Ageſipolis* the natural King of *Sparta*, that being a young child was driven out by *Lycurgus* the firſt of the Tyrants) there was made no proviſion, to have them reſtored unto their City and Eſtates; but only leave required for as many of their Wives, as would be ſo contented, to live abroad with them in baniſhment. Wherefore he forbore to give conſent unto theſe demands; and ſuſtained an aſſault or two; hoping belike that the enemies would ſoon be weary. But his fearful nature ſhortly overcame the reſolution, which the ſenſe of theſe injuries had put into him. So yielding unto all that had been propounded, He delivered the hoſtages; and thereupon obtained peace, that was confirmed afterwards at *Rome* by the Senate and People. From this time forward, He thought the *Romans* far more wicked than himſelf; and was ready upon the firſt advantage, to do them all the miſchief that he could.

The *Argives* had heard news that *Lacedæmon* was even at point of being taken. This erected them, and gave them heart to think upon their own good. So they adventured to ſet upon the Garriſon; which was much weakened, by the remove of the three thouſand carried thence by *Pythagoras* to help the Tyrant at *Sparta*. There needed unto their liberty no more, than that all of them jointly ſhould ſet their hands to the getting of it, which no ſooner they did than they obtained it. Preſently after this came *T. Quintius* to *Argos*, where he was joyfully welcomed. He was deſervedly acknowledged as author of that benefit, whereon the Citizens had laid hold without ſtaying for him; and that he might the better entitle himſelf thereto, he cauſed the liberty of the *Argives* to be proclaimed at the *Nemæan* games; as ratifying it by his authority. The City was annexed again to the Councel of *Achaia*; whereby the *Achæans* were not more ſtrengthned, than the *Argives* themſelves were ſecured from danger of relapſe, into the ſame extremities out of which they had newly eſcaped.

After this, *Titus* found little buſineſs, or none wherewith to ſet on work his Army in *Greece*. *Antiochus* was about to ſend another Embaſſage to *Rome*, deſiring peace and friendſhip of the Senate. Things being therefore in appearance wholly diſpoſed unto quiet, *Scipio* and the *African*, that was choſen Conſul at *Rome*, could not have his deſire, of being ſent Commander into *Greece*. The unſincere meaning of *Antiochus* and the tumultuous diſpoſition of the *Ætolians*, were held as conſiderations worthy of regard: yet not ſufficient cauſes of making war. Neither appeared there any more honeſt way, of confuting the *Ætolians*, and of throughly perſwading all the *Greeks* (which was not to be neglected, by thoſe that meant to aſſure unto themſelves the patronage of *Greece*) that the good of the Country was their ſole intent: than by withdrawing thence their Legions, and leaving the Nation unto it ſelf, till occaſion ſhould be ripe, and call them over again. Wherefore after *Titus* had ſpent a Winter there, without any matter of employment, either found, or at any near diſtance appearing, he called an Aſſembly of Delegates, from all parts of *Greece* to *Corinth*: where he meant to bid them farewell. There he recounted unto them all that paſſed ſince his coming into thoſe parts; and willed them to value the *Roman* friendſhip, according to the difference of eſtate, wherein the *Romans* found and left them. Hereto he added ſome wholeſome counſel; touching the moderate uſe of their liberty, and the care which they ought to have of living peaceably and without faction. Laſtly he gave up *Acrocorinthus* to the *Achæans* withdrawing thence the *Roman* Garriſon, and promiſing to do the like (which very ſoon he did) at *Chalcis* and *Demetrias*; that ſo it might be known, what lyars the *Ætolians* were, who had accuſed the *Romans*, of a purpoſe to retain thoſe places. With joyful acclamations did the *Greeks* teſtifie their good liking of that which *Titus* had ſaid and done: as alſo (at his requeſt) they agreed, to ranſome and enlarge all *Romans*, that had been ſold into their Country by *Hannibal*.

Thus *Titus* Crowned his actions in *Greece* with an happy end: and by leaving the Country before his departure, was urged, left therein behind him the memory of his vertue and benefits, untainted by jealouſie and ſuſpition of any evil meaning. At his coming to the City, He had the honour of a Triumph; which was the goodlieſt of all that *Rome* had until that day beheld. Three daies together the ſhew of the pomp continued: as being ſet out with the ſpoils of a Country, more abundant in things worthy of ſuch a ſpectacle, than any wherein the *Romans* had before made War. All ſorts of Arms, with Statues and curious pieces of Braſs or Marble, taken from the Enemy, were carried in the firſt daies Pageant. The ſecond day, was brought in all the treaſure of Gold and Silver: Some in the rude Maſs unwrought; ſome in divers ſorts of Coin; and ſome in Veſſels of ſundry kinds, that were the more highly prized by the workmanſhip. Among theſe were ten ſhields, all of Silver; and one of pure Gold. The third day *Titus* himſelf entered the City in his Triumphant Chariot. Before him were carried an hundred and fourteen Crowns of Gold, beſtowed upon him by divers Cities. There were alſo led the beaſts for Sacrifice, the Priſoners, and the hoſtages: among which, *Demetrius* the Son of King *Philip*, and *Armenes* the Son of *Nabis*, were Principal. After him followed his Army; and (which added much grace, and good liking to the ſhew) the *Roman* Captives, by his procurement redeemed from ſlavery in *Greece*.

Not long after this triumph, He procured audience of the Senate for many Embaſſages, that were come out of *Greece* and *Aſia*. They had all very favourable anſwers, excepting thoſe of King *Antiochus*: whom the Senate would not hear, but referred over to *T. Quintius*, and the ten that had been his Counſellors; becauſe there buſineſs was ſaid to be ſomewhat intricate. Hereat the Kings Embaſſadors wondered. They ſaid unto *Titus* and his Aſſociates, that they could not diſcern wherein conſiſted any perplexity of their meſ-

ſage.

ſage. For all treaties of peace and friendſhip, were either between the Victor and the vanquiſhed; between thoſe, that having warred together, were upon equal terms of advantage; or between thoſe, that had lived alwaies in good agreement, without any quarrel. Unto the Victor, they ſaid, that the vanquiſhed muſt yield; and patiently endure the impoſition of ſome Covenants, that elſe might ſeem unreaſonable. Where War had been made, and no advantage gotten: there was it uſual to demand and make reſtitutions of things and places claimed, gotten or loſt; accordingly as both parts could agree. But between thoſe which had never fallen out, there ought no Conditions of eſtabliſhing friendſhip to be propoſed: ſince it was reaſonable, that each part ſhould hold their own; and neither carry it ſelf as ſuperiour to the other, in preſcribing ought that might be troubleſome. Now of this laſt kind, was the league and friendſhip that had been ſo long in concluſion, betwixt *Antiochus* and the *Romans*. Which being ſo: they held it ſtrange, that the *Romans* ſhould thus inſiſt on points no way concerning them, and take upon them to preſcribe unto the King, what Cities of *Aſia* he ſhould ſet at liberty; from what Cities they would give him leave to exact his wonted Tributes; either putting or not putting his Garriſons into them, as the Senate ſhould think fit. Hereto *Quintius* anſwered, that ſince they went ſo diſtinctly to work, He would alſo do the like. Wherefore he propounded unto them two Conditions, and gave them their choice whether to except; Either that it ſhould be lawful for the *Romans* to take part in *Aſia* with any that ſhould ſeek their friendſhip; Or if King *Antiochus* miſliked this, and would have them forbear to meddle in *Aſia*, that then he ſhould abandon whatſoever he had gotten in *Europe*. This was plain dealing, but no reaſonable nor pertinent anſwer, to that which the Kings Embaſſadors had propounded. For if the *Romans* might be hired to abſtain from *Aſia*, by the gift of all that *Antiochus* had lately won in *Europe*, then did not the affairs of *Smyrna*, *Lampſacus*, or any other *Aſiatiques*, whom they were pleaſed to reckon as their Confederates, bind them in honour to make War with a King that ſought their love, and had never done them injury. But they knew very well, that *Antiochus* could not without great ſhame be ſo baſe, as to deliver up unto them the City of *Lyſimachia*, whereon he had of late been at ſo much coſt; in building it up even from the foundation, and re-peopling it with Inhabitants, that had all been diſperſed, or captive to the *Barbarians*. And ſo much the Embaſſadors with great indignation alledged: ſaying, That *Antiochus* deſired friendſhip of the *Romans*; but ſo, as it might ſtand with his honour. Now in point of honour the *Romans* took upon them as if their cauſe were far the ſuperiour. For it was, they ſaid, their purpoſe to ſet at liberty thoſe Towns which the King would oppreſs and hold in ſubjection: eſpecially ſince thoſe Towns were of *Greekiſh* blood and language; and fell, in that regard under the patronage which *Rome* had afforded unto all *Greece* beſides. By this colour they might ſoon have left *Antiochus* King of not many ſubjects on the hither ſide of *Euphrates*. Neither did they forbear to ſay, That unleſs he would quit what he held in *Europe*, it was their meaning not only to protect thoſe which relied upon them in *Aſia*, but therein to make new Alliances: namely (as might be underſtood) with ſuch as were his ſubjects. Wherefore they urged his Embaſſadors to come to a point, and tell them plainly which of theſe two Conditions their King would accept. For lack of a pleaſing anſwer, which the Embaſſadors could not hereto make, little wanted of giving preſently defiance to the King. But they ſuffered themſelves to be intreated, and were contented once again to ſend over *P. Villius*, and others that had been already with the King at *Lyſimachia*; by whom they might receive a final anſwer, whether theſe demands made by *Quintius* and his Aſſociates would be accepted, yea, or no. By this reſpite of time, and the fruitleſs Treaties enſuing, *Antiochus* got the leiſure of two years; or thereabouts, to prepare for War; finding in the *Romans* all that while, no diſpoſition to let him live in peace.

SECT. V.

Of the long Wars which the Romans *had with the* Gauls, Ligurians, *and* Spaniards. *Of* M. Portius Cato. *Injuries done by* Maſaniſſa *to the* Carthaginians, *that ſue to the* Romans *for juſtice in vain.*

THE *Inſubrians*, *Bojians*, and other of the *Ciſalpine Gaules*, together with the *Ligurians*; made often and (in a manner) continual war upon the *Romans* in *Italy*, even from ſuch time as *Hannibal* and his brother *Mago* departed thence, until ſuch time as they themſelves were utterly ſubdued: which was not, before the *Romans* were almoſt at the very height of the Empire. Theſe Nations, having ſerved under *Mago* for wages, and afterwards having gotten *Amilcar* a *Carthaginian*, to be Leader unto them all, as hath already been ſhewed; by this their fellowſhip in Arms, grew to be ſuch willing partakers each of others fortune, that ſeldom afterwards either the *Gauls* or *Ligurians* did ſtir alone: but that their Companions, hearing it, were ready to ſecond them. How the *Romans* firſt prevailed, and got large poſſeſſion in *Gallia Ciſalpina*, now called *Lumbardie*: it hath been long ſince rehearſed between the firſt and ſecond *Punick* Wars. As alſo it hath ſince appeared, how they loſt the greateſt part of their hold in that Country, by means of *Hannibal* his paſſage there through. Neither is it likely that the re-conqueſt would have been more difficult or tedious unto the *Romans*, than was the firſt purchaſe: if, beſides the greater employments which they had of their Armies abroad, their forces appointed unto this war, had not been diſtracted by the *Ligurians*: that alwaies made them to proceed warily, having an eye to the danger at their backs. The *Ligurians* were a ſtout Nation, light and ſwift of body; well practiſed in laying ambuſhes, and not diſcouraged with any overthrow, but forthwith ready to fight again. Their Country was mountainous, rough, woody, and full of ſtraight and dangerous paſſages. Few good Towns they had: but many Caſtles, exceedingly well fortified by nature: ſo as without much labour, they could neither be taken or beſieged. They were alſo very poor; and had little or nothing that might give contentment unto a victorious Army that ſhould ſpoil their Land. In theſe reſpects, they ſerved excellently well to train up the *Roman* Souldiers to hardneſs and military patience: teaching them (beſides other exerciſes

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ercises of War) to endure much, and live contented with a little. Their quarrel to *Rome*, grew partly from their love unto the *Gaules*, their neighbours and companions: partly from their delight in robbing and spoiling the Territory of their borderers, that were subject unto *Rome*. But their obstinate continuance in the War which they had begun, seems to have been grounded upon the Condition of all Salvages: To be friends or foes, by custom, rather than by Judgement: and to acknowledge no such vertue in Leagues, or formal conclusions of peace, as ought to hinder them from using their advantage, or taking revenge of injuries when they return to mind. This quality is found in all, or most of the West-Indians: who, if they be demanded a reason of the Wars between them and any of their neighbours, do use commonly this answer, *It hath still been the custom for us and them, to fight one against the other.*

Divers overthrows, though none that were great, these *Ligurians* gave unto the *Romans*: but many more and greater they received. Often they sought peace, when they found themselves in distress, and brake it again as often, when they thought it profitable so to do. The best was, that as their Countrey was a good place of exercise unto the *Romans*, so out of their own Country they did little harm: not sending any great Armies far from home; perhaps, because they knew not how to make War, save on their own ground.

The Country of *Spain*, as it was the first part of the Continent out of *Italy* that became subject unto the *Romans*: so was it the last of all their Provinces, which was wholly and throughly by them subdued. It is likened in figure by some Geographers unto an Oxe-hide: and the *Romans* found in it the property of that Oxe-hide which *Calanus* the *Indian* shewed unto the Great *Alexander*, as an Embleme of his large Dominions. For trading upon any side of it, the further parts would rise from the ground. And thus was it with *Spain*. Seldom did it happen that those parts from which the *Roman* Armies lay fartheſt, were not up in rebellion. The *Spaniards* were a very hard Nation, and easily stirred up to arms; but had not much knowledge in the art of war, nor any good Captains. They wanted also (which was their principal hindrance) good intelligence among themselves: and being divided into many small Signiories, that had little other communion than of language, they seldom or never provided in general for the common good of their Country; but made it their chief care, each of them to look unto their own Territory. Such private respects made them often to fall asunder, when many had united themselves together, for chasing out of the *Romans*. And these were the causes of their often overthrows: as desire of liberty, rather then complaint of any wrong done to them, was the cause of their often taking arms.

The *Carthaginians* had been accustomed, to make evaculation of this Cholerick *Spanish* humour; by employing, as Mercenaries in their wars abroad, those that were most likely to be unquiet at home. They had also taken Souldiers from one part of the Country, and used them in another: finding means to pay them all, out of the profits which they raised upon the whole Country; as being far better husbands, and of more dexterity than were the *Romans*, in that kind. But contrariwise, the *Romans*, using the service of their own Legions, and of their sure friends the *Latines*, had little business for the *Spaniards*; and therefore were fain to have much business with them. *Spain* was too far distant, and withall too great for them to send over Colonies thither, whereby to hold it in good order, according to the course that they took in *Italy*. Wherefore it remained, that they should always maintain such Armies in the Country, as might serve to hold in obedience perforce; and such heedful Captains as might be still ready to oppose the *Barbarians* in their first Commotion. This they did, and thereby held the Country; though seldom in peace.

Very soon after the departure of *Scipio*, there was raised War in *Spain* against the *Romans*, even upon the same general ground, that was the foundation of all the *Spanish* Wars following. It was thought unreasonable, that the *Spaniards* should one while help the *Carthaginians* against the *Romans*, and another while the *Romans* against the *Carthaginians*; basely forgetting to help themselves against those that were strangers, yet usurped the Dominion over them. But the forces which *Scipio* had left behind him in that Country, being well acquainted with the manner of War in those parts, suppressed this rebellion by many Victories: and, together with subjection, brought peace upon the Country; which lasted five years. This Victory of the *Romans*, though it happily ended the War: yet left it still remaining the cause of the War; which after five years brake out again. The *Spaniards* fought a battle with the *Roman* Pro-consul, whom they slew; and had a great Victory, that filled them with greater hopes. Yet the happy success of their Wars in *Greece*, made the *Romans* think it enough to send thither two Prætors, and with each of them some two Legions. These did somewhat: yet not so much, but that *M. Portius Cato*, who was Consul the year following, and sent unto that Province; found at his coming little less to do, than the reconquering of all *Spain*. But it fell out happily, that all the *Spaniards* were not of one mind: some were faithful to *Rome*; and some were idle beholders of the pains that others took. Yet when *Cato* had won a great Victory upon the chiefest of them, they rose against him in many parts of the Country, and put him unto much new trouble. Whilst he was about to make a journey against those that were as yet unsubdued: some of the lately vanquished, were even ready to rebell. He therefore disarmed them; which they took so heavily, that many of them slew themselves for very grief. Hearing of this, and well understanding that such desperation might work dangerous effects: He called unto him the principal among them: and commending unto them peace and quietness, which they never had disturbed but unto their own great loss, He prayed them to devise what course might be taken for holding them assured unto *Rome*, without further trouble. None of them could, or would give counsel in a matter of this nature. Having therefore talked with them once or twice, and finding their invention barren in this kind of Subject; He gave express charge, That upon a day appointed they should throw down the Walls of all their Towns. Afterwards he carryed the war about from place to place; and with singular industry finished it in short time. Neither thought he it any disgrace to him or to *Rome*, in this time of danger, to imitate the *Carthaginians*, and hire an Army of the *Celtiberians*, against other of their Countrymen: excusing the indignity, such as it seemed,

seemed, with a jest, That if he were vanquished and slain, then should he need to pay them nothing; whereas if he had the Victory, He could pay them with the enemies money. Finally, He brought the War to so good end, that in long time after, though *Spain* were often troublesome, yet was it in no danger of being lost. He increased also the publick Revenues in that Province, by causing some Mines of Iron and Silver to be wrought, that had before lain unregarded. Herein he did benefit the common-wealth by a vertue much agreeable to his own peculiar disposition.

For this *M. Cato* was not only very notable in the Art of War, which might well be then termed the occupation of the *Romans*, but so well furnished with all other useful qualities, that very little was wanting in him which might seem requisite to the accomplishment of a perfect man. He was very skilful in the *Roman* Laws, a man of great Eloquence, and not unprofitable in any business either private or publick. Many books he wrote; whereof the principal were, of the *Roman* Antiquities, and of Husbandry. In matter of Husbandry he was notable, and thereby most increased his substance; being of a mean birth, and the first of his house. Strong of body he was, and exceeding temperate: so as he lived in perfect health to very old age. But that which most commended him unto the better sort of the *Romans*, was his great sincerity of life, abstinence from bribes, and fashioning himself to the antient laudable Customes of the City: Herein he had merited singular commendations, if the vehemency of his nature had not caused him to malign the vertue of that noble *Stipio* the *African*, and some other worthy men; that were no less honest than himself, though far less rigid, and more gallant in behaviour. Otherwise, he was a very good Citizen, and one of such temper, that he could fashion himself to all occasions; as if he were never out of his Element. He loved business so well, or rather hated vice so earnestly; that even unto the end of his life, He was exercised in defending himself, or accusingothers. For at the age of fourscore and six years, he pleaded in his own defence: and four years after, he accused *Sorgius Galba* unto the people. So began the Nobility of *Cato* his family; which ended in his great grand-child *M. Cato* the *Utican*: one that being of like vertue and fervency, had all his good purposes dasht, and was finally wearied out of his life, by men of such nobility and greatness as this his Ancestor had continually vexed.

The *Spanish* Wars, after *Cato* his departure out of the Country, though they were not very dangerous, yet were they many: and the Country seldom free from insurrection, in one part or other. The *Roman* Prætors therefore, of which two every year were sent over Commanders into *Spain* (that was divided into Governments) did rarely fail of such work, as might afford the honour of Triumph. One slew thirteen thousand *Spaniards* in a battle: another took fifty Towns: and a third enforced many States of the Country to sue for peace. Thus every one of them, or most of them, did some laudable service; and yet so, that commonly there were of Men, Towns, and People, new that rebelled, instead of the old that were slain, taken, or reclaimed. At the causes hereof, I have already pointed; and therefore think it enough to say, That the business in *Spain* required not the imployment of a *Roman* Consul, from such time as *Cato* thence departed, untill the *Numantian* War broke out, which was very long after.

In all other Countries to the West of the *Ionian* Seas, the *Romans* had peace; but so had not the *Carthaginians*. For when *Hannibal* was gone from them, and that the enemies of the *Barchine* House promised all felicity which *Rome* could grant, unto themselves and their obedient City: *Masaniſſa* fell to disputing with the sword, about the title to the best part of their Lands. He began with *Emporia*, a fruitful Region about the lesser *Syrtis*: wherein, among other Cities, was that of *Leptis*, which daily payed a Talent unto *Carthage* for Tribute. This Country the *Numidian* challenged, and by winning some part of it, seemed to better his claim unto the whole. He had a great advantage: for that the *Carthaginians* might not make any War, without leave obtained from their Masters the *Romans*. They had none other way of redress, than by sending to *Rome* their Complaint of his doings. And surely they wanted not good matter to alledge, if the Judges had been impartial. For besides that *Scipio*, in limiting out to them their bounds, had left them the possession of this Country: *Masaniſſa* himself, now very lately pursuing a Rebel that fled out of his Kingdom, desired leave of the *Carthaginians*, for himself to pass through it in his way to *Cyrene*: thereby acknowledging (had it otherwise been questionable) that the Country was theirs. This notwithstanding, *Masaniſſa* had herewith to justifie his proceedings, especially unto the *Roman* Senate. He gave the *Fathers* to understand by his Embassadours, what faithless people the *Carthaginians* were, and how ill affected to the State of *Rome*. There had lately been sent unto him from *Hannibal*, one that should perswade them to take part with *Antiochus*. This man they had examined upon some suspition of his errand; yet neither arresting him nor his ship, had thereby afforded him means to escape. Hence the *Numidians* concluded, that certainly it was their purpose to rebell; and therefore good policy to keep them down.

As for the Country of *Emporia*: it had alwaies, he said, been theirs that were able to hold it by strong hand: and so belonged sometime unto the *Numidian* Kings: though now of late it was in possession of the *Carthaginians*. But if the truth were known, the Citizens of *Carthage* had not any very warrantable title unto any more ground, than that whereon their City stood: or scarcely to so much. For they were no better than strangers in *Africk*, that had gotten leave there to build upon so much ground, as they could encompass with an Oxe hide cut into small throngs, Whatsoever they held without such a compass, was purchased by fraud, and wrongfull encroachments. This considered, *Masaniſſa* requested of the Senate, that they would not adjudge unto such usurpers, the Country sometimes appertaining to the Ancestors of him their assured friend. The *Romans* having heard these allegations on both sides, found the matter so doubtful, that they could not on the sudden tell what to determine. Wherefore, because they would do nothing rashly: they sent over three Embassadours, of whom *P. Scipio* the *African* was one of the chief, to decide the controversie: yet secretly giving them instructions, to leave all as they found it, without making any end one way or other. The Embassadors followed their directions, and left all doubtful. So was it likely, that *Masaniſſa* with a strong Army should quickly

quickly prevail againſt thoſe that could no more than talk of their right, and exclaim againſt the wrong. By ſuch Arts were the *Carthaginians* held, not only from ſtirring in favour of King *Antiochus*, if they had thereto any diſpoſition: but were prepared by little and little, unto their final deſtruction: that came upon them, when the *Romans* had leiſure to expreſs the utmoſt of their hatred.

SECT. VI.

The Ætolians *labour to provoke* Antiochus, Philip, *and* Nabis, *to War upon the* Romans, *by whom they hold themſelves wronged and diſgraced.* Nabis *beſiegeth* Gyttheum, *and waſting ſome part of* Achæa. *The exact skill of* Philopœmen *in advantage of ground: whereby he utterly vanquiſheth* Nabis. Antiochus *being denied peace of the* Romans, *joyns with the* Ætolians. *The* Ætolians *ſuprize* Demetrius, *and by killing* Nabis, *their Confederate, ſeize upon* Sparta. *But they are driven out by the Citizens: who at* Philopœmen *his perſwaſions annex themſelves to the* Achæans.

ALl *Greece* being at peace, and the *Roman* Armies thence departed: it grieved much the *Ætolians* to think, that they who had promiſed unto themſelves the whole ſpoil of *Philip*, and the higheſt reputation among the *Greeks*; were not only diſappointed of their covetous hopes, but quite forſaken by their ancient depandants; and of all other the moſt unregarded. Yet was there made a great acceſs to their Eſtate; by adding much unto them, of that which had been taken from the *Macedonian*. This might well have ſufficed them, if their deſires had not been immoderate; and their indignation more vehement, than their deſire. But they were not ſo pleaſed with that which they had, ſince they thought it no more than part of their due: as they were vexed with the denial of that which they claimed, and with finding themſelves to be wholly diſeſteemed, wherein they thought that they had unſufferable wrong. Wherefore they deviſed, in a Parliament which they ſhortly held, by what means they beſt might right themſelves; and give the *Romans* ſorrowful knowledge of the difference between their enmity and friendſhip. To this purpoſe they ſoon agreed, as concurring all in one affection; That they would not only perſwade *Antiochus* to make war upon the *Romans*, as one to whom the *Romans* had long refuſed peace; but that they would deal with the King of *Macedon* their ancient enemy, and with *Nabis* the Tyrant of *Lacedemon*, to joyn all together in a new Confederacy: whoſe joynt forces could not in all likelihood, but far ſurmount thoſe of the *Romans Achæans*, *Rhodians*, and King *Eumenes*, with all that were of their Faction. This was a great enterpriſe, which the *Ætolians* took in hand; and well beſeeming them, for they were great darers. They ſent Embaſſadors to all theſe Kings, with perſwaſions, as they thought moſt forcible. But *Philip* was irreſolute; and *Antiochus* willing to try firſt all other courſes. *Nabis* the *Lacedæmonian*, who neither (as *Philip*) had loſt much, nor (as *Antiochus*) was in fear of any War; yet ſhewed himſelf of all other the moſt forward: and not ſtaying ſo much as to ſeek any good pretence, began immediately to lay ſiege unto *Gyttheum*, that had been lately taken from him by the *Romans*. The *Achæans*, to whoſe care chiefly *Titus* at his departure had commended the Affairs of *Peloponneſus*, were not ſlow to admoniſh *Nabis* of his duty: neither would they have ſtaid long from repreſſing his violence by open war; had not ſome of them thought it wiſdom to ask Counſel of the *Romans*, and particularly of *T. Quintius*, before they engaged themſelves in a buſineſs of ſuch importance. Whilſt thus they ſpent the time in ſending Embaſſadors, and were adviſed by *Quintius*, to let all alone, and to wait for the coming of the *Roman* Forces, that would ſhortly be amongſt them: *Nabis* was bold to give juſter cauſe of complaint, by waſting their own Territory.

Philopœmen was then the Prætor of the *Achæans*, who had long been abſent in *Crete*; making War there, for his minds ſake and recreation. Unto him the *Achæans*, referred themſelves, giving him leave to order the War at his pleaſure; either ſtaying till the *Romans* came, or doing otherwiſe, as he ſhould think beſt. He made all haſte to relieve *Gyttheum* by Sea; fearing leſt the Town, and the *Achæans* Carriſon within it, ſhould be loſt, if he uſed any delay. But *Philopœmen* was ſo bad a Sea-man, that he knew not a ſtrong Ship from a rotten. He made a *Quadrireme* Gally his Admiral, that had fourſcore years agoe been counted a gallant Veſſel in the Navie of *Antigonus Gonatus*. Neither was the reſt of his Fleet ſo good, as might encounter with that of the *Lacedæmonian*. Only it fell out well, that he committed himſelf to a light Pinnace or Brigandine, that fought better with her Wings, than with her Talons. For his Admiral Gally was ſtemmed at the firſt; and being rotten with age, ſprang ſo many leaks, and took in water ſo faſt, that ſhe was fain to yield without further reſiſtance. When the reſt of the Fleet ſaw what was become of their Admiral, all were preſently diſcouraged, and ſaved themſelves with what ſpeed they could. But *Philopœmen* was not herewith daunted. If he had failed in Sea-ſervice, which was none of his Occupation, He ſaid, that he would make amends by Land. The Tyrant withdrew part of his Army from the ſiege of *Gyttheum*, to ſtop the *Achæans*, if they ſhould invade his Country. But upon theſe which were placed in guard of *Laconia*, *Philopœmen* came unexpected; that *Nabis* would have been ready for them ſo ſoon. Or if he ſhould come from *Gyttheum* with any part of his Forces: yet was it thought that he muſt over-take them, and charge them in Rere. They marched therefore almoſt ſecurely, in a long troop, reaching ſome five miles; having Horſe, and the greateſt part of their Auxiliaries at their backs, to bear off any ſudden impreſſion. But *Nabis*, who formerly underſtood, or at leaſt ſuſpected, what courſe they would take, appeared in the front of them with all his Army; encamped there where they meant to have lodged. It was the cuſtome of *Philopœmen*, when he walked, or travelled abroad with his friends, to mark the ſcituation of the Country about him; and to diſcourſe what might befal an Army marching the ſame way. He would ſuppoſe, that having with him there ſuch a number of Souldiers, ordered and ſorted in ſuch manner, and marching towards

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ſuch a place; he were upon that ground encountred by a greater Army, or better prepared to fight. Then would he put the queſtion, Whether it were fit for him to hold on his way, retire, or make a ſtand? What piece of Ground it were meet for him to ſeize upon? and what manner he might beſt do it? In what ſort he ſhould order his men? Where beſtow his Carriages, and under what Guard? In what ſort encamp himſelf? And which way march the day following. By ſuch continual meditation he was grown ſo perfect, that he did never meet with any difficulty, whence he could not explicate himſelf and his followers: At this time he made a ſtand: and having drawn up his Rere, He encamped near unto the place where he was; within half a mile of the Enemy. His Baggage with all thereto belonging, he beſtowed on a Rock; encompaſſing them round with his Souldiers. The ground was rough, the wayes bad, and the day almoſt quite ſpent; ſo as *Nabis* could not at the preſent greatly moleſt him. Both Armies were to water at one Brook; whereto the *Achæans* lay the nearer. This watering therefore was firſt to miniſter the like occaſion of skirmiſh. *Philoræmen* underſtood this; and laid an ambuſh in place convenient; whereinto the Mercenaries of *Nabis* fell, and were ſlaughtered in great numbers. Preſently after this, he cauſed one of his own Auxiliaries to go to the Tyrant as a fugitive, and tell him, That the *Achæans* had a purpoſe to get between him and *Lacedæmon*; whereby they would both debar his return into the City, and withal encourage the People to take Arms for the Recovery of their Freedom. The Tyrant hearing this, marched haſtily away; and left his Camp, which hardly otherwiſe would have been forced. Some Companies he made to ſtay behind, and ſhew themſelves upon the Rampart, thereby to conceal his departure. But *Philohæmen* was not ſo to be beguiled. He eaſily won the Camp, and gave chaſe to *Nabis*: whoſe followers being overtaken, had no courage to turn about and make head. The enemies being thus diſperſed, and fled into woods where they lay in covert all that day: *Philopæmen* conceived aright, that their fear and neceſſity would teach them to creep homewards, and ſave themſelves when it grew dark. Wherefore in the evening, when he had gathered together all thoſe of his light armature, which had followed the chaſe whilſt it was day, he led forth the reſt that had well refreſhed themſelves, and occupied the two moſt ordinary paſſages unto *Lacedæmon*. So *Nabis* his men, when it was dark night, perceiving in *Philopæmens* Camp great ſtore of lights; thought that all had been at reſt: and therefore adventured to make an eſcape home. But they were ſo way-laid, that hardly one quarter of them got into *Sparta*. Thirty days together after this, did *Philopæmen* waſte the Country round about, whilſt *Nabis* durſt not iſſue forth of his Town; and then returned home, leaving the Tyrant in a manner without forces.

The *Roman* Embaſſadors were then in *Greece*, and *T. Quintius* among them, labouring to make their party ſtrong againſt *Antiochus* and *Nabis*, whom they knew to be ſolicited by the *Ætolians*. Very fair countenance they alſo made unto *Philip*; and with comfortable promiſes drew him to make ſhew, whatſoever he thought, of good correſpondence. They promiſed to reſtore unto him his Son: and were contented to let him hope, that he ſhould receive other favours at their hands; and regain poſſeſſion of many places, by them taken from him. Thus did the *Romans* prepare for War againſt *Antiochus* in *Greece*, whileſt their Embaſſadors that were with him in *Aſia*, denied otherwiſe to grant him Peace, than if he would yield unto one of the Conditions, by them ſo often propounded. The long abſence of this King in *Syria*, where he had accompliſhed the marriage between *Ptolomy* and his Daughter; together with the death of young *Antiochus* the Kings Son, which hapned during the Treaty, and hindered, or ſeemed to hinder the King from giving audience in perſon to the Embaſſadors; cauſed them to return home to *Rome*; as uncertain of their anſwer as at their ſetting forth. One thing that might have been, and partly was, beneficial unto them, they brought to paſs during their abode in *Epheſus*; either by cunning, or (as *Livy* rather think) by chance. Finding *Hannibal* there, they diſcourſed often with him, and blamed him for having thus fled unto *Antiochus* upon a cauſeleſs ſuſpition wherein he held the *Romans*; that honoured his vertue, and intended him no harm. Many have affirmed that *P. Scipio* was one of theſe Embaſſadors; and that he, among other diſcourſes with *Hannibal*, demanded one, *Which of all the famous Captaines that had lived*, Hannibal *judged to be the moſt worthy*? So *Hannibal* gave to *Alexander* of *Macedon* the firſt place: to *Pyrrhus* the ſecond: and the third he challenged unto himſelf. But *Scipio*, who thought his own title better than that it ought to be ſo forgotten, asked yet further, What wouldſt thou have ſaid then *Hannibal*; if thou hadſt vanquiſhed me? To whom the *Carthaginian* replied, Then would not I have given the firſt place to *Alexander*, but have claimed it as due unto himſelf. Now whether this were ſo or otherwiſe, the often and friendly conference of *Hannibal* with the *Roman* Embaſſadors, made him ſuſpected of *Antiochus*; who therefore did forbear a while to uſe his counſel. Yet afterwards, when *Hannibal* perceived this change in the King, and plainly deſiring him to tell the cauſe thereof, heard what it was; he eaſily recovered his former grace and credit. For he told how his Father had cauſed him to ſwear at the Altars, when he was a little Boy, that he ſhould never be friend unto the *Romans*. Wherefore he willed the King not to regard any vain ſurmizes: but to know thus much, that ſo long as he thought upon War with *Rome*, ſo long would *Hannibal* do him all good ſervice: whereas contrariwiſe, if he intended to make peace, then ſhould it behoove him to uſe the counſel of ſome other man.

The *Ætolians*, and their Friends, were leſs buſie all this while, in making their party ſtrong againſt the *Romans*, than were the *Romans* in muſtering up their friends in *Greece*. They had ſo often dealt with *Antiochus*, vaunting much of their own forces, and arrogating to themſelves the honour of the Victory againſt *Philip*, that finally they prevailed with him; eſpecially when the *Roman* Embaſſadors had left him without hope of peace, unleſs he would buy it at too dear a rate. They dealt in like ſort with the *Macedonian*. But in vain. He underſtood the *Romans* and himſelf too well. Wherefore it concerned them to improve their own Forces to the uttermoſt: as knowing that all the burthen muſt lie upon *Antiochus* and themſelves without help from any, ſave only from ſome few that were diſcontented in *Greece*. Whilſt they were about this, and had with them an Embaſſadors of the King *Antiochus*, that animated

them to a resolution, the *Athenian* Embassadors, whom *Titus* had requested to be at their meeting, stayed their vehemency a little; by exhorting them not to conclude rashly, without first hearing the *Romans*, that lay near at hand. For want of a ready Answer hereto, they were contented to approve the motion. *Titus* hearing this, thought the business worthy of his presence. For since *Antiochus* had now declared himself against the *Romans*, it would be no small piece of service, to withdraw from his friendship, those by whose encouragement he had made the adventure. Wherefore he came to their *Panætolium*, or great Assembly of the Nation; where he forgot nothing that might serve to appease them. He willed them to consider the weight of the enterprise which they took in hand; whereby *Greece* was like to become a Champaign-field, on which to the ruine of the Country, the *Romans* and King *Antiochus*, that commanded no small part of the World, should fight for the Mastery: the *Ætolians*, as Masters in that kind of Fence, setting them on, and becoming * *the Sticklers*. As for those grievances which did thus exasperate them, and urge them to such violent courses, he willed them to consider how slight they were, and how much better they might do, to send Embassadors to *Rome*, that should either plead their Right in the Senate, or (if their Right unto the places which they claimed, were not good) make request to have what they desired: than thus to set the World in an uproar, and be afterwards the first that should repent it. But what he said or could say, it skilled not much. They had already done ill, to make the Embassador of the King, whose help they had sought, wait so long for an answer, and stay doubting what good end they should make with the *Romans*. Neither was it news unto them to hear those comfortable words; that by sending to *Rome*, they might happen to obtain what they desired; either as their Right, or else by way of Favour. For with such Terms had they been feasted once already: and were by the Senate rejected unto *Titus*: who having it in his own power, gave them no satisfaction; yet would now again refer them to the Senate. This were only loss of time, and might abate their credit with *Antiochus*. Wherefore, without more ado they made a Decree, That King *Antiochus the Great* should be intreated to come over into *Greece*, as well to set the Country at liberty, as also to decide the Controversies dependeng between the *Romans* and the *Ætolians*. Such a Decree they would not have made, had they not understood the Kings mind before. Having made it, they forgot no point of bravery, whereby to vaunt themselves to the Kings Embassadors, and against the *Romans*. *Titus* desired of their Prætor to let him see a Copy of this new Decree. The Prætor answered, That then he had other things to do: but that this Decree, and their further answer, they would shortly let him know, if he came to their Camp in *Italy* upon the River of *Tibris*. Gentler words would have done better, as the *Ætolians* are like to understand hereafter. But having thus begun, they meant henceforth to go roundly to work. The care of the War they referred unto the more private Council of their Nation; that no occasion might slip, in waiting for the Authority of a General Assembly. The *Apocleti* (so were the privy Council of *Ætolia* called) went as hotly to work, as any of the youngest heads could have done. They laid a Plot how to get into their hands at one time the Towns of *Chalcis*, *Demetrias*, and *Sparta*: to each of which they sent men for the purpose. *Demetrias* they took upon the sudden; entring some of them as Friends, to conduct home a principal man of the City: who for speaking words against *T. Quintius*, had been driven to flee thence; but was by intercession of those that loved him, again recalled. His *Ætolian* Companions, that were not many, seized upon a Gate; whereat they let in a Troop which they had left not far behind them: and so fell to murdering the chief of the *Roman* Faction. At *Chalcis* they sped not so well. Thither also they had a banished man to bring home: but they came so strong, that their purpose was discovered, and the Town prepared to defend it self against them. Being therefore demanded the cause of this Hostility, they gave a gentle answer, saying, That they came not thither as Enemies, but only to deliver the Town from the *Romans*; who more insolently domineered over it, than ever the *Macedonians* had done. By which Rhetorick they prevailed no more than they could do by plain force. For the Towns-men replyed, That they neither found any abridgement of their liberty, nor needed any Garrison to keep them from the *Romans*, from whom they neither feared any danger, nor received injury. So this business was dasht. The attempt upon *Sparta* was more strange and desperate. *Nabis* their good Friend was Lord of the Town, stiling himself King, but more truly by all Men called Tyrant. He had well-near lost all, by means of the overthrow which *Philopœmen* had lately given him: since he durst not stir abroad; and daily expected the mischief that on all sides threatned him. Wherefore he sent Messengers, one after another, to the *Ætolians*; requesting them, That as he had not been slow to stir in their behalf, but adventured himself upon the utmost of danger, when all others were backward; so they would be pleased to send him what help they might, since his bad fortune had caused him presently to need it. It hath been often said, That the ravenous *Ætolians* were only true to themselves, and regarded neither faith nor friendship, otherwise, than as it might conduce to their own ends. And so dealt they now. For since *Nabis* his Mercenary Forces, which upheld his Tyranny, were in a manner consumed: they thought it expedient for their Estate, and by so doing, to assure *Lacedæmon* unto themselves. To this purpose they sent thither *Alexamenus*, one whom they thought a man fit for such a work. To him they gave a thousand Foot, and thirty Horse, chosen for the purpose. These thirty were by *Democritus* the Prætor, brought into the Counsel of the *Apocleti*, where they were commanded to be no wiser than they should be, nor to think that they were sent to make War with the *Achæans*, or to do ought else, save only what *Alexamenus* should command them; which were it never so desperate, and in seeming against all reason; yet must they understand, that unless they performed it, they should have no good welcome home. So *Alexamenus* came to the Tyrant, whom he encouraged with brave words, telling him that *Antiochus* was already in *Europe*, and would be anon in *Greece*, meaning to cover all the Land and Sea with his mighty Armies; and that the *Romans* were, like to find other manner of work, than of late with *Philip*: since the Elephants of this Great King, without other help, would suffice to tread them down. As for the

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Ætolians, he ſaid that if need ſhould ſo require, they would preſently ſend away to *Lacedæmon* all the Forces that they could raiſe: But that they were very deſirous at the preſent, to make as goodly a muſter as they could, before the great King; which cauſed them to ſend him thither afore with no greater company. Hereupon he willed *Nabis* to take heart; bring forth his men, that had been long pent up in the City; and train them without the Walls: as if ſhortly he ſhould employ them in work of Conqueſt, rather than Defence. *Nabis* was glad of this: and daily exerciſed his men in the field: riding up and down with this *Alexamenus*, and no more than three or four Horſe about him, from one point to another, to order and behold them. During this time of exerciſe, *Alexamenus* made it his faſhion, to ſtep aſide alone to his *Ætolians*, and ſay ſomewhat as he thought fit: which done, he ſtill returned again to *Nabis*. But when he ſaw time for the great work which he had in hand; he then went aſide to his thirty Horſemen, and bade them remember the task enjoyned them at their ſetting forth; telling them, That they were all in caſe of baniſhed men, unleſs they would anon come up to him, and help him to finiſh that which they ſhould ſee him take in hand. Herewithall the Tyrant began to draw near them: and *Alexamenus* making towards him, charged him on the ſudden, and ſtruck him down. The thirty *Ætolians* never ſtood to deliberate upon the matter, but all flew in; and, before any ſuccour could arrive, had made an end of this wretched *Nabis*. Preſently upon the fact committed, the Tyrant his Mercenaries ran unto the dead body: where, inſtead of ſeeking revenge, they ſtood fooliſhly gazing as beholders. *Alexamenus* with his *Ætolians*, haſted into the City, and ſeized on the Palace: where he fell to ranſacking the Treaſure; and troubled himſelf with none other care, as though all were already done. Such of his followers as were diſperſed in the Town, did alſo the like; with the greater indignation of the Citizens: who ſeeing themſelves free by the death of the Tyrant, could not endure to ſee thoſe that had ſlain him, begin to tyrannize anew. Wherefore all the Town was ſhortly in Arms: and for lack of another Captain, they took a little Boy of the Royal Stock, that had been brought up with *Nabis* his Children, whom they mounted upon a good Horſe, and made him their Chief. So they fell upon the *Ætolians* that were idly ſtraggling about; and put them all to the Sword. *Alexamenus* with not many of his Company, were ſlain in keeping the Citadel: and thoſe few that eſcaped thence into *Arcadia*, were taken by the Magiſtrates; who ſold them as bond-ſlaves. In this doubtful eſtate of things at *Lacedæmon*, *Philopœmen* came thither: who calling out the chief of the City, and ſpeaking ſuch words unto them as *Alexamenus* ſhould have done after he had ſlain the Tyrant: eaſily perſwaded them for their own good and ſafety, to incorporate themſelves with the *Achæans*. Thus by the enterpriſe, no leſs diſhonourable than difficult, of the *Ætolians*: and the ſmall, but effectual travel of *Philopœmen*, the *Achæans* made a notable purchaſe: and *Lacedæmon* that had hitherto been governed by Kings, or by Tyrants that called themſelves Kings, became the Member of a Common-wealth, whereof the Name had ſcarce any reputation, when *Sparta* ruled over all *Greece*.

SECT. VII.

Antiochus, *perſwaded by* Thoas *the* Ætolian, *comes over into* Greece *ill attended. Sundry paſſages between Him, the* Ætolians, Chalcidians, *and others. He wins* Chalcis, *and thereby the whole Iſle of* Eubœa. *The vanity of the Kings Embaſſadors and the* Ætolians, *with the civil Anſwer of* Titus *to their diſcourſe, before the* Achæans. *That it concerned the Greeks to have deſired Peace between the* Romans *and* Antiochus, *as the beſt aſſurance of their own Liberty. Of many petty Eſtates that fell to the King. Of* Aminander; *and an idle vanity by which King* Philip *was loſt.* Hannibal *gives good counſel in vain. Some Towns won in* Theſſaly. *The King retires to* Chalcis, *where he marrieth a young Wife, and revels away the reſt of Winter. Upon the coming of the* Roman *Conſul, all forſake* Antiochus. *He with two Thouſand* Ætolians, *keeps the Straights of* Thermopylæ. *He is beaten, and flees into* Aſia; *leaving all* Greece *unto the Victors.*

ANtiochus was troubled much in *Aſia*, with *Smyrna* and *Lampſacus*, that would not hearken to any Compoſition. He thought it neither ſafe nor honourable, to leave them Enemies behind him: and to win them by force, was more than hitherto he was able. Yet was he deſirous with all ſpeed convenient, to ſhew himſelf in *Greece*: where he had been told, that his preſence would effect wonders. It was ſaid, that in all the Country there was a very ſmall number, which bore hearty affections unto the *Romans*: That *Nabis* was already up in Arms: That *Philip* was like a Bandog in a Chain, deſiring nothing more, than to break looſe: and that the *Ætolians*, without whom the *Romans* had done nothing, nor nothing could have done, were ready to conſer upon him the greatneſs, which they had unworthily beſtowed upon inſolent *Barbarians*. Of all this, the leaſt part was true. Yet that which was true, made ſuch a noiſe, as added credit unto all the reſt. Whilſt therefore the King was thinking to ſend *Hannibal* into *Africk*, there to moleſt the *Romans*, and ſo give him the better leiſure of uſing his own opportunities in *Greece*: *Thoas* the *Ætolian* came over to him, and bade him lay all other care aſide; for that his Country-men had already taken *Demetrias*, a Town of main importance, that ſhould give him entertainment, whence he might proceed as became the greatneſs of his vertue and fortune. This did deſerve to cut off all deliberation. As for *Hannibal*, *Thoas* was bold to tell the King, firſt, that it was not expedient for him to divide his Forces at ſuch a time, when the very reputation of his numbers, brought into *Greece*, might ſerve to lay open unto him all places, without need of uſing violence: and ſecondly, That in any ſuch great enterpriſe there could not be choſen a more unfit man to be employed in the Kings Service, than was that famous *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian*. For he ſaid that the King ſhould as greatly feel the loſs of a Fleet or Army, periſhing under ſuch a notable

Commander, if his fortune were bad, as if the ſame had miſcarried under one of meaner quality: whereas, nevertheleſs, if *Hannibal* prevailed, *Hannibal* alone ſhould have all the honour, and not *Antiochus*. In this regard he was of opinion that ſuch a renowned Warriour ſhould be always nearer unto the Kings Perſon, to give advice: which being followed, as often as it was found commodious, the good ſucceſs would wholly redound unto the honour of him that had the ſoveraign Command, even of the King himſelf. *Antiochus* gladly hearkened unto this admonition; being jealous of the Vertue, that ſhined brighter than the Majeſty of his own fortune. And thereupon he laid aſide the determination, which tended more to the advancement of his deſires, than did any thing elſe by him then, or after thought upon.

Preſently after this, He made ready for *Greece*. Before his ſetting forth, in a frivolous pomp of ceremony, he went up from the Sea-ſide to *Ilium*; there to do ſacrifice to *Minerva* of *Troy*. Thence paſſing over the *Ægean* Sea, He came to *Demetrias*. *Eurylochus* the *Magnetian*; the ſame whom the *Ætolians* had lately waited on home, when by that pretext they won *Demetrias*; was now the chief man, and ruler of his Nation. He therefore with his Country-men, in great frequency, came to do their duties to the King *Antiochus*, and bid him welcome. The King was glad of this, and took it as a ſign of good luck, to be ſo entertained at the beginning. But it may be ſuſpected, That the *Magnetians* found not the like cauſe of joy. For whereas they had expected a Fleet and Army ſomewhat like to that of *Xerxes*: they ſaw three hundred Ships; of which no more than forty were ſerviceable for the Wars, with an Army of ten thouſand Foot, five hundred Horſes, and ſix Elephants. The *Ætolians* no ſooner heard of his coming, than they called a Parliament, and made a Decree whereby they invited him into their Country. He knew before that they would ſo do; and was therefore well onward on his way towards them, when they met with him that brought the Decree. At his coming to *Lamia*, the *Ætolians* gave him as joyful entertainment as they could deviſe. Being brought into their Council, he made an Oration: wherein he deſired them to hold him excuſed, that he came not followed with a greater Army. This was, he ſaid, in true eſtimation, a ſign of his good will: in that he ſtaid not to make all things ready, but haſted unto their aid, even whilſt the ſeaſon was unfit for Navigation. Yet it ſhould not be longer, e're the hope of all thoſe which had expected him, would be ſatisfied unto the full. For it was his meaning to fill all *Greece* with Armies, and all the Sea-Coaſt with his Fleets. Neither would he ſpare for any Charge, Travel, or Danger, to follow the buſineſs which he had undertaken: even to drive the *Romans* and their Authority out of *Greece*, leaving the Countrey free indeed, and the *Ætolians* therein the Chief. Now as the Armies that were following him, ſhould be very great; ſo was it his meaning, that all Proviſions to them belonging ſhould be correſpondent; becauſe he would not be any way burdenſome unto his Confederacs. But at the preſent he muſt needs intreat them, having thus haſtily come over unto their aid, unprovided of many neceſſaries, that they would help him with Corn and other Victuals whereof he ſtood in need. So he left them to their conſultation: the concluſion whereof was, after a little diſpute, (for a vain motion was made by ſome, that the differences between the *Romans* and them, ſhould be put by Compromiſe to the deciſion of *Antiochus*) that they would yield unto the Kings deſire, and aſſiſt him with all their Forces. Here we may obſerve how vain a thing it is for an abſolute Prince to engage himſelf, as did *Antiochus*, in a buſineſs of dangerous importance, upon the promiſed aſſurance of a State that is meerly popular. For if the vehemency of *Thoas*, and ſome other of that Faction, had not prevailed in this Council; the *Ætolians*, for gain of two or three Towns, yea, for hope of ſuch gain that might have deceived them, were like to have abandoned this King their Friend, unto the diſcretion of the *Romans*. And what remedy had there been, if this had ſo fallen out? He could have bemoaned himſelf to *Thoas*, and complained of the wrong: but he muſt have been contented with this anſwer, That the fault was in thoſe of the oppoſite ſide, whom *Thoas* would therefore have pronounced to be very wicked men. It happened much better for the preſent, though in the future it proved much worſe, both for him, and for the *Ætolians*. He was choſen General of all their Forces: and thirty Commiſſioners were appointed to be about him, as a Council of War for the Nation. Theſe armed ſuch, as readily they could, whilſt it was in diſpute where they ſhould begin the War. *Chalcis* was thought the meeteſt place to be firſt undertaken: whither if they came ſuddenly, they ſhould not peradventure need to uſe much force. The King had brought with him into *Ætolia* but a thouſand Foot, leaving the reſt behind him at *Demetrias*. With theſe he haſted away directly toward *Chalcis*; being over-taken by no great number of the *Ætolians*, which accompanied him thither. At his coming, the Magiſtrates, and ſome of the Chief Citizens, iſſued forth to parley with him. There the *Ætolians* began, as they had lately done before, to tell, how the *Romans* had only in words and falſe ſemblance, ſet *Greece* at liberty. But ſuch liberty as might be true and uſeful, they ſaid, would never be obtained; until by removing the neceſſity of obeying their pleaſure that were moſt mighty, every ſeveral Eſtate had where to find redreſs, of any preſſure. And to this end was the great *Antiochus* come thither; a King well able to counterpoiſe, yea to overweigh the *Romans*: who nevertheleſs deſired them only, ſo to joyn with them in League, as that if either the *Romans* or He ſhould offer them wrong, they might keep it in their power, to ſeek redreſs at the others hands. The *Chalcidians* made hereto the ſame anſwer, which, to the like allegations, they had made not long before: That their freedom was not imaginary, but abſolute; for which they were to thank the *Romans*; without whoſe good liking they would enter into no new confederacy. That which they ſpake of themſelves, they could likewiſe affirm of all the *Greeks*: for-aſmuch as none of them paid any Tribute, was kept under by any Garriſon, or lived otherwiſe than by their own *Laws*, and without being tied unto conditions which diſpleaſed them. Wherefore they wondred why the King ſhould thus trouble himſelf to deliver Cities that were already free. But ſince he and the *Ætolians* requeſted their friendſhip; they beſought both him and the *Ætolians*, to do a friendly Office, in departing from them quietly, and leaving them in ſuch good caſe as they were. With this anſwer the King departed:

parted: for he was not as then, ſtrong enough to force them. But very ſoon after, he brought thither, a great power, which terrified them, and made them yield: before all the ſuccours could arrive, which *Titus* had ſent for their defence.

The chief City of *Eubœa* being thus gotten, all the reſt of the Iſland ſhortly yielded to *Antiochus*. Four or five hundred *Roman* Souldiers, that came over late to have defended *Chalcis*, repoſed themſelves at *Delium*, a little Town of *Bœotia*, lying over againſt the Iſland; where was a Temple and Grove, conſecrated unto *Apollo*, that had the priviledge of an inviolable Sanctuary. In this place were ſome of them walking, and beholding the things there to be ſeen, whilſt others were buſied as they found cauſe, without fear of any danger; as being in ſuch a place, and no War hitherto proclaimed. But *Menippus*, one of *Antiochus* his Captains, that had wearied himſelf in many vain Treaties of Peace, took advantage of their careleſneſs, and uſed them with all extremity of War. Very few of them eſcaped; fifty were taken, and the reſt ſlain. Hereat *Quintius* was grieved: yet ſo, as it pleaſed him well to conſider, that his *Romans* had now more juſt cauſe than before, to make War upon the King.

Antiochus liked well theſe beginnings, and ſent Embaſſadors into all quarters of *Greece*; in hope, that his reputation ſhould perſwade very many to take his part. The wiſer ſort returned ſuch anſwer, as the *Chalcidians* had done. Some reſerved themſelves until he ſhould come among them: knowing that either if he came not, he muſt hold them excuſed for not daring to ſtir: or if he came, the *Romans* muſt pardon their juſt fear, in yielding to the ſtronger. None of thoſe that lay far off, joyned with him in true meaning, ſave the *Eleans*, that always favoured the *Ætolians*, and now feared the *Achæans*. Little reaſon there was, that he ſhould think to draw the *Achæans* to his party. Nevertheleſs he aſſayed them upon a vain hope, that the envy which *Titus* was ſaid to bear unto *Philopœmens* virtue, had bred a ſecret diſlike between that Nation and the *Romans*. Wherefore both he and the *Ætolians* ſent Embaſſadors to the Council at *Ægium*, that ſpared not brave words, if the *Achæans* would have been ſo taken. The Kings Embaſſadors told of great Armies and Fleets that were coming; reckoning up the *Dahans*, *Medians*, *Elimeans*, and *Caducians*: names that were not every day heard of, and therefore as he thought the more terrible. Then told he them what notable men at Sea, the *Sydonians*, *Tyrians*, *Aradians*, and *Pamphilyans* were; ſuch indeed as could not be reſiſted. Now concerning money, and all war-like furniture: it was, he ſaid, well known, that the Kingdoms of *Aſia* had always thereof great plenty. So as they were much deceived: who conſidering the late War made with *Philip*, did think that this with *Antiochus* would prove the like: the caſe was too far different. Yet this moſt powerful King, that for the liberty of *Greece*, was come from the utmoſt parts of the Eaſt; requeſted no more of the *Achæans*, than that they would hold themſelves as neutral, and quietly look on, whilſt he took order with the *Romans*. To the ſame effect ſpake the *Ætolian* Embaſſador, and further added, That in the Battle at *Cynoſcephalæ*, neither *Titus* had done the part of a General, nor the *Romans* of good Souldiers: but that both he and his Army had been there deſtroyed, had they not been protected by vertue of the *Ætolians*, which carried the day. *Titus* was preſent at the Council, and heard all this: to which he made as fit anſwer, as could have been deſired. He told the *Achæans*, That neither the Kings Embaſſador, nor the *Ætolian*, did ſo greatly labour to perſwade thoſe unto whom they addreſſed their Orations, as to vaunt themſelves the one unto the other. So as a man might well diſcern what good correſpondence in vanity it was, that had thus linked the King and the *Ætolians* together. For even ſuch brags as here they made before the *Achæans*, who knew them to be Lyars, had the *Ætolians* alſo made unto King *Antiochus*: Proclaiming the Victory over *Philip* to be meerly their Act: and the whole Country of *Greece* to be dependent on them. Interchangeably had they been feaſted by the King, with ſuch tales as his Embaſſador told even now; of *Dahans*, and *Aradians*, and *Elimeans*, and many others: that were all but a company of *Syrians*, ſuch as were wont to be ſold about for Bond-ſlaves, and good for little elſe. Theſe divers names of raſcal People, were he ſaid, like to the diverſity of Veniſon, wherewith a Friend of his at *Chalcis*, (no ſuch Vaunter as were theſe Embaſſadors) had ſometime feaſted him. For all that variety, whereat he wondred, was none other, as his Hoſt then merrily told him; than ſo many pieces of one tame Swine, dreſt after ſeveral faſhions, with variety of ſawces. Setting therefore aſide this vanity of idle pomp: it were good to make judgement of the Great King by his preſent doing. He had, notwithſtanding all this great noiſe, no more than ten thouſand men about him: for which little Army he was fain in a manner to beg Victuals of the *Ætolians*: and take up money at Uſury to defray his charges. And thus he ran up and down the Country; from *Demetrias* to *Lamia*; thence back to *Chalcis*; and being there ſhut out, to *Demetrias* again. Theſe were the Fruits of lies: wherewith, ſince both *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians* had each deluded other; meet it was that they ſhould, as perhaps already they did, repent, whilſt wiſer men took heed by their example. To a favourable Auditory much perſvaſion is needleſs. The *Achæans* did not love ſo well the *Ætolians*, as to deſire that they ſhould become Princes of *Greece*: but rather wiſhed to ſee them, of all other, made the vileſt abjects. Wherefore they ſtood not to hearken after news, what *Antiochus* did, how he ſped in *Eubœa*, or what other Cities were like to take his part: but readily proclaimed War againſt him, and againſt the *Ætolians*.

How the hatred between theſe two Nations grew inveterate; ſufficiently appears in the ſtory fore-going. Now have they gotten each their Patrons; the one, the *Romans*; the other, King *Antiochus*. Herein did each of them unwiſely: though far the greater blame ought to be laid on the turbulent ſpirits of the *Ætolians*. For when the *Romans* departed out of *Greece*, and left the Country at reſt: there was nothing more greatly to have been deſired, than that they might never find occaſion to return with an Army thither again. And in this reſpect ought the *Greeks* to have ſought, not how *Smyrna* and *Lampſacus* might recover their Liberty, (which had never been held a matter worth regarding, until now of late) but how the powers of the Eaſt and Weſt, divided and kept aſunder by their Country, as two Seas by an *Iſthmus*, or neck of Land, might be kept from over-flowing the Bar that parted them. Neither had the *Romans* any better pre-

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tence for their ſeeking to make free thoſe baſe *Aſiatiques*, who originally were *Greekiſh*; than the general applauſe, wherewith all the Nation entertained this their loving offer. Yet were *Lyſimachia*, and the Towns in *Thrace*, lately gotten by *Antiochus*, pretended as a very great cauſe of fear, that ſhould move them to take Arms even in their own defence. But if all *Greece* would have made interceſſion, and requeſted that things might continue as they were, promiſing joyntly to aſſiſt the *Romans* with their whole Forces both by Land and Sea, whenſoever King *Antiochus* ſhould make the leaſt offer to ſtir againſt them: then had not only this quarrel been at an end; but the *Roman* Patronage over the Country, had been far from growing, as ſoon after it did, into a Lordly rule.

The *Achæans* were at this time, in a manner the only Nation of *Greece*, that freely and generouſly declared themſelves altogether for the *Romans*, their Friends and Benefactors. All the reſt gave doubtful anſwers of hope unto both ſides: or if ſome few, as did the *Theſſalians*, were firm againſt *Antiochus*; yet helped they not one another in the quarrel, nor ſhewed themſelves his Enemies, till he preſſed them with open force. The *Bœotians* willingly received him, as ſoon as he entred upon their borders, not ſo much for fear of his power, as in hatred of *Titus* and the *Romans*, by whom they had been ſomewhat hardly uſed. *Aminander* the *Athamanian*, beſides his old friendſhip with the *Ætolians*, was caught with a bait, which it may be doubted, whether he did more fooliſhly ſwallow, or *Antiochus* caſt out. He had married the Daughter of an *Arcadian*, that was an idle-headed man, and vaunted himſelf to be deſcended from *Alexander* the Great: naming his two Sons, in that regard, *Philip* and *Alexander*. *Philip*, the elder of theſe Brethren, accompanied his Siſter to the poor Court of *Athamania*: where having made his folly known, by talking of his Pedegree; He was judged by *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians*, a man fit for their turns. They made him believe, that in regard of his high Parentage, and the famous memory of *Alexander* his Forefather; it was for their purpoſe, to do their beſt for the conqueſt of *Macedon* to his behoof: ſince no man had thereto ſo good title as he. But for the enabling them hereunto; it behoved him to draw *Aminander* to their party, that ſo they might the ſooner have done with the *Romans*. *Philip* was highly pleaſed herewith; and by perſwaſions of himſelf or of his Siſter, effected as much as they deſired. But the firſt piece of ſervice done by this imaginary King (whether it proceeded from his own phrenſie, in hope to get love of the *Macedonians* that ſhould be his Subjects: or whether from ſome vanity in King *Antiochus* that employed him) wrought more harm to his Friends, than he and *Aminander* were able to do good. There were two thouſand men committed to his leading: with which he marched unto *Cynoſcephalæ*, there to gather up the bones of the ſlaughtered *Macedonians*; whom their King had ſuffered all this while to lie unburied. The *Macedonians* troubled not themſelves to think on this charitable act, as if it were to them any benefit at all: but King *Philip* took it in high indignation; as intended meerly unto his deſpight. Wherefore he preſently ſent unto the *Romans*; and gave them to underſtand, that he was ready with all his power to aid them wherein ſoever they ſhould be pleaſed to uſe him.

The *Ætolians*, *Magnetians*, *Eubœans*, *Bœotians*, and *Athamanians*, having now all joyned with him: *Antiochus* took counſel of them about the proſecution of the War in hand. The chief queſtion was, Whether it were meet for him to invade *Theſſaly*, that would not hearken to his perſwaſions: or whether to let all alone until the Spring: becauſe it was now mid-winter. Some thought one thing, and ſome another; confirming each his own ſentence, with the weightieſt reaſons which he could alledge: as in a matter of great importance. *Hannibal* was at this meeting: who had been long caſt aſide, as a Veſſel of no uſe, but was now required to deliver his opinion. He freely told the King, That what he ſhould now utter, was even the ſame which he would have ſpoken, had his counſel at any time before been asked ſince their coming into *Greece*. For the *Magnetians*, *Bœotians*, and other their good Friends, which now ſo willingly took their parts: what were they elſe than ſo many poor Eſtates, that wanting force of their own, did adjoyn themſelves for fear unto him, that was ſtrongeſt for the preſent: and would afterwards, when they ſaw it expedient, be as ready to fall to the contrary ſide, alledging the ſame fear for their excuſe? Wherefore he thought it moſt behooveful to win King *Philip* of *Macedon* unto their party: who (beſides that being once engaged, he ſhould not afterwards have power to recoyle, and forſake them all at his pleaſure) was a mighty Prince; and one that had means to ſuſtain the *Roman* War with his proper Forces. Now that *Philip* might be eaſily perſwaded to join with them, the benefit likely to redound unto himſelf, by their ſociety, was a very ſtrong Argument: though indeed what need was there, of proving by inference the likelihood of this hope: For, ſaid He, *Theſe* Ætolians *here preſent; and namely, this* Thoas *being lately Embaſſadour from them into* Aſia, *among other motives which he then uſed to excite the King unto this Expedition, inſiſted mainly on the ſame point. He told us that* Philip *was moved beyond all patience, with the Lordly inſolence of the* Romans: *likened that King to ſome wild Beaſt, that was chained or lockt up within ſome grate, and would fain break looſe. If this be ſo: let us break his chain, and pull down the grate, that he may regain his liberty, and ſatisfie his angry ſtomack, upon thoſe that are common enemies to us and him. But if it prove otherwiſe, and that his fear be greater than his indignation: then ſhall it behoove us to look unto him; that he may not ſeek to pleaſe his good maſters the* Romans, *by offending us. Your Son* Seleucus *is now at* Lyſimachia, *with part of your Army; if* Philip *will not hearken to your Embaſſage; let* Seleucus *be in readineſs to fall upon* Macedon, *and find him work to defend his own on the other ſide, without putting us here to trouble. Thus much concerning* Philip, *and the preſent War in* Greece. *But more generally for the managing of this great enterpriſe, wherein you are now embarked againſt the* Romans, *I told you my opinion at the beginning: whereto had you then given ear, the* Romans *by this time ſhould have heard other news, than that* Chalcis *in* Eubœa *was become ours.* Italy *and* Gaul *ſhould have been on fire with War; and little to their comfort, they ſhould have underſtood, that* Hannibal *was again come into* Italy. *Neither do I ſee what ſhould hinder us even now from taking the ſame courſe. Send for all your Fleet and Army hither (but in any caſe let Ships of Burden come along with them, loaden with ſtore of Victuals: For, as the caſe now ſtands, we have here*

too

too few hands and too many mouths) Wherefore let the one half be imployed againſt Italy; *whilſt you in perſon with the other half, tarrying on this ſide the* Ionian *Sea, may both take order for the affairs of* Greece, *and therewithal make countenance; as if you were even ready to follow us into* Italy: *yea, and be ready to follow us indeed, if it ſhall be requiſite. This is my advice; who though perhaps I am not very skilful in all ſorts of War; yet how to war with the* Romans, *I have been inſtructed by long experience, both to their coſt and mine own. Of this Counſel which I give, I promiſe you my faithful and diligent ſervice for the execution: but what Counſel ſoever you pleaſe to follow, I wiſh it may be proſperous.* Many were pleaſed with the great ſpirit of the man, and ſaid, he had ſpoken bravely: but of all this was nothing done; ſave ouly that one was ſent into *Aſia*; to make all things ready there. In the mean while they went in hand with *Theſſaly*; about which they had before diſputed. There when they had won one Town by force, many other places, doubting their own ſtrength, were glad to make ſubmiſſion. But *Lariſſa* that was chief of the Country, ſtood out: not regarding any terrible threats of the King, that lay before the walls with his whole Army. This their faith and courage was rewarded by good fortune. For *M. Bæbius*, a *Roman* Pro-prætor, did ſend help thither. Likewiſe *Philip* of *Macedon* profeſſed himſelf enemy unto *Antiochus*, whereby the fame of the ſuccour coming to *Lariſſa*, grew ſuch, as wrought more than the ſuccour could have done, had it arrived. For *Antiochus* perceiving many fires on the Mountain tops afar off; thought that a great Army of *Romans* and *Macedonians* had been coming upon him. Therefore excuſing himſelf by the time of the year; He brake up his Siege, and marched away to *Chalcis*. At *Chalcis* he fell in love with a young Maiden, Daughter unto a Citizen of the Town; whom, without regard of the much diſproportion that was between them, both in years and fortune, He ſhortly married; and ſo ſpent the Winter following as delightfully as he could, without thinking upon War in hand. His great Men and Captains followed his example; and the Souldiers as readily imitated their Captains: in ſuch wiſe, that when he took the field, he might evidently perceive in what looſe manner of diſcipline his Army had paſſed the Winter. But *M. Acilius Galabrio*, the *Roman* Conſul, ſhall meet him very ſhortly, and help him to reclaim them from this looſneſs of nuptial Revels, by ſetting them to harder exerciſe.

M. Acilius was choſen Conſul with *P. Cornelius Scipio Naſica*. The War againſt *Antiochus* fell to him by lot; whereas otherwiſe, He was no way ſo honourable, as *Naſica*, his Colleague: unto whom fell a charge, of far leſs credit and importance. *Naſica*, beſides the great Nobility of his Family, had been long ſince, in time of the *Punick War*, Crowned with the title of *The beſt man in Rome*: when the Senate for very fear and ſuperſtition, durſt not have ſo pronounced him, had they not ſo thought him, as being commanded by Oracle, that none other man than the very beſt, ſhould entertain an old ſtone, which the Devil then taught them to call *The Mother of the Gods*. But no prerogative of Birth, Virtue, or good opinion, gave ſuch advantage to the better man, as to make choice of his own Province: or arrogate more unto himſelf, than his lot ſhould afford him. This unpartial diſtribution of employments, helped well to maintain peace and concord. *P. Scipio* was therefore appointed to make War againſt the *Boians*; wherein he purchaſed the honour of a Triumph, nothing ſo glorious as was that of his Colleague; though purchaſed with harder ſervice, requiring the more ability in matter of War. But *M. Acilius* went over into *Greece*, with ten thouſand foot, two thouſand Horſe, and fifteen Elephants. *Ptolomy* King of *Egypt*, notwithſtanding his late Alliance with King *Antiochus*; and *Philip* King of *Macedon*; had lately ſent Embaſſadors to *Rome*, making offer to come each of them in perſon with all his Forces into *Ætolia*, there to aſſiſt the Conſul in this War. *Ptolomy* ſent alſo Gold and Silver, toward the defraying of charges, as one that meant none other than good earneſt. But he was too young, and dwelt too far off. So his money was returned unto him with thanks; and his loving offer as lovingly refuſed. Unto *Philips* Embaſſadors, anſwer was made, that that his friendly offer was gratefully accepted: and that the Senate and People of *Rome* would think themſelves beholding to him, for the aſſiſtance that he ſhould give to *Acilius* the Conſul. *Maſaniſſa* likewiſe, and the *Carthaginians*, did ſtrive, which of them ſhould be moſt forward in gratifying the *Romans*. Each of them promiſed a great quantity of Grain, which they would ſend partly to *Rome*, partly to the Army in *Greece*. And herein *Maſaniſſa* far out-went the poor City of *Carthage*; as alſo in that he offered to lend the Conſul five hundred Horſe, and twenty Elephants. On the other ſide, the *Carthaginians* undertook to ſet out a Fleet at their own charges: and to bring in at one payment, all the Tribute-money which was behind, and ought to be diſcharged by many yearly penſions. But the *Romans* did neither think it good, to let them arm a Fleet: nor would let them redeem themſelves out of Tribute, by paying all at once. As for the Corn, it was accepted, with condition that they ſhould be contented to receive the price of it.

The haſty and ridiculous iſſue of this War, that began with ſuch noiſe and preparations, were hardly credible: were not the difference exceeding great between the *Roman* and the *Aſiatique* Souldiers. *Antiochus* had gotten this Spring a few Towns of *Acarnania*, after the ſame manner as he had prevailed in other parts of *Greece*; partly by fair words, and treaſon of the Rulers: partly by terrour, that was like to prove their excuſe when they ſhould again forſake him. But King *Philip* and *Bæbius* having recovered many places; and the *Roman* Conſul being arrived, againſt whom none made reſiſtance; he was glad to withdraw himſelf. *Aminander* fled out of his *Athamania*: which the *Macedonian* took and enjoyed; as in recompence of his good ſervice to the *Romans*. *Philip* the Brother of *Aminanders* Wife, was taken by the Conſul; made a mocking-ſtock, and ſent away priſoner to *Rome*. The *Theſſalians* uſed much more diligence in returning to their old friends, than they had done in yielding to the King. All their Cities one after another, gave up themſelves: the Garriſons of *Antiochus*, compounding only for their own lives, and departing unarmed: yet ſo, that a thouſand of them ſtayed behind, and took pay of the *Romans*. This did wonderfully perplex *Antiochus*; who having withdrawn himſelf to *Chalcis*, and hearing how things went, cryed out upon his Friends: and ſaid, That they had betrayed him.

He

He had taken a great deal of toyl during one half of a Winter, and ſpent the other half in ſuch Nuptials, as were little to his honour: after which, in time of need, he found all the promiſes of the *Ætolians* meerly verbal: and himſelf reduced into terms of great extremity. He therefore admired *Hannibal* as a wiſe man, yea, a very Prophet, that had fore-ſeen all this long before. Nevertheleſs, he ſent word to the *Ætolians*, that they ſhould now make ready all their forces: as conſidering their own need to be no leſs than his. But the *Ætolians* had cauſe to think, that they themſelves were ſhamefully diſappointed by *Anticchus*; who having promiſed to do great wonders, was in all this while ſeconded by no greater numbers out of *Aſia*, than ſo many as would fill up the ſame ten thouſand which he firſt brought over. Yet came there ſome of them, though fewer than at any time before, which joyned with him. Hereat the King was angry: and could get no better ſatisfaction, than that *Thoas* and his fellows had done their beſt in vain, to have made all the Nation take Arms. Since therefore neither his own men came to him out of *Aſia*, nor his friends of *Greece* would appear in this time of danger: He ſeized upon the Straights of *Thermopylæ*; as meaning to defend them againſt the *Romans*, until more help ſhould come. Of the Straights of *Thermopylæ*, there hath been ſpoken enough before, upon many occaſions: and then chiefly, when they were defended by *Leonidas* againſt the huge Army of *Xerxes*. Wherefore it may eaſily be conceived, how the *Romans*, that landed about *Apollonia*, and ſo came onwards into *Theſſaly*, were unable to paſs that Ledge of Mountains, dividing the one half of *Greece*; unleſs they could win this difficult entrance. But there was great difference between *Leonidas* and *Antiochus*. The former of theſe, with an handful of men, defended this paſſage two or three days together, againſt a world of men coming to invade the Country. The latter, having taken upon him to do great miracles, and effect what he liſted himſelf in *Greece*: did commit himſelf unto the ſafety of this place, when he was charged by not many more than he had in his own Army. There whilſt he lay, He ſent earneſt meſſengers one after another to the *Ætolians*, entreating them not to forſake him thus: but at leaſtwiſe now to help, and keep the tops of the Mountains, leſt the *Romans*, finding any by-path, ſhould come down upon him. By this opportunity, he got of them two thouſand, that undertook to make good the few paſſages: by which only, and not without extream difficulty, it was poſſible for the Enemy to aſcend. The *Roman* Conſul in like ſort prepared to force the Straights; without ſtaying to expect King *Philip*: that was hindred by ſickneſs from accompanying him. He had with him *M. Porcius Cato*, and *L. Valerius Flaccus*, that had both of them been Conſuls. Theſe he ſent forth by night with two thouſand men, to try whether by any means they could get up to the *Ætolians*. He himſelf encouraged his Army; not only by telling them with what baſe conditioned Enemies they had to deal: but what rich Kingdoms *Antiochus* held, that ſhould bountifully reward them if they were Victors. This was on the day before the battle. All that night *Cato* had a ſore journey (for what happened unto *L. Valerius* it is uncertain, ſave only that he failed in his intent) and ſo much the worſe, for that he had no skilful guide. Seeing therefore his men exceedingly tyred, with climbing up ſteepy Rocks, and crooked waies: He commanded them to repoſe themſelves; whilſt he, being a very able man of body, took in hand the diſcovery, accompanied with no more than one of like metal to himſelf. After a great deal of trouble, he found at length a Path: which he took to be, as indeed it was, the beſt way leading unto the Enemies. So thither he brought his men; and held on the ſame path till toward break of day. It was a place not haunted, becauſe in time of peace, there was a fair way thorow the Straights below, that required no ſuch trouble of climbing; neither had this entrance of the *Thermopylæ* been ſo often the Seat of War, as might cauſe any Travellers to ſearch out the paſſages of thoſe deſolate Mountains. Wherefore the way that *Cato* followed, though it were the beſt; yet did it lead him to a bog at the end, which would ſuffer him to paſs no further. So he ſtay'd there until day-light: by which he diſcovered both the Camp of the *Greeks* underneath him; and ſome of the *Ætolians* that were very near unto him, that were keeping the watch. He therefore ſent forth a luſty Crew of his men, whom he thought fitteſt for that ſervice; and willed them by any means to get him ſome Priſoners. This was effected: and he thereby underſtood, that theſe *Ætolians* were no more than ſix hundred; as alſo that King *Antiochus* lay beneath in the Valley. So he preſently ſet upon the *Ætolians*, overthrew them, ſlew a great part of them, and chaſed the reſt, that by flying to their Camp, guided him unto it. The fight was already begun between the Armies below: and the *Romans*, that had eaſily repelled the Kings men, and driven them into their Camp, found it, in a manner, a deſperate piece of work to aſſault the Camp it ſelf, which occupied the whole breadth of the Straights was notably fortified; and not only defended by *Antiochus* his long Pikes, which were beſt at that kind of ſervice; but by Archers and Slingers that were placed over them on the Hill-ſide, and poured down a ſhowr of weapons on their heads. But *Cato* his approach determined the matter. It was thought, at firſt, that the *Ætolians* had been coming to help the Kings men: but when the *Roman* Arms and Enſigns were diſcovered, ſuch was the terrour, that none made offer of reſiſtance: but all of them forſook the Camp and fled. The ſlaughter was not great: for that the badneſs of the way did hinder the *Roman* Army from making purſuit. Yet this daies loſs drove *Antiochus* out of *Greece*, who directly fled to *Chalcis*; and from thence with the firſt opportunity, got him back into *Aſia*.

All the Cities that had imbraced the friendſhip of *Antiochus*, prepared forthwith to entertain the *Romans*, and entreat for pardon: ſetting open their gates; and preſenting themſelves unto the Conſul, in manner of ſuppliants. Briefly, in few daies all was recovered that *Antiochus* had gained: the *Ætolians* only ſtanding out, becauſe they knew not what elſe to do. Neither did the Conſul give them any reſpite. At his return from *Chalcis*, he met with King *Philip*, that having recovered health, came to joyn with him againſt *Antiochus*: over whom, ſince the Victory was already gotten, He did gratulate unto the *Romans* their good ſucceſs; and offered to take part with them in the *Ætolian* War. So it was agreed, That the Conſul ſhould beſiege *Heraclea*; and *Philip*, *Lamia*; at the ſame time. Each of them plied his work hard; eſpecially *Philip*, who fain

fain would have taken *Lamia* before the Consul should come to help him. But it could not be. For his *Macedonians* that used to work by Myne, were over-much hindered by the stony ground. Yet was *Lamia* even ready to be taken, when the Consul, having won *Heraclea*, came thither, and told *Philip*, that the spoil of these Towns was a reward unto those that had fought at *Thermopylæ*. Herewith *Philip* must be contented; and therefore went his way quietly. But *Acilius*, that could so ill endure to see *Philip* in likelihood of thriving by the *Romans* victory, got not *Lamia* himself: until such time as another Consul was ready to ease him of his charge.

The loss of *Heraclea* did so affright the *Ætolians*, that they thought no way safer than to desire Peace. Yet had they sent unto King *Antiochus*, presently after his flight: intreating him not to forsake them utterly, but either to return with all those Forces which he had purposed to bring into *Greece*; or if any thing with-held him from coming in person, at leastwise to help them with money and other aid. They prayed him to consider, that this did not only concern him in honour; but appertained unto his own safety: since it would be much to his hurt, if the *Ætolians* being wholly subdued, the *Romans*, without any Enemies at their backs, might set upon him in *Asia*. He well considered of this, and found their words true. Therefore he delivered unto *Nicander*, one of their Embassadors, a sum of money, that might defray the charges of the War: promising that e're long he would send them strong aid, both by Land and Sea. *Thoas*, another of their Embassadors, He retained with him; who willingly stayed, that he might urge the King to make his word good. But when *Heraclea* was taken from them; then did the *Ætolians* lay aside all hope of amending their fortune by the help of *Antiochus*; and made suit unto the Consul to obtain peace, upon any reasonable condition. The Consul would scarce vouchsafe to give them audience, but said, He had other business in hand; only he granted them ten daies of Truce, and sent *L. Valerius Flaccus* with them to *Hypata*, willing them to make him acquainted with as much as they would have delivered unto himself. At their coming to *Hypata*, they began, as men favouring their own cause, to alledge how well they had deserved of the *Romans*. Whereto *Flaccus* would not hearken. He told them plainly, That the memory of such good offices past, was quite obliterated by the malice which they had shewed of late. Wherefore he willed them to acknowledge their fault, and to entreat pardon. Better they thought to do so even betimes, than to stay till they were reduced unto terms of more extremity. Hereupon they agreed to commit themselves unto the faith of the *Romans*; and to that effect sent Embassadors to the Consul. This phrase of *committing unto the faith*, signified, in their using of it, little else than the acknowledgement of a fault done, and the craving of pardon. But the *Romans* used those words in another sense; and counted them all one, as *yielding to discretion*. Wherefore when the Consul heard them speak in this manner: He asked them whether their meaning were agreeable to their words. They answered that it was: and shewed him the Decree of their Nation lately made to this purpose. Then, said he, I command you first of all, That none of you presume to go into *Asia*, upon any business, private or publick: then, That ye deliver up unto me *Dicæarchus* the *Ætolian*, *Menestratus* the *Epirot*, *Amminander* the *Athamanian*, and such of his Country-men as have followed him in revolting from us. Whilst he was yet speaking; *Phameas* the Embassador interrupted him; and prayed him not to mistake the custom of the *Greeks*, who had yielded themselves *unto his faith*; *not unto slavery*. *What?* (said the Consul) *Do ye stand to plead Custom with me, being now at my discretion? Bring hither a chain.* With that, chains were brought; and an Iron collar, by his appointment, fitted unto every one of their necks. This did so affright them, that they stood dumb, and knew not what to say. But *Valerius* and some others entreated the Consul, not to deal thus hardly with them, since they came as Embassadors; though since their condition was altered. *Phameas* also spake for himself; and said, That neither he, nor yet the *Apocleti*, or ordinary Councel for the Nation, were able to fulfill these Injunctions; without approbation of the general Assembly. For which cause he entreated yet further ten daies respite; and had granted unto him Truce for so long.

This surceasance of War, during ten, and other ten daies together, began presently after the taking of *Heraclea*; when *Philip* had been commanded from *Lamia*, that else he might have won. Now because of the indignity herein offered unto that King, and to the end that he might not return home with his Army, like one that could not be trusted in employment: especially the *Romans* being like hereafter to have further need of him in the continuance of this War; He was desired to set upon the *Athamanians*, and some other petty Nations their Borderers, whilst the Consul was busie with the *Ætolians*: taking for his reward, all that he could get. And he got in that space all *Athamania*, *Perrhæbia*, *Aperantia*, and *Dolopia*. For the *Ætolians* hearing what had befallen their Embassadors, were so enraged, That although they were very ill provided for War, yet they could not endure to hear more talk of Peace. And it happened, that *Nicander* about the same time was come back from *Antiochus*, with money and hopeful promises: the *Romans* abiding still about *Heraclea*; and *Philip* having lately risen from before *Lamia*, yet not being far gone thence. His money *Nicander* conveighed into *Lamia*, by very unusual dexterity. But he himself being to pass further to the Assembly of the *Ætolians*, there to make report of his Embassage; was very much perplexed about this his Journey, which lay between the *Roman* and *Macedonian* Camps. Yet he made the adventure: and keeping as far as he could from the *Roman* side, fell upon a Station of *Macedonians*; by whom he was taken, and led unto their King. He expected no good: but either to be delivered unto the *Romans*, or used ill enough by *Philip*. But it seems, that the King had not hitherto concocted well the indignity of his being sent away from *Lamia*. For he commanded his Servants to treat *Nicander* friendly: and he himself being then at Supper, did visit him as soon as he rose up: giving him to understand, That the *Ætolians* did now reap the fruits of their own madness; forasmuch as they could never hold themselves contented, but would needs be calling strangers into *Greece*. They had pleased themselves well, in their acquaintance first with the *Romans*, and then with King *Antiochus*: but himself, being their Neighbour, they could never well endure. It was now therefore, he said, high time for them to have regard unto his friendship, whereof hitherto they never made any tryal: for surely their good affection, one unto the other, would be much

more available unto each of them, than their mutual catching of advantages; whereby they had wrought themſelves much diſpleaſure. Thus much the King willed *Nicander* to ſignifie unto his Country-men; and privately to hold in mind the courteſie which he then did him, in ſending him ſafe home. So giving him a Convoy to guard him to *Hypata*, he lovingly diſmiſſed him. For this benefit, *Nicander* was alwaies after very dutifully affected to the Crown of *Macedon:* ſo as in the War of *Perſeus* he made himſelf ſuſpected unto the *Romans*, and therefore was had away to *Rome*, where he ended his life.

When the Conſul underſtood, that the *Ætolians* refuſed to make their ſubmiſſion, in ſuch wiſe as he required it: he forthwith meant to proſecute the War againſt them, without any longer forbearance. They were preparing to make head againſt him at *Naupactus:* whither he therefore directly marched, to try what they could or durſt. The ſiege of *Naupactus* was of greater length than the *Romans* had pre-conceived it: for it was a ſtrong City, and well manned. But *Acilius* ſtood upon point of honour; wherein he thought that he ſhould have been a loſer by riſing from before it without Victory. So he ſtay'd there well-near all the following time of his Conſulſhip; whilſt the *Macedonian* King, and the *Achæans*, made far better uſe of the *Roman* Victory. *Philip*, as is ſaid before, being allowed to take in ſuch places as had revolted unto *Antiochus*, and were not hitherto reclaimed, won the ſtrong City of *Demetrius*, and with an haſty courſe of Victory, ſubdued the *Athamanians* and others. The *Achæans* called to account the *Eleans* and *Meſſenians*; which had long been addicted to the *Ætolian* ſide; and followed it, in taking part with *Antiochus*. The *Eleans* gave good words; whereby they ſaved themſelves from trouble a while. The *Meſſenians* being more ſtout, before they were invaded, had none other help when the *Achæan* Prætor waſted their Country, than to offer themſelves unto the *Romans*. *Titus* was then at *Corinth:* to whom they ſent word, That at his Commandment their Gates ſhould be opened; but that unto the *Achæans* it was not their meaning to yield. A meſſage from *Titus* to the *Achæan* Prætor, did ſuffice to call home the Army, and finiſh the War: as alſo the peremptory Command of the ſame *Titus*, cauſed the *Meſſenians* to annex themſelves unto the *Achæans*, and become part of their Commonweal. Such was now the Majeſty of a *Roman* Embaſſador. *Titus* did favour the *Achæans*; yet could not like it well, that either they or any other ſhould take too much upon them. He thought it enough, that they had their liberty, and were ſtrong enough to defend it againſt any of their Neighbours. That they ſhould make themſelves great Lords, and able to diſpute with the *Romans* upon even terms, it was no part of his deſire. They had lately bought the Iſle of *Zacynthus*; which had once been *Philips*, and was afterward given by him to *Aminander*, who ſent a Governour thither. But when *Aminander* in this preſent War, was driven out of his own Kingdom by *Philip*; then did the Governour of *Zacynthus* offer to ſell the Iſland to the *Achæans*; whom he found ready Chapmen. *Titus* liked not of this: but plainly told them, That the *Romans* would be their own Carvers, and take what they thought good, of the Lands belonging to their Enemies; as a reward of the Victory which they had obtained. It was bootleſs to diſpute. Wherefore the *Achæans* referred themſelves unto his diſcretion. So he told them that their Commonwealth was like a Tortoiſe, whereof *Peloponeſus* was the ſhell: and that, holding themſelves within that compaſs, they were out of danger; but if they would needs be looking abroad, they ſhould lie open to blows, which might greatly hurt them. Having ſettled things thus in *Peloponeſus*, he went over to *Naupactus:* where *Glabrio* the Conſul had lain two months, that might have been far better ſpent. There, whether out of compaſſion which he had upon the *Ætolians*, or out of diſlike of King *Philips* thriving ſo faſt: he perſwaded the Conſul to grant unto the beſieged, and to the whole Nation, ſo long Truce, that they might ſend Embaſſadors to *Rome*; and ſubmitting themſelves, crave pardon of the Senate. Moſt like it is that *Naupactus* was in great danger: elſe would not the *Ætolians* have made ſuch earneſt ſuit as they did unto *Titus*, for procuring of this favour. But if *Glabrio* had been ſure to carry it in any ſhort ſpace, it may well be thought he would not have gone away without it; ſince the winning of that Town, wherein was then the whole flower of the Nation, would have made the promiſed ſubmiſſion much more humble and ſincere. When they came unto *Rome*, no entreaty could help them to better Conditions, than one of theſe two; That either they ſhould wholly ſubmit themſelves to the good pleaſure of the Senate; Or elſe pay a thouſand Talents, and make neither Peace nor War with any; further than as the *Romans* ſhould give approbation. They had not ſo much money: neither could they well hope to be gently dealt withall, if they ſhould give themſelves away *unto diſcretion*; which, what it ſignified, they now underſtood. Wherefore they deſired to have it ſet down, in what points, and how far forth they ſhould yield unto the good pleaſure of the Senate. But hereof they could get no certain anſwer: ſo that they were diſmiſſed as Enemies, after long and vain attendance.

Whilſt the *Ætolians* were purſuing their hopes of Peace, the Conſul had little to do in *Greece*, and therefore took upon him gravely to ſet things in order among the tractable *Achæans*. He would have had them to reſtore the baniſhed *Lacedæmonians* home into their Counttey; and to take the *Eleans* into the fellowſhip of their Commonwealth. This the *Achæans* liked well enough: but they did not like it, that the *Romans* ſhould be meddling in all occurrences. Wherefore they deferred the reſtitution of the baniſhed *Lacedæmonians:* intending to make it an Act of their own meer grace. As for the *Eleans*, they were loth to be beholding to the *Romans*, and thereby to diſparage the *Achæans:* into whoſe Corporation they were deſirous to be admitted, and ſaw that they ſhould have their deſire, without ſuch compulſive mediation.

The *Roman* Admiral *C. Livius*, much about the ſame time, fought a battle at Sea with *Polyxenidas*, Admiral to the King *Antiochus*. King *Eumenes* brought help to the *Romans*, though it was not great: and five and twenty Sail of *Rhodians* came after the battle, when they were following the Chaſe. The Kings Fleet was the better of Sail, but that of the *Romans* the better manned. Wherefore *Polyxenidas* being vanquiſhed in fight, was yet out of danger; as ſoon as he betook himſelf to a ſpeedy retreit.

And ſuch end had the firſt years war between King *Antiochus* and the *Romans*. After this, as many

many of the *Greeks* as had followed the vain hopes of the *Ætolians* were glad to excuſe themſelves by fear; thinking themſelves happy when by Embaſſadors they had obtained pardon. On the contrary ſide, *Philip* of *Macedon*, Arch-enemy of late unto the *Romans*, did now ſend to gratulate this their Victory: and, in recompence of his good affection, had reſtored unto him *Demetrius* his younger Son; whom ſome few years they had kept as an Hoſtage. Alſo King *Ptolomy* of *Egypt*, gratulating the *Roman* Victory, ſent word how greatly all *Aſia* and *Syria* were thereby terrified. In which regard he deſired the Senate not to foreſlow time; but to ſend an Army, as ſoon as might be, into *Aſia*: promiſing that his aſſiſtance, wherein ſoever it pleaſed them to uſe it, ſhould not be wanting. This *Ptolomy* was the Son-in-law of King *Antiochus*: but he was the friend of fortune. He underſtood long before, as did all that were indifferent beholders of the contention, that the *Romans* were like to have the upper hand. The ſame did *Antiochus* now begin to ſuſpect, who had thought himſelf a while as ſafe at *Epheſus*, as if he had been in another world: but was told by *Hannibal*, That it was not ſo far out of *Greece* into *Aſia*, as out of *Italy* into *Greece*, and that there was no doubt but the *Romans* would ſoon be there, and make him try the chance of a battle for his Kingdom.

SECT. VIII.

Lucius Scipio, *having with him* Publius *the* African *his elder Brother, for his Lieutenant, is ſent into* Greece. *He grants long Truce to the* Ætolians, *that ſo he might at leiſure paſs into* Aſia. *Much troubleſome buſineſs by Sea, and divers fights. An invaſion upon* Eumenes *his Kingdom; with the ſiege of* Pergamus, *raiſed by an handful of the* Achæans. L. Scipio *the Conſul comes into* Aſia: *where* Antiochus *moſt earneſtly deſireth peace, and is denyed it. The battle of* Magneſia: *wherein* Antiochus *being vanquiſhed, yieldeth to the* Romans *good pleaſure. The conditions of the peace. In what ſort the* Romans *uſed their Victory.* L. Cornelius Scipio, *after a moſt ſumptuous Triumph over* Antiochus, *is ſurnamed The* Aſiatique, *as his Brother was ſtiled the* African.

Lucius Cornelius Scipio, the Brother of *P. Scipio the African*, was choſen Conſul at *Rome* with *C. Lælius*. *Lælius* was very gracious in the Senate: and therefore being deſirous (as generally all Conſuls were) of the more honourable employment, offered to refer to the arbitrement of the Senate, if *L. Cornelius* would be ſo pleaſed, the diſpoſition of their Provinces; without putting it to the hazard of a Lottery. *Lucius* having talked with his Brother *Publius*, approved of the motion. Such a queſtion had not of long time been put unto the Fathers: who therefore were the more deſirous to make an unblameable Decree. But the matter being otherwiſe ſomewhat indifferent, *P. Scipio* the *African* ſaid openly thus much, That if the Senate would appoint his Brother to the War againſt *Antiochus*, He himſelf would follow his Brother in that War, as his Lieutenant. Theſe words were heard with ſuch approbation, that the Controverſie was forthwith at an end. For if *Antiochus* relyed upon *Hannibal*, and ſhould happen to be directed wholly by that great Captain, what better man could they oppoſe than *Scipio*: that had been Victorious againſt that ſame great Worthy? But indeed a worſer man might have ſerved well the turn. For *Hannibal* had no abſolute command, nor ſcarce any truſt of great importance: excepting now and then in conſultation; where his wiſdom was much approved, but his liberty and high ſpirit as much diſliked. It is worthy of remembrance, as a ſign of the freedom that he uſed in his cenſures, even whilſt he lived in ſuch a Court. *Antiochus* muſtered his Army in preſence of this famous Captain: thinking, as may ſeem, to have made him wiſh, that he had been ſerved by ſuch brave men in *Italy*. For they were gallantly decked, both Men, Horſes, and Elephants, with ſuch coſtly furniture of Gold, Silver, and Purple, as glittered with a terrible bravery on a Sun-ſhine day. Whereupon the King, well pleaſing himſelf with that goodly ſpectacle, asked *Hannibal* what he thought; and whether all this were not enough for the *Romans*. *Enough* (ſaid *Hannibal*) *were the* Romans *the moſt covetous men in all the world*: meaning that all this coſt upon the backs of cowardly *Aſiatiques*, was no better than a ſpoil to animate good Souldiers. How little this anſwer pleaſed the King, it is eaſie to gueſs. The little uſe that he made of this *Carthaginian*, teſtifies that his diſlike of the man, cauſed him to loſe the uſe of his ſervice, when he ſtood in greateſt neceſſity thereof.

The *Scipio*'s made all haſte away from *Rome* as ſoon as they could. They carried with them, beſides other Souldiers newly preſt to the War, about five thouſand Voluntaries, that had ſerved under *P. Africanus*. There was alſo a Fleet of thirty *Quinquereme* Gallies, and twenty *Triremes* newly built, appointed unto *L. Æmilius Regillus*, that was choſen Admiral the ſame year for that Voyage. At their coming into *Greece*, they found the old Conſul *Glabrio* beſieging *Amphyſſa* a City of the *Ætolians*. The *Ætolians* after that they were denyed Peace, had expected him once again at *Naupactus*. Wherefore they not only fortified that Town, but kept all the paſſages thereto leading; which heedleſly, as in a time of confuſion, they had left unregarded the laſt year. *Glabrio* knowing this, deceived their expectation, and fell upon *Lamia*: which being not long ſince much weakened by *Philip*, and now by him attempted on the ſudden; was carried at the ſecond aſſault. Thence went he to *Amphyſſa*: which he had almoſt gotten, when *L. Scipio*, his ſucceſſor, came with thirteen thouſand Foot, and five hundred Horſe, and took charge of the Army. The Town of *Amphyſſa* was preſently forſaken by the Inhabitants: but they had a Caſtle, or higher Town, that was impregnable; whereinto they all retired. The *Athenian* Embaſſadors had dealt with *P. Scipio* in behalf of the *Ætolians*: entreating him to ſtand their friend, and help them in obtaining ſome tolerable condition of Peace. He gave them gentle words, and willed them to perſwade the *Ætolians*, that they ſhould faithfully, and with true meaning deſire it. This was gladly taken. But many meſſages paſſing to and fro: though *Publius* continued to put them in good hope; yet the

Conſul made ſtill the ſame anſwer, with which they had been chaſed from *Rome*. The Concluſion was, That they ſhould ſue for a longer time of reſpite from War: whereby at more leiſure they might attend ſome better diſpoſition of the Senate; or any helpful commodity which time ſhould afford. So they obtained half a years truce: after which, the Winter was like to afford them another half years leiſure of breathing. Hereof were they not more glad than was *P. Scipio*: who thought all time loſt, which with-held the War from paſſing over into *Aſia*.

The buſineſs of *Ætolia* being thus laid aſide, and the old Conſul *Glabrio* ſent home into *Italy*, the *Scipio's* marched into *Theſſaly*; intending thence to take their way by Land, through *Macedon* and *Thrace* unto the *Helleſpont*. Yet they conſidered, that hereby they muſt commit themſelves unto the loyalty of King *Philip*: who might either do them ſome miſchief by the way, if he were diſpoſed to watch a notable advantage; or at the leaſt, would he be unfaithful; though he were not ſo couragious, yet might he take ſuch order with the *Thracians*, that even for want of Victuals, if by no greater inconvenience, they ſhould be diſgracefully forced to return. He had promiſed them the utmoſt of his furtherance: wherein, whether he meant ſincerely, they thought to make ſome trial; by cauſing a Gentleman to ride Poſt unto him, and obſerve his doings as he ſhould take him on the ſudden. The King was merry at a Feſt, and drinking when the Meſſenger came: whom he lovingly bade welcome; and ſhewed him the next day, not only what proviſion of Victuals he had made for the Army, but how he had made Bridges over the Rivers, and mended the bad ways by which they were to paſs. With this good news *Gracchus* returned back in haſt unto the *Scipio's*: who entring into *Macedon*, found all things in a readineſs, that might help to advance their Journey. The King entertained them Royally, and brought them on their way, even to the *Helleſpont*: where they ſtayed a good while, until their Navy was in readineſs to tranſport them into *Aſia*.

Much was done at Sea in the beginning of this year; though, for the moſt part, little of importance. *Polyxenidas*, the Admiral of *Antiochus*, was a baniſhed *Rhodian*: true to the King, and deſirous of revenge upon his Country-men, that had expelled him. He, hearing that the *Rhodian* Fleet was at *Samos*, the *Romans* and *Eumenes* having not as yet put to Sea, thought to do ſomewhat upon thoſe that were ſo early in their diligence, before their fellows ſhould arrive to help them. Yet went he craftily to work, and ſent word, as in great ſecrecy, to the *Rhodian* Admiral, That if the ſentence of his baniſhment might be repealed, He would, in requital thereof, betray all the Kings Fleet. After many paſſages to and fro, this was believed: and the *Rhodian* Admiral grew ſo careleſs, expecting ſtill when he ſhould receive a watch-word from *Polyxenidas* that he himſelf was taken by *Polyxenidas* in his own Haven. The Kings Fleet ſetting forth from *Epheſus* by night; and for fear of being diſcovered, reſting one day in harbour by the way, came the ſecond night to *Samos*: where, by morning it was ready to enter the Haven. *Pauſiſtratus* the *Rhodian* Admiral ſeeing this, thought it his beſt way of reſiſtance to beſtow his men on the two head-lands or points of the Haven; ſo to guard the mouth of it: for that he ſaw no likelihood of defending himſelf by Sea. But *Polyxenidas* had already landed ſome Companies in another part of the Iſland: which falling upon the back of *Pauſiſtratus*, compelled him to alter his directions, and command his men aboard. This could not be without great confuſion: ſo as the enemies took him out of all order, and ſunk or boorded all his Navy, five excepted, that by a ſudden device made ſhift to eſcape. Each of them hung out a burning Creſcent upon two Poles, at the Beak-head; and then rowed forwards directly upon the Enemy: who having not bethought himſelf what ſhift to make againſt ſuch unexpected danger of firing, was content to give way unto theſe deſperate Gallies; for fear leſt they ſhould burn, together with themſelves, a part of the Kings Fleet.

Not long after this, the *Romans* had ſome loſs by Tempeſt: whereof *Polyxenidas* could not take ſuch advantage as he had hoped: becauſe, putting to Sea for that purpoſe, he was driven back again by the like foul Weather. But the *Rhodians*, to ſhew that they were not diſcouraged, ſet forth twenty other Gallies: the *Romans* alſo, with King *Eumenes*, repaired their Fleet; and all of them together, in great bravery preſented battle to *Polyxenidas* before the Haven of *Epheſus*. When he durſt not accept it: they went from place to place, attempting many things, as either they were entreated by the *Rhodians*, or perſwaded by ſome appearing hopes of doing good. Yet performed they little or nothing: for that one while they were hindred by Storms at Sea; and another while by ſtrong reſiſtance made againſt them at Land.

Eumenes with his Fleet was compelled to forſake them; and return home to the defence of his own Kingdom. For *Antiochus* waſted all the grounds about *Elea* and *Pergamus*: and leaving his Son *Seleucus* to beſiege the Royal City of *Pergamus*, did with the reſt of his Army ſpoil the whole Country thereabout. *Attalus* the Brother of King *Eumenes*, was then in *Pergamus*; having with him no better men to defend the City, than were they that lay againſt it. Wherefore he had reaſon to ſtand in fear; being too much inferiour in number. There came to his aid a thouſand foot, and an hundred horſe of the *Achæans*: old Souldiers all, and trained up under *Philopœmen*, whoſe Scholar, in the art of War, *Diophanes* their Commander was. This *Diophanes* beholding from the Walls of *Pergamus*, which was an high Town, the demeanour of the enemy; began to diſdain that ſuch men as they ſhould hold them beſieged. For *Seleucus* his Army which was encamped at the Hill-foot, ſeeing that none durſt ſally forth upon them, grew ſo careleſs: as otherwiſe than by ſpoiling all behind their backs, they ſeemed to forget that they were in an Enemies Country. *Diophanes* therefore ſpake with *Attalus*: and told him that he would go forth to viſit them. *Attalus* had no liking to this adventure; for he ſaid, that the match was nothing equal. But the *Achæan* would needs have his will: and iſſuing forth, encamped not far from the enemy. They of *Pergamus* thought him little better than mad. As for the beſiegers; they wondred at firſt what his meaning was: but when they ſaw that he held himſelf quiet, they made a jeſt of his boldneſs; and laughed to ſee with what an handful of men he looked ſo ſtoutly. So they returned unto their former negligence and diſorders. Which *Diophanes* perceiving, He commanded all his men to follow him, even as faſt as they well might: and he himſelf, with a hundred horſe, brake

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out on the ſudden upon the ſtation that was next at hand. Very few of the Enemies had their horſes ready ſadled, but more few, or none had the hearts to make reſiſtance: ſo as he drove them all out of their Camp; and chaſed them as far as he might ſafely adventure, with great ſlaughter of them and no loſs to his own. Hereat all the Citizens of *Pergamus* (who had covered the walls of the Town, men and women, to behold this ſpectacle) were very joyful; and highly magnified the virtue of theſe *Achæans*. Yet would they not therefore iſſue forth of their Gates, to help the *Achæans* in doing what remained to be done. The next day *Seleucus* encamped half a mile further from the Town, than he had done before: and againſt him went forth *Diophanes* the ſecond time; who quietly reſted a while in his old ſtation. When they had ſtayed many hours, looking who ſhould begin: *Seleucus* in fair order as he came, withdrew himſelf toward his lodging that was further off. *Diophanes* moved not whilſt the enemy was in ſight; but as ſoon as the ground between them hindred the proſpect, he followed them in all haſt, and ſoon overtaking them with his Horſe, charged them in the Reer; ſo as he brake them, and purſued them at the heels, to their very Trenches. This boldneſs of the *Achæans*, and the baſeneſs of his own men, cauſed *Seleucus* to quit the ſiege, little to his honour. Such being the quality of theſe *Aſiatiques*, *Philopœmen* had cauſe to tell the *Romans*, That he envied their Victory. For when *Antiochus* lay feaſting at *Chalcis* after his marriage, and his Souldiers betook themſelves to Riot, as it had been in a time of great ſecurity: a good man of War might have cut all their Throats, even as they were tipling in their Victualling Houſes; which *Philopœmen* ſaid, that he would have done, had he been General of the *Achæans*, and not as he then was, a private man.

Antiochus was full of buſineſs: and turning his care from one thing to another, with a great deal of travel, brought almoſt nothing to paſs. He had been at *Pergamus*: into which *Eumenes*, leaving the *Romans*, did put himſelf with a few of his Horſe and light Armature. Before *Pergamus* he left his Son, as before hath been ſhewed, and went to *Elæa*: whither he heard that *Æmylius* the *Roman* Admiral was come to bring ſuccour to *Eumenes*. There he made an Overture of Peace; about which to conſult, *Eumenes* was ſent for by *Æmylius*, and came from *Pergamus*. But when it was conſidered, that no concluſion could be made without the Conſul: this Treaty brake off. Then followed the overthrow newly mentioned, which cauſed *Seleucus* to give over the Siege of *Pergamus*. Afterwards, four or five Towns of ſcarce any worth or note were taken by the King, and the *Syrian* Fleet, being of ſeven and thirty Sail, was beaten by the *Rhodian*, which was of like number. But of this Victory the *Rhodians* had no great cauſe to rejoyce: for that *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian*, who, together with *Apollonius* a Courtier of *Antiochus*, was Admiral of the *Syrians*, did them in a manner as great hurt as they could do to *Apollonius*; and having his Victory taken out of his hands by *Apollonius* his flight, yet made ſuch a retreat, that the *Rhodians* durſt not far adventure upon him. Now of theſe Actions which were but as Prefaces unto the War, the laſt and greateſt was a Victory of the *Romans* by Sea, againſt *Polyxenidas* the Kings Admiral. The battle was fought by *Myonneſus* a Promontory in *Aſia*: where *Polyxenidas* had with him fourſcore and nine Gallies; and five of them greater than any of the *Romans*. This being all the ſtrength which he could make by Sea: we may note the vanity of thoſe brags, wherewith *Antiochus* vaunted the laſt year, That his *Armada* ſhould cover all the Shores of *Greece*. The *Romans* had eight and fifty Gallies; the *Rhodians* two and twenty: the *Roman* being the ſtronger built, and more ſtoutly manned; the *Rhodians* more light-timbred, and thin planckt, having all advantage of ſpeed, and good Sea-men. Neither forgot they to help themſelves by the ſame device, with which five of their Gallies had lately eſcaped from *Samos*. For with Fire in their Prows they ran upon the Enemy: who declining them for fear, laid open his ſide: and was thereby in greater danger of being ſtemmed. After no long fight, the Kings Navy hoyſted Sail, and, having a fair Wind, bore away toward *Epheſus* as faſt as they could. Yet forty of their Gallies they left behind them: whereof thirteen were taken, all the reſt burnt or ſunk. The *Romans* and their fellows loſt only two or three Ships: but got hereby the abſolute Maſtery of the Sea.

The report of this miſadventure, may ſeem to have taken from *Antiochus* all uſe of reaſon. For as if no hope had been remaining to defend thoſe places that he held in *Europe*, he preſently withdrew his Garriſons from *Lyſimachia*: which might eaſily have been kept, even till the end of Winter following, and having reduced the beſiegers (if the ſiege had been continued obſtinately) unto terms of great extremity, He alſo gave over the Siege of *Colophon*: and laying aſide all thoughts, ſave only of defence, drew together all his Army; and ſent for help to his Father-in-law, King *Ariarathes* the *Cappadocian*.

Thus the *Roman* Conſul, without impediment, not only came to the *Helleſpont*, but had yielded unto him all places there, belonging to *Antiochus* on *Europe* ſide. The Fleet was alſo then in a readineſs to tranſport him over into *Aſia*: where *Eumenes* had taken ſuch care before that he landed quietly at his own good eaſe; even as if the Country had been his already. The firſt news that he heard of the Enemy, was by an Embaſſador that came to ſue for Peace. This Embaſſador declared in his Maſters name, That the ſame things which had hindered him from obtaining Peace of the *Romans* heretofore, did now perſwade him, that he ſhould eaſily come to good agreement with them. For in all diſputations heretofore, *Smyrna*, *Lampſacus*, and *Lyſimachia*, had been the places about which they varied. Seeing therefore the King had now already given over *Lyſimachia*, and was further purpoſed not to ſtrive with the *Romans* about *Lampſacus* and *Smyrna*: what reaſon was there, why they ſhould need to trouble him with War? If it was their deſire that any other Towns upon the Coaſt of *Aſia*, not mentioned by them in any former Treaties, ſhould be alſo ſet at liberty, or otherwiſe delivered into their hands: the King would not refuſe to gratifie them therein. Briefly, let them take ſome part of *Aſia*, ſo as the bounds dividing them from the King, might not be uncertain, and it ſhould be quietly put into their hands. If all this were not enough, the King would likewiſe bear half the Charges whereat they had been in this War. So praying the *Romans* to hold themſelves contented with theſe good offers, and not to be too inſolent upon confidence of their fortune, he expected their anſwer. Theſe offers, which

which to the Embaſſador ſeemed ſo great, were judged by the *Romans* to be very little. For they thought it reaſonable, that the King ſhould bear all the Charges of the War, ſince it began through his own fault: and that He ſhould not only depart out of thoſe few Towns which he held in *Æolis* and *Ionia*; but quite out of *Aſia the leſs*, and keep himſelf on the other ſide of Mount *Taurus*. When the Embaſſador therefore ſaw that no better bargain could be made, He dealt with *P. Scipio* in private: and to him he promiſed a great quantity of Gold, together with the free reſtitution of his Son, who (it is uncertain, by what miſchance) was taken priſoner, and moſt honourably entertained by the King. *Scipio* would not hearken to the offer of Gold: nor otherwiſe to the Reſtitution of his Son, than upon condition, That it might be with making ſuch amends for the benefit, as became a private man. As for the publick buſineſs: He only ſaid thus much, That ſince *Antiochus* had already forſaken *Lyſimachia*, and ſuffered the War to take hold on his own Kingdom; there was now none other way for him, than either to fight, or yield to that which was required at his hands. Wherefore, ſaid he, tell your King in my name, That I would adviſe him to refuſe no Condition whereby he may have Peace.

The King was not any whit moved with his advice. For ſeeing that the Conſul demanded of him no leſs than if he had been already ſubdued: little reaſon there was, that he ſhould fear to come to battle; wherein he could loſe, as he thought, no more, than by ſeeking to avoid it he muſt give away. He had with him threeſcore and ten thouſand Foot, and twelve thouſand Horſe; beſides two and fifty *Indian* Elephants, and many Chariots armed with Hooks or Sythes, according to the manner of the Eaſtern Countries. Yet was he nothing pleaſed to hear that the Conſul drew near him apace, as one haſtening to fight. But howſoever he was affected: He made ſo little ſhew of fear, that hearing *P. Scipio* to lie ſick at *Elæa*, He ſent thither unto him his Son without ranſome: as one both deſirous to comfort this noble Warriour in his ſickneſs, and withall not deſirous to retain the young Gentleman for a pledge of his own ſafety. Thus ought his bounty to be conſtant. Otherwiſe it might be ſuſpected that herein he dealt craftily. For ſince he could have none othor ranſome of *Scipio*, than ſuch as an honourable man, that had no great ſtore of wealth, might pay: better it was to do ſuch a courteſie before the battle, as would afterwards have been little worth; than to ſtay until the *Romans*, perhaps Victorious, ſhould exact it at his hands. *P. Scipio* was greatly comforted with the Recovery of his Son; ſo as the joy thereof was thought to have been much available unto his health. In recompence of the Kings humanity, He ſaid only thus much unto thoſe that brought him this acceptable Preſent, *I am now able to make your King none other mends, than by adviſing him not to fight until he ſhall hear that I am in the Camp.* What he meant by this, it is hard to conjecture. *Antiochus* reſolved to follow his Counſel; and therefore withdrew himſelf from about *Thyatira*, beyond the River of *Phrygius* or *Hyllus*, unto *Magneſia* by *Sypilus*: where encamping, he fortified himſelf as ſtrongly as he could. Thither followed him *L. Scipio* the Conſul, and ſat down within four miles of him. About a thouſand of the Kings Horſe, moſt of them *Gallo-Greeks*, came to bid the *Romans* welcome: of whom at firſt they ſlew ſome; and were anon, with ſome loſs, driven back over the River. Two dayes were quietly ſpent, whilſt neither the King nor the *Romans* would paſs the water. The third day the *Romans* made the adventure: wherein they found no diſturbance; nor were at all oppoſed, until they came within two miles and an half of *Antiochus* his Camp. There, as they were taking up their Lodging, they were charged by three thouſand Horſe and Foot: whom the ordinary *Corps de Guarde* repelled. Four dayes together after this, each of them brought forth their Armies; and ſet them in order before the Trenches, without advancing any further. The fifth day the *Romans* came half way forward, and preſented battle; which the King would not accept. Thereupon the Conſul took advice what was to be done: For either they muſt fight upon whatſoever diſadvantage, or elſe reſolve to abide by it all Winter, far from any Country of their Friends, and therefore ſubject unto many difficulties: unleſs they would ſtain their honour by returning far back, to Winter in a more convenient place; and ſo defer the War until the next Spring. The *Roman* Souldier was throughly perſwaded of that Enemies baſe temper. Wherefore it was the general Cry, That this great Army ſhould be aſſailed, even in the Camp where it lay: as if rather there were ſo many Beaſts to be ſlaughtered, than Men to be fought with. Yet a day or two paſſed in diſcovering the Fortifications of *Antiochus*, and the ſafeſt way to ſet upon him. All this while *P. Scipio* came not. Wherefore the King, being loth to diſhearten his men, by ſeeming to ſtand in fear of the Enemy, reſolved to put the matter to trial. So when the *Romans* took the Field again, and ordered the Battels: He alſo did the like; and advanced ſo far, that they might underſtand his meaning to fight.

The *Roman* Army conſiſted of four Legions, two *Roman*, and two *Latine*: in each of which were five thouſand and four hundred men. The *Latines*, as uſually, were in the points; the *Roman*, in the mean battle. All of them, according to their wonted form, were divided into *Maniples*. The *Haſtati* had the leading: after them followed the *Principes*; at ſuch diſtance as was uſual; and laſt of all, the *Triarii*. Now beſide theſe, there were about three thouſand *Auxiliaries*; partly *Achæans*, and partly ſuch as belonged to *Eumenes*: which were placed in an equal Front beyond the *Latines* in the right wing. Utmoſt of all (ſave ſome five hundred *Cretians*, and of the *Trallians*) were almoſt three thouſand Horſe: of which, *Eumenes* had brought thither eight hundred; the reſt being *Roman*. The left wing was fenced by the bank of the River: yet four Troops of Horſe were placed there, though ſuch help ſeemed in a manner needleſs. Two thouſand Voluntaries, *Macedonians* and *Thracians* were left to guard the Camp. The Conſul had with him ſixteen *African* Elephants, which he beſtowed in his Rere: foraſmuch as had they come to fight with thoſe of *Antiochus*, they only would have ſerved to diſcourage his men, as being ſure to be beaten: the *Indian* being far the greater, and more courageous Beaſts: whereof *Antiochus* had likewiſe much advantage in number.

The Kings Army being compounded of many Nations, diverſly appointed, and not all accuſtomed to one manner of fight, was ordered according to the ſeveral kinds, in ſuch wiſe as each might be of moſt uſe. The main ſtrength of his

Foot

Foot consisted in sixteen thousand, armed all *Macedonian*-like, and called *Phalangiers*. These he placed in the midst, and divided into ten Battalions: every one having two and thirty in File, and fifty in Front. Between every Battalion were two Elephants, goodly Beasts, and such as being adorned with Frontals, high Crests, Towers on their Backs, and besides him that governed the Elephant, four men in every Tower, made a gallant and terrible shew. On the right hand of these were fifteen hundred Horse of the *Gallo-Greeks*: then three thousand Barb'd Horse, called the *Agema*, that were all *Medians*, the choice of the Country, and accompanied by some others. All which Troops of Horse divided in their several kinds, do seem to have followed one another in depth, rather then to have been stretched out in Front. Adjoyning unto these, were sixteen Elephants together in one flock. A little further to the right hand, was the Kings own Regiment; called the *Argyraspides*, or *Silvershields*, by a name borrowed from their furniture, but nothing like so valiant as those of the same name, that had served under Great *Alexander*: then, twelve hundred Archers on Horse-back, three thousand light-armed Foot, two thousand and five hundred Archers of *Mysia*, with four thousand Slingers and Archers of the *Cirtæans*, and *Elymæans*. On the left hand of the *Phalangiers*, were placed the like numbers of *Gallo-Greeks*, and Barb'd Horse: as also two thousand Horse that were sent from *Ariarathes*, with two thousand and seven hundred of divers Nations: and a Regiment of a thousand Horse more lightly armed, that were called *The Kings Troop*; being *Syrians*, *Phrygians*, and *Lydians*. In Front of all these Horse were the Chariots armed with Hooks or Sythes, and the *Dromedaries*, whereon sate *Arabians* with long Rapiers, that would serve to reach from those high Camels. Beyond these were, as in the right wing, a rabble of many Nations, *Carians*, *Cicilians*, *Pamphilians*, *Pisidians*, *Cyrtæans*, *Elymæans*, and many others, having also with them sixteen Elephants. *Antiochus* himself commanded in the right wing: *Seleucus* in the left: and three of his principal Captains commanded over the *Phalangiers*.

The first onset was given by the *Dromedaries*, and armed Chariots: of which the one, being like to terrifie the Horse; the other, to break the Squadrons of the Foot; *Eumenes* with a few light-armed *Cretians*, Archers, Darters, and Slingers, easily made frustrate the danger threatned by them both. For with shoutings, and noises, and some wounds, they were driven out of the Field; and running back upon their own men, did the same harm which they had intended to the Enemies. Wherefore the *Roman* Horse following this advantage, charged upon the left Wing: Whereas they found no resistance; some being out of order; others being without courage. It is shameful to rehearse, and so strange, that it may hardly seem credible: that the *Phalangiers*, with such variety of *Auxiliaries*, made little or no resistance; but all of them fled, in a manner as soon as they were charged. Only the King, *Antiochus* himself, being in the left wing of his own Battle: and seeing the *Latines*, that stood opposite unto him, weakly flanked with Horse, gave upon them couragiously, and forced them to retire. But *M. Æmilius*, that had the Guard of the *Roman* Camp, issued forth with all his power to help his fellows: and what by perswasion, what by threats, made them renew the Fight. Succour also came from the right Wing, where the *Romans* were already Victorious: whereof when *Antiochus* discovered the approach; He not only turned his Horse about, but ran away upon the spur without further tarriance. The Camp was defended a little while: and with no great Valour; though by a great multitude that were fled into it. *Antiochus* is said to have lost in this Battle fifty thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse; besides those that were taken. Of the *Romans* there were not slain above three hundred Foot, and four and twenty Horse: of *Eumenes* his followers five and twenty.

Antiochus fled to *Sardes*, and from thence to *Apamea*, the same night; hearing that *Seleucus* was gone thither before. He left the custody of *Sardes*, and the Castle there, to one whom he thought faithful. But the Towns-men and Souldiers were so dismayed with the greatness of the Overthrow; that one mans faith was worth nothing. All the Towns in those parts, without expecting Summons, yielded up themselves by Embassadours, whom they sent to the *Romans*, whilst they were on the way. Neither were many days spent, e're *Antiochus* his Embassadour was in the Camp: having none other Errand, than to know what it would please the *Romans* to impose upon the King his Master. *P. Scipio* was now come to his Brother, who obtained leave to make the answer, because it should be gentle. They required no more than they had lately done: which was, That he should quite abandon his Dominions on this side *Taurus*. For their Charges in that War, they required fifteen thousand Talents: five hundred in hand; two thousand and five hundred, when the Senate and People of *Rome* should have confirmed the Peace; and the other twelve thousand in twelve years next ensuing, by even portions. Likewise they demanded four hundred Talents for *Eumenes*; and some store of Corn that was due to him upon a reckoning. Now besides twenty Hostages which they required, very earnest they were to have *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian*, and *Thoas* the *Ætolian*, with some others, who had stirred up the King to this War, delivered into their hands. But any wise man might so easily have perceived that it would be their purpose to make this one of their principal demands; as no great Art was needful to beguile their malice. The Kings Embassador had full Commission to refuse nothing that should be enjoyned. Wherefore there was no more to do, than to send immediately to *Rome* for the Ratification of the Peace.

There were new Consuls chosen in the mean while at *Rome*, *M. Fulvius*, and *Cn. Manlius Volso*. The *Ætolians* desired Peace, but could not obtain it: because they would accept neither of the two Conditions to them before propounded. So it was decreed, That one of the Consuls should make War upon the *Ætolians*; the other upon *Antiochus* in *Asia*. Now, though shortly there came news, that *Antiochus* was already vanquished in Battle, and had submitted himself unto all that could be required at his hands: yet since the State of *Asia* was not like to be so throughly settled by one Victory, but that many things might fall out worthy of the *Romans* care, *Cn. Manlius*, to whom *Asia* fell by Lot, had not his Province changed.

Soon after this, came the Embassadors of King *Antiochus* to *Rome*, accompanied with the *Rhodians* and some others; yea, by King *Eumenes* in person; whose presence added a goodly lustre to the business in hand. Concerning the Peace to be made with King *Antiochus*, there was no disputation:

tion: it was generally approved. All the trouble was about the distribution of the purchase. King *Eumenes* reckoned up his own deserts, and comparing himself with *Masanissa*, hoped that the *Romans* would be more bountiful to him, than they had been to the *Numidian*, since they had found him a King indeed, whereas *Masanissa* was only such in title; and since, both he and his Father had always been their Friends, even in the worst of the *Roman* Fortune. Yet was there much ado to make him tell what he would have: He still referring himself to their courtesie, and they desiring him to speak plain. At length he craved that they would bestow upon him, as much of the Country by them taken from *Antiochus*, as they had no purpose to keep in their own hands. Neither thought he it needful, that they should trouble themselves with the care of giving Liberty to many of the *Greek* Towns that were on *Asia* side. For since the most of those Towns had been partakers with the King in his War; it was no reason that they should be Gainers by his overthrow. The *Rhodians* did not like of this. They desired the Senate to be truly Patrons of the *Grecian* Liberty; and to call to mind, that no small part of *Greece* it self had been subject unto *Philip*, and served him in his War: which was not alledged against them as a cause why they should not be made free, after that *Philip* was overcome. But the main point whereon they insisted, was this, That the Victory of the *Romans* against King *Antiochus*, was so great, as easily might satisfie the desires of all their Friends. The Senate was glad to hear of this; and very bountifully gave away so much, that every one had cause to be well-pleased.

Such end had the War against King *Antiochus*: after which, *L. Cornelius Scipio* returning home, had granted unto him the honour of a Triumph: the Pomp whereof exceeded in Riches, not only that of *Titus Quintus Flamminius*, but of any ten that *Rome* had beheld until that day. Now forasmuch as the surname of *The African* had been given unto *P. Scipio*, it was thought convenient by some to reward *L. Scipio* with the title of *The Asiatique*: which the fortune of his Victory had no less deserved; though the Virtue requisite to the purchase thereof, was no way correspondent.

SECT. IX.

The Ætolians, *and the* Gallo-Greeks, *vanquished by the* Roman *Consuls*, Fulvius *and* Manlius. Manlius *hardly obtains a Triumph: being charged (among other objections) with attempting to have passed the bounds appointed as fatal to the* Romans *by* Sibyl. *Of* Sibyls *Prophecies; the Books of* Hermes; *and that Inscription*, Simoni Deo Sancto. *The ingratitude of* Rome *to the two* Scipio's: *and that beginning and Faction among the* Roman *Nobility.*

Marc. Fulvius, and *Cn. Manlius* had the same charge divided between them, which *L. Cornelius Scipio*, now stiled *Asiaticus*, had lately undergone. It was found more than one mans work, to look at once to *Greece* and to *Asia*. And for this reason was it apparent, that *L. Scipio* had granted so long a Truce to the *Ætolians*. But since, in this long *Interim of Truce*, that haughty little Nation had not sought to humble it self to the *Roman Majesty*, it was now to be brought unto more lowly terms than any other of the *Greeks*. The best was, that so great a Storm fell not unexpected upon the *Ætolians*. They had foreseen the danger, when their Embassadors were utterly denied Peace at *Rome*: and they had provided the last Remedy; which was to entreat the *Rhodians* and *Athenians* to become Intercessors for them. Neither were they so dejected with any terrible apprehensions, that they could not well devise, even upon helping themselves by repurchase of Countries lost, where they spied advantage.

Poor King *Aminander* lived in exile among them, whilst *Philip* of *Macedon* kept, for him, possession of his Lands and Castles. But the *Athamanians* (besides that many of them bore a natural affection to their own Prince) having been long accustomed to serve a Mountain Lord, that conversed with them after an homely manner; could not endure the proud and insolent manner of command, used by the Captains of *Philip* his Garrisons. They sent therefore some few of them to their King, and offered their service towards his restitution. At the first there were only four of them; neither grew they, at length, to more than two and fifty, which undertook the work. Yet assurance that all the rest would follow, made *Aminander* willing to try his fortune. He was at the Borders with a thousand *Ætolians*, upon the day appointed: at what time his two and fifty Adventurers, having divided themselves into four parts, occupied, by the ready assistance of the multitude, four of the chief Towns in the Country to his use. The fame of this good success at the first; with divers Letters running from place to place, whereby men were exhorted to do their best in helping forward the Action, made the Lieutenants of *Philip* unable to think upon resistance. One of them held the Town of *Theium* a few days, giving thereby some leisure unto his King to provide for the rescue. But when he had done his best, he was forced thence, and could only tell *Philip*, whom he met on the way, that all was lost. *Philip* had brought from home six thousand men; of whom, when the greater part could not hold out, in such a running march, he left all save two thousand behind him, and so came to *Athenæum*, a little *Athamanian* Castle, that still was his, as being on the Frontier of *Macedon*. Thence he sent *Zeno*, who had kept *Theium* a while, to take a place lying over *Argithea*, that was chief of the Country. *Zeno* did as he was appointed: yet neither he, nor the King, had the boldness to descend upon *Argithea*; for that they might perceive the *Athamanians*, all along the Hill-sides, ready to come down upon them, when they should be busie. Wherefore nothing was thought more honourable than a safe retrait: especially when *Aminander* came in sight with his thousand *Ætolians*. The *Macedonians* were called back from-wards *Argithea*, and presently withdrawn by their King towards his own Borders. But they were not suffered to depart in quiet at their pleasure. The *Athamanians* and *Ætolians* way-laid them, and pursued them so closely, that their retreit was in manner of a plain flight, with great loss of Men and Arms, few of those escaping, that were left behind, as to make a countenance of holding somewhat in the Country, until *Philip* his return.

The

The *Ætolians* having found the buſineſs of *Athamania* ſo eaſie, made an attempt in their own behalf, upon the *Amphilochians* and *Aperantians*. Theſe had belonged unto their own Nation, and were lately taken by *Philip*; from whom they diligently revolted, and became *Ætolians* again. The *Dolopians* lay next; that had been ever belonging to the *Macedonian*, and ſo did purpoſe ſtill to continue. Theſe took Arms at firſt: but ſoon laid them away; ſeeing their Neighbours ready to fight with them in the *Ætolian* quarrel, and ſeeing their own King ſo haſtily gone, as if he meant not to return.

Of theſe Victories the joy was the leſs; for that news came of *Antiochus* his laſt overthrow, and of M. *Fulvius* the new Conſul his haſting with an Army into *Greece*. *Aminander* ſent his excuſes to *Rome*, praying the Senate not to take it in deſpight, that he had recovered his own from *Philip* with ſuch help as he could get. Neither ſeems it that the *Romans* were much offended to hear of *Philip* his loſſes: for of this fault they neither were ſharp correctors, nor earneſt reprovers. *Fulvius* went in hand with the buſineſs about which he came, and layed Siege to *Ambracia*, a goodly City, that had been the chief ſeat of *Pyrrhus* his Kingdom. With this he began, for that it was of too great importance to be abandoned by the *Ætolians*: yet could not by them be relieved, unleſs they would adventure to fight upon equal ground. To help the *Ambracians*, it was not in the *Ætolians* power: for they were, at the ſame time, vexed by the *Illyrians* at Sea, and ready to be driven from their new Conqueſt, by *Perſeus* the Son of *Philip*, who invaded the Countries of the *Amphilochians* and *Dolopians*. They were unable to deal with ſo many at once; and therefore as earneſtly ſought peace with the *Romans*, as they ſtoutly made head againſt the reſt. In the mean while the *Athenian* and *Rhodian* Embaſſadours came, who beſought the Conſul to grant them peace. It helped well that *Ambracia* made ſtrong reſiſtance, and would not be terrified by any violence of the Aſſailants, or danger that might ſeem to threaten. The Conſul had no deſire to ſpend half his time about one City, and ſo be driven to leave unto his ſucceſſor the honour of finiſhing the War. Wherefore he gladly hearkened unto the *Ætolians*, and bade them ſeek Peace with a faithful intent, without thinking it over-dear, at a reaſonable price; conſidering with how great a part of his Kingdom their friend *Antiochus* made the ſame purchaſe. He alſo gave leave to *Aminander*, offering his Service as a Mediatour, to put himſelf into *Ambracia*, to try what good his perſwaſions might do with the Citizens. So after many demands and excuſes, the concluſion was ſuch as was grievous to the weaker, but not unſufferable. The ſame Embaſſadours of the *Athenians* and *Rhodians*, accompanied thoſe of the *Ætolians* to *Rome*, for procuring the confirmation of Peace. Their eloquence and credit was the more needful in this interceſſion, for that *Philip* had made a very grievous complaint about the loſs of thoſe Countries, which they had lately taken from him. Hereof the Senate could not but take notice; though it did not hinder the Peace, which thoſe good Mediatours of *Rhodes* and *Athens*, did earneſtly ſolicite. The *Ætolians* were bound to uphold the Majeſty of the People of *Rome*, and to obſerve divers Articles, which made them leſs free, and more obnoxious to the *Romans*, than any People of *Greece*; they having been the firſt that called theſe their Maſters into the Countrey. The Iſle of *Cephalenia* was taken from them by the *Romans*: who kept it for themſelves (as not long ſince they had gotten *Zacynthus* from the *Achæans*, by ſtiffly preſſing their own right) that ſo they might have poſſeſſion along the Coaſt of *Greece*, whilſt they ſeemed to forbear the Country. But concerning thoſe places, whereto *Philip*, or others might lay claim, there was ſet down an order ſo perplexed, as would neceſſarily require to have the *Romans* Judges of their Controverſies, when they ſhould ariſe. And hereof good uſe will be ſhortly made: when want of employment elſewhere, ſhall cauſe a more Lordly Inquiſition to be held, upon the affairs of *Macedon* and *Greece*.

Cn. Manlius, the other Conſul, had at the ſame time War in *Aſia*, with the *Gallo-Greeks* and others. His Army was the ſame that had followed *L. Scipio*; of whoſe Victory, his acts were the conſummation. He viſited thoſe Countries on the hither ſide of *Taurus*, that had ſcarce heard of the *Romans*; to whom they were abandoned by *Antiochus*. Among theſe there were ſome petty Lords or Tyrants, ſome free Cities, and ſome that were together at Wars, without regard of the great alteration that happened in *Aſia*. From every of theſe he got ſomewhat; and by their quarrels, found occaſion to viſit thoſe Provinces, into which he ſhould elſe have wanted an errand. He was even loaden with booty, when, having fetcht a compaſs about *Aſia*, he came at length upon the *Gallo-Greeks*. Theſe had long domineered over the Country: though of late times, it was rather the fame and terrour of their fore-paſſed acts, than any preſent virtue of theirs, which held them up in reputation. Of the *Romans* they had lately ſuch trial, when they ſerved under King *Antiochus*, as made them to acknowledge themſelves far the worſe men. Wherefore they thought it no ſmall part of their ſafety, that they dwelt upon the River *Halys*, in an In-land Country, where thoſe Enemies were not very like to ſearch them out. But when ſuch hopes failed; and when ſome Princes of their own Nation, that had been Friends of *Eumenes*, exhorted the reſt to yield: then was no counſel thought ſo good, as to forſake their Houſes and Country, and with all that they could carry or drive, to betake themſelves unto the high Mountains of *Olympus* and *Margana*. Theſe Mountains were exceeding hard of aſcent, though none ſhould undertake the cuſtody. Being therefore well manned and victualled for a long time, as alſo the natural ſtrength being helpt by ſuch fortification as promiſed greateſt aſſurance: it was thought, that the Conſul would either forbear the attempt of forcing them, or eaſily be repelled; and that finally, when he had ſtayed there awhile, Winter, and much want, ſhould force him to diſlodge. Yet all this availed not. For whereas the *Gallo-Greeks* had been careleſs of furniſhing themſelves with caſting weapons, as if ſtones would have ſerved well enough for that purpoſe: the *Romans*, who came far otherwiſe appointed, found greater advantage in the difference of Arms, than impediment in diſadvantage of Ground. Archers and Slingers did eaſily prevail againſt Caſters of Stones; eſpecially being ſuch as were theſe *Gallo-Greeks*, neither exerciſed in that manner of Fight, nor having prepared their Stones before-hand, but catching up what lay next, the too great, and the too little, oftner than thoſe of a fit ſize. Finally the *Barbarians*, wanting de-

fenſive Arms, could not hold out againſt the Arrows and Weapons of the *Roman* light Armature: but were driven from a piece of ground, which they had undertaken to make good, up into their Camp on the top of the Mountain; and being forced out of their Camp, had none other way left, than to caſt themſelves headlong down the ſteep Rocks. Few of the men eſcaped alive: all their Wives, Children, and Goods, became a prey unto the *Romans*. In the very like manner were the reſt of that Nation overcome ſoon after, at the other Mountain: only more of them ſaved themſelves by flight, as having fairer way at their backs.

Theſe Wars being ended: *Fulvius* and *Manlius* were appointed by the Senate, each of them to retain as Pro-conſul, his Province for another year. *Fulvius*, in his ſecond year, did little or nothing. *Manlius* gave Peace to thoſe whom he had vanquiſhed; as likewiſe to *Ariarathes* the *Cappadocian*, and ſome others, not by him vanquiſhed, but ſubmitting themſelves for fear of the *Roman* Arms. He drew from them all, what profit he could: and laid upon them ſuch conditions, as he thought expedient. He alſo did finiſh the League of Peace with *Antiochus*; where he ſwore, and received the Kings Oath by Embaſſadours, whom he ſent for that purpoſe. Finally, having ſet in order the matters of *Aſia*, he took his way toward the *Helleſpont*, loaden with ſpoil, as carrying with him (beſides other treaſures) all that the *Gallo-Greeks* had in ſo many years extorted from the wealthy Provinces that lay round about them. Neither did this Army of *Manlius* return home rich in money alone, or Cattle, or things of needful uſe, which the *Roman* Souldiers had been wont to take as the only good purchaſe; but furniſhed with ſumptuous Houſhold-ſtuff, and ſlaves of price, excellent Cooks, and Muſicians, for Banquets; and in a word, with the ſeeds of that Luxury which finally over-grew and choaked the *Roman* virtue.

The Country of *Thrace* lay between *Helleſpont* and the Kingdom of *Macedon*, which way *Manlius* was to take his journey homeward. *L. Scipio* had found no impediment among the *Thracians*: either for that he paſſed through them, without any ſuch booty as might provoke them; or perhaps rather, becauſe *Philip* of *Macedon* had taken order, that the *Barbarians* ſhould not ſtir. But when *Manlius* came along with a huge train of baggage, the *Thracians* could not ſo well contain themſelves. Neither was it thought, that *Philip* took it otherwiſe than very pleaſantly, to have this *Roman* Army robbed, and well beaten on the way. He had cauſe to be angry, ſeeing how little himſelf was regarded, and what great rewards were given to *Eumenes*. For he underſtood, and afterwards gave the *Romans* to underſtand, that *Eumenes* could not have abiden in his own Kingdom, if the People of *Rome* had not made War in *Aſia*: whereas contrariwiſe, *Antiochus* had offered unto himſelf three thouſand Talents, and fifty Ships of War, to take part with him and the *Æolians*; promiſing moreover to reſtore unto him all the *Greek* Cities, that had been taken from him by the *Romans*. Such being the difference between him and *Eumenes*, when the War began: He thought it no even dealing of the *Romans*, after their Victory, to give away not only the half of *Aſia*, but *Cherſoneſus*, and *Lyſimachia* in *Europe*, to *Eumenes*; whereas upon himſelf they beſtowed not any one Town. It agreed not indeed with his Nobility to go to *Rome*, and beg Provinces in the Senate, as *Eumenes* and the *Rhodians* had lately done. He had entertained lovingly the two *Scipio*'s, whom he thought the moſt honourable men in *Rome*; and was grown into near acquaintance with *Publius*, holding correſpondence with him by Letters, whereby he made himſelf acquainted with the Wars in *Spain* and *Africk*. This perhaps he deemed ſufficient, to breed in the *Romans* a due reſpect of him. But *Eumenes* took a ſurer way. For the *Scipio*'s had not the diſpoſing of that which they won from *Antiochus*: as neither indeed had *Manlius*, nor the ten Delegates aſſiſting him; but the Senate of *Rome*, by which thoſe Delegates were choſen, and inſtructed how to proceed. When *Philip* therefore ſaw theſe upſtart Kings of *Pergamus*, whom he accounted as baſe companions, advanced ſo highly, and made greater than himſelf: yea, himſelf unregarded, contemned, and expoſed to many wrongs: then found he great cauſe to wiſh, that he had not ſo haſtily declared himſelf againſt *Antiochus*, or rather that he had joyned with *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians*, by whom he might have been freed from his inſolent Maſters. But what great argument of ſuch diſcontentedneſs, the *Macedonian* had, we ſhall very ſhortly be urged to diſcourſe more at large. At the preſent it was believed, that the *Thracians* were by him ſet on to aſſail the *Romans* paſſing through their Country. They knew all advantages, and they fell, unexpected, upon the Carriages that were beſtowed in the midſt of the Army; whereof part had already paſſed a dangerous Wood through which the baggage followed; part was not yet ſo far advanced. There was enough to get, and enough to leave behind: though both the getting and the ſaving, did coſt many lives, as well of the *Barbarians*, as of the *Romans*. They fought until it grew night: and then the *Thracians* withdrew themſelves; not without as much of the booty as was to their full content. And of ſuch trouble there was more, though leſs dangerous, before the Army could get out of *Thrace* into *Macedon*. Through the Kingdom they had a fair march into *Epirus*; and ſo to *Apollonia*, which was their handle of *Greece*.

To *Manlius*, and to *Fulvius*, when each of them returned to the City, was granted the honour of Triumph. Yet not without contradiction: eſpecially to *Manlius*, whom ſome of the ten Delegates appointed to aſſiſt him, did very bitterly tax as an unworthy Commander. Touching the reſt of their accuſation, it ſufficeth that he made good anſwer, and was approved by the chief of the Senate. One Clauſe is worthy of more particular conſideration. Reprehending his deſire to have hindered the Peace with *Antiochus*, They ſaid, *That with much ado he was kept from leading his Army over* Taurus, *and adventuring upon the Calamity threatned by* Sybils *Verſes, unto thoſe that ſhould paſs the Fatal Bounds.* What calamity or overthrow this was, wherewith *Sybils* Prophecy threatned the *Roman* Captain, or Army, that ſhould paſs over *Taurus*, I do not conceive. *Pompey* was the firſt that marched with an Army beyond thoſe limits: though the Victories of *Lucullus* had opened unto him the way, and had before-hand won, in a ſort, the Countries on the other ſide of the Mount; which *Lucullus* gave to one of *Antiochus* his Race, though *Pompey* occupied them for the *Romans*. But we find not, that either *Lucullus* or *Pompey*, ſuffered any loſs, in preſuming to neglect the bounds appointed by *Sybil*. Indeed the accom-

Liv. l. 40.

accomplishment of this Prophecy, fell out near about one time, with the restitution of *Ptolomy* King of *Egypt*, that was forbidden unto the *Romans* by the same *Sybil*. It may therefore seem to have had reference unto the same things that were denounced as like to happen upon the reduction of the *Egyptian* King. Whether the Oracles of *Sybil* had in them any truth, and were not, as *Tully* noteth, *sowed at randome in the large Field of Time*, there to take root, and get credit by event; I will not here dispute. But I hold this more probable, than that the restitution of *Ptolomy* to his Kingdom by *Gabinius* the *Roman*, should have any way betokened the coming of our Saviour: as some both ancient and modern Christian Writers have been well pleased to interpret *Sybil* in that Prophecy. Of the *Sybilline* Predictions, I have sometimes thought reverently: though not knowing what they were (as I think few men know) yet following the common belief and good authority. But observation of the shameful Idolatry, that upon all occasions was advanced in *Rome* by the Books of *Sybil*, had well prevailed upon my credulity, and made me suspect, though not the faith and pious meaning, yet the judgement of *Eusebius*: when that learned and excellent work of Master *Casaubon* upon the Annals of Cardinal *Baronius*, did altogether free me from mine error; making it apparent, That not only those Prophecies of *Sybil*, wherein Christ so plainly was shewed, but even the Books of *Hermes*, which have born such reputation, were no better than counterfeited pieces, and at first entertained (whosoever devised them) by the indiscreet zeal of such as delighted in seeing the Christian Religion strengthened with forreign proofs. And in the same Rank I think, we ought to place that notable History, reported by *Eusebius* from no mean Authors, Of the honour which was done to *Simon Magus* in *Rome*; namely, of an Altar to him erected, with an inscription, *Simoni Deo Sancto*, that is, *To Simon the Holy God*. For what can be more strange, than that a thing so memorable, and so publick, should have been quite omitted by *Tacitus*, by *Suetonius*, by *Dion*, and by all which wrote of those times? Philosophers and Poets would not have suffered the matter to escape in silence, had it been true; neither can it be thought that *Seneca*, who then lived and flourished, would have abstained from speaking any word of an argument so famous. Wherefore I am perswaded, that this Inscription, *Simoni Deo Sancto*, was, by some bad *Criticisme*, taken amiss in place of *Semoni Sango*: a title four hundred years older than the time of *Simon Magus*. For the Goods of one *Vitruvius* a Rebel, had many Ages before been consecrated *Semoni Sango*, that is, *To the Spirit or Demi-god-Sangus*, in whose Chappel they were bestowed. So as either by the ill shape of the old *Roman* Letters, or by some spoil that time had wrought upon them; it might easily come to pass, that the words should be mis-read, *Simoni Sancto*, and that some Christian who had heard of *Simon Magus*, but not of *Sangus*, thereupon should frame the conjecture, which now passeth for a true History. Such conjectures, being entertained without examination, find credit by Tradition, whereby also, many times, their fashion is amended, and made more Historical, than was conceived by the Author. But it cannot be safe, to let our Faith (which ought to stand firm upon a sure foundation) lean over-hardly on a well-painted, yet rotten post.

Tull. de Divin. lib. 2.

Isaac Casaub. Exercita. 1. ad Annal. Baron. 10. & 11.

Euseb. Eccl. hist. c. 13.

Now concerning the Triumph of *Cn. Manlius*, it may be numbered among a few of the richest, which ever the City beheld. Out of that which he brought into the Treasury, was made the last payment of those moneys which the Commonwealth had borrowed from private men in the second *Punick War*. So long was it, that *Rome* had still some feeling of *Hannibal*: which being past, there was remaining neither care, nor memory, of any danger. This Triumph of *Manlius* was deferred by him, even so long as he well could: for that he thought it not safe, to make his entrance into the City, until the heat of an inquisition, then raging therein, should be allayed. The two *Scipio*'s were called one after another, into judgement, by two Tribunes of the People; men, only by this accusation, known to Posterity. *P. Scipio* the *African*, with whom they began, could not endure that such unworthy men should question him, of purloining from the Common Treasury, or of being hired with Bribes by *Antiochus*, to make an ill bargain for his Country. When therefore his day of answer came; he appeared before the Tribunes, not humbly as one accused, but followed by a great Train of his Friends and Clients, with which he passed through the midst of the Assembly, and offered himself to speak. Having audience, he told the People, That upon the same day of the year he had fought a great Battle with *Hannibal*, and finished the *Punick War* by a signal Victory. In memory whereof, he thought it no fit season to brabble at the Law; but intended to visit the *Capitol*, and there give thanks to *Jupiter*, and the rest of the gods, by whose grace, both at that day and at other times, he had well and happily discharged the most weighty business of the Commonweal. And hereto he invited with him all the Citizens: requesting them, *That if ever since the seventeenth year of his life, until he now grew old, the honourable places by them conferred upon him, had prevented the capacity of his age, and yet his deserts had exceeded the greatness of those honourable places: then would they pray, that the Princes and great Ones of their City might still be like to him.* These words were heard with great approbation: so as all the People, even the Officers of the Court followed *Scipio*, leaving the Tribunes alone, with none about them excepting their own Slaves and a Cryer, by whom ridiculously they cited him to judgement, until for very shame, as not knowing what else to do, they granted him, unrequested, a further day. After this, when the *African* perceived that the Tribunes would not let fall their Suit, but enforce him to submit himself to a disgraceful trial: he willingly relinquished the City, and his unthankful *Romans*, that could suffer him to undergo so much indignity. The rest of his time he spent at *Liternum*: quietly with a few of his inward Friends, and without any desire of seeing *Rome* again. How many years he lived, or whether he lived one whole year in this voluntary banishment; it is uncertain. The report of his dying in the same year with *Hannibal* and *Philopœmen*, as also of his private behaviour at *Liternum*, render it probable, that he out-lived the Tribune-ship of his Accusers; who meant to have drawn him back to his answer, if one of their Colleagues (as one of them had power to hinder all the rest from proceeding) had not caused them to desist. Howsoever it was; the same Tribunes went more sharply to work with *L. Scipio the Asiatique*. They Propounded a Decree unto the People,

touching money received of *Antiochus*, and not brought into the common Treasury; that the Senate should give charge unto one of the Prætors, to inquire and judicially determine thereof. In favour of this Decree, an Oration was made by *Cato*, the supposed Author of these contentions, and instigator of the Tribunes. He was a man of great, but not perfect Virtue, temperate, valiant, and of singular industry; frugal also, both of the publick, and of his own; so as in this kind he was even faulty: for though he would not be corrupted with Bribes, yet was he unmerciful and unconscionable, in seeking to increase his own wealth, by such means as the Law did warrant. Ambition was his vice; which being poisoned with envy, troubled both himself and the whole City; whilst he lived. His mean birth caused him to hate the Nobility, especially those that were in chief estimation. Neither did he spare to bite at such as were of his own rank, men raised by desert, if their advancement were like to hinder his: but lately before this, when *Glabrio*, whose Lieutenant he had been at *Thermopylæ*, was his Competitor for the Censorship, and likely to carry it, he took an Oath against him, which was counted as no better than malicious perjury, That he had not brought into the common Treasury some Vessels of Gold and Silver, gotten in the Camp of *Antiochus*. Now the hatred which he bare unto the *Scipio*'s, grew partly, (besides his general spight at the Nobility) from his own first rising, wherein he was countenanced by *Fabius Maximus*, who brooked not the *African*; partly from some check that was given unto himself, in the *African* Voyage by *P. Scipio*, whose Treasurer he then was. For when *Cato* did utter his dislike of the Consuls bad Husbandry (judging Magnificence to be no better) in some peremptory manner; *Scipio* plainly told him, That he had no need of such double diligence in his Treasurer. Wherefore either not caring what lies he published, or for want of judgement, thinking unworthily of the virtue that was far above him, *Cato* filled *Rome* with untrue Reports against his General; whose noble deeds confuted sufficiently the Author of such false Tales. And thus began the hatred: which being not regarded, nor thought upon by the *Scipio*'s, whilst it was nourished by their Enemy, brake out upon advantage, especially against *L. Scipio*: his Brother being dead, or out of the way. A severe inquiry and judgement being appointed of purpose against *Scipio*, matters were so carried, that he was soon condemned in a sum of money, far exceeding his ability to pay. For *Non-payment* his body should have been laid up in Prison: but from this rigour of the Law, he was freed by *Tiberius Gracchus*, the same Tribune who had caused the suit against the *African* to be let fall. In his Estate, which was confiscated to the use of the City, when there neither appeared any sign of his having been beholding to *Antiochus*, nor was found so much as what he had been condemned to pay; then fell his Accusers, and all whose hands had been against him, into the indignation of *the People*. But for this was *L. Scipio* no whit the better. His Kindred, Friends, and Clients, made such a Collection for him, as would have set him in better Estate than before, if he had excepted it. He took no more than such of his own Goods, as were of necessary use, being redeemed for him by his nearest Friends.

And thus began the Civil War of the *Tongue* in the *Roman* pleadings: which had either not been, or not been much regardable until now, since the Punick War. Security of danger from abroad, and some want of sufficient Employment, were especial helps to the kindling of this Fire; which first caught hold upon that Great Worthy, to whose Virtue *Rome* was indebted, for changing into so great security her extream danger. But these factious contentions did no long while contain themselves within heat of words, and cunning practice. For when the Art of leading the multitude in such quarrelsome business, grew to perfection, they that found themselves overmatched by their Adversaries at this kind of weapon, began to make opposition first with Clubs and Stones, afterwards with Swords; and finally, proceeded from Frayes and Murders in the Streets, unto battle in the open Field. *Cornelia*, Daughter of *Scipio* the *African*, a Lady of rare Virtue, that in honour of her two Sons was more commonly named, *Mother of the Gracchi*, saw those her two Sons, whilst they were but young, slaughtered in *Rome*, together with some of their Friends: by those whom they opposed, and their death not revenged by order of Law, but rather approved by the Senate. At these times the Senators began to take upon them Authority, more than was to them belonging. They conferred upon the Consuls all the whole power of the City, under this form, *Let the Consuls provide, that the Common-weal receive no detriment.* By this Decree of theirs, and by their proclaiming any Citizen *enemy to the State*, they thought to have won a great advantage over the multitude. But after the death of *C. Gracchus*, and of *Saturnius*, a popular man; whom by such Authority, they did put out of the way; it was not long e're *Marius* a famous Captain of theirs, was so condemned; who by force of Arms returned into the City; and murdered all the principal Senators: whereupon began the Civil Wars; which giving unto *Sylla*, who prevailed therein, means to make himself absolute Lord of *Rome*, taught *Cæsar*, a man of higher Spirit, to affect and obtain the like Soveraign Power, when by the like Decree of the Senate, he was provoked. It is true, that never any Consul had finally cause to rejoyce, of his having put in execution such Authority to him committed by the Senate. But as the fury of the multitude, in passing their Laws, by hurling of Stones, and other violence, made the City stand in need of a Soveraign Lord: so the vehemency of the Senate, in condemning as Enemies, those that would not submit themselves, when they were over-topped by Voices in the House, did compell *Cæsar*, or give him at least pretence, to right himself by Arms: wherewith prevailing against his Adversaries, he took such order, that neither Senate nor People, should thenceforth be able to do him wrong. So by intestine discord, the *Romans* consuming all or most of their principal Citizens, lost their own freedom, and became Subjects unto the arbitrary government of One: suffering this change in three Generations, after this beginning of their insolent Rule, wherein they took upon them as the highest Lords on earth, to do even what they listed. Yet had not *Rome* indeed attained hitherto unto compleat Greatness, nor believed of her self; as if she had, whilst a King sate crowned on the Throne of *Alexander*, continuing and upholding the Reputation of a former Empire. Wherefore this consummation of her honour was thought upon betimes. How it was effected, the sequel will discover.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

The Second MACEDONIAN *War.*

SECT. I.

The Condition wherein those Princes and Estates remained, which were Associates of the Romans, *when the War with* Antiochus *was finished. The* Romans *quarrel with* Philip. *They deal insolently with the* Achæans. *The* Macedonian, *being unready for War, obtains Peace at* Rome, *by his Son* Demetrius: *of whom thenceforth he becomes jealous.*

AFter the Overthrow of *Antiochus*, although *Philip* of *Macedon*, *Eumenes* King of *Pergamus*, the Common-weal of the *Achæans*, and all other the States of *Greece*, were governed by the same Laws and Magistrates as formerly had been, before the arrival of the *Romans* in those parts: yet in very truth (the publick Declaration excepted) they were none other than absolute Vassals to the People of *Rome*. For of those five Prerogatives belonging to a Monarch, or unto Soveraign Power, in whomsoever it rest; namely, *To make Laws*, *To create Magistrates*, *To arbitrate Peace and War*, *to beat Money*, and, *To reserve* (as the *French* call it) *le dernier Ressort*, or *the last Appeals*, the *Romans* had assumed four; and the greatest of them so absolutely, that is, *The Appeal*, or last resort, as every petty injury offered to each other by the fore-named Kings or States, was heard and determined either by the *Roman* Embassadours, or Commissioners, in those places whence the Complaint came, or otherwise by the Senators themselves within *Rome*; from whose arbitrement, or direction, if either King or Common-weals declined, He or they were beaten, and inforced to obedience; or had their Estates and Regalities utterly dissolved. Nevertheless it is true, that they had their own Laws, and Officers of their own ordaining: yet so, as neither the Laws were of force, when the *Romans* interposed their will to the contrary, neither was their election of Magistrates so free, as that they had not therein especial regard unto the good pleasure of these their Masters.

And to such degree of servitude the several Estates of *Greece* did bow very gently: either as being thankful for their deliverance from a Yoke more sensibly grievous; or, as being skilful in the Art of Flattery, and therein taking delight, since therein consisted their chief hope of thriving; or as being more fearful of displeasing the strongest, than mindful of their own honour. But *Eumenes* living further off, and being most obsequious unto the *Romans*, was not of long time questioned about any of his doings: his conformity unto them in matter of War and Peace, together with the diversion of their thoughts another way, giving him leave to hold his own even as he listed, until they should otherwise dispose of him. Neither was it a little available to him, that his Kingdom bordered upon the Nations by them not throughly subdued. For upon the same reason (as well as upon his own high deserts) were they very loving unto *Masanissa*, and to his House, until *Carthage* was ruined, and their Dominion settled in *Africk*: as likewise afterwards to the Kings of *Mauritania*, *Cappadocia*, and others, holding people in subjection unto themselves, by the Ministry of Kings: especially of such Kings, as were useful and obsequious unto them.

Now the *Macedonian* was of a more noble temper, and shewed himself not forgetful of his own former greatness, the honour of his Race, or the high reputation of his Kingdom. But such Magnanimity was none otherwise construed by the *Romans*, than as want of due reverence to their Estate, and a valuation of himself against them: which in the pride of their fortune, they could not endure. Wherefore notwithstanding that he had lately given passage to their Armies thorow his Country, prepared the ways for them, and furnished them both with Victuals and other things needful, to transport them over the *Hellespont* into *Asia*, against *Antiochus*: yet upon the complaint of *Eumenes* and the States of *Thessaly* and *Thrace*, he was commanded to abandon the Cities of *Ænus* and *Maronea*, with all Pieces and places demanded by any of his Neighbours; whereof many of them he had lately conquered, by direction or licence, even from the *Romans* themselves.

These Towns of *Ænus* and *Maronea* had been part of *Lysimachus* his Kingdom: who from *Thrace* Northwards, and to the North-west, extended his Dominion very far. He is thought to have made himself Lord of *Transylvania*: In which Province it is said, * That innumerable Medals of Gold have been found in the age of our Grandfathers, each of them weighing two or three Crowns, and stamped with his Image on the one side, on the other side with *Victory*. Of all these Lordships, the possession, or rather the title (for he lived not to settle his Estate in *Europe*) fell to *Seleucus Nicanor* by right of War, wherein he vanquished and slew *Lysimachus*: as also, by the like right *Ptolomy Ceraunus* thought them his own, when he had murdered *Seleucus*. But the inundation of the *Gaules*, which the Kingdom of *Macedon* could not sustain, did shortly and easily wash away from that Crown, together with the most part of *Thrace*, all those heaps of Land newly thereto annexed. Somewhat of this was afterwards regained by *Antigonus* the Son of *Demetrius* and his Successors: though not much; for they were otherwise busied. The fury of the *Gaules* being over-past, those Countries which lately had been oppressed by them, recovered their Liberty; and not only held it, but learned, some of them, especially the *Dardanians* and wild *Thracians*, to find their advantages, and make use of them, even upon *Macedon*. Against the mischiefs commonly done

* *Hist. of Hungary Mava. Fusmec. lib. 5.*

done by theſe, King *Philip* did provide the moſt convenient remedies: by ſhutting up the ways, whereby the *Dardanians* might enter into his Kingdom; and by occupying *Lyſimachia*, with ſome other Towns in *Thrace*, which he fortified, as Bulwarks of his own Country, againſt the *Barbarians*. Now, although it behoved him thus to do, for the defence of his own Eſtate: yet foraſmuch as theſe Towns were, in a manner, at abſolute liberty, his poſſeſſion of them was thought to partake more of violence than of Juſtice. And in this reſpect he was formerly accuſed by the *Ætolians*, of wrongful uſurpation and oppreſſion, in his having occupied *Lyſimachia*. Hereto he made a good anſwer. That his Garriſon did only ſave it from the *Thracians*: who, as ſoon as he thence withdrew his men, did ſeize upon the Town, and ruine it. The like perhaps he might have ſaid, touching *Ænus* and *Maronea*; That they were places unable to defend themſelves, and Gates, by which the *Barbarians* might have entrance into his Kingdom. But this Plea had not availed him, in the diſputation about *Lyſimachia*: and in the preſent queſtion, the *Romans* were not without their own title; ſince *Antiochus* had gotten all the Country thereabout, whilſt *Philip* was buſied in his former War: and ſince they, by their Victory, had gotten unto themſelves all the title, which *Antiochus* thereto could pretend. Wherefore he only ſubmitted his right nnto the good pleaſure of the Senate: referring it unto their diſpoſition, Whether *Ænus* and *Maronea* ſhould be ſet at liberty: whether left in his hand, or whether beſtowed upon *Eumenes*; who begged them as an Appendix to *Lyſimachia* and *Cherſoneſus*, that were already his by their gift. What they would determine, he might eaſily perceive by the demeanour of their Embaſſadours towards him: who ſitting as Judges between him and all that made complaint upon him, gave ſentence againſt him in every controverſie. Nevertheleſs he ſent Embaſſadors to *Rome*, there to maintain his Right unto theſe Towns; wherein he thought, that equity (if it might prevail) was wholly on his ſide. For he had holpen their Conſuls in the War againſt *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians*: wherein, whatſoever he had gotten for himſelf, was now taken from him by their Embaſſadors: and would they now deprive him of thoſe two Towns, lying ſo fitly for the guard of his Kingdom, which he had gotten to himſelf out of the ruines of *Antiochus*, like as out of his own ruines, *Antiochus* had gotten in thoſe quarters a great deal more? By ſuch allegations either he was likely to prevail, or at leaſt to gain time, wherein he might bethink himſelf what he had to do. It was not long e're he had word from *Rome*, That the Senate were no more equal to him, than had been their Embaſſadours. Wherefore, conſidering how inſolently the *Maronites* had behaved themſelves, in pleading againſt him for their Liberty, he took counſel of his own paſſion; and (as by nature he was very cruel) gave order to *Gnomaſtus*, that was Warden of the Sea-coaſts, to handle theſe *Maronites* in ſuch ſort, as they might have little joy of the liberty by them ſo earneſtly deſired. *Onomaſtus* employed *Caſſander*, one of the Kings men dwelling in *Maronea*, and willed him to let in the *Thracians* by night, that they might ſack the Town, and uſe all cruelties of War. This was done: but ſo ill taken by the *Roman* Embaſſadors, who had better notice than could have been feared, of theſe proceedings; that the King was by them directly charged with the crime, and called more ſtrictly, than became his Majeſty, to an accompt. He would have removed the blame from himſelf, and laid it even upon the *Maronites*: affirming, that they, in heat of their Factions, being ſome inclinable to him, otherſome to *Eumenes*, had fallen into ſuch outrage, that they had cut one anothers Throats. And hereof he willed the Embaſſadors to enquire among the *Maronites* themſelves: as well knowing, that they who ſurvived, were either his own Friends: or ſo terrified and amazed by the late execution of his vengeance among them, that they durſt not utter an offenſive word. But he found the *Romans* more ſevere, and more thorowly informed in the buſineſs, than to reſt contented with ſuch an anſwer. He was plainly told, That if he would diſcharge himſelf of the Crime objected, he muſt ſend *Onomaſtus* and *Caſſander* to *Rome*, there to be examined as the Senate ſhould think fit. This did not a little trouble him. Yet he collected his Spirits, and ſaid, That *Caſſander* ſhould be at their diſpoſition: but concerning *Onomaſtus*, who had not been at *Maronea*, nor near to it, he requeſted them not to preſs him, ſince it ſtood not with his honour ſo lightly to give away his Friends. As for *Caſſander*, becauſe he ſhould tell no tales; He took order to have him poiſoned by the way. By this we ſee, that the Doctrine which *Machiavel* taught unto *Ceſar Borgia*, to imploy men in miſchievous actions, and afterwards to deſtroy them when they have performed the miſchief, was not of his own invention. All Ages have given us examples of this goodly policy, the latter having been apt Scholars in this Leſſon to the more ancient: as the Reign of *Henry* the Eighth here in *England*, can bear good witneſs; and therein eſpecially the Lord *Cromwell*, who periſhed by the ſame unjuſt Law that himſelf had deviſed, for the taking away of another mans life.

Such actions of *Philip* made an unpleaſant noiſe at *Rome*, and were like to have brought upon him the War which he feared, before he was ready to entertain it. Wherefore he employed his younger Son *Demetrius* as Embaſſadour unto the Senate: giving him Inſtructions how to make anſwer to all Complaints, and withall to deliver his own Grievances in ſuch wiſe, that if ought were amiſs, yet might it appear that he had been ſtrongly urged to take ſuch courſe. The ſum of his Embaſſage was, To pacifie the *Romans*, and make all even for the preſent. *Demetrius* himſelf was known to be very acceptable unto the Senate, as having been well approved by them, when he was Hoſtage in *Rome*: and therefore ſeemed the more likely to prevail ſomewhat; were it only, in that regard would be born unto his perſon.

Whilſt this buſineſs with the *Macedonian* hung in ſuſpence, and whilſt he, by his readineſs to make ſubmiſſion, ſeemed likely to divert from himſelf ſome other way the *Roman* Arms: the ſame Embaſſadors, that had been Judges between him and his Neighbours, made their progreſs thorow the reſt of *Greece*; and took notice of the Controverſies, which they found between ſome Eſtates in the Country. The greateſt cauſe that was heard before them, was the complaint of the baniſhed *Lacedæmonians* againſt the *Achæans*. It was objected unto the *Achæans*, That they had committed a grievous ſlaughter upon many Citizens of *Lacedæmon*: That unto this cruelty they had added a greater, in throwing down the Walls of the City: as alſo further, in changing the Laws, and abro-

abrogating the famous Inſtitutions of *Lycurgus*. Hereto *Lycortas* the Prætor of the *Achæans*, made anſwer, That theſe baniſhed *Lacedæmonians*, who now took upon them to accuſe the Nation that had once protected them, were notoriouſly known to be the men, who had themſelves committed that Murder, whereof ſhameleſly they laid the blame upon others: the *Achæans* having not only called thoſe unto judgement, that were ſuppoſed to be chief Authors of a Rebellion againſt both them and the *Romans*: and theſe Plaintiffs having ſlain them, upon private, though juſt hatred, as they were coming to make anſwer for themſelves. Concerning their throwing down the Walls of *Lacedæmon*, he ſaid it was moſt agreeable to *Lycurgus* his Ordinance: who, having perſwaded his Citizens to defend their Town and Liberty by their proper virtue, did inhibit unto them all kind of Fortifications: as the Retraits and Neſts either of Cowards, or (whereof *Lacedæmon* had woful experience) of Tyrants and Uſurpers. Further he ſhewed, how the ſame Tyrants that had built theſe Walls, and hemmed in the *Spartans*, had alſo quite aboliſhed *Lycurgus* his Ordinances; and governed the City by their own lawleſs Will. As for the *Achæans*; they communicated their own Laws, which they held for the beſt, or elſe would ſoon change them, and take better, unto the *Lacedæmonians*; whom they found without Laws, or any tolerable form of Policy. For concluſion, *Lycortas* plainly told *App. Claudius*, the chief of the Embaſſadours, That he and his Country-men held it ſtrange, being Friends and faithful Allies of the *Romans*, to ſee themſelves thus conſtrained, to anſwer and give account of their actions, as Vaſſals and Slaves unto the *People of Rome*. For if they were indeed at Liberty: why might not the *Achæans* as well require to be ſatisfied about that which the *Romans* had done at *Capua*, as the *Romans* did buſie themſelves, to take account how things went at *Lacedæmon*? For if the *Romans* would ſtand upon their Greatneſs; and intimate, as they begun, that the Liberty of their Friends was nothing worth, longer than ſhould pleaſe themſelves to ratifie it: then muſt the *Achæans* have recourſe unto thoſe Agreements that were confirmed by Oath, and which, without perjury could not be violated; as reverencing, and indeed fearing the *Romans*, but much more, the immortal gods. To this bold anſwer of *Cycortas*, *Appius* found little to reply. Yet taking ſtate upon him, he pronounced more like a Maſter than a Judge, that if the *Achæans* would not be ruled by fair means, and earn thanks whilſt they might; they ſhould be compelled with a miſchief, to do what was required at their hands, whether they would or no. This altercation was in the Parliament of the *Achæans*, which groaned to hear the Lordly words of *Appius*. Yet fear prevailed above indignation: and it was permitted unto the *Romans* to do as they liſted. Hereupon the Embaſſadours reſtored ſome baniſhed and condemned men: but the *Roman* Senate, very ſoon after, did make void all judgements of death or baniſhment, that had been laid by the *Achæans* upon any Citizen of *Lacedæmon*; as likewiſe they made it a matter of diſputation, whether or no the City and Territory of *Lacedæmon* ſhould be ſuffered to continue a member of the *Achæan* Common-wealth: or, taken from them, and made, as it had been, an Eſtate by it ſelf. By bringing ſuch a matter into queſtion, the *Romans* well declared, that they held it to depend upon their own will, how much or how little any of their Confederates ſhould be ſuffered to enjoy: though by contributing *Sparta* to the Councel of *Achaia*, they diſcovered no leſs, as to them ſeemed, the love which they bare unto the *Achaians*, than the power which they had over them.

Into ſuch ſlavery had the *Greeks*, and all Kings and Common-weals whatſoever, bordering upon any part of the Mediterranean Seas, reduced themſelves, by calling in the *Romans* to their ſuccour. They wanted not the good counſel and perſwaſions of many wiſe and temperate men among them; they had alſo the examples of the *Italians*, *Spaniards*, *Gauls*, and *Africans*, all ſubdued by the *Romans*; and, by ſeeking Patronage, made meer Vaſſals; to inſtruct them, what in the like caſe they ſhould expect: yet could not the true reaſons of Eſtate and Policy ſo prevail with them, but their private paſſions, and neighbouring hatred, which hath evermore bought Revenge at the price of ſelf-ruine, brought them from the honour which they enjoyed, of being free Princes and Cities, into moſt baſe and fearful ſervility.

All this made well for *Philip* of *Macedon*: who, though he ſaw the *Greeks* very far from daring to ſtir againſt thoſe, by whom both he and they were kept in awe; yet was he not without hope, that (few of them excepted, whom the *Romans*, by freeing from his ſubjection, had made his implacable enemies) in hearty affection all the Country would be his, whenſoever he ſhould take Arms, as ſhortly he was like to do. Young *Demetrius*, coming home from *Rome*, brought with him the deſired Ratification of Peace; though qualified with much indignity ſoon following. He had been lovingly uſed at *Rome*, and heard with great favour in the Senate. There, being confounded with the multitude of Objections, whereto his youth, unskilful in the Art of wrangling, could not readily make anſwer: it was permitted unto him, to read ſuch brief notes as he had received from his Father, and out of thoſe the Senate were contented to gather ſatisfaction; more for *Demetrius* his own ſake, as they then ſaid, and wrote into *Macedon*, than for any goodneſs in the Defence. Such pride of theirs, in remitting his faults at the intreaty of his Son, together with ſome inſolence of his Son, growing (as appeared) from this favour of the *Romans*; did increaſe in *Philip* his hatred unto *Rome*, and bred in him a jealouſie of his too forward Son. To ſet him forward in theſe paſſions, there came dayly new Embaſſadors from *Rome*; ſome bringing one Commandment, ſome another; and ſome requiring him to fulfill thoſe things which had been impoſed upon him by their fore-goers. Neither were there wanting that obſerved his countenance: and when he had fulfilled all that was required at his hands; yet laid it to his charge, that he had done things unwillingly, and would be obedient no longer than he needs muſt. With theſe Embaſſadours young *Demetrius* was converſant: rather perhaps out of ſimplicity, and for that they made much of him, than for any ambitious reſpect; yea a great deal more than was pleaſing to his Father. So the rumour grew current through all *Macedon*, That *Perſeus*, the Elder Son of the King, ſhould not ſucceed unto his Father, but that the Diadem ſhould be conferred upon *Demetrius*, if not by ſome other pretence, yet by meer favour of the *Romans*: This offended, not only *Perſeus*, but *Philip* himſelf: who ſuſpected his younger Son, as more

Roman

Roman than his own; and accordingly miſconſtrued all his doings. But e're we proceed unto the bitter fruits of this jealouſie, it will not be amiſs to ſpeak of ſome memorable accidents that were in the mean time.

SECT. II.

The death of Philopœmen, Hannibal, *and* Scipio. *That the Military profeſſion is of all other the moſt unhappy: notwithſtanding ſome examples, which may ſeem to prove the contrary.*

THE *Romans* wanting other matter of quarrel in the Continent of *Greece*, had of late been ſo peremptory with the *Achæans*; that they ſeemed not unlikely to take part againſt them in any controverſie that ſhould be moved. Hereupon the *Meſſenians*, who againſt their will were annexed unto the *Achæan* Common-wealth, having long been of a contrary Faction thereto; grew bold to withdraw themſelves from that Society, with purpoſe to ſet up again the Eſtate of their own, ſevered from communion with any other. This was the device of ſome that were powerful in their City; who finding the multitude only inclinable to their purpoſe, and not over-ſtrongly affected in the buſineſs, were careful to ſeek occaſion of reducing things to ſuch paſs, that all their Citizens might be entangled in a neceſſity of ſtanding out, and of not returning to the *Achæan* League. And hereupon they began to do ſome acts of Hoſtility, whereby blood ſhould be drawn, and either ſide ſo far exaſperated, that little hope of agreement would be left. Upon the fame of their commotion and proceedings; *Philopœmen*, then Prætor of the *Achæans*, levied ſuch Forces as he could in haſte, and went againſt them. Many principal Gentlemen of the *Achæans*, eſpecially of the *Megalopolitans*, were ſoon in a readineſs to wait upon him. Beſides theſe, which were all, or for the moſt part, Horſe; He had ſome Auxiliaries out of *Thrace* and *Crete*, that uſually were kept in pay. Thus accompanied, he met with *Dinocrates*, Captain of the *Meſſenians*, whom he charged, and forced to run. But whilſt his Horſe-men were too earneſt in following the chaſe; there arrived by chance a ſupply of five hundred from *Meſſene*, which gave new courage unto thoſe that fled. So the Enemies began to make head again: and with the help of thoſe, who very ſeaſonably came to their aid, compelled *Philopœmens* Horſe-men to turn back; *Philopœmen* himſelf had long been ſick of an Ague, and was then very weak: yet the greatneſs of his courage would not ſuffer him to be negligent of their ſafety, which had ſo willingly adventured themſelves under his conduct. He took upon him to make the Retreit: and ſuffering his Horſe-men to paſs along by him in a narrow Lane, he often turned about againſt the *Meſſenians*; whom, the reputation and the knowledge of his great worth, did terrifie from approaching over near to him. But it fell out unhappily, that being caſt to the ground by a fall off his Horſe, and being withall in very weak plight of body, he was unable to get up again. So the Enemies came upon him, and took him; yet ſcarce believed their fortune to be ſo good, although their eyes were witneſſes. The firſt meſſenger that brought this news to *Meſſene*, was ſo far from being believed, that he was hardly thought to be in his right wits. But when the truth was affirmed by many reports, all the City ran forth to meet him, and behold the ſpectacle ſeeming ſo incredible! They cauſed him to be brought into the Theatre, that there they might ſatisfie themſelves with beholding him. The greateſt part of them had compaſſion on his misfortune: and in commemoration both of his virtue, and of the ſingular benefits by him done unto them, eſpecially in delivering them from *Nabis* the Tyrant; began to manifeſt their good will for his delivery. Contrariwiſe, *Dinocrates* and his Faction were deſirous haſtily to take away his life: becauſe they held him a man implacable, and one that would never leave any diſgrace, or injury done to him, unrevenged. They durſt not one truſt another with the keeping of him: but committed him into a ſtrong Vault under ground, that had been made for the cuſtody of their Treaſure. So thither they let him down faſt bound, and with an Engine laid an heavy ſtone upon the mouth of the Vault. There he had not ſtayed long, e're his Enemies had concluded his preſent death. The Hangman of the City was let down unto him with a cup of Poiſon, which *Philopœmen* took in his hand: and asking no more than whether the Horſe-men were eſcaped, and particularly whether *Lycortas* was ſafe; when he heard an anſwer to his mind, he ſaid it was well: and ſo with a chearful countenance, drank his laſt draught. He was ſeventy years old, and weakned with long ſickneſs, whereby the Poiſon wrought the ſooner, and eaſily took away his life. The *Achæans*, when they miſſed him in their flight, were marvailloufly offended with themſelves, for that they had been more mindful to preſerve their own lives, than to look unto the ſafety of ſo excellent a Commander. Whilſt they were deviſing what to do in ſuch a caſe: they got advertiſement of his being taken. All *Achaia* was by this report vehemently afflicted: ſo as Embaſſadours were forthwith diſpatched unto *Meſſene*, craving his enlargement: and yet preparation made withall, to obtain it by force, in caſe that fair means would not ſerve. *Lycortas* was choſen General of the Army againſt *Meſſene*, craving his enlargement: and yet preparation made withall, to obtain it by force, in caſe that fair means would not ſerve. *Lycortas* was choſen General of the Army againſt *Meſſene*: who coming thither, and laying Siege to the Town, enforced it in ſhort ſpace to yield. Then *Dinocrates* knowing what he was to expect, laid hands upon himſelf, and made an end of his own life. The reſt of thoſe that had been partakers in the Murder: were compelled to wait in Bonds upon the aſhes of *Philopœmen* that were carryed home in ſolemn pomp to *Megalopolis*; where they were all of them ſlain at his Funeral, as Sacrifices to his Ghoſt whom they had offended. *Q. Martius* a *Roman* Embaſſadour, was then in *Greece*; whence, upon one occaſion or other, the *Roman* Embaſſadours were ſeldom abſent. He would have intermeddled in this buſineſs of *Meſſene*, had not *Lycortas* made ſhort work, and left him nothing to do.

About the ſame time was *T. Quintius Flaminius* ſent Embaſſadour to *Pruſias* King of *Bythinia*: not ſo much to withdraw him from proſecuting the War againſt *Eumenes*, as to entreat him that he would deliver *Hannibal*, the moſt ſpightful enemy in all the world unto the Senate and People of *Rome*, into his hands. *Pruſias* (therein unworthy

worthy of the Crown he wore) did readily condescend: or rather (as *Livie* thinks) to gratifie the *Romans*, he determined either to kill *Hannibal*, or to deliver him alive to *Flaminius*. For upon the first conference between the King and *Flaminius*, a Troop of Souldiers were directed to guard and environ the Lodging where *Hannibal* lay. That famous Captain having found cause before this to suspect the faith of *Prusias*, had devised some secret Sallies under ground to save himself from any treasonable and sudden assault. But finding now that all parts about him were fore-closed, he had recourse to his last remedy: which he then was constrained to practice, as well to frustrate his enemies of their triumphing over him, as to save himself from their torture and mercilesse hands; who, as he well knew, would neither respect his famous enterprizes, his honour, nor his age. When therefore he saw no way to escape, nor counsel to resort unto, he took the poison into his hand, which he alwaies preserved for a sure Antidote against the sharpest Diseases of adverse fortune; which being ready to swallow down, he uttered these words: *I will now* (said he) *deliver the* Romans *of that fear which hath so many years possest them; that fear, which makes them impatient to attend the death of an old Man. This Victory of* Flaminius, *over me, which am disarmed, and betrayed into his hands, shall never be numbred among the rest of his heroical deeds: No, it shall make it manifest to all the Nations of the World, how far the ancient* Roman *virtue is degenerate and corrupted. For such was the nobleness of their Forefathers, as when* Pyrrhus *invaded them in* Italy, *and was ready to give them battle at their own door, they gave him knowledge of the Treason intended against him by poison; whereas these of a latter race, have employed* Flaminius, *a man who hath heretofore been one of their Consuls, to practice with* Prusias, *contrary to the honour of a King, contrary to his Faith given, and contrary to the Laws of Hospitality, to slaughter or deliver up his own Guest.* He then cursing the person of *Prusias, and all his, and desiring the immortal gods to revenge his Fidelity,* drank off the poison and dyed.

In this year also (as good Authors have reported) to accompany *Philopœmen* and *Hannibal*, died *Scipio* the *African*; these being all of them, as great Captains as ever the World had; but not more famous than unfortunate. Certainly, for *Hannibal*, whose Tragedy we have now finished, had he been Prince of the *Carthaginians*, and one who by his authority might have commanded such supplies, as the War which he undertook, required; it is probable, that he had torn up the *Roman* Empire by the Roots. But he was so strongly crost by a cowardly and envious Faction at home, as his proper virtue, wanting publick force to sustain it, did lastly dissolve it self in his own, and in the common misery of his Country and Commonweal.

Hence it comes, to wit, from the envy of our equals, and jealousie of our Masters, be they Kings or Common-weals, that there is no profession more unprosperous than that of Men of War, and great Captains, being no Kings. For besides the envy and jealousie of Men, the spoils, rapes, famine, slaughter of the innocent, vastations and burnings, with a world of miseries laid on the labouring man, are so hateful to God, as with good reason did *Monluc* the Marshal of *France* confess, That, *were not the mercies of* God *infinite, and without restriction, it were in vain for those of his profession to hope for any portion of them: (seeing the cruelties by them permitted and committed, were also infinite.* Howsoever, this is true, That the Victories which are obtained by many of the greatest Commanders, are commonly either ascribed to those that serve under them, to Fortune, or the cowardice of the Nation against whom they serve. For the most of others, whose Virtues have raised them above the level of their inferiours, and have surmounted their envy: yet have they been rewarded in the end, either with disgrace, banishment, or death. Among the *Romans* we find many examples hereof; as *Coriolanus*, *M. Livius*, *L. Æmylius*, and this our *Scipio*, whom we have lately buried. Among the *Greeks* we read not of many that escaped these rewards. Yea long before these times, it was a Legacy that *David* bequeathed unto his Victorious Captain *Joab*. With this fear *Alexander* feasted *Permenio*, *Philotas*, and others; and prepared it for *Antipater* and *Cassander*. Hereunto *Valentinian* the Emperour invited *Ætius*: who, after many other Victories, overthrew *Attelia* of the *Hunnes*, in the greatest battle for the well fighting and resolution of both Armies, that ever was strucken in the World, for there fell of those that fought, beside run-awaies, an hundred and fourscore Thousand. Hereupon it was well and boldly told unto the Emperour by *Proximus*, That in killing of *Ætius* he had cut off his own right hand with his left: for it was not long after, that *Maximus* (by whose perswasion *Valentinian* slew *Ætius*, murdered the Emperour; which he never durst attempt, *Ætius* living. And, besides the loss of that Emperour, it is true, That with *Ætius*, the glory of the Western Empire was rather dissolved, than obscured. The same unworthy destiny, or a far worse had *Belisarius*; whose undertakings and victories were so difficult and glorious, as after-ages suspected them for fabulous. For he had his eyes torn out of his head by *Justinian*: and he died a blind beggar. *Narses* also, to the great prejudice of Christian Religion, was disgraced by *Justin*. That rule of *Cato* against *Scipio*, hath been well observed in every Age since then, to wit, That the Common-weal cannot be accounted free, which standeth in awe of any one man. And hence have the *Turks* drawn another Principle; and indeed, a *Turkish* one, That every Warlike Prince should rather destroy his greatest men of War, than suffer his own glory to be obscured by them. For this cause did *Bajazet* the second dispatch *Bassa Acomat*; *Selim* strangle *Bassa Mustapha*; and most of those Princes bring to ruine the most of their *Visiers*. Of the *Spanish* Nation, the great *Gonsalvo*, who drave the *French* out of *Naples*: and *Ferdinando Cortese*, who conquered *Mexico*; were crowned with Nettles, not with Lawrel. The Earls of *Egmond* and *Horn* had no heads left them to wear Garlands on. And that the great Captains of all Nations have been paid with this Copper Coin; there are examples more than too many. On the contrary, it may be said, That many have acquired the State of Princes, Kings, and Emperours, by their great ability in matter of War. This I confess. Yet must it be had withall in consideration, that these high places have been given or offered unto very few, as rewards of their Military virtue; though many have usurped them, by the help and favour of those Armies which they commanded. Neither is it unregardable, That the Tyrants, which have oppressed the liberty of free Cities: and the Lieutenants of Kings or Empetours, which have

traiterouſly caſt down their Maſters, and ſtepped up into their ſeats; were not all of them good men of War: but have uſed the advantage of ſome commotion, or many of them by baſe and cowardly practices, have obtained thoſe dignities, which undeſervedly were aſcribed to their perſonal worth. So that the number of thoſe that have purchaſed abſolute greatneſs by the greatneſs of their warlike virtue; is far more in ſeeming than in deed. *Phocas* was a Souldier, and by the help of the Souldiers he got the Empire from his Lord *Mauritius*: but he was a Coward; and, with a barbarous cruelty, ſeldom found in any other than Cowards, he ſlew firſt the Children of *Mauritius*, a Prince that never had done him wrong, before his face; and after them *Mauritius* himſelf. This his bloody aſpiring was but as a Debt, which was paid unto him again by *Heraclius*: who took from him the Imperial Crown, unjuſtly gotten; and ſet it on his own head. *Leontius* laid hold upon the Emperour *Juſtine*, cut off his Noſe and Ears, and ſent him into baniſhment: but Gods vengeance rewarded him with the ſame puniſhment, by the hands of *Tiberius*; to whoſe charge he had left his own men of War. *Juſtine* having recovered forces, lighted on *Tiberius*, and barbed him after the ſame faſhion. *Philippicus* commanding the Forces of *Juſtine*, murdered both the Emperour and his Son. *Anaſtaſius*, the Vaſſal of this new Tyrant, ſurpriſed his Maſter *Philippicus*, and thruſt out both his eyes. But with *Anaſtaſius*, *Theodoſius* dealt more gently: for having wreſted the Scepter out of his hands, he enforced him to become a Prieſt. It were an endleſs and a needleſs work to tell, how *Leo* rewarded this *Theodoſius*, how many others have been repaid with their own cruelty, by men alike ambitious and cruel; or how many hundreds, or rather thouſands, hoping of Captains to make themſelves Kings, have by Gods Juſtice miſerably periſhed in the attempt. The ordinary, and perhaps the beſt way of thriving by the practice of Arms, is to take what may be gotten by the ſpoil of Enemies, and the liberality of thoſe Princes and Cities, in whoſe ſervice one hath well deſerved. But ſcarce one of a thouſand have proſpered by this courſe. For that obſervation, made by *Solomon*, of unthankfulneſs in this kind, hath been found belonging to all Countries and Ages: *A little City, and a few men in it, and a great King came againſt it, and compaſſed it about, and builded Forts againſt it: And there was found a poor and wiſe man therein, and he delivered the City by his wiſdom: but none remembred this poor man.* Great Monarchs are unwilling to pay great thanks, leſt thereby they ſhould acknowledge themſelves to have been indebted for great benefits: which the unwiſer ſort of them think to favour of ſome impotency in themſelves. But in this reſpect they are often times couzened and abuſed; which proves that weakneſs to be in them indeed, whereof they ſo glad'y ſhun the opinion. Contrariwiſe, free Eſtates are bountiful in giving thanks, yet ſo, as thoſe thanks are not of long endurance. But concerning other profit which their Captains have made, by enriching themſelves with the ſpoil of the Enemy, they are very inquiſitive to ſearch into it; and to ſtrip the well-deſervers out of their gettings: yea moſt injuriouſly to rob them of their own, upon a falſe ſuppoſition; that even they whoſe hands are moſt clean from ſuch offences, have purloyned ſomewhat from the common Treaſury. Hereof I need not to produce examples: that of the two *Scipio*'s being ſo lately recited.

Eccleſ. 9. 14, & 15.

In my late Soveraigns time, although for the Wars, which for her own ſafety, ſhe was conſtrained to undertake, her Majeſty had no leſs cauſe to uſe the ſervice of Martial men both by Sea and Land, than any of her Predeceſſors for many years had: yet according to the deſtiny of that profeſſion, I do not remember that any of hers, the Lord Admiral excepted, her eldeſt, and moſt proſperous Commander, were either enriched, or otherwiſe honoured, for any ſervice by them performed. And, that her Majeſty had many adviſed, valiant, and faithful men, the proſperity of her affairs did well witneſs, who in all her days never received diſhonour by the Cowardice or Infidelity of any Commander, by her ſelf choſen and imployed.

For as all her old Captains by Land died poor men, as *Malbey*, *Randol*, *Drewry*, *Reade*, *Wilford*, *Layton*, *Pellam*, *Gilbert*, *Conſtable*, *Burchier*, *Barkeley*, *Bingham*, and others: ſo thoſe of a later and more dangerous imployment, whereof *Norrice* and *Vere* were the moſt famous, and who have done as great honour to our Nation (for the means they had) as ever any did; thoſe (I ſay) with many other brave Colonels, have left behind them (beſides the reputation which they purchaſed with many travels and wounds) nor title nor eſtate to their poſterity. As for the L. *Thomas Burrough*, and *Peregrine Berty*, L. *Willowghby* of *Ersby*, two very worthy and exceeding valiant Commanders, they brought with them into the World their Titles and Eſtates.

That her Majeſty in the advancement of her men of War did ſooner believe other men than her ſelf, a diſeaſe unto which many wiſe Princes, beſides her ſelf, have been ſubject; I ſay, that ſuch a confidence, although it may ſeem altogether to excuſe her Noble Nature, yet can it not but in ſome ſort accuſe her of weakneſs. And exceeding ſtrange it were, were not the cauſe manifeſt enough, that where the proſperous actions are ſo exceedingly prized, the Actors are ſo unproſperous, and ſo generally neglected. The cauſe, I ſay, which hath wrought one and the ſame effect in all times, and among all Nations, is this, that thoſe which are neareſt the perſon of Princes (which Martial-men ſeldom are) can with no good grace commend, or at leaſt magnifie a profeſſion far more Noble than their own, ſeeing therein they ſhould only mind their Maſters of the wrong they did unto others, in giving leſs honour and reward to men of far greater deſerving, and of far greater uſe than themſelves.

But his Majeſty hath already paid the greateſt part of that debt. For beſides the relieving by Penſions all the poorer ſort, he hath honoured more Martial men than all the Kings of *England* have done for this hundred years.

He hath given a Coronet to the L. *Tho. Howard* for his chargeable and remarkable ſervice, as well in the year 1588. as at *Caliz*, the Iſlands, and in our own Sea; having firſt commanded as a Captain, twice Admiral of a Squadron, and twice Admiral in Chief. His Majeſty hath changed the Baronies of *Montjoy* and *Burley* into Earldoms; and created *Sidney* Vicount, *Knolles*, *Ruſſel*, *Carew*, *Danvers*, *Arundel* of Warder, *Gerald*, and *Chicheſter*, Barons for their Governments and Services in the *Netherlands*, *France*, *Ireland*, and elſewhere.

SECT.

SECT. III.

Philip, *making provision for War against the* **Romans,** *deals hardly with many of his own Subjects. His Negotiation with the* **Bastarnæ.** *His cruelty. He suspecteth his Son* **Demetrius.** **Demetrius** *accused by his Brother* **Perseus;** *and shortly after slain by his Fathers appointment.* **Philip** *repenteth him of his Sons death, whom he findeth to have been innocent: and intending to revenge it on* **Perseus,** *he dieth.*

Quintius Martius the *Roman* Embassadour, who travelled up and down, seeking what work might be found about *Greece*, had received instruction from the Senate, to use the utmost of his diligence in looking into the Estate of *Macedon*. At his return home, that he might not seem to have discovered nothing, he told the *Fathers*, That *Philip* had done whatsoever they enjoyned him: yet so, as it might appear, that such his obedience would last no longer, than meer necessity should enforce him thereunto. He added further, That all the doings and sayings of that King, did wholly tend unto Rebellion, about which he was devising. Now it was so indeed, that *Philip* much repented him of his faithful obsequiousness to the *Romans*, and foresaw their intent, which was, to get his Kingdom into their own hands; which safety of their honour, if they could find convenient means; or otherwise (as to him seemed apparent) by what means soever. He was in an ill case: as having been already vanquished by them; having lost exceedingly both in strength and reputation; having Subjects that abhorred to hear of War with *Rome*; and having neither neighbour nor friend, that, if he were thereto urged, would adventure to take his part: yet he provided as well as he could devise, against the necessity which he daily feared. Such of his own People as dwelt in the maritime Towns, and gave him cause to suspect that they would do but bad service against the *Romans*, he compelled to forsake their dwelling, and removed them all into *Emathia*. The Cities and Country, whence these were transplanted, he filled with a multitude of *Thracians*, whose faith he thought a great deal more assured against those Enemies that were terrible to the *Macedonians*. Further, he devised upon alluring the *Bastarnæ*, a strong and hardy Nation, that dwelt beyond the River of *Danubius*, to abandon their seat, and come to him with all their multitude: who, besides other great rewards, would help them to root out the *Dardanians*, and take possession of their Country. These were like to do him notable service against the *Romans*; being not only stout fighting men, but such, as being planted in those quarters by him, would bear respect unto him alone. The least benefit that could be hoped by their arrival, must be the utter extirpation of the *Dardanians*; a People always troublesome to the Kingdom of *Macedon*, whensoever they found advantage. Neither was it judged any hard matter, to perswade those *Bastarnæ*, by hope of spoil, and other incitements, unto a more desperate Expedition, through *Illyria*, and the Countries upon the *Adriatick* Sea, into *Italy* it self. It was not known who should withstand them upon the way: rather it was thought, that the *Scordisci*, and peradventure some others through whose Country they were to pass, would accompany them against the *Romans*, were it only in hope of spoil. Now to facilitate the remove of these *Bastarnæ* from their own habitations, into the Land of the *Dardanians*, upon the border of *Macedon*; a long and tedious journey unto them, that carried with them their Wives and Children: *Philip* with gifts did purchase the good will of some *Thracian* Princes, Lords of the Countries through which they were to pass. And thus he sought means to strengthen himself with the help of the wild Nations, which neither knew the *Romans*, nor were known unto them; since he was not like to find assistance from any civil Nation, about the whole compass of the *Mediterranean* Seas. But these devices were long e're they took effect: so as the *Bastarnæ* came not before such time as he was dead; his death being the overthrow of that purpose. In the mean time he neglected not the training of his men to War, and the exercise of them in some small Expedition against those wild People that bordered upon him, and stood worst effected toward him.

But these his counsels and proceedings were miserably disturbed by the calamities that fell upon him, both in his Kingdom, and in his own House. The Families and whole Townships, which he had caused much against their wills to forsake their ancient dwellings, and betake themselves to such new habitations, as he in his discretion thought meeter for them, were vehemently offended at the change. Yet their anger at first contained it self within words: he having done them no great wrong in that alteration, otherwise than by neglecting their affection to the places wherein they had long lived: which also he did unwillingly, being himself over-ruled by necessity, that seemed apparent. This evil therefore would soon have been determined, had not his cruel and vindicative nature made it worse. He could not pardon words proceeding from just sorrow: but imputed all to traiterous malice; and accordingly sought revenge where it was needless. In his rage he caused many to dye: among whom were some eminent men; and few or none of them deservedly. This increased the hatred of the People, and turned their former exclamations into bitter curses. Which grew the more general, when the King in a barbarous and base fury, mistrusting all alike whom he had injured, thought himself unlike to be safe, until he should have massacred all the Children of those Parents, whom tyrannically he had put to death. In the execution of this his unmanly pleasure, some accidents, more tragical then perhaps he could have desired, gave men cause to think (as they could not in reason think otherwise) that, not witout vengeance poured on him from Heaven, he felt the like misery in his own Children. It is hard to say what the *Romans* intended, in the extraordinary favour which they shewed unto *Demetrius*, the Kings younger Son. It may well be (though it may be also suspected) that they had no purpose to make and nourish dissention between the brethren, but only to cherish the virtue and towardliness of *Demetrius*; like as we find it in their Histories. But their notable favour towards this young Prince, and his mutual respect of them, bred extream jealousie in the Fathers head. If any custom of the *Romans*, the manner of their life, the fashion of their Apparel, or the unsightly con-

triving and building (as then it was) of the Town of *Rome*, were jested at in ordinary discourse and Table-talk; *Demetrius* was sure to be presently on fire, defending and praising them, even in such points as rather needed excuse. This, and his daily conversation with their Embassadours as often as they came, gave his Father cause to think, that he was no fit partaker of any counsel held against them. Wherefore he communicated all his devices with his elder Son *Perseus*: who fearing so much lest his Brother should step between him and the succession, converted wholly unto his destruction, that grace which he had with his Father. *Perseus* was then thirty years old; of a stirring spirit, though much defective in Valour. *Demetrius* was younger by five years, more open and unwary in his actions, yet thought old and crafty enough, to entertain more dangerous practices than his free speeches discovered. The jealous head of the King having entertained such suspitions, that were much increased by the cunning practice of his elder Son, a slight occasion made the Fire break out, that had long lain smothered. A Muster and ceremonious lustration of the Army, was wont to be made at certain times with great solemnity. The manner of it at the present was thus. They cleft in twain a Bitch; and threw the Head and Forepart, with the Entrails, on the right hand, and the hinder part on the left hand of the way which the Army was to pass: This done, the Arms of all the Kings of *Macedon*, from the very first Original, were born before the Army. Then followed the King between his two Sons: after him came his own Band, and they of his Guard; whom all the rest of the *Macedonians* followed. Having performed other Ceremonies, that Army was divided into two parts: which under the Kings two Sons, charged each other in manner of a true Fight; using Poles, and the like, instead of their Pikes and accustomed Weapons. But in this present Skirmish there appeared some extraordinary contention for the Victory: whether happening by chance, or whether the two Captains did over-earnestly seek each to get the upper hand, as a betokening of their good success in a greater trial. Some small hurt there was done, and wounds given, even with those stakes, until *Perseus* his side at length recoyled. *Perseus* himself was sorry for this, as it had been some bad presage: but his Friends were glad, and thought, that hereof might be made good use. They were of the craftier sort: who, perceiving which way the Kings favour bent, and how all the courses of *Demetrius* led unto his own ruine, addressed their Services to the more malicious and crafty head. And now they said, that this Victory of *Demetrius* would afford matter of complaint against him; as if the heat of his ambition had carryed him beyond the rules of that solemn passime. Each of the Brethren was that day to feast his own Companions, and each of them had spies in the others Lodging, to observe what was said and done. One of *Perseus* his Intelligencers behaved himself so indiscreetly, that he was taken and well beaten by three or four of *Demetrius* his Men, who turned him out of doors. After some store of Wine, *Demetrius* told his companions, that he would go visit his Brother, and see what chear he kept. They agreed to his motion, excepting such of them as had ill handled his Brothers man: yet he would leave none of his train behind, but forced them all to bear him company. They, fearing to be ill rewarded for their late diligence, armed themselves secretly to prevent all danger. Yet there was such good espial kept, that this their coming Armed was forthwith made known to *Perseus*: who thereupon tumultuously locked up his doors, as if he stood in fear to be assaulted in his House. *Demetrius* wondred to see himself excluded, and fared very angerly with his Brother. But *Perseus* bidding him be gone as an Enemy, and one whose murdrous purpose was detected, sent him away with an entertainment no better than defiance. The next day the matter was brought before the King. The elder Brother accused the younger unto the Father of them both. Much there was alledged, and, in effect, the same that hath been here recited, save that by misconstruction all was made worse. But the main point of the accusation, and which did aggravate all the rest, was, That *Demetrius* had undertaken this Murder, and would perhaps also dare to undertake a greater, upon confidence of the *Romans*; by whom he knew that he should be defended and born out. For *Perseus* made shew, as if the *Romans* did hate him; because he bore a due respect unto his Father, and was sorry to see him spoiled, and daily robbed of somewhat by them. And for this cause he said it was, that they did animate his Brother against him: as also that they sought how to win unto *Demetrius* the love of the *Macedonians*. For proof hereof he cited a Letter, sent of late from *Titus Quintius* to the King himself: whereof the contents were, That he had done wisely in sending *Demetrius* to *Rome*; and that he should yet further do well to send him thither again, accompanied with a greater and more honourable train of *Macedonian* Lords. Hence he enforced, That this counsel was given by *Titus*, of purpose to shake the allegiance of those, that should wait upon his Brother to *Rome*; and make them, forgetting their duties to their old King, become Servants to this young Traitor *Demetrius*. Hereto *Demetrius* made answer, by rehearsing all passages of the day and night foregoing, in such manner as he remembred them, and had conceived of them: bitterly reprehending *Perseus*, that converted matters of passime, and what was done or spoken in Wine, to such an accusation, whereby he sought his innocent Brothers death. As for the love which the *Romans* did bear him, he said that it grew, if not by his own virtue, at leastwise from their opinion thereof: so as by any impious practice, he were more like to lose it wholly, than to increase it. In this wretched pleading there wanted no such passions, as are incident to Fathers, Children, and Brethren, besides those that are common to all Plaintiffs and Defendants, before ordinary Judges. The King pronounced like a Father, though a jealous Father, That he would conclude nothing upon the excess or errour, whatsoever it were, of one day and night, nor upon one hours audience of the matter, but upon better observation of their lives, manners, and whole carriage of themselves both in word and deed. And herein he may seem to have dealt both justly and compassionately. But from this time forward he gave himself over wholly to *Perseus*: using so little conference with his younger Son, that when he had matters of weight in hand, such especially as concerned the *Romans*, he liked neither to have him present, nor near unto him. Above all, he had especial care to learn out what had passed between *Demetrius* and *T. Quintius*,

tius, or any other of the *Roman* great ones. And to this purpose he sent Embassadors to *Rome*, *Philocles* and *Apelles*; men whom he thought no way interessed in the quarrels between the Brethren, though indeed they altogether depended on the elder, whom they saw the more in grace. These brought home with them a Letter, said to be written by *Titus* (whose Seal they had counterfeited) unto the King. The contents whereof were, A deprecation for the young Prince; with an intimation, as by way of granting it, That his youthful and ambitious desires had caused him to enter into practices unjustifiable, against his elder Brother, which yet should never take effect: for that *Titus* himself would not be Author, or Abettor of any impious device. This manner of excuse did forcibly perswade the King to think his Son a dangerous Traitor. To strengthen him in this opinion, one *Didas*, to whom he gave *Demetrius* in custody, made shew as if he had pitied the Estate of the unhappy Prince, and so wrung out of him his secret intentions, which he shortly discovered unto *Philip*. It was the purpose of *Demetrius* to fly secretly to *Rome*; where he might hope not only to live in safety from his Father and Brother, but in greater likelihood, than he could find at home, of bettering such claim as he had in reversion unto the Crown of *Macedon*. Whatsoever his hopes and meanings were, all came to nought through the falshood of *Didas*; who, playing on both hands, offered unto the Prince his help for making the escape, and in the mean while revealed the whole matter to the King. So *Philip* resolved to put his Son to death, without further expence of time. It was thought behoveful to make him away privily, for fear lest the *Romans* should take the matter to heart, and hold it as a proof sufficient, at least, of the Kings despight against them, if not of his meaning to renew the War. *Didas* therefore was commanded to rid the unhappy Prince of his life. This accursed Minister of his Kings unadvised sentence, first gave poison to *Demetrius*: which wrought neither so hastily, nor so secretly, as was desired. Hereupon he sent a couple of Ruffians, to finish the tragedy: who villainously accomplished their work, by smothering that Prince, in whose life consisted the greatest hope of *Macedon*.

In all the race of *Antigonus* there had not been found a King, that had thus cruelly dealt with any Prince of his own blood. The houses of *Lysimachus* and *Cassander* fell either with themselves, or even upon their heels; by intestine discord and jealousies, grounded on desire of Soveraign rule, or fear of losing it. By the like unnatural hatred, had almost been cut off the lines of *Ptolomy* and of *Seleucus*: which, though narrowly they escaped the danger, yet were their Kingdoms thereby grievously distempered. Contrariwise, it was worthy of extraordinary note, how that upstart-family of the Kings of *Pergamus* had raised it self to marvellous greatness, in very short space, from the condition of meer slavery: whereof a principal cause was, the brotherly love maintained by them, with singular commendation of their piety. Neither was *Philip* ignorant of these examples, but is said to have propounded the last of them to his own Children, as a pattern for them to imitate. Certainly he had reason so to do: not more in regard of the benefit which his enemies reaped by their concord, than in remembrance of the tender fosterage, wherewith King *Antigonus* his Tutor had faithfully cherished him in his minority. But he was himself of an unmerciful nature; and therefore unmeet to be a good perswader unto kindly affection. The Murders by him done upon many of his Friends, together with the barbarous outrages, which for the satiating of his blood-thirsty Appetite, he delightfully had committed upon many innocents, both Strangers and Subjects of his own; did now procure Vengeance down from Heaven, that rewarded him with a draught of his own poison. After the death of his Son, he too late began to examine the crimes that had been objected; and to weigh them in a more equal ballance. Then found he nothing that could give him satisfaction, or by good probability induce him to think, that malice had not been contriver of the whole process. His only remaining Son *Perseus* could so ill dissemble the pleasure which he took in being freed from all danger of competition: as there might easily be perceived in him a notable change, proceeding from some other cause, than the remove of those dangers which he had lately pretended. The *Romans* were now to be less feared than at other times; when he, as having accomplished the most of his desires, left off his usual trouble of mind, and carefulness of making provision against them. He was more diligently courted than in former times, by those that well understood the difference between a rising and a setting Sun. As for old *Philip*, he was left in a manner desolate, some expecting his death, and some scarce enduring the tediousness of such expectation. This bred in the King a deep Melancholly; and filled his head with suspitious imagination; the like whereof he had never been slow to apprehend. He was much vexed: and so much the more, for that he knew neither well to whom, nor perfectly whereof to complain. One honourable man, a Cousin of his, named *Antigonus*, continued so true to *Philip*, that he grew thereby hateful to *Perseus*: and thus becoming subject unto the same jealous impressions which troubled the King, became also partaker of his secrets. This Counsellor, when he found that the anger conceived against *Perseus* would not vent it self, and give ease to the King, until the truth were known whether *Demetrius* were guilty or no of the Treason objected; as also that *Philocles* and *Apelles* (the Embassadours which had brought from *Rome* that Epistle of *Flaminius*, that served as the greatest evidence against *Demetrius*) were suspected of Forgery in the business: made diligent enquiry after the truth. In thus doing he found one *Xychus*, a man most likely to have understood what false dealing was used by those Embassadors. Him he apprehended, brought to the Court, and presented unto the King: saying, that this fellow knew all, and must therefore be made to utter what he knew. *Xychus*, for fear of torture, uttered as much as was before suspected: confessing against himself, that he had been employed by the Embassadours in that wicked piece of business. No marvel if the Fathers passions were extreme, when he understood that by the unnatural practice of one Son, he had so wretchedly cast away another, far more virtuous and innocent. He raged exceedingly against himself, and withall against the Authors of the mischief. Upon the first news of this discovery, *Apelles* fled away, and got into *Italy*; *Philocles* was taken: and either forasmuch as he could not deny it when *Xychus* confronted him, yielded himself guilty; or else was put to torture. *Perseus* was now grown stronger, than that he should need to fly the Country: yet not so stout as to adventure himself into his Fathers pre-

preſence. He kept on the Borders of the Kingdom towards *Thrace*, whilſt his Father wintred at *Demetrias*. *Philip* therefore, not hoping to get into his power this his ungracious Son, took a reſolution, to Aliene the Kingdom from him, and conſer it upon *Antigonus*. But his weak body, and exceſſive grief of mind, ſo diſabled him in the Travel thereto belonging, that e're he could bring his purpoſe to effect, he was conſtrained to yield to nature. He had reigned about two and forty years: alwayes full of trouble; as vexed by others, and vexing himſelf with continual Wars; of which that with the *Romans* was moſt unhappy, and few or none of the reſt found the concluſion, which a wiſe Prince would have deſired, of bringing forth together both honour and profit. But for all the evil that befell him, he might thank his own perverſe condition: ſince his Uncle, King *Antigonus*, had left unto him an Eſtate, ſo great, and ſo well ſettled, as made it eaſie for him, to accompliſh any moderate deſires, if he he had not abhorred all good counſel. Wherefore he was juſtly puniſhed by feeling the difference between the imaginary happineſs of a Tyrant, which he affected, and the life of a King, whereof he little cared to perform the duty. His death, even whilſt yet it was only drawing near, was fore-ſignified unto *Perſeus*, by *Caligines* the Phyſician, who alſo concealed it a while from thoſe that were about the Court. So *Perſeus* came thither on the ſudden, and took poſſeſſion of the Kingdom: which in fine he no leſs improvidently loſt, than he had wickedly gotten.

SECT. IV.

How the Baſtarnæ *fell upon* Dardania. *The behaviour of* Perſeus *in the beginning of his Reign. Some Wars of the* Romans: *and how they ſuffered* Maſaniſſa *cruelly to oppreſs the* Carthaginians. *They quarrelled with* Perſeus. *They allow not their Confederates to make War without their leave obtained. The Treaſon of* Callicrates, *whereby all* Greece *became more obnoxious to* Rome, *than in former times. Further quarrels to* Perſeus. *He ſeeks Friendſhip of the* Achæans, *and is withſtood by* Callicrates. *The* Romans *diſcover their intent of Warring upon him.*

IMmediately upon the death of *Philip*, came the *Baſtarnæ* into *Thrace*; where order had been taken, long before, both for the free paſſage, and for the indempnity of the Country. This Compact was friendly obſerved, as long as no other was known, than that *Philip* did live to recompence all that ſhould be done, or ſuſtained, for his Service. But when it was heard, that a new King reigned in *Macedon*; and not heard withall, that he took any care what became of the enterpriſe: then was all daſht and confounded. The *Thracians* would no longer afford ſo good markets unto theſe ſtrangers, as formerly they had done. On the other ſide, the *Baſtarnæ* would not be contented with reaſon, but became their own Carvers. Thus each part having loſt their rich hopes repoſed in *Philip*, grew careful of thriving in the preſent; with little regard of right or wrong. Within a while they fell to blows; and the *Baſtarnæ* had the upper hand, ſo as they chaſed the *Thracians* out of the plain Countries. But the Victors made little uſe of their good fortune. For whether by reaſon of ſome overthrow, received by them in aſſaulting a place of ſtrength; or whether becauſe of extream bad weather, which is ſaid to have afflicted them as it were miraculouſly: all of them returned home, ſave thirty thouſand, which pierced on into *Dardania*. How theſe thirty thouſand ſped in their Voyage, I do not find. It ſeems that by the careleſs uſing of ſome Victories, they drew loſs upon themſelves: and finally took that occaſion, to follow their companions back into their own Country.

As for *Perſeus*, he thought it not expedient, in the novelty of his Reign, to embroil himſelf in a War ſo dangerous, as that with the *Romans* was likely to prove. Wherefore he wholly gave his mind to the ſettling of his Eſtate, which well done, he might afterwards accommodate himſelf, as the condition of his affairs ſhould require, either for War or Peace. To prevent all danger of Rebellion, he quickly took away the life of *Antigonus*. To win love of his People, he ſate perſonally to hear their cauſes in Judgement, (though herein he was ſo over-diligent and curious, that one might have perceived this his virtue of Juſtice to be no better than fained) as alſo he gratified them with many delightful ſpectacles, magnificently by him ſet forth. Above all, he had care to avoid all neceſſity of War with *Rome*: and therefore made it his firſt work, to ſend Embaſſadours thither, to renew the League; which he obtained, and was by the Senate ſaluted King, and Friend unto the State. Neither was he negligent in ſeeking to purchaſe good will of the *Greeks*, and other his Neighbours, but was rather herein ſo exceſſively bountiful, that it may ſeem a wonder how in few years, to his utter ruine, he became ſo griping and tenacious. His fear was indeed the maſtring paſſion, which over-ruled him, and changed him into ſo many ſhapes, as made it hard to diſcern which of his other qualities were naturally his own. For proof of this, there is requiſite no more, than the relation of his actions paſt and following.

The *Romans* continued, as they had long, buſie in Wars againſt the *Spaniards* and *Ligurians*; People often vanquiſhed, and as often breaking forth into new Rebellion. They alſo conquered *Iſtria*; ſubdued the rebelling *Sardinians*; and had ſome quarrels, though to little effect, with the *Illyrians* and others. Over the *Carthaginians* they bore (as ever ſince the Victory) a heavy hand: and ſuffered *Maſaniſſa* to take from them what he liſted. The *Carthaginians*, like obedient Vaſſals to *Rome*, were afraid, though in defence of their own, to take Arms: from which they were bound by an Article of Peace, except it were with leave of the *Romans*. *Maſaniſſa* therefore had great advantage over them, and was not ignorant how to uſe it. He could get poſſeſſion by force, of whatſoever he deſired, e're their complaining Embaſſadors could be at *Rome*: and then were the *Romans* not hardly entreated to leave things as they found them.

So had he once dealt before, in taking from them the Country of *Emporia*: and ſo he did uſe them again and again: with pretence of title, where he had any; otherwiſe, without it. *Gala* the Father of *Maſaniſſa* had won ſome Land from the *Carthaginians*: which afterward *Syphax* won from

from *Gala*, and within a while, reſtored to the right owners, for love of his Wife *Sophonisba*, and of *Aſdrubal* his Father-in-law. This did *Maſaniſſa* take from them by force: and by the *Romans* (to whoſe judgement the caſe was referred) was permitted quietly to hold it. The *Carthaginians* had now good experience, how beneficial it was for their Eſtate, to uſe all manner of ſubmiſſive obedience to *Rome*. They had ſcarcely digeſted this injury, when *Maſaniſſa* came upon them again, and took from them above ſeventy Towns and Caſtles, without any colour of right. Hereof by their Embaſſadors, they made lamentable complaint unto the *Roman* Senate. They ſhewed how grievouſly they were oppreſſed by reaſon of two Articles in their League: That they ſhould not make War out of their own Lands; nor with any Confederates of the *Romans*. Now although it were ſo that they might lawfully withſtand the violence of *Maſaniſſa*, invading their Country, howſoever he was pleaſed to call it his: yet ſince he was Confederate with the *Romans*, they durſt not preſume to bear defenſive Arms againſt him, but ſuffered themſelves to be eaten up, for fear of incurring the *Romans* indignation. Wherefore they intreated, that they might have fairer Juſtice; or be ſuffered to defend their own by ſtrong hand; or at leaſt, if right muſt wholly give place to favour, That the *Romans* yet would be pleaſed to determine, how far forth *Maſaniſſa* ſhould be allowed to proceed in theſe outrages. If none of theſe Petitions could be obtained, then deſired they, that the *Romans* would let them underſtand, wherein they had offended ſince the time that *Scipio* gave them Peace; and vouchſafe to inflict on them ſuch puniſhment as they themſelves in honour ſhould think meet: for that better and more to their comfort it were, to ſuffer at once what ſhould be appointed by ſuch Judges, than continually to live in fear, and none otherwiſe draw breath, than at the mercy of this *Numidian* Hang-man. And herewithall the Embaſſadors threw themſelves proſtrate on the ground, weeping; in hope to move compaſſion.

Here we may behold the fruits of their envy to that valiant houſe of the *Barchines*; of their irreſolution in proſecuting a War ſo important, as *Hannibal* made for them in *Italy*; and of their half-penny-worthing in matter of expence when they had adventured their whole Eſtate in the purchaſe of a great Empire. Now are they Servants, even to the ſervants of thoſe men, whoſe Fathers they have often chaſed, ſlain, taken and ſold as Bond-ſlaves in the Streets of *Carthage*, and in all Cities of *Africk* and *Greece*. Now have they enough of that *Roman* Peace, which *Hanno* ſo often and ſo earneſtly deſired. Only they want Peace with *Maſaniſſa*, once their Mercenary, and now their Maſter, or rather their tormentor, out of whoſe cruel hands, they beſeech their Maſters to take the office of correcting them. In ſuch caſe are they, and adore the *Romans*, whom they ſee flouriſh in ſuch proſperity as might have been their own. But the *Romans* had far better entreated *Varro*, who loſt the battle at *Cannæ*; than *Hannibal* that won it was uſed by the *Carthaginians*: they had freely beſtowed, every man of them, all his private riches upon the Common-wealth; and employed their labours for the publick, without craving recompence: as alſo they had not thought it much, though being in extream want, to ſet out an Army into *Spain*, at what time the enemy lay under their own Walls. Theſe were no *Carthaginian* virtues: and therefore the *Carthaginians*, having fought againſt their betters, muſt patiently endure the miſeries belonging to the vanquiſhed. Their pitiful behaviour bred peradventure ſome commiſeration; yet their tears may ſeem to have been miſtruſted, as proceeding no leſs from envy to the *Romans*, than from any feeling of their own calamity. They thought themſelves able to fight with *Maſaniſſa*: which eſtimation of their Forces was able to make them, after a little while, enter into compariſons with *Rome*. Wherefore they obtained not ſuch leave as they ſought, of defending their own right by Arms: but contrariwiſe, when without leave obtained, they preſumed ſo far, the deſtruction of *Carthage* was thought an eaſie puniſhment of that offence. At the preſent, they received a gentle anſwer; though they had otherwiſe little amends. *Guluſſa* the Son of *Maſaniſſa* was then in *Rome*, and had not as yet craved audience. He therefore was called before the Senate; where he was demanded the reaſon of his coming; and had related unto him the complaint made by the *Carthaginians* againſt his Father. He anſwered, That his Father not being throughly aware of any Embaſſadors thither ſent from *Carthage*, had therefore not given him inſtructions how to deal in that buſineſs. Only it was known, that the *Carthaginians* had held Councel divers Nights, in the Temple of *Æſculapius*: whereupon he himſelf was diſpatched away to *Rome*, there to intreat the Senate, that theſe common Enemies of the *Romans*, and of his Father, might not be over-much truſted; eſpecially againſt his Father, whom they hated moſt maliciouſly, for his conſtant faith to the People of *Rome*. This anſwer gave little ſatisfaction. Wherefore the Senate replyed that for *Maſaniſſa* his ſake, they had done, and would do, whatſoever was reaſonable, but that it ſtood not with their Juſtice, to allow of this his violence, in taking from the *Carthaginians*, thoſe Lands, which by the Covenants of the League were granted unto them freely to enjoy. With this mild rebuke they diſmiſſed *Gulusſa*; beſtowing on him friendly preſents (as alſo they did on the *Carthaginians*) and willed him to tell his Father, that he ſhould do well to ſend Embaſſadors, more fully inſtructed in this matter. This happened when the *Macedonian* War was even ready to begin: at which time the *Romans* were not willing too much to offend, either the *Carthaginians* (for fear of urging them unſeaſonably to Rebellion) or *Maſaniſſa*, at whoſe hands they expected no little help. So were they aided both by the *Carthaginians*, and *Maſaniſſa*: by the *Carthaginians*, partly for fear, partly for hope of better uſage in the future; by *Maſaniſſa*, in way of thankfulneſs; though if it had happened (which was unlikely) that they ſhould be vanquiſhed; he made none other account, than that all *Africk* round about him, and *Carthage* therewithall, ſhould be his own.

In the midſt of all theſe cares, the *Romans* had not been unmindful of *Perſeus*. They viſited him daily with Embaſſadors; that is, with honourable ſpies to obſerve his behaviour. Theſe he entertained kindly at firſt, until (which fell out e're long) he perceived whereto their diligence tended. Firſt they quarrelled with him about the troubles in *Dardania*: neither would they take any ſatisfaction, until the *Baſtarnæ* were thence gone; though he proteſted, that he had not ſent for them. Afterward they pried narrowly into his

his doings: and were no leſs ill contented with good offices, by him done, to ſundry of his neighbours, than with thoſe wrongs, which (they ſaid) he did unto other ſome. Where he did harm to any; they called it making War upon their Friends. Where he did good; they called ſuch his bounty, ſeeking Friends to take his part againſt them. The *Dolopians*, his Subjects, (upon what occaſion it is uncertain) rebelled, and with exquiſite torments ſlew *Euphranor*, whom he had appointed their Governour. It ſeems that *Euphranor* had played the Tyrant among them. For they were a People without ſtrength to reſiſt the *Macedonian*: and therefore unlikely to have preſumed far, unleſs either they had been extreamly provoked; or elſe were ſecretly animated by the *Romans*. Whatſoever it was that bred this courage in them, *Perſeus* did ſoon allay it, and reclaim them by ſtrong hand. But the *Romans* took very angerly this preſumption of the King: even as if he had invaded ſome Country of their *Italian* Confederates, and not corrected his own Rebels at home. Fain they would have had him to draw in the ſame yoke with the *Carthaginians*; whereunto had he humbled once his neck, they could themſelves have done the part of *Maſaniſſa*; though *Eumenes*, or ſome other fit for that purpoſe, had been wanting. And to this effect, they told him, That the Conditions of the League between them were ſuch as made it unlawful both to his Father heretofore, and now to him, to take Arms without their licence firſt obtained.

To the ſame paſs they would alſo fain have reduced the *Greeks*, and generally all their Adherents, even ſuch as had entred into League with them upon equal terms: whom they uſually rewarded with a frown, whenſoever they preſumed to right themſelves by force of Arms, without ſeeking firſt the Oracle at *Rome*. Hereof the *Achæans* had good experience: whoſe confidence in their proper ſtrength, made them otherwhiles bold to be their own Carvers; and whoſe hope of extraordinary favour at *Rome*, cauſed them the more willingly to refer their cauſes to arbitrement. For when they went about to have chaſtiſed the *Meſſenians* by War; *T. Quintius* rebuked them, as too arrogant, in taking ſuch a work in hand, without his authority: yet by his authority he ended the matter, wholly to their good liking. Semblably at other times were they reprehended, even with Lordly Threats, when they took upon them to carry any buſineſs of importance, by their own power, without ſtanding unto the good grace of the *Romans*. Who nevertheleſs upon ſubmiſſion, were apt enough to do them right. Thus were they tamed by little and little, and taught to forget their abſolute liberty, as by which they were not like to thrive; eſpecially in uſurping the practick of Arms, which belonged only to the Imperial City. In learning this hard Leſſon, they were ſuch untoward Schollars, that they needed, and not long after felt, very ſharp correction. Yet was there no ſmall part of blame to be imputed unto their Maſters. For the *Roman* Senate, being deſirous to humble the *Achæans*, refuſed not only to give them ſuch aid as they requeſted, and as they challenged by the tenour of the League between them; but further, with a careleſs inſolency, rejected this honeſt and reaſonable petition, That the Enemy might not be ſupplied from *Italy*, with Victuals or Arms. Herewith not content, the Fathers, as wearied with dealing in the affairs of *Greece*, pronounced openly, That if the *Argives*, *Lacedæmonians*, or *Corinthians*, would revolt from the *Achæans*; they themſelves would think it a buſineſs no way concerning them.

Polyb. l. 29. 51. & 53.

This was preſently after the death of *Philopœmen*: at what time it was believed, that the Common-wealth of *Achaia* was like to fall into much diſtreſs: were it not upheld by countenance of the *Romans*. All this notwithſtanding; when *Lycortas* Prætor of the *Achæans* had utterly ſubdued the *Meſſenians* far ſooner than was expected; and when as not only no Town rebelled from the *Achæans*; but many entered into their Corporation; then did the *Romans* with an ill-favoured grace, tell the ſame Embaſſadors, to whoſe petition they had made ſuch bad anſwer (and who as yet were not gone out of the City,) That they had ſtraightly forbidden all manner of ſuccour to be carried to *Meſſene*. Thus thinking, by a fained gravity, to have ſerved their own turns, they manifeſted their condition, both to ſet on the weaker againſt the ſtronger and more ſuſpected, and alſo to aſſume unto themſelves a Soveraign power, in directing all matters of War, which diſſemblingly they would have ſeemed to neglect. In like manner dealt they with all their Confederates: not permitting any of them to make War, whether offenſive or defenſive; though it were againſt meer ſtrangers; without interpoſing the authority of the Senate and People of *Rome*: unleſs peradventure, ſometimes they winked at ſuch violence, as did help towards the accompliſhment of their own ſecret malice. Now theſe *Roman* Arts, howſoever many (for gainful or timerous reſpects) would ſeem to underſtand them; yet were generally diſpleaſing unto all men endued with free Spirits. Only the *Athenians*, once the moſt turbulent City in *Greece*, having neither Subjects of their own that might rebell, nor power wherewith to bring any into ſubjection, for want of more noble arguments, wherein to practice their eloquence, that was become the whole remainder of their ancient commendations, were much delighted in flattering the moſt mighty. So they kept themſelves in grace with the *Romans*, remaining free from all trouble, until the War of *Mithridates*: being men unfit for action, and thereby innocent; yet bearing a part in many great actions, as Gratulators of the *Roman* Victories, and Pardon-cravers for the vanquiſhed. Such were the *Athenians* become. As for thoſe other Common-weals and Kingdoms, that with over-nice diligence, ſtrove to preſerve their Liberties and Lands from conſuming by piece-meal: they were to be devoured whole, and ſwallowed up at once. Eſpecially the *Macedonian*, as the moſt unpliant, and wherein many of the *Greeks* began to have affiance, was neceſſarily to be made an example, how much better it were to bow, than to break.

Neither *Perſeus*, nor the *Romans*, were ignorant, how the *Greeks* at this time ſtood affected. *Perſeus*, by reaſon of his near Neighbourhood, and of the daily commerce between them and his Subjects, could not want good information of all that might concern him, in their affairs. He well knew, that all of them now apprehended the danger which *Philopœmen* had long ſince foretold, of the miſerable ſubjection, whereinto *Greece* was likely to be reduced, by the *Roman* Patronage. Indeed they not only perceived the approaching danger, but as being tenderly ſenſible of their liberty, felt themſelves grieved with the preſent ſubjection, whereto already they were become

come obnoxious. Wherefore though none of them had the courage, in matters of the publick, to fall out with the *Romans*; yet all of them had the care to chooſe among themſelves none other Magiſtrates, than ſuch as effected the good of their Country, and would for no ambition, or other ſervile reſpect, be flatterers of the greatneſs which kept all in fear. Thus it ſeemed likely, that all domeſtical conſpiracies would ſoon be at an end; when honeſty, and love of the Common-weal, became the faireſt way to preferment. Of this careful proviſion for the ſafety of *Greece*, the *Romans* were not throughly advertiſed: either becauſe things were diligently concealed from their Embaſſadors; whom all men knew to be little better than ſpies; or becauſe little account was made of that intelligence, which was brought in by ſuch Traitors (of whom every City in *Greece* had too many) as were men unregarded among their own people, and therefore more like to ſpeak maliciouſly than truly; or perhaps becauſe the Embaſſadors themſelves being all Senators, and capable of the greateſt Office or Charge, had no will to find out other mattter of trouble, than was fitting to their own deſires of employment. But it is hard to conceal that which many know, from thoſe that are feared or flattered by many. The *Achæans* being to ſend Embaſſadors to *Rome*, that ſhould both excuſe them, as touching ſome point wherein they refuſed to obey the Senate; and inform the Senate better in the ſame buſineſs: choſe one *Callicrates*, among others, to go in that Embaſſage. By their making choice of ſuch a man, one may perceive the advantage, which miſchievous wretches; who commonly are forward in purſuing their vile deſires, have againſt the plain ſort of honeſt men, that leaſt earneſtly thruſt themſelves into the troubleſome buſineſs of the weal-publick. For this *Callicrates* was in ſuch wiſe tranſported with ambition, that he choſe much rather to betray his Country, than to let any other be of more authority than himſelf therein. Wherefore inſtead of well diſcharging his credence, and alledging what was meeteſt in juſtification of his People, he uttered a quite contrary tale; and ſtrongly encouraged the *Romans*, to oppreſs both the *Achæans*, and all the reſt of *Greece*, with a far more heavy hand. He told the Senate, that it was high time for them, to look unto the ſettling of their Authority, among his froward Countrimen: if they meant not wholly to forego it. For now there was taken up a cuſtom, to ſtand upon points of Confederacy, and Laws: as if theſe were principally to be had in regard, any injunction from *Rome* notwithſtanding.

Hence grew it, that the *Achæans*, both now, and at other times, did what beſt pleaſed themſelves, and anſwered the *Romans* with excuſes: as if it were enough to ſay, That by ſome condition of League, or by force of ſome Law, they were diſcharged or hindred from obeying the Decrees of the Senate, This would not be ſo, if he, and ſome other of his opinion might have their wills: who ceaſed not to affirm, That no Columns, or Monuments, erected, nor no ſolemn Oath of the whole Nation, to ratifie the obſervance of Confederacy or Statute, ought to be of force, when the *Romans* willed the contrary. But it was even the fault of the *Romans* themſelves, that the multitude refuſed to give ear unto ſuch perſwaſions. For howſoever in popular Eſtates, the ſound of liberty uſed to be more plauſible, than any diſcourſe tending againſt it: yet if they which undertook the maintenance of an argument, ſeeming never ſo bad, were ſure by their ſo doing, to procure their own good; the number of them would increaſe apace, and they become the prevalent faction. It was therefore, ſtrange how the *Fathers* could ſo neglect the advancement of thoſe, that ſought wholly to enlarge the amplitude of the *Roman* Majeſty. More wiſely, though with ſeditious and rebellious purpoſe, did the *Greeks*; who many times, yea and ordinarily, conferred great honours, upon men otherwiſe of little account or deſert, only for having uttered ſome brave words againſt the *Romans*. The *Fathers* hearing theſe and the like reaſons, wherewith he exhorted them to handle roughly thoſe that were obſtinate, and by cheriſhing their Friends, to make their party ſtrong; reſolved to follow this good counſel, in every point; yea to depreſs all thoſe that held with the right, and to ſet up their own followers, were it by right or by wrong. And to this end, they not only dealt thenceforth more peremptorily with the *Achæans*, than had been their manner in former times; but wrote at the preſent unto all Cities of *Greece*, requiring them to ſee that their mandate (which was concerning the reſtitution of thoſe that were baniſhed out of *Lacedæmon*) ſhould be fulfilled Particularly in behalf of *Callicrates*, that adviſed men to be ſuch, and ſo affected, as he was, in their ſeveral Common-weals. With this diſpatch, *Callicrates* returned home a joyful man: having brought his Country into the way of ruine, but himſelf into the way of preferment. Nevertheleſs he forbore to vaunt himſelf of his eloquence uſed in the Senate. Only he ſo reported his Embaſſage, that all men became fearful of the danger, wherewith he threatned thoſe that ſhould preſume to oppoſe the *Romans*. By ſuch Arts he obtained to be made Prætor of the *Achæans*: in which Magiſtracy, as in all his courſes following, he omitted nothing, that might ſerve to manifeſt his ready obſequiouſneſs unto thoſe whom he had made his Patrons.

Now, as the *Romans* by threatning terms won many flatterers, and loſt as many true Friends: ſo *Perſeus* on the other ſide, thinking by liberal gifts, and hopeful promiſes, to aſſure unto himſelf thoſe that ill could brook his Enemies; got indeed a multitude of partakers, though little honeſter than his Enemies had. Thus were all the Cities of *Greece* diſtracted with Factions: ſome holding with the *Romans*; ſome with the *Macedonian*, and ſome few, reſpecting only the good of the Eſtates wherein they lived. Hereat the Lords of the Senate were highly offended; and thought it an indignity not ſufferable, That a King, no better than their Vaſſal, ſhould dare to become head of a faction againſt them. This therefore muſt be reckoned in the number of the Treſpaſſes: whereof if not any one alone, yet all of them together, ſhall afford them juſt occaſion to make War upon him. *Perſeus* having finiſhed his buſineſs among the *Dolopians*, made a Journey to *Apollo* his Temple at *Delphi*. He took his Army along with him: yet went, and returned, in ſuch peaceable and friendly wiſe, that no place was the worſe for his journey, but the good affection towards him generally increaſed thereby. With thoſe that were in his way, he dealt himſelf; to ſuch as lay further off, he ſent Embaſſadors or Letters: praying them, That the memory of all wrongs whatſoever, done by his

Father, might be buried with his Father; ſince his own meaning was to hold friendſhip ſincerely with all his Neighbours. The *Romans* perhaps could have been pleaſed better, if he had behaved himſelf after a contrary faſhion, and done ſome acts of Hoſtility in his paſſage. Yet, as if he ought not to have taken ſuch a journey, without their licence; this alſo was made a valuable matter, and caſt into the heap of his faults. He laboured greatly to recover the love of the *Achæans:* which his Father had ſo loſt, that by a ſolemn decree, they forbade any *Macedonians* to enter their territories. It was jealouſie perhaps, no leſs than hatred, which cauſed them, at the firſt, to make ſuch a Decree. For howſoever *Philip* had by many vile acts, eſpecially by the death of the two *Arati*, given them cauſe to abhor him, yet in the publick adminiſtration of their Eſtate, he had, for the more part, been to them ſo beneficial, that not without much ado, and at length, without any general conſent, they reſolve to forſake him. Wherefore it was needful, even for preſervation of concord among them, to uſe all circumſpection, that he might not, by his agents, negotiate, and hold intelligence with any, in a Country towards him ſo doubtfully affected: eſpecially when by hearkening to his meſſages, they might make themſelves ſuſpected by their new Friends; but the continuance of this Decree, beyond the time of War, and when all danger of innovation was paſt, was uncivil, if not inhumane; as nouriſhing deadly hatred, without leaving means of reconciliation. And hereof the *Achæans* reaped no good fruit. For, although they were not, in like ſort, forbidden the Kingdom of *Macedon:* yet underſtanding what would be due to them, if they ſhould adventure thither, none of them durſt ſet foot therein. Hence it came to paſs, that their bond-men, knowing a ſafe harbour, out of which their Maſters could not fetch them, ran daily away in great numbers: exceedingly to the loſs of ſuch, as made of their Slaves very profitable uſe. But *Perſeus* took hold upon this occaſion: as fitly ſerving to pacifie thoſe, whoſe enmity fain he would have changed into love. He therefore apprehended all theſe Fugitives, to ſend them home again: and wrote unto the *Achæans*, That as for good will unto them, he had taken pains to reſtore back their Servants, ſo ſhould they do very well to take order for keeping them, that hereafter they might not run away again. His meaning was readily underſtood, and his Letters kindly accepted by the greater part; being openly rehearſed by the Prætor, before the Councel. But *Callicrates* took the matter very angerly; and bade them be adviſed what they did: for that this was none other, than a plain device, to make them depart from the friendſhip of the *Romans*. Herewithall he took upon him ſomewhat liberally, to make the *Achæans* before-hand acquainted with the War, that was coming upon *Perſeus* from *Rome*. He told them how *Philip* had made preparations for the ſame War; how *Demetrius* had been made away, becauſe of his good affection to the *Romans*; and how *Perſeus* had, ſince his being King, done many things, tending to the breach of Peace. Briefly, He rehearſed all thoſe matters, which were afterwards alledged by the *Romans*; the invaſion of the *Baſtarnæ* upon the *Dardanians*; the Kings journey againſt the *Dolopians*; his voyage to *Delphi*; and finally, his peaceable behaviour, which was (he ſaid) a dangerous temptation of men to his party. Wherefore he adviſed them to expect the event of things, and not over-haſtily to enter into any degree of friendſhip with the *Macedonians*. Hereto good anſwer was made by the Prætors brother: That *Callicrates* was too earneſt in ſo light a matter; and that, being neither one of the Kings Cabinet, nor of the *Roman* Senate, he made himſelf too well acquainted with all that had paſſed, or was like to follow. For it was well known, that *Perſeus* had renewed his League with the *Romans*; that he was by them ſaluted King, and friend to the Eſtate: and that he had lovingly entertained their Embaſſadors: This being ſo; why might not the *Achæans*, as well as the *Ætolians*, *Theſſalians*, *Epirots*, and all the *Greeks*, hold with him ſuch correſpondence, as common humanity required? Nevertheleſs *Callicrates* was grown a man ſo terrible, by his *Roman* acquaintance, that they durſt not over-ſtiffly gainſay him. Therefore the matter was referred unto further deliberation: and anſwer made the whilſt, That ſince the King had only ſent a Letter without an Embaſſador, they knew not how to reſolve. Better it was to ſay thus, than, that they were afraid to do as they thought moſt reaſonable and convenient. But when *Perſeus* herewith not contented, would needs urge them further, and ſend Embaſſadors: then were they fain, without any good pretence, to put on a countenance of anger, and deny to give audience: which was proof ſufficient (to one that could underſtand) of the condition wherein they lived. For hearkening to this advice of *Callicrates*; they were ſoon after highly commended by a *Roman* Embaſſador: whereby it became apparent, that the *Romans* intended War upon the *Macedonian*; though hitherto no cauſe of War was given. *Liv. lib. 42*

SECT. V.

How Eumenes *King of* Pergamus *was buſied with* Pharnaces, *the* Rhodians, *and others. His hatred to the* Macedonian: *whom he accuſeth to the* Roman *Senate. The Senate honours him greatly, and contemns his enemies the* Rhodians; *with the cauſes thereof. The unuſual ſtoutneſs of the* Macedonian *Embaſſadours.* Perſeus *his attempt upon* Eumenes. *The brotherly love between* Eumenes *and* Attalus. Perſeus *his device to poiſon ſome of the* Roman *Senators: whereupon they decree War againſt him, and ſend him defiance. Other things concerning the juſtice of this War.*

Eumenes King of *Pergamus* had been troubled about theſe times, by the Kings *Pharnaces* and *Mithridates*, his Neighbours. He had taken the right courſe, in making firſt his complaint to the *Romans:* by whom he was animated with comfortable words, and promiſe, That they, by their Authority, would end the buſineſs to his content. But in concluſion, by the help of the Kings *Pruſias* and *Ariarathes*, he ended the War himſelf; and brought his enemies to ſeek and accept peace, on ſuch conditions as pleaſed him to give them. After this, being at good leiſure; he began to conſider how the affairs of *Macedon* ſtood under *Perſeus*. His hatred to *Perſeus* was very *Pol. Leg. 56, & 59.*

very great: and therefore he was glad to understand, that the hatred of the *Romans*, to the same his Enemy was as great, and withall notorious. Now, besides his ancient and hereditary quarrel with the *Macedonian*; it vexed him exceedingly, That his own honours (whereof the *Greeks*, prodigal in that kind, had heaped immoderate store on his Father and him) began to wax every where stale; whilst *Perseus*, either by his currying favour, or by the envy born to the *Romans*, had gotten their best liking and wishes. For despight of this indignity, He stirred up the *Lycians* against the *Rhodians* his old friends: and in helping these rebels, was so violent, that he proceeded, in a manner, in open War. But small pleasure found he in these poor and indirect courses of revenge.

The *Lycians* could not be saved by his Patronage from severe and cruel chastisement, given to them by the *Rhodians*. This rendered him contemptible: as likewise, his acts of Hostility, little different from robberies, made him hateful to those which loved him before. As for his honours in the Cities of *Greece*; they not only continued falling into neglect; but were abrogated by a decree of the *Achæans*, as too unmeasured, mis-beseeming them to give, and affected by him beyond the proportion of his deservings. All this (which he need not to have regarded, had he not been too vainly ambitious) befell him; especially for his being over-serviceable to the *Romans*, and for his malice to that noble Kingdom; which if it fell, the liberty of *Greece* was not like to stand. Now for the redress hereof, he thought it vain to strive any longer with bounty, against such an Adversary, as by hopeful promises alone, without any great performance, had over-topped him in the general favour. And therefore he resolved even to overturn the foundations of this popularity, by inducing the *Romans* utterly to take away from the eyes of men this Idol, the *Macedonian* Kingdom, which all so vainly worshipped. Neither would it prove a difficult matter, to perswade those that were already desirous: rather he was like to be highly thanked, for setting forward their wishes; and perhaps to be recompenced with some piece of the Kingdom, as he had been rewarded, for the like service, when *Antiochus* was vanquished.

Polyb. Leg. 74.

Liv. lib. 42

To this end he made a second voyage to *Rome*: where, though he had little to say, which they knew not before, yet his words were heard with such attention, as if they had contained some strange novelty; and so pondered by the Fathers, as if the weight of them were to turn the ballance, that before was equal. The death of *Demetrius*, the expedition of the *Bastarnæ* into *Dardania*, that of *Perseus* himself against the *Dolopian*, and to *Delphi*, the great estimation of the *Macedonian* in *Greece*, his intermedling in business of his Neighbours, his riches and his great provisions, were all the material points of *Eumenes* his discourse. Only he descended unto particulars, having searched into all (as he professed) like unto a Spy. He said, that *Perseus* had thirty thousand foot, and five thousand Horse of his own, mony in a readiness to entertain ten thousand Mercenaries for ten years, Arms to furnish a number thrice as great: The *Thracians* his friends at hand, ready, at a call, to bring him Souldiers as many as he should require; and that he prepared Victuals for ten years, because he would not be driven, either to live upon spoil, or to take from his own Subjects. Herewithall he prayed them to consider, that King *Seleucus* the Son and Successor of *Antiochus* the Great, had given his Daughter *Laodice* in marriage to *Perseus*; *Perseus* not wooing, but *Seleucus* offering the match; That King *Prusias* of *Bythinia*, by earnest suit, had gotten to Wife the Sister of *Perseus*, and that these marriages were solemnized with great concourse of Embassages from all quarters. Neither spared he to tell them, (though seeming loth to utter it plainly) That even the envy to their Estate was the cause, why many that could not endure to hear of amity with *Philip*, were now grown marvellously well affected to his Son. All this, and some facts of *Perseus*, which might either be denyed or justified, (as that he had procured the death of some which were friends to the *Romans*, and that he had expelled *Abrybolis* the *Illyrian*, who invaded *Macedon*, out of his Kingdom, or Lordship) *Eumenes* failed not to amplifie unto the most; saying, That he thought it his duty to forewarn them: since it would be to himself a great shame, if *Perseus* got the start of him, and were in *Italy* making War upon the *Romans*, e're *Eumenes* could come thither to tell them of the danger.

It were too great folly to believe that the *Romans* stood in fear of *Perseus*, lest he should set upon them in *Italy*. Nevertheless, forasmuch as they loved not to make War without fair pretence, not only of wrong done to them or their Associates, but of further hurt intended: great thanks were given to *Eumenes*, who had every way furnished them with such goodly colour, to beautifie their intendment. Now though it were so, that he told them little else than what they knew before: yet his person, and the manner of his coming, made all seem greater. For if upon any relation made by their own Embassadors, or upon tales devised by their flatterers and spies, they had warred against *Perseus*, e're he had committed any open act of Hostility against them; their injustice and oppression would have been most manifest. But when the wrongs to them done, were so notorious, and the danger threatning them so terrible, that such a Prince as *Eumenes* came out of his own Kingdom, as far as from *Asia*, to bid them look to themselves; who could blame them, if they took the speediest order to obtain their own right and security? Toward this justification of the War, and magnifying the necessity that enforced them thereto, their more than usual curiosity, in concealing what *Eumenes* had uttered in the Senate, when they could not but understand that his errand was well known, helped not a little. The *Macedonian* and *Rhodian* Embassadors were at *Rome*, provided of answers to the words, which they knew before-hand that he would speak; and with matter of recrimination. The vanity, either of him, or some about him, seems to have disclosed all: when the weariness of the *Fathers*, in hiding that which all men knew, made a notable shew of some fearful apprehension; against which, it behoved their wisdom to neglect no possible remedy. Wherefore careless Audience was given to the *Rhodian* Embassadors; who accused *Eumenes* as one more troublesome to *Asia*, than *Antiochus* had ever been, and a provoker of the *Lycians* to Rebellion. The *Rhodians* had with great pomp conveighed by Sea unto *Perseus*, his Bride *Laodice*; which friendly Office, as the *Macedonian* bountifully requited, so the *Romans* despightfully accepted. Hence it grew, that when the *Lycians*, as already vanquished, were settling themselves in their obedience to the

Polyb. Leg. 60. & 63.

the People of *Rhodes*, Embaſſadors came from *Rome* with ſtrange news, which gave new life to the Rebellion. For the Senate pronounced, That
Livdib.41 it ſtood not with the manner of the *Romans*, to alien quite from their own protection, any People or Nation by them vanquiſhed: and that the *Lycians* were by them aſſigned unto thoſe of *Rhodes*, not as meer Vaſſals, but as Dependants and Aſſociates. For proof hereof, they referred themſelves unto the Commentaries of the ten Embaſſadors; whom they had ſent to diſpoſe of things in *Aſia*, after the Victory againſt *Antiochus*. Hereat *Eumenes*, *Maſaniſſa*, the *Ætolians*, and all other Kings or Eſtates that were beholding to *Rome*, for increaſing the number of their Subjects, had cauſe to find themſelves agrieved, if they well conſidered the matter: ſince by force of this or the like Decree, thoſe their Subjects might eaſily be made their Fellows, whenſoever it ſhould pleaſe the Senate: though it were ſo that all men knew the preſent meaning of the Senate: which was only to plague the *Rhodians* for their good will to *Perſeus*, by ſetting them and the *Lycians* together by the Ears. The *Fathers* could therefore ſee no reaſon to diſlike *Eumenes*, upon this complaint made by the *Rhodian* Embaſſadors, which indeed more nearly touched themſelves. Rather they honoured the King ſo much the more: for that others (as they would needs take it) conſpired againſt him, becauſe of his love to *Rome*.

But the *Macedonian* Embaſſage they heard not ſo careleſly as angrily: though peradventure it well contented them to find cauſe of anger: for whereas at other times all care had been taken, to pacifie them with gentle words and excuſes: now heard they plainer language, and were told, That King *Perſeus* deſired much to give them ſatisfaction, concerning any deed or word of his, that might ſavour of Hoſtility; but that, if his travel in this kind proved vain, then would he be ready to defend himſelf by Arms, and ſtand to the chance of War, which often falls out contrary to expectation. Theſe big words may ſeem to have proceeded from the vehemency of *Harpalus*, that was chief of the Embaſſadors; rather than from inſtruction given by the King, with whoſe faint heart they agreed not. Yet was there good reaſon, why *Perſeus* himſelf might, at this time, think to ſpeed better by a ſhew of daring, than he was like to do by any ſubmiſſion. For the eyes of all *Greece* being now caſt upon him, as on the greateſt hope of deliverance from the *Roman* ſervitude; it was not expedient that he ſhould leſſen, or perhaps utterly cut off, the general expectation, and the good affection born to him, which thereon depended, by diſcovering his too much weakneſs of ſpirit, unanſwerable to a work of ſuch importance. Wherefore he, or his Embaſſador for him, was bold to ſet a good countenance on a game not very bad, but ſubject (in appearance) to fortune, which might have been his, had he known how to uſe it.

Now that this bravery (as better it may be termed than courage) proceeded from the Kings own heat; it appears by his daring to adventure ſoon after on a practice that more juſtly might anger the *Romans*, and give them fairer ſhew of reaſon to make War upon him. It was known that *Eumenes*, in returning home, would take *Delphi* in his way, and there do ſacrifice to *Apollo*. *Perſeus* deadly hating him, and thirſting after his blood, reſolved to way-lay him, and by making there of him a ſacrifice, to rid his own hands of a moſt miſchievous Enemy. So there were appointed three or four ſtout Ruffians to do the Murder: who placing themſelves behind a broken mud-wall, on the ſide of a very narrow path leading up from the Sea to the Temple, did thence aſſault the King; whom they ſorely bruiſed with great Stones, and left for dead. They might have finiſhed their work, ſuch was the opportunity of the place which they had choſen; but fear of being apprehended, made them, without ſtaying to ſee all ſure, flee in ſuch haſte, that they killed one of their own Companions, who could not hold pace with them; becauſe he ſhould not diſcover them. *Eumenes* was conveighed away to the little Iſle of *Ægina*, where he was cured: being all the while kept ſo ſecretly, that the fame of his Death was current in *Aſia*. Hence it came, that his Brother *Attalus* took upon him as King, and either took, or would have taken to wife (ſuppoſing it be-like a matter of State) *Stratonica* the daugher of King *Ariarathes*, whom he then thought the Widow of *Eumenes*. It may well be numbred among the rare Examples of brotherly love, That when the King returned alive home, *Attalus* going forth to meet him and do his duty, as in former times, received none other check, than, *That he ſhould forbear to marry with the Queen, until he were well aſſured of the Kings death.* More than this, *Eumenes* never ſpake of theſe matters; but bequeathed at his death, unto the ſame Brother, both his Wife and Kingdom. As likewiſe *Attalus* forbore to attempt any thing to the prejudice of *the King his Brother:* though the *Romans* (with whom he continued and grew in ſpecial favour, when *Eumenes* fell into their hatred) were in good readineſs to have transferred the Kingdom from his Brother to him. By ſuch concord of Brethren was the Kingdom of *Pergamus* raiſed and upheld; as might alſo that of *Macedon* have been, if *Demetrius* had lived, and employed his grace with the *Romans*, to the benefit of *Perſeus*.

It is likely that *Perſeus* was very glad, when he underſtood that his Miniſters had both accompliſhed his will, and had ſaved all from diſcovery. But as he was deceived in the main point, and heard ſhortly after, that *Eumenes* lived, ſo was he beguiled in that other hope, of the concealment; which he vainly eſteemed the leſs material. For he had written to one *Praxo*, a Gentlewoman of *Delphi*, to entertain the men whom he ſent about this buſineſs: and ſhe, being apprehended by *C. Valerius*, a *Roman* Embaſſador, then attending upon the matters of *Greece*, was carried to *Rome*. Thus all came to light. *Valerius* alſo brought with him to *Rome*, out of *Greece*, one *Rammius* a Citizen of *Brunduſium*; who coming newly from the Court of *Macedon*, loaden with a dangerous ſecret, had preſently ſought out the Embaſſador, and thereof diſcharged himſelf. *Brunduſium* was the ordinary Port for Ships paſſing between *Italy* and *Greece*. There had *Rammius* a fair Houſe; wherein he gave entertainment, being a wealthy man, to Embaſſadors, and other honourable perſonages, both *Romans* and *Macedonians*, journying to and fro. By occaſion of ſuch his Hoſpitality, he was commended to *Perſeus*, and invited into *Macedon* with Friendly Letters; as one, whoſe many courteſies to his Embaſſadors, the King was ſtudious to requite. At his coming, he was much made of; and ſhortly, with more familiarity than he expected or deſired, made partaker of the Kings Secret. The ſum of all was, That he muſt needs do a turn, in giving to ſuch of the *Romans* as the King ſhould hereafter name, a poyſon of rare quality;

lity; ſure in operation, yet not to be perceived either in the taking or afterward. He durſt not refuſe to accept this Employment: for fear leſt the virtue of this Medicine ſhould be tried upon himſelf. But being once at liberty, he diſcovered all. *Rammius* was but one man, and one whom the King had never ſeen before, nor was like to ſee again: and therefore, beſides that the Kings denial ought to be as good as ſuch a fellows affirmation, the accuſation was improbable. Thus did *Perſeus*, in time ſhortly following, anſwer for himſelf; and in like ſort concerning the attempt upon *Eumenes*: denying to have had any hand, either in the one or other; yet withall profeſſing, That ſuch objections were not to be made unto a King, to prove the Rightfulneſs of making War upon him, but rather unto a ſubject pleading for his life in judgement. But howſoever the *Romans* neglected the getting of ſtronger proof which might have been eaſie) than any that we find by them produced: yet the baſe and cowardly temper of *Perſeus* was very ſuitable to theſe practices. Neither did the Senate greatly ſtand to diſpute the matter with him: theſe his treacheries being held inexcuſable. And as for his Royal Eſtate, wherein he ſuppoſed that they ought not to touch him for ſuch private offences, it gave him no priviledge: they judging him to have offended in the nature of a King. Herein ſurely they wanted not good reaſon. For if he might not lawfully make War upon *Eumenes* their Confederate; that is, if he might not ſend men to waſte the Kingdom of *Pergamus*, or to beſiege the Towns: might he ſend Ruffians to murder the King? If it were no leſs breach of the League to deſtroy the Senators by fire or famine, than by violence of the Sword, was it lawful for him to do it by poyſon? Wherefore they preſently decreed War againſt him; and ſent Embaſſadors to denounce it unto him, unleſs he would yield to make ſuch amends as they ſhould require. He ſeemed at this time to have been ſo confident in the general favour of *Greece*, and other comfortable appearances, that if he deſired not War, yet he did not fear it: or at leaſt he thought by ſhew of courage, to make his Enemies more calm. He cauſed the Embaſſadors to dance attendance, till being weary they departed without audience. Then called he them back, and bade them do their Errand. They made a tedious rehearſal of all matters, which they had long been collecting againſt him, and wherewith *Eumenes* had charged him: adding thereto, that he had entertained long and ſecret conference in the Iſle of *Samothrace*, with Embaſſadors ſent to him out of *Aſia*, about ſome ill purpoſe. In regard of all which, they peremptorily required ſatisfaction; as was their manner when they intended to give defiance. Better they might have ſtood upon the evidence, brought againſt him by *Rammius* and *Praxo*. For if thoſe accuſations could be verified, then wanted they not good ground whereon to build: of which otherwiſe they were deſtitute; it being no fault in a King, to be ſtrong, well-beloved, and well-befriended. *Perſeus* anſwered, for the preſent, in a rage; calling the *Romans* greedy, proud, inſolent, and underminers of him by their daily Embaſſadors, that were no better than meer ſpies. Finally, he promiſed to give them in writing their full anſwer: which was to this effect; That he would no longer ſtand to the League made between them and his Father; and renewed by himſelf indeed only for fear, but wiſhed them to deſcend to more equal conditions; whereupon he, for his part, would adviſe, as they might alſo do for theirs.

In the form of the League between *Philip* and the *Romans*, as is ſet down by *Polybius*, we find no condition, binding the *Macedonian* to any inconvenience in the future; excepting thoſe which he immediately performed. But *Livy* inſerts a clauſe, whereby he was expreſly forbidden to make any War abroad, without leave of the *Romans*. It is moſt likely, that all the *Roman* Confederates were included in this Peace: whereby every one of the Neighbours round about *Macedon*, entring ſhortly into League with *Rome*, did ſo bind the Kings hands, that he could no more make War abroad, than if he had been reſtrained by plain Covenant. And thus might that ſeem an Article of the Peace, which never was agreed upon, but only was inferred by conſequence. Now if the *Romans* would urge this point further, and ſay, that the *Macedonian* might not bear Defenſive Arms, without their permiſſion; then had *Perſeus* very juſt reaſon to find himſelf agrieved. For ſince they had allowed his Father, without controll, to make War in *Thrace*, (whilſt they themſelves were unacquainted with the *Thracians*) elſewhere abroad, though he asked not their licence: why they ſhould now interpret the bargain after another faſhion? Was it now become unlawful for him to chaſtiſe his own Rebels? or to repay an *Illyrian* that invaded *Macedon*? By ſuch allegations he maintained the right of his cauſe in very mild ſort; when it was too late. At the preſent, by diſclaiming the League as unjuſt, he miniſtred occaſion unto the Embaſſadors, to give him defiance. Having heard the worſt of their meſſage, he commanded them to be gone out of his Kingdom in three days. But either he ſhould have been leſs vehement, or more conſtant in his reſolution. For if his heart could ſerve him to undertake the War, he ſhould courageouſly have managed it, and have fallen to work immediately, whilſt the Enemy was unprepared; not have loſt the opportunity, as now and often he did, in hope of obtaining a worſe Peace than the former.

Pol. Leg. 9.

Liv. lib. 33

SECT. VI.

The Romans *ſolicite the* Greeks *to joyn with them in the War againſt* Perſeus. *How the* Greeks *ſtood affected in that War. The timerouſneſs of* Perſeus. Martius *a* Roman *Embaſſador deludes him with hope of peace. His forces. He takes the Field, and wins part of* Theſſaly. *The Forces of* Licinius *the* Roman *Conſul: and what Aſſiſtants the* Romans *had in this War. Of* Tempe *in* Theſſaly; *and what advantages the* Macedonian *had, or might have had; but loſt by his fear.* Perſeus *braves the* Romans, *fights with them, knows not how to uſe his Victory; ſues for Peace, and is denied it by the Vanquiſhed.* Perſeus *having the worſe in a Skirmiſh, forſakes all the Country lying about* Tempe. *The* Bœotians *rebel againſt the* Romans, *and are rigorouſly puniſhed. The* Roman *Commanders unfortunate in the War againſt* Perſeus. *They vex the* Greeks *their Friends; for whoſe eaſe*

eaſe the Senate makes Proviſion, having heard their Complaints. The flattering Alabanders.

SO long had the *Romans* been ſeeking occaſion to take in hand this *Macedonian* War, that well they might have been ready for it, when it came; and not (as they were) behind hand in Proviſions. But it was on a ſudden that they met with a confluence of good pretences to make the War: whereof, if no one alone had weight enough, yet all of them together ſeemed more than ſufficient. This opportunity of making their Cauſe honeſt in common opinion, was not to be neglected: though otherwiſe they were unprepared for the Action. Wherefore knowing, or having reaſon to believe, that their own ſtrengths were ſuch as would prevail in the end; they haſtily embraced the fair occaſion of beginning, and referred other cares to the diligence of time. Neither was this their unreadineſs a ſmall help, towards examining the *Greeks* and others; who muſt afterwards dearly pay for any backwardneſs found in their good will. There was not indeed any cauſe to fear, that all of the *Greeks*, or other Eaſtern People ſhould conſpire together, and take part with the *Macedonian*: ſuch was the diſſention between the ſeveral Eſtates; howſoever the generality of them were inclin'd the ſame way. Nevertheleſs, Embaſſadors were ſent to deal with them all; and to crave their help againſt *Perſeus*, or rather to demand it, in no leſs ample manner, than heretofore they had yielded it againſt *Philip* and *Antiochus*, in Wars pretending the Liberty of *Greece*. The Embaſſadors uſed as gentle words for faſhion ſake, as if they had ſtood in doubt that their requeſt might happen to be denied. But the *Greeks* were now well acquainted with ſuch *Roman* courteſie: and underſtood that not only ſuch as made refuſal, but even they who might ſeem to have granted half unwillingly, were like to hear other manner of words, when once this buſineſs was ended. Wherefore none of them were ſcrupulous in promiſing the beſt of their help to the *Romans*: the * *Achæans* and *Rhodians*, which were chief among them, being rather doubtful, even when they had done their beſt, leſt it ſhould be ill taken, as if they had halted in ſome part of their duty. It is ſtrange that men could be ſo earneſt to ſet up the ſide, whereof they gladly would have ſeen the ruine. The vulgar ſort was every where addicted to *Perſeus*; of the Nobles and Rulers, if ſome were vehemently *Roman*, they wanted not oppoſers, that were wholly *Macedonian*; yea, the wiſeſt, and moſt honeſt, who regarded only the benefit of their Country, wiſhed better to *Perſeus* than to the *Romans*. And of this number *Polybius* the chief of Hiſtorians was one: who though He † judged the Victory of *Perſeus* like to prove hurtful unto *Greece*, yet wiſhed he the *Romans* ill to thrive, that ſo the *Greeks* might recover perfect Liberty: for his endeavours in which courſe, he was at length tyrannically handled, as ſhall be ſhewed hereafter. This conſidered, it appears that an extraordinary fear, and not only reverence of the Imperial City, made the *Achæans*, and other Eſtates of *Greece*, thus conformable to the *Romans*. The occaſion of this their fear may be juſtly imputed unto the timorous demeanour of *Perſeus* himſelf. He had undertaken a War, whereof the benefit ſhould redound, not only to his own Kingdom, but unto all that were oppreſſed by the *Romans*. Yet no ſooner were ſome few Companies brought over-ſea, to make a countenance of meaning ſomewhat againſt him, than he began to ſpeak the Enemy fair, and ſue for Peace at *Rome*. Since therefore it was known, that every ſmall thing would ſerve to terrifie him: and conſequently, that it ſhould at all times be in the *Romans* Power, by giving him any tollerable conditions of Peace, to take revenge at leiſure upon thoſe which had aſſiſted him: little cauſe was there why any ſhould adventure to partake with him. He made indeed a great noiſe; leading about his Army; taking by force or compoſition ſome few Towns, and ſoliciting all to joyn with him. But wiſe men could not be ſo beguiled. For at the ſame time, he ſought all means of pacification: and to that end, made humble ſuit unto the *Roman* Embaſſadors. *Q. Martius*, the chief of thoſe Embaſſadors, and a man of more fineneſs in cunning than was uſual among the *Romans*, made ſhew of inclination to the Kings deſire; and gave out ſuch comfortable words, that the King entreated and obtained a meeting at the River *Peneus*. There did *Martius* very gently rebuke the King, and charge him with thoſe crimes that are before mentioned. Whereto though *Perſeus* made none other anſwer, than the ſame which they could have made for him; yet the Embaſſadors, and eſpecially *Martius*, took it in good part, as therewith ſatisfied: and adviſed him to give the like ſatisfaction to the Senate. That this might conveniently be done, a Truce was agreed upon. Thus had *Martius* his deſire; which was to make the King loſe time. For *Perſeus* had all things then in a readineſs, and might have done much, e're the *Roman* Army could be in *Greece*. But by the interpoſition of this Truce, he no way increaſed his Forces; he ſuffered a moſt convenient ſeaſon of winning upon the Enemy, to ſlip away; and obtained in recompence nothing elſe, than leiſure and vain hope. Yet was he pleaſed herewith: as it had been with ſome Victory: publiſhing a Copy of the Diſputation between him and the *Romans*, whereby he gave men to underſtand how much he had the better, and what great hope there was of Peace. He ſent Embaſſadors alſo to the *Rhodians*, of whoſe good will to him he was beſt perſwaded; not only to let them know how much he was ſuperiour in cauſe; but to intreat them, that they would take upon them, as Moderators, to compound the differences between him and the *Romans*, if perhaps notwithſtanding the goodneſs of his cauſe, he ſhould be denied Peace. Theſe were poor helps. For hereby it appeared, that his late ſtanding upon point of Honour, was no better than meer vanity; his own ſafety being the utmoſt of his ambition. This his fearfulneſs might ſeem excuſable, and the blame thereof to appertain unto the *Greeks*; who deceived his expectation, by being wanting to him in a time of neceſſity, that was partly their own: had it not been his Office, who took upon him as their Champion, to give ſuch a manly beginning to the War, as might encourage all others to follow him. But his timorous quality being found, men grew daily more and more averſe from him; and were careful not to put their Sholders to a falling Wall. The *Rhodians*, among whom he had many ſtout Partizans, deſired him not to crave any thing at their hands, in which they might ſeem to do againſt the good liking of the *Romans*. The *Bœotians* alſo, who had entred of late into a ſtrict ſociety with the *Macedonian*; renounced it now, and made the like with the *Romans*:

* *Pol. Leg.* 72, 73, & 80.

† *Pol. Leg.* 77.

Romans: to whom further, in a ſort, they yielded themſelves as Vaſſals. Neither was *Martius* contented to accept their ſubmiſſion under a general form; but cauſed their ſeveral Towns to make covenant apart, each for it ſelf; to the end, that being thus diſtracted into many little Common-weals, they might not (were they never ſo deſirous to rebel) have ſuch force to do hurt, as when they agreed, and were incorporated into one, under the City of *Thebes*: This work, of ſeparating the *Bœotians* from *Thebes* their Head, was more than *Ageſilaus* could effect, or *Epaminondas* would ſuffer, then when all *Greece* followed the *Lacedæmonians*. So far more available to *Thebes*, being deſtitute of help from abroad, was the virtue of *Epaminondas*, and a few brave Citizens, than was the ſociety with King *Perſeus*, againſt a number not ſo great as followed the *Lacedæmonians*.

Martius brought this to effect, whilſt the King ſat ſtill, as being bound by the Truce: and having done this, he turned to the City; where, vaunting what he had wrought by his craft, he was commended, and (though ſome reproved it as diſhoneſt) employed again by the Senate; with commiſſion to deal as he ſhould think expedient. Touching the Embaſſadors which *Perſeus* had ſent; audience was given to them, for that they ſhould not plainly ſee how their Maſter was deluded; but neither excuſe nor intreaty would ſerve their turn: the Senate being reſolved before-hand what to do. It was enough that they were admitted into the City, and had thirty days reſpite allowed them to depart out of *Italy*: whereas they, who came laſt on the ſame errand, did their meſſage without the Walls, in the Temple of *Bellona* (the uſual place of giving audience to open Enemies, or to ſuch Commanders as might not, by reaſon of ſome Cuſtom, enter the City) and had only the ſhort warning of Eleven days, to be gone out of *Italy*. Neither did this poor courteſie ſerve alone to hide the craft of *Marcius*, as if he had meant none other then good earneſt: but it was a likely mean both to keep a long while from *Perſeus* the knowledge of his buſineſs, and to ſtagger his reſolution, when he ſhould need it moſt firm.

And accordingly it fell out. For *Licinius* the *Roman* Conſul was at *Apollonia*, in a manner as ſoon as the *Macedonian* Embaſſadors were with their King at *Pella*. Which though it were enough to have rouzed *Perſeus*, and have made him lay aſide all Cowardly hope of getting Pardon, yet was he content to deliberate a while, Whether it were not better to offer himſelf Tributary to the *Romans*, and to redeem their good will with ſome part of his Kingdom, that ſo he might enjoy the reſt; than to put all at once to hazard. But finally, the ſtouteſt counſel prevailed; which alſo was the wiſeſt, and ſo would have proved, had it been ſtoutly and wiſely followed. He now began, as if the War had not begun until now, to do what ſhould have been done long afore. He cauſed all his Forces to be drawn together; and appointed their Randezvouz at *Citium*, a Town in *Macedon*. All being in readineſs, he did Royal Sacrifice, with an hundred Beaſts, to I know not what *Minerva*, that was peculiarly honoured in his Country: and then with all his Courtiers, and thoſe of his Guard, ſet forward to *Citium*. His Army he found conſiſting of nine and thirty thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe, whereof about twelve thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe, were ſtrangers, of ſundry Nations, moſt part *Thracians*; the reſt of his own *Macedonians*. Theſe he animated with lively ſpeeches; laying before them the glory of their Anceſtors, the inſolency of the *Romans*, the goodneſs of his Cauſe, the greatneſs of his Proviſions, and the many advantages which they had of the Enemy, eſpecially in numbers. They anſwered him chearfully, with loud acclamations, and bade him be of good courage. From all Cities of *Macedon* there came likewiſe Meſſengers, offering to help him with Money and Victuals, according to their ſeveral Abilities. He gave them thanks: but anſwered, That his own proviſions would abundantly ſuffice, willing them only to furniſh him with Carts, for his Engines and Munition.

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eaſe the Senate makes Proviſion, having heard their Complaints. The flattering Alabanders.

SO long had the *Romans* been ſeeking occaſion to take in hand this *Macedonian* War, that well they might have been ready for it, when it came; and not (as they were) behind hand in Proviſions. But it was on a ſudden that they met with a confluence of good pretences to make the War: whereof, if no one alone had weight enough, yet all of them together ſeemed more than ſufficient. This opportunity of making their Cauſe honeſt in common opinion, was not to be neglected: though otherwiſe they were unprepared for the Action. Wherefore knowing, or having reaſon to believe, that their own ſtrengths were ſuch as would prevail in the end; they haſtily embraced the fair occaſion of beginning, and referred other cares to the diligence of time. Neither was this their unreadineſs a ſmall help, towards examining the *Greeks* and others; who muſt afterwards dearly pay for any backwardneſs found in their good will. There was not indeed any cauſe to fear, that all of the *Creeks*, or other Eaſtern People ſhould conſpire together, and take part with the *Macedonian*: ſuch was the diſſention between the ſeveral Eſtates; howſoever the generality of them were inclin'd the ſame way. Nevertheleſs, Embaſſadors were ſent to deal with them all; and to crave their help againſt *Perſeus*, or rather to demand it, in no leſs ample manner, than heretofore they had yielded it againſt *Philip* and *Antiochus*, in Wars pretending the Liberty of *Greece*. The Embaſſadors uſed as gentle words for faſhion ſake, as if they had ſtood in doubt that their requeſt might happen to be denied. But the *Greeks* were now well acquainted with ſuch *Roman* courteſie: and underſtood that not only ſuch as made refuſal, but even they who might ſeem to have granted half unwillingly, were like to hear other manner of words, when once this buſineſs was ended. Wherefore none of them were ſcrupulous in promiſing the beſt of their help to the *Romans*: the * *Achæans* and *Rhodians*, which were chief among them, being rather doubtful, even when they had done their beſt, leſt it ſhould be ill taken, as if they had halted in ſome part of their duty. It is ſtrange that men could be ſo earneſt to ſet up the ſide, whereof they gladly would have ſeen the ruine. The vulgar ſort was every where addicted to *Perſeus*; of the Nobles and Rulers, if ſome were vehemently *Roman*, they wanted not oppoſers, that were wholly *Macedonian*; yea, the wiſeſt, and moſt honeſt, who regarded only the benefit of their Country, wiſhed better to *Perſeus* than to the *Romans*. And of this number *Polybius* the chief of Hiſtorians was one: who though He † judged the Victory of *Perſeus* like to prove hurtful unto *Greece*, yet wiſhed he the *Romans* ill to thrive, that ſo the *Greeks* might recover perfect Liberty: for his endeavours in which courſe, he was at length tyrannically handled, as ſhall be ſhewed hereafter. This conſidered, it appears that an extraordinary fear, and not only reverence of the Imperial City, made the *Achæans*, and other Eſtates of *Greece*, thus conformable to the *Romans*. The occaſion of this their fear may be juſtly imputed unto the timorous demeanour of *Perſeus* himſelf. He had undertaken a War, whereof the benefit ſhould redound, not only to his own Kingdom, but unto all that were oppreſſed by the *Romans*. Yet no ſooner were ſome few Companies brought over-ſea, to make a countenance of meaning ſomewhat againſt him, than he began to ſpeak the Enemy fair, and ſue for Peace at *Rome*. Since therefore it was known, that every ſmall thing would ſerve to terrifie him: and conſequently, that it ſhould at all times be in the *Romans* Power, by giving him any tollerable conditions of Peace, to take revenge at leiſure upon thoſe which had aſſiſted him: little cauſe was there why any ſhould adventure to partake with him. He made indeed a great noiſe; leading about his Army; taking by force or compoſition ſome few Towns, and ſolliciting all to joyn with him. But wiſe men could not be ſo beguiled. For at the ſame time, he ſought all means of pacification: and to that end, made humble ſuit unto the *Roman* Embaſſadors. *Q. Martius*, the chief of thoſe Embaſſadors, and a man of more fineneſs in cunning than was uſual among the *Romans*, made ſhew of inclination to the Kings deſire; and gave out ſuch comfortable words, that the King entreated and obtained a meeting at the River *Peneus*. There did *Martius* very gently rebuke the King, and charge him with thoſe crimes that are before mentioned. Whereto though *Perſeus* made none other anſwer, than the ſame which they could have made for him; yet the Embaſſadors, and eſpecially *Martius*, took it in good part, as therewith ſatisfied: and adviſed him to give the like ſatisfaction to the Senate. That this might conveniently be done, a Truce was agreed upon. Thus had *Martius* his deſire; which was to make the King loſe time. For *Perſeus* had all things then in a readineſs, and might have done much, e're the *Roman* Army could be in *Greece*. But by the interpoſition of this Truce, he no way increaſed his Forces; he ſuffered a moſt convenient ſeaſon of winning upon the Enemy, to ſlip away; and obtained in recompence nothing elſe, than leiſure and vain hope. Yet was he pleaſed herewith: as it had been with ſome Victory: publiſhing a Copy of the Diſputation between him and the *Romans*, whereby he gave men to underſtand how much he had the better, and what great hope there was of Peace. He ſent Embaſſadors alſo to the *Rhodians*, of whoſe good will to him he was beſt perſwaded; not only to let them know how much he was ſuperiour in cauſe; but to intreat them, that they would take upon them, as Moderators, to compound the differences between him and the *Romans*, if perhaps notwithſtanding the goodneſs of his cauſe, he ſhould be denied Peace. Theſe were poor helps. For hereby it appeared, that his late ſtanding upon point of Honour, was no better than meer vanity; his own ſafety being the utmoſt of his ambition. This his fearfulneſs might ſeem excuſable, and the blame thereof to appertain unto the *Greeks*; who deceived his expectation, by being wanting to him in a time of neceſſity, that was partly their own: had it not been his Office, who took upon him as their Champion, to give ſuch a manly beginning to the War, as might encourage all others to follow him. But his timorous quality being found, men grew daily more and more averſe from him; and were careful not to put their Sholders to a falling Wall. The *Rhodians*, among whom he had many ſtout Partizans, deſired him not to crave any thing at their hands, in which they might ſeem to do againſt the good liking of the *Romans*. The *Bœotians* alſo, who had entred of late into a ſtrict ſociety with the *Macedonian*; renounced it now, and made the like with the *Romans*:

* *Pol. Leg.* 72, 73, & 80.

† *Pol. Leg.* 77.

Romans: to whom further, in a ſort, they yielded themſelves as Vaſſals. Neither was *Martius* contented to accept their ſubmiſſion under a general form; but cauſed their ſeveral Towns to make covenant apart, each for it ſelf; to the end, that being thus diſtracted into many little Commonweals, they might not (were they never ſo deſirous to rebel) have ſuch force to do hurt, as when they agreed, and were incorporated into one, under the City of *Thebes*: This work, of ſeparating the *Bœotians* from *Thebes* their Head, was more than *Ageſilaus* could effect, or *Epaminondas* would ſuffer, then when all *Greece* followed the *Lacedæmonians*. So far more available to *Thebes*, being deſtitute of help from abroad, was the virtue of *Epaminondas*, and a few brave Citizens, than was the ſociety with King *Perſeus*, againſt a number not ſo great as followed the *Lacedæmonians*.

Martius brought this to effect, whilſt the King ſat ſtill, as being bound by the Truce: and having done this, he turned to the City; where, vaunting what he had wrought by his craft, he was commended, and (though ſome reproved it as diſhoneſt) employed again by the Senate; with commiſſion to deal as he ſhould think expedient. Touching the Embaſſadors which *Perſeus* had ſent; audience was given to them, for that they ſhould not plainly ſee how their Maſter was deluded; but neither excuſe nor intreaty would ſerve their turn: the Senate being reſolved before-hand what to do. It was enough that they were admitted into the City, and had thirty days reſpite allowed them to depart out of *Italy*: whereas they, who came laſt on the ſame errand, did their meſſage without the Walls, in the Temple of *Bellona* (the uſual place of giving audience to open Enemies, or to ſuch Commanders as might not, by reaſon of ſome Cuſtom, enter the City) and had only the ſhort warning of Eleven days, to be gone out of *Italy*. Neither did this poor courteſie ſerve alone to hide the craft of *Marcius*, as if he had meant none other then good earneſt: but it was a likely mean both to keep a long while from *Perſeus* the knowledge of his buſineſs, and to ſtagger his reſolution, when he ſhould need it moſt firm.

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Romans, their good friend *Gentius* had ſent thither this Fleet. But whatſoever *Gentius* thought in the beginning; he fooliſhly loſt both his Kingdom and himſelf, in the end of this War; by offering, rather than giving his help to *Perſeus*.

With none other company than what he brought over the Sea, *Licinius* came into *Theſſaly*; ſo tyred with a painful Journey, through the Mountainous Country of *Athamania*, which ſtood in his way from *Epirus*; that if *Perſeus* had been ready, attending his deſcent into the Plains, the *Romans* muſt needs have taken a great overthrow. He refreſhed himſelf and his wearied Army, by the River *Peneus*; where he encamped, attending his Auxiliaries, that came in as faſt as they could. It was not any ſlender help, that could enable him to deal with *Perſeus*. Therefore he reſolved to abide where he then was, and keep his Trenches, until his numbers were ſufficiently increaſed: contenting himſelf in the mean while, to have gotten quiet entrance into the Country. The Land of *Theſſaly*, in which theſe two Armies lay, was better affected to the *Romans*, than any part of *Greece* beſides: as having been freed by them from a more heavy yoke of bondage to the *Macedonian*, when there was little hope or expectation of ſuch a benefit. It was generally rich, fruitful, and abounding in all things needful to mans life. In the midſt of it, but ſomewhat more to the Eaſt, was that beautiful Valley of *Tempe*, ſo exceedingly full of all delights, that the name was often uſed at large to ſignifie the moſt pleaſant and goodly places. This Valley of it ſelf was not great; but adding to it thoſe huge Mountains *Oſſa* and *Olympus* (famous in Poeſie) with their Spurs or Branches, by which it was on all ſides encloſed; it occupied the better part of *Theſſaly*. And this way were the *Romans* to enter into *Macedon*; unleſs they would make an hungry Journey thorow the Country of the *Daſſaretians*, as in the former War with *Philip*, they had long, in vain, attempted to do. *Perſeus* therefore had no ſmall advantage, by being Maſter of the Straights leading unto *Tempe*: though far greater he might have had, if by miſ-ſpending of time he had not loſt it. For if in defending the ragged paſſages of theſe Mountains, he were able to put the *Romans* often to the worſe; yea, to win upon them (for a while) every year more than other, both in ſtrength and reputation: queſtionleſs he might have done far greater things, had he ſeized upon the Straights of *Aous*, which his Father once kept, and defended all the Country behind the Mountains of *Pindus*. Surely, not without extreme difficulty, muſt the *Romans* have either travelled by Land, with all their Carriages and Impediments, through places wherein was no relief to be found; or elſe have committed their Armies, and all things thereto needful, unto the mercy of the Seas that were very dangerous; if they would have ſought other way into *Macedon*, than through the heart of *Greece*: upon neither of which courſes they once deviſed, notwithſtanding any trouble which they found in this preſent War. It may perhaps be ſaid, that the *Greeks*, and others, whom the King muſt have left on his back, would have made him unable to defend any places too far from his own home. But they were all, excepting the *Theſſalians*, better affected now to him, than they had been to his Father in the former War. The *Ætolians*, upon whom the *Athamanians* depended, grew into ſuſpicion with the *Romans* (as we ſhall find anon) even as ſoon as they met with *Perſeus*. The *Bœotians*, how politickly ſoever *Martius* had wrought with them, adventured themſelves deſperately in the *Macedonian* quarrel: what would they have done, if he at firſt had done his beſt? The *Rhodians*, *Illyrians*, yea, and *Eumenes* himſelf, after a while began to waver, when they ſaw things go better with *Perſeus*, than they had expected. So that if inſtead of diſcouraging his Friends, by ſuing baſely for Peace; he had raiſed their hopes, by any brave performance in the beginning; and increaſed the number of his well-willers; yea, and bought down with money (as he might have done) ſome of his Enemies, and among them *Eumenes*, who offered for good recompence, to forget his broken head: then might the *Romans* perhaps have been compelled to forſake their imperious patronage over *Greece*; and to render the Liberty by them given, entire; which otherwiſe was but imaginary. Such benefit of this War, ſince it was hoped for afterwards, might with greater reaſon have been expected at firſt, from greater advantages. But as a fearful company running from their Enemies, till ſome River ſtay their flight; are there compelled by meer deſperation to do ſuch acts, as done, while the battle laſted, would have won the Victory: ſo fell it out with *Perſeus*. In ſeeking to avoid that danger of that War, whereof he ſhould have ſought the honour; he left his Friends that would have ſtood by him, and gave them cauſe to provide for their own ſafety: yet being overtaken by neceſſity, he choſe rather to ſet his back to the Mountains of *Tempe*, and defend himſelf with his proper Forces; than to be driven into ſuch miſery, as was inevitable, if he have a little further ground. What was performed by him or the *Romans*, all the while that he kept his footing in *Theſſaly*, it is hard to ſhew particularly, for that the Hiſtory of thoſe things is much periſhed. Wherefore we muſt be contented with the ſum.

The Conſul having no deſire to fight, until ſuch time as all his Forces were arrived; kept within his Trenches, and lay ſtill encamped by the River of *Peneus*, about three miles from *Lariſſa*. That which perſwaded the Conſul to protract the time, did contrariwiſe incite the King, to put the matter unto a haſty trial. Wherefore he invited the *Romans* into the Field; by waſting the Land of the *Pheræans* their Confederates. Finding them patient of this indignity; he grew bold to adventure even unto their Trenches: out of which, if they iſſued, it was likely that his advantage in Horſe would make the Victory his own. At his coming they were troubled; for that it was ſudden: yet no way terrified; as knowing themſelves to be ſafely lodged. They ſent out a few of King *Eumenes* his Horſe, and with them ſome light-armed Foot, to entertain Skirmiſh. The Captain, and ſome other of theſe were ſlain: but no matter of importance done; for that neither *Licinius* nor *Eumenes*, found it reaſonable to hazard battle. Thus, day after day, a while together, *Perſeus* continued offering battle: which they ſtill refuſed. Hereby his boldneſs much increaſed; and much more his reputation: to the grief of thoſe, who being ſo far come to make a Conqueſt, could ill digeſt the ſhame that fell upon them by their enduring theſe Bravadoes. The Town of *Sycurium*, where *Perſeus* then lay, was twelve miles from the *Romans*: neither was there any convenient watering in that long march, which uſed to take up four hours of the morning, but he was fain to bring water along with him in Carts, that his men might not be both weary and

and thirsty when they came to fight. For remedy of these inconveniencies, he found out a Lodging seven miles nearer to the Enemy: whom he visited the next day by the Sun-rising. His coming at such an unusual hour, filled the Camp with Tumult: insomuch as though he brought with him only his Horse and light Armature, that were unfit to assail the Trenches, yet the Consul thought it necessary, and resolved to give check to his pride. Wherefore he sent forth his Brother *C. Licinius*, King *Eumenes*, *Attalus*, and many brave Captains, with all his power of Horse, his Velites, and all the rest of his light Armature to try their fortune: he himself remaining in the Camp, with his Legions in readiness. The honour of this morning, was the *Macedonian* Kings; for he obtained the Victory in a manner intire (though the *Thessalians* made a good retreit) with little loss of his own. But he discovered his weakness e're night, by hearkening, as Princes commonly do, to counsel given by one of his own temper. For whereas the *Romans* were in great fear, lest he should assault their Camp; and to that purpose, upon the first news of his success, his Phalanx was brought unto him by the Captains, though unsent for: he nevertheless took it for sound advice, which indeed was timorous and base, To work warily, and moderate his Victory; by which means it was said, That either he should get honest conditions of Peace, or at leastwise many Companions of his fortune. Certainly it was like that his good fortune would exalt the Hope and Courage of his Friends. Yet, had it been greater, and had he won the *Roman* Camp, his Friends would have been the more, and the bolder. But over-great was his folly, in hoping then for Peace: And in suing for it, even when he had the Victory; what else did he, than proclaim unto all which would become his patakers, That neither good nor bad fortune should keep him from yielding to the *Romans*, whensoever they would be pleased to accept him? At this time the joy of his Victory would admit none of the Considerations. He had slain of the *Roman* Horse two hundred, and taken of them Prisoners the like number. Of their Foot he had slain about two thousand: losing of his own no more than twenty Horse, and forty Foot. The *Roman* Camp, after this disaster, was full of heavines and fear: it being much doubted that the Enemy would set upon it. *Eumenes* gave counsel to dislodge by night, and remove to a surer place beyond the River *Peneus*. The Consul, though ashamed to profess, by so doing, in what fear he stood; yet thought it better to acknowledge the Loss past, than by standing on proud terms, to draw upon himself a greater Calamity. So he passed the River in the dead of the Night, and encamped more strongly on the further side. The *Ætolians* were sorely blamed for this loss: as if rather a traiterous meaning, than any true fear, had occasioned their flight, wherein the rest of the *Greeks* followed them. Five of them that were men of especial mark, had been observed to be the first which turned their backs: an observation likely to cost them dear, at a time of better leisure. As for the *Thessalians*, their virtue was honoured with reward: so as the *Greeks* might learn by Examples of either kind, that if they would shun indignation, or incur favour, then must they adventure no less for their Lords the *Romans*, than gladly they would do for their own Liberty. Thus fared it with the Consul and his Army. *Perseus* came the next day to correct the former days errour; which how great it was, they not until then found. The *Romans* were gotten into a place of safety; whither they could never have attained, if the King had either pressed his Victory, or given better heed to them that night: his light Armature being alone sufficient to have routed them whilst they were conveying to themselves to the other side of *Peneus*. But it was vain to tell what might have been done, since there was no remedy. The *Romans* were beaten, even the flower of their City, The Gentlemen of *Rome*; out of whom were chosen their Senators, and consequently the Generals themselves, Prætors, Consuls and all that bore Office or Command among them; yea, they were beaten so shamefully, that they stole away by night, and suffered him to gather up the spoils of them without resistance, as yielding themselves overcome. With such brave words did the King set out the Glory of his Action; dividing the spoils among his followers. But there was much wanting within him, to have made his honour sound. He came nearer to the *Romans*, and encamped at *Mopselus*, a place in a mid-way between *Tempe* and *Larissa*: as if it were his meaning to press them somewhat harder. Nevertheless he was easily perswaded to use the occasion; which he seemed to have, of obtaining Peace. Therefore he sent unto the Consul, and offered to yield unto the same Conditions wherein his Father had been bound to the *Romans*; if the War might so take end. It were needless here again to shew the folly of this his course. Towards the accomplishment of this desired Peace, there was in the Consul no greater power than to grant a Truce, whilst Embassadors might go to *Rome*: it resting in the Senate and People to approve the conditions, and ratifie the League. And of such a Truce granted by *Martius*, he had lately found no small discommodity redounding. But *Licinius* dealt plainly, and returned answer, That other hope of Peace there was none; save that *Perseus* would yield both his Kingdom and Person, simply and absolutely, to discretion of the Senate. A manly part it was of *Licinius* to be so resolute in Adversity. On the other side, it argued a very faint heart in *Perseus*, that having receiv'd an answer so peremptory he still persisted, making vain offers of greater tribute. Finding that the Peace which he so much desired, could not be purchased with mony, the King withdrew himself back to *Sycurium*. There he lay hearkening what the Enemy did; whose Forces were well repaired by the coming of *Misagenes* the Son of *Masanissa*, with the aid before mentioned. This distance between the King and them, caused the *Romans* to wax the more bold in making their Harvest: about which business they ranged over all the Fields. Their careless demeanour gave him hope to do some notable exploit: which he attempted, both upon their Camp, and upon those that were abroad. The Camp he thought to have fired on the sudden: but the alarm being taken in good season, he failed in the enterprise. As for the Forragers; he had a good hand upon them, if he could have withdrawn it, and given over in time. But whilst he strove to force a Guard, he was visited by the Consul; by whom either in a Skirmish of Horse, or (for the report is divers) in a great Battle, he was overcome. This misadventure, whether great or small, caused *Perseus*, after a few days, to fall back into *Ma-*

cedon; as being naturally given to fear danger, even where none was; whereby what loss he felt, will appear hereafter. He left all behind him, save only *Tempe*, weakly guarded: and consequently an easie prey to the *Romans*.

After the Kings departure, *Licinius* went straight unto *Connus*; hoping to have taken it, and so to have gotten entrance into *Tempe*. But finding the work too hard, he returned back unto the *Perræbians* and others; from whom he won some Towns, and among the rest, *Larissa*. There were sundry Towns thereabout, bearing the same name of *Larissa*: so that this which the Consul took, may seem not to have belonged unto the *Thessalians*; unless, perhaps, after his Victory, *Perseus* did greater acts than we find recorded, and got some part of *Thessaly*.

Of matters happening in *Greece* at this time, it is hard to give a precise account; for that the Histories of them are greatly defective. One may think it strange, that the *Bœotians*, whom a *Roman* Embassador could terrifie, and bring altogether to his own will, should not be afraid of a *Roman* Army, then on foot in *Greece*, and a Navy on their Coast. But more strange it is, that the *Thebans*, from whom their dependants were taken by the Art of *Martius*, were more true to *Rome*, than other petty Towns, which by that same distraction of the *Bœotians*, became within themselves more absolute, than formerly they had been. The causes hereof were to have been sought among the changes happening in their variable factions: whereof the knowledge is now lost. Some of them rebelled, and were throughly punished by *Lucretius* the *Roman* Admiral: who got so much by spoiling them, that he would have brought others to rebell in like sort, if by extream oppression he could have driven them so far. Neither was *Licinius* the Consul undiligent in the same kind. What his doings were, after such time as he was at leisure from *Perseus*, I find no where mentioned. Only this is said in general; That in the War which he made, he cruelly and covetously demeaned himself.

After the same fashion dealt they, that commanded in the year following; *Hostilius* the Consul, and *Hortensius* the Admiral, or Prætor of the Fleet. *Hostilius* shewed more of his industry, in picking quarrels with the Confederates of *Rome*, than in prosecuting the War against the *Macedonian*. For concerning the *Roman* War upon his Kingdom, after that the Consul had sought passage in vain over certain Mountains, *Perseus* seemed, in a manner, free from it. He was troubled indeed on that side which looked towards *Illyria*, by *Ap. Claudius*, whom the Consul sent thither with an Army of four Thousand, and who, by Levies made upon the Confederates, doubled this his Army. But *Claudius* thinking to have taken *Uscana*, a border Town of *Illyria*, by Treason, came thither in such careless order, that the Inhabitants which had made shew of Treason, with purpose only to train him into danger; sallied forth upon him, overthrew him, and chased him so far, that hardly he escaped with the fourth part of his company. Yet this Town of *Uscana*, shortly after became *Roman*: which howsoever it happened, *Perseus* very soon recovered it, and many other places therewithall: *Cotys* a *Thracian* King, securing him on the one side of *Macedon*; and *Cephalus* an *Epirot*, revolted from the *Romans*, on the other. *Perseus* likewise made a painful Journey into *Ætolia*; where he was promised to be admitted into *Stratus*, that was the strongest City in that Region. Of this hope though he were disappointed by those of the *Romans* faction, yet in his return home, he took in *Aperantia*; and shortly after heard good news, that *Ap. Claudius* was again throughly beaten by *Clevas*, one of his Lieutenants. Such success had the *Macedonian* War under *Hostilius*. The same Consul offended much the *Greeks*, by the strict inquisition which his Embassadors made into mens affection towards *Rome*. For these Embassadors travelling thorow all the Cities of *Peloponnesus*, gave out speeches tending to shew, That they liked no better of those who sought not by might and main to advance their business, than of those which were of the *Macedonian* Faction. Their meaning was, to have accused by name, in the Parliament of *Achaia*, *Lycortas* that worthy Commander, who nobly followed the steps of *Philopœmen*; and together with him, his Son *Polybius*; who soon after was General of the *Achæan* Horse; but more notable by that excellent History which he wrote, than by his great employments, which he well and honourably discharged. The sum of the accusation should have been; That these were not hearty Friends unto the *Romans*, but such as abstained from raising troubles, more for lack of opportunity, than for any love to the common quiet. But since no colour of truth could be found, that might give countenance to such a tale; it was thought better, for the present, to let it alone, and give gentle words, as if all were well. In like manner dealt they among the *Ætolians*: They demanded Hostages; and found some in the Councel that approved the motion: as also among the *Acarnanians*, there were that intreated to have *Roman* Garrisons bestowed in their Towns. But neither the one nor the other of these propositions took effect. They of the *Roman* Faction, accused not only such as were inclinable to the *Macedonian*, but also the good Patriots; making it no less than a matter of Treason, to be a *Grecian* in *Greece*. On the contrary side, there wanted not some, who roundly told these pick-thanks of their base flattery, rating them openly, in such sort, that one of them hardly escaped being stoned, even in the presence of the Embassadors. Thus was all full of accusations, and excuses: among which the Embassadors carried themselves, as men that could believe none ill: though it were well enough known what they thought. The best was, that an order from the Senate was brought into *Greece*, and published to this effect: That it should be free for all men, to refuse obedience to any *Roman* Magistrate, imposing any burden for the present War, unless it were such, as the Senate had likewise thought meet. Of this Decree the whole Country was glad: for it was, or seemed, a good remedy of many inconveniencies. But they that standing on priviledges hereof, refused to fulfill every commandment, were numbred among the Patriots; which in the end of this War proved little better, if not worse, than to have been Traitors. The Senate was driven to set down this order, by reason of many and vehement complaints brought to *Rome*, concerning the wrongs done by *Roman* Magistrates, and especially by the Admirals, *Lucretius* and *Hortensius*. *Lucretius* was condemned in a great sum of Money, for the wrongs by him done: highly to the commendation of the *Romans*, in that they loved not to have their Subjects

Polyb. Leg. 74.

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oppreſſed. *Hortenſius* being ſtill in Office, had warning to amend.

Among the great number of Embaſſages that came to *Rome* about this time, either to ſeek redreſs of injuries, or to offer their ſervices: it is note-worthy, that from *Alabanda*, a Town of the leſſer *Aſia*, there was preſented unto the Senate, and well accepted, a moſt baſe piece of flattery. Theſe *Alabanders* brought three hundred Horſemens Targets, and a Crown of Gold, to beſtow upon *Jupiter* in the Capitol. But having a deſire to gratifie the *Romans* with ſome exquiſite token of their dutiful obedience, wherein they would be ſingular, and being not able to reach unto any great performance: they built a Temple unto the Town *Rome*, and appointed anniverſary Games to be celebrated among them, in honour of that *goddeſs*. Now who can wonder at the arrogant folly of *Alexander*, *Antigonus*, *Ptolomy*, and the like vain men, that would be thought gods; or at the ſhameful flattery of ſuch as beſtowed upon men, and not the moſt virtuous of men, divine honours; when he ſees a Town of Houſes, wherein powerful men dwell, worſhipped as a Goddeſs; and receiving (without ſcorn of the Givers, or ſhame of the Preſent) the title of *Deity*, at ſuch a raſcal City as *Alabanda*?

SECT. VII.

Q. Martius *the* Roman *Conſul, with extream difficulty and danger, enters into* Tempe. *The cowardize of* Perſeus *in abandoning* Tempe. *The Town of* Dium *quitted by* Martius; *repaired and fortified by the King. The* Romans *attempt many places, with ill ſucceſs. Their affairs in hard eſtate.* Martius *a cunning and a bad man.* Polybius *ſent Embaſſador to* Martius *from the* Achæans. Polybius *his honeſt wiſdom beneficial to the* Achæans. *King* Eumenes *grows averſe from the* Romans. Perſeus *negotiates with* Antiochus *and* Eumenes. *His falſe dealing with* Gentius *King of* Illyria; *whom he draws into the* Roman *War. He ſends Embaſſadors to the* Rhodians; *who vainly take upon them to be Arbitrators between him and the* Romans. Perſeus *loſeth a mighty ſuccour of the* Baſtarnæ, *by his wretched parſimony.*

After two years of the *Macedonian* war, things were further out of tune in *Greece*, than when the War began; which had been thought likely to reform all thoſe Countreys, and bring them to what paſs the *Romans* deſired; as it did in the end. *Perſeus* had hitherto the better, and was ſtronger now, than when he lived in Peace. He had enlarged his Borders on the *Illyrian* ſide, his friends, in all parts of *Greece*, took courage daily; and his reputation grew ſuch, as cauſed thoſe that were before wholly *Roman*, to ſuſpect what the iſſue of the War might prove, and thereupon to become wiſe for themſelves. Contrariwiſe, *Licinius*, and *Hoſtilius* the Conſuls, had one after the other ſpent their time in vain, ſeeking way into *Macedon*; and defaced the glorious enterprize of Conqueſt, by many loſſes received. The *Roman* Admirals had ſo demeaned themſelves, that many Towns, even of the beſt affected to *Rome*, kept them out by force. Generally, the fear was great on the *Roman* ſide; and the Army much leſſened, not only by caſualties of War, but by the facility of the Tribunes or Colonels, or elſe of the Conſul himſelf (for they laid the blame one upon the other) in licenſing the Souldiers to depart. *Quintius Martius* the new Conſul, who ſucceeded unto *Hoſtilius*, was to amend all this: which nevertheleſs was more than he knew how to do; though he brought with him a ſtrong ſupply of men. He began hotly to ſet the War on the Foot, which a long time had ſlept. And he began the right way: not ſeeking to force the Straights that were ſurely Guarded, but taking pains to climb the Mountains which were thought able to forbid all paſſage over them, without help or need of any cuſtody. The King heard of his approach; and being uncertain what way he meant to take, diſtributed his own forces, to the defence of all places which might give entrance, or permit aſcent. But the Conſul proceeded in his Journey: with hope, either not to be diſcovered by the Enemy, or to break through all oppoſition, or at leaſtwiſe, to fight on as convenient ground, as they ſhould have that lay to ſtop him; and at length, if all failed, to make a ſafe retreat. He ſent before him four thouſand of his moſt expedite Foot, to diſcover the ways. Two days was this company troubled, in overcoming the difficulty of no more than fifteen miles: after which they had ſight of the Enemy, that lay to deny their paſſage. They occupied therefore a ſafe piece of ground; and ſent back word to the Conſul, where they were; intreating him to haſten unto them: which he did. The *Macedonians* where not a whit diſmayed at his arrival; but met him, and fought with him, two or three days together; each returning to their own Camp at night, with little loſs on either ſide. This bickering was on the narrow ridge of a Mountain, which gave ſcarcely room unto three to march in front. So that very few hands came to be employed: all the reſt were beholders. In this caſe it was impoſſible to get forwards: yet a ſhame to return. Wherefore *Martius* took the only courſe remaining: and indeed the beſt: Part of his men he left with *Popilius*, to attend upon the *Macedonians*: whilſt he, with the reſt, fetcht a compaſs about, and ſought out ways that never had been trodden. Herein he found extream difficulty: which notwithſtanding, he overcame. Beſides the troubles commonly incident to ſuch Journeys, through places unfit for habitation: he was compelled by labour of hand; to make paths where none were; yea, where Nature might ſeem to have intended, that none ſhould be. So ſteep he found the deſcent of the Mountains, in this way which he took: that of ſeven miles, which they travelled the firſt day, his men were compelled, for the more part to rowll themſelves down; as not daring to truſt their feet. Neither was this the worſt. For they met with Rocks, that ſtood one over another, ſo upright: and cumberſome to get down: that their Elephants were afraid of that giddy project, and caſting their Governours, made a terrible noiſe, which affrighted the Horſes, and bred great confuſion. Having therefore gone, or wallowed, four miles of this grievous Journey; there was nothing more deſired by the Souldiers, than that they might be ſuffered to creep back again, the ſame way which they had come. But

ſhift was made to let down the Elephants, by a kind of Bridges, like unto falling draw-bridges: whereof the one end was joyned to the end of the Cliff; the other ſuſtained by two long Poſts, faſtened in the ground below. Upon theſe two Poſts, or Poles, (which indeed, not being very ſtrong, ſince it was intended that they ſhould be either cut or broken) were faſtened two rafters, anſwerable in length to the diſtance, between the higher and the lower fall: ſo as the end of one Bridge might reach to the beginning of another. Theſe were covered with Planks and Turfe; that they might ſeem continent with the ground: ſo to make the Beaſts adventurous to go upon them. If there were a plain of any good extent from the foot of a Rock, to the next down-fall; then might the Bridge be ſhorter. When an Elephant was gone a pretty way, upon one of theſe; the Poſts upholding the frame were cut aſunder; thereby cauſing him to ſink down unto the next Bridge; whence he was conveyed in like manner, to the third, and onward ſtill to the very bottom. Thus went they down ſliding, ſome on their Feet, others on their Buttocks, till they came to an even Valley. By this it appears, how throughly provided the *Romans* uſe to be in their Journeys, of things needful in all occaſions; as alſo what ineſtimable pains they took in this deſcent, about the conveyance of themſelves and all their Carriages down the Mountains. The next day they reſted; ſtaying for *Popilius* and his Company, who hardly, or perhaps never, ſhould have overtaken them, if the Enemy had followed, and ſet upon him from aloft. The third and fourth days journeys were like unto the firſt: ſave that cuſtom, and the nearneſs to their ways end without meeting Enemy, cauſed them the better to endure the labour.

Perſeus could not be ignorant of the *Romans* coming towards him: ſince they fought with his men upon the paſſage, three days together; he lying ſo nigh, that he might well-near have heard the noiſe. Yet was he ſo poſſeſſed with fear; that he neither ſtirred to help his own men, or to hinder the Conſul, nor made any proviſion for that which might fall out; but as one void of councel, ſate hearkening after the event. Four only paſſages there were, leading into *Tempe*: the firſt by *Connus*; which the *Romans* were unable to force: the ſecond and third were the ſame which *Martius* had attempted in vain, and another like unto it; the laſt, by the City of *Dium* out of *Macedon*. All theſe were ſufficiently guarded: and whoſoever would ſeek any other way, muſt be fain to take ſuch pains as *Martius* had undergone. The entrance by *Dium* was fairer than any of the reſt: whereof only the King had benefit: for that his Enemies could not get thither, ſave through the Valley it ſelf, into which they muſt firſt pierce another way. *Dium* ſtood upon the huge Mountain *Olympus*, about a mile from the Sea: of which mile, the River *Helicon* becoming there a Lake, and called *Baphyras*, took up the one half, the reſt being ſuch as might eaſily have been fortified. Beſides all theſe, there was in the midſt of *Tempe*, a paſſage which ten men might eaſily keep: where the ſpurs of the Mountains, reaching far into the Valley; drew near to the very Banks of *Peneus*, a goodly and deep River which ran through it. Wherefore nothing had been more eaſie, than to make the Conſul repent him of his troubleſome Journey: if *Perſeus* could have ſeen his own advantages. For the *Roman* Army was not only in ill caſe to fight, after the vexation of that miſerable travel: but muſt needs have either periſhed for want of Victuals, or been inforced to return the ſame way that he came, if the King had made good the ſtraight of *Dium*. To have returned and climbed up with their Elephants and Carriages, againſt thoſe Rocks, from which, with extream labour, they could hardly get down, it ſeems a matter of impoſſibility: eſpecially conſidering how the Enemy from above their heads, would have beaten upon them; being now aware of the path which they had taken, though he knew it not when they ſtole away from him. It may therefore be thought ſtrange that the *Romans* did not rather take their Journey into *Macedon*, from the ſide of *Illyria*, whence that Kingdom had often been invaded, as lying open on that part: than put themſelves to the trouble of breaking into *Tempe*, whence, after that they were arrived, there was no means to eſcape, without forcing one of thoſe paſſages, which they deſpaired to win. But the Cowardize of *Perſeus* did commend the counſel by them followed, as wiſe. For he no ſooner heard that the Enemy was come over the Mountains into *Tempe*, than he fared like one out of his Wits; ſaying, That he was vanquiſhed, and had loſt all, without battle. Herewithall he began to take out of *Dium*, what he could carry away in haſte; and ſtraightways abandoned the Town. In the ſame vehemency of amazement, he ſent a ſtraight command to *Theſſalonica*, that the Arſenal there ſhould be ſet on fire; and to *Pella*, that his Treaſures there ſhould be caſt into the Sea: as if the *Romans* were like preſently to be Maſters of theſe two Cities. *Niceas*, who was appointed to drown the Treaſure, performed it as haſtily as well he could: though ſoon after, his Maſter grew ſorry for the loſs; and it was all, in a manner, recovered by Divers from under the Water. But *Andronicus*, who had charge to ſet fire on the Kings Arſenal, deferred the execution, foreſeeing that repentance might follow: and ſo he prevented the damage. Whether *Niceas*, for his abſolute and blind obedience, or *Andronicus*, for his careful providence, merited the greater commendation, or more eaſie pardon; it reſted in the King to interpret. The reward of his Service was this, *Perſeus* growing aſhamed of his mad Cowardize, that appeared in this haſty direction: cauſed them both to be ſlain. Alſo thoſe poor men, which had fetcht his Treaſure out of the Sea by their Diving, were payed their wages after the ſame ſort: that ſo there might be no witneſs of the Kings baſe folly. Such end muſt they fear, who are privy to diſhonourable actions of great Princes. If *Perſeus* would have gone ſurely to work, for the hiding of his fault; then muſt he ſo royally have behaved himſelf, that no man might believe him to be the Author of any unworthy act or councel. But his virtue was of no ſuch capacity. He thought it enough to lay the blame upon others. And therefore, having called *Hippias* away (the Captain which had ſtopped the Conſul on the top of the Mountain) and *Aſclepiodatus*, from defence of the paſſages, whereto they were by him appointed: he rated them openly; ſaying, That they had betrayed unto the Enemy the Gates and Bars of *Macedon*. Of this reproach, if they would diſcharge themſelves, by laying it upon him, to whom of right it belonged, then might they have ſped as did *Niceas* and *Andronicus*.

The Conſul *Martius* had great cauſe to rejoyce, for

for that the King had ſo haſtily relinquiſhed his poſſeſſion of *Tempe*, and all the paſſages leading thereinto: ſince the *Roman* Army, this notwithſtanding, was hardly able to ſubſiſt for want of Victuals. He took *Dium* without reſiſtance, and thence went forward into *Macedon:* wherein having Travelled about a days Journey, and gotten one Town that yielded, he was compelled by meer lack of Food for his men, to return back towards *Theſſaly*. His Fleet came to him, in this time of neceſſity, well appointed to have holpen him in the War: but having left behind, at *Magneſia*, the Ships of Burthen, which carryed the Proviſions. Wherefore it fell out happily, that one of his Lieutenants had been careful to occupy the Caſtles about *Tempe*, which were forſaken by the *Macedonians:* for by thoſe ways only might Corn be brought to the Army. To meet the ſooner with this Corn, which was moſt deſirouſly expected, he forſook *Dium*, and went to *Phila*; by which fooliſh Journey (if not worſe than fooliſh) he loſt more, than a little the longer faſting had been worth. It is probable that his Carts, withall, or the moſt of his ſtore, were loſt among the Mountains: for otherwiſe it had been madneſs to put himſelf on ſuch an enterpriſe, ſo ſlenderly provided, as that without enforcement, or ſight of the Enemy, he ſhould be fain to quit it. Howſoever it was: men thought him a Coward, or at leaſt a bad man of War; ſince he thus recoyled and gave off, when it moſt behooved him to have proſecuted the action.

By underſtanding the folly, or Cowardize of *Martius*; the King recollected himſelf, underſtood his own errour; ſought to hide it by ſuch poor means as have been ſhewed, and laboured to make what amends he could, He quickly repoſſeſſed the Town of *Dium*, which he haſtily repaired, finding it diſ-mantled by the *Romans*. This done, he encamped ſtrongly by the River of *Enipeus:* meaning there to ſtop the Enemies proceeding all that Summer. Leſs diligence, more timely uſed, would have been enough, not only to have delivered *Martius* into his hand, who had beguiled him with an idle hope of Peace, but to have given him ſuch a noble Victory, as might cauſe the *Romans* to ſeek a good end of the War upon fair conditions, and not to begin again in haſte. Yet this recovery and fortification of *Dium*, was to the Conſul an exceeding hinderance. For little or nothing could afterward be done toward the Conqueſt in hand, in all the continuance of his Only the Town of *Heraclea*, ſtanding on the River of *Peneus*, five mile from *Dium*, was taken by force, or rather by a trick of climbing upon mens heads, ſomewhat after the manner of our tumblers. But it made ſuch defence as it could, and was not given up for fear. After this, *Martius* did ſet a bold face towards *Dium*; as if he would have taken it again, and have driven the King further off: though his intent or hope was nothing like ſo great: his chief care, being to provide for his wintering. He ſent the Admiral to make attempt upon the Sea-Towns, *Theſſalonica*, *Caſſandrea*, *Demetrias*, and others. All theſe were aſſayed: but in vain. The Fields about *Theſſalonica* were waſted; and ſome Companies, that ſundry times adventured forth of the Town, were ſtill put to the worſe. As for the Town it ſelf; there was danger in coming near it, either by Land or Sea; by reaſon of the Engines, which ſhot from the Walls, and reached unto the Fleet. Wherefore the Admiral ſetting Sail from thence, ran along by *Ænia*, and *Antigonea*, (landing near to each of them; and both doing and receiving hurt) until he came to *Pallene* in the Territory of *Caſſandrea*. There King *Eumenes* joyned with him, bringing twenty Ships of War: and five other were ſent thither from King *Pruſias*. With this acceſs of ſtrength, the Admiral was bold to try his fortune at *Caſſandrea:* which was bad. There was a new Ditch lately caſt by *Perſeus*, before the Town: which, while the *Romans* were filling up, queſtion was made, What became of the earth taken thence, for that it lay not upon the bank? By this occaſion, it was learned, that there were Arches in the Town-wall filled up with that earth, and covered with one ſingle row of Brick. Hence the Admiral gathered hope of making way into the Town, by ſapping the Walls. To this work he appointed ſuch as he thought meeteſt: giving an alarm to the other ſide of the Town, thereby to ſhadow his attempt. The breach was ſoon made. But whilſt the *Romans* were ſhouting for joy, and ordering themſelves for the aſſault: the Captains within the Town perceived what was done; and ſallying forth unexpected, gave a fierce charge on the Companies that were between the Ditch and the Wall; of whom they ſlew about ſix hundred, and ſuffered few to eſcape unwounded. This diſaſter, and the want of good ſucceſs on that part of the Town which King *Eumenes* aſſailed (a ſupply in the mean while entring the Town by Sea) cauſed the Siege to break up. *Lorone* was the next place which the Admiral thought meet to attempt: and thence likewiſe he was repelled. Finding this too well manned; he made way towards *Demetrias:* whereinto *Euphranor*, a *Macedonian* Captain, was gotten before his coming, with ſuch Forces, as were not only ſufficient to have defended the Town, if the Admiral had laid Siege to it, but to keep the Land about it from ſpoil; or, at leaſt (as they did) to make the Enemy pay dear for all that he there got. This *Euphranor* had taken his Journey to *Demetrias*, by *Melibœa*; whither the Conſul (that he might not be quite without work) had ſent his Lieutenant to beſiege it: and by the terrour of his appearing ſuddenly over their heads, cauſed the beſiegers to diſlodge in all haſte, ſetting their Camp on fire.

Such fortune attended on the *Romans*; or rather, ſo far was their ability ſhort of their Enterpriſes; ever ſince their Conſul (whether daſtardly, or careleſly) moſt unlike a good Commander, had let go his hold of *Macedon*, by forſaking *Dium*: yea, it is to be ſuſpected, that ſome greater harm befell them, or, at leaſt, that they were in ſome greater danger, than is expreſſed in the broken remaining Hiſtory of this War. For *Martius* perſwaded the *Rhodians* by *Ageſipolis* their Embaſſador, who came to him at *Heraclea* about other buſineſs of leſs importance, That they ſhould do well to interpoſe themſelves as Mediators, and ſeek to finiſh the War. Now, although *Polybius* do moſt probably conjecture, that this was rather a malicious device of *Martius*, craftily ſeeking to bring the *Rhodians* in danger (as anon it fell out) by their oppoſing the reſolution of the Senate; than that it proceeded from any true fear in him, either of *Perſeus*, or of *Antiochus*, who had then an Army on foot: yet ſince he made ſhew of fear, it is like withall, that ſomewhat had happened, which might make his fear ſeem not counterfeit. And ſo were the *Rhodians* moved to think of him; not *Polyb. Leg.* 80.

not only for that the extraordinary courteſie, both of him and the Admiral, towards their Embaſſadour, coming from proud natures, did argue diffidence, where there was no ambition to cauſe it; but much more, for that ſhortly after the Embaſſadors of *Perſeus*, and of *Gentius* the *Illyrian*, did ſet out their buſineſs at *Rhodes*, not more with the ſtrength of a good Fleet, which the *Macedonians* had gotten, than with the honour of ſome Victory, wherein he had lately ſlain great numbers of the *Roman* Horſe. Thus much we find intimated; though the time, place, or other circumſtances of the Fight, be not ſpecified. And hereto may be referred, the report of thoſe that were ſent from *Rome* to view the Eſtate of *Martius* his Army. For they found the Conſul wanting meat; the Admiral wanting men; and, for thoſe few that he had, wanting both money and clothes: and *App. Claudius* the Prætor, who lay on the frontier of *Illyria*, ſo unable to invade *Macedon*, that contrariwiſe, he was in extream danger; ſo as either he muſt quickly be ſent for thence, or a new Army be ſent thither to him. Wherefore it may ſeem, that ſome blow had been taken on the *Illyrian* ſide, which made all to halt; or at leaſt that the *Romans*, with greater loſs than is before ſpoken of, had been driven from ſome of the Towns which they beſieged.

Polyb. Leg. 87.

Now, although it were ſo, that *Martius*, in very few of his actions, behaved himſelf like a man of War: yet in exerciſe of *Cunning*, which one hath moſt aptly termed, *A crooked or ſiniſter kind of wiſdom*, he dealt as a Crafts-maſter, with a reſtleſs working diligence. This indeed neither proved his ſufficiency, nor commended his honeſty; ſince thereby he effected nothing to his own benefit; and nevertheleſs out of envy, vain-glory, or ſuch delight as weak and buſie-headed men take, in creating explicable troubles, he directly made oppoſition to the good of his Country. At ſuch time as *Perſeus*, by the ſucceſs of his doings againſt *Hoſtilius*, had gotten much reputation, and was thought likely to invade *Theſſaly*. *Archo*, *Lycortas*, and other good Patriots among the *Achæans*, judged it expedient for their Nations to help the *Romans*, as in a time of adverſity, whom in proſperity they loved not to flatter. Wherefore *Archo* propoſed a Decree, which paſſed: That the *Achæans* ſhould ſend their whole power into *Theſſaly*, and participate with the *Romans* in all dangers. So the Army was levied: and *Polybius*, with others, ſent Embaſſadors unto *Martius*, to certifie him thereof, and know his pleaſure. *Polybius* found the Conſul buſie in finding paſſage thorow *Tempe* into *Macedon*. He went along with the Army, and awaited the Conſuls leiſure, till they came to *Heraclea*; where, finding the time convenient, he preſented the Decree, and offered the ſervice of his Nation, wherein ſoever it ſhould be commanded. *Martius* took this very kindly; but ſaid, That he needed now no manner of help. Forthwith *Polybius* diſpatched home his companions, to ſignifie thus much: tarrying himſelf behind in the Camp. After a while, word was brought to *Martius*, that *App. Claudius* deſired, or rather imperiouſly required, of the *Achæans*, five Thouſand men, to be ſent him into *Epirus*. It was manifeſt, that *Appius* had need of theſe men; and that if he were ſtrong in Field, he might do notable ſervice, by diſtracting the Forces of *Perſeus*. But the *Labirinthian* head of *Martius*, could not allow of ſuch plain reaſon. He called unto him *Polybius*, to whom he declared, That *Appius* had no need of ſuch aid, and therefore willed him to return home, and in any wiſe take order that the men might not be ſent, nor the *Achæans* be put to ſuch needleſs charges. Away went *Polybius*; muſing, and unable to reſolve, whether it were for love to the *Achæans*, that the Conſul was ſo earneſt in this buſineſs; or rather for envy, and to hinder *Ap. Claudius* from doing any thing, ſince himſelf could do nothing. But when *Polybius* was to deliver his opinion in the Councel touching this matter; then found he a new doubt, that more nearly concerned his own ſelf, and thoſe of his party. For as he was ſure to incur the great indignation of the Conſul, if he ſhould neglect what was given him in charge; ſo was it manifeſt on the other ſide, that the words by *Martius* uttered to him in private, would prove no good warrant for him and his friends, if openly they ſhould refuſe to help *Claudius*, alledging that he had no need: In this caſe therefore, he had recourſe unto the Decree of the Senate: which exempted men from neceſſity of doing what the *Roman* Commanders ſhould require, unleſs, by ſpecial order from the Senate, the ſame were likewiſe appointed. So for lack of warrant from the Senate, this demand of *Appius* was referred unto the advice of the Conſul: by whom it was ſure to be made fruſtrate. Hereby the *Achæans* were ſavers, of more than an hundred and twenty Talents: though *Polybius* himſelf ran into danger of *Appius* his diſpleaſure; and for ſuch honeſt dealing in his Countries behalf, was afterwards rewarded by the *Romans* with many a long years impriſonment.

Whether it were by the like policy of *Martius*, that King *Eumenes* grew cold in his affection to the *Romans*; or whether this King began when it was too late, to ſtand in fear leſt the fire, which he himſelf had helped to kindle, would ſhortly take hold on his own Lodging; or whether the regard of money were able to overſway all other paſſions; it is hard to determine: ſince they that had better means to know the truth, have not preciſely affirmed any certainty. One report is, That *Eumenes* did not ſo much as give any help to *Martius*: but coming to have joyned with him, in ſuch friendly manner as he did with the former Conſuls, was not entertained according to his liking; and thereupon returned home in ſuch anger, that he refuſed to leave behind him certain Horſe of the *Gallo-Greeks*, being requeſted to have done it. If this were true, and that his Brother *Attalus* tarrying behind with the Conſul, did the *Romans* good ſervice: then is the reaſon apparent, of the hatred, born afterward by the Senate to *Eumenes*, and the love to *Attalus*. But it is more generally received; that *Eumenes* gave a willing ear to *Perſeus* his deſire of accord, for meer deſire of gain. And it might well be, that covetouſneſs drew him on, in the courſe, whereinto indignation firſt led him. Howſoever it befell; *Perſeus* cauſed *Eumenes* to be ſounded, and found him ſo tractable, that he was bold to ſolicite him by an Embaſſage. The tenour of his Advertiſements, both to *Eumenes* and *Antiochus*, was: That there could be no perfect love between a King and a free City: that the *Romans* had quarrel alike to all Kings, though they dealt with no more than one at a time, and uſed the help of one againſt another; that *Philip* was oppreſſed by them, with the help of *Attalus*; *Antiochus*, with the help of *Philip* and *Eumenes*; and now *Perſeus* aſſailed with help of *Eumenes* and *Pruſias*. Herewith he willed *Eumenes*

menes to consider, that when *Macedon* was taken out of their way, they would be doing with him in *Asia*, which lay next at hand; yea, that already they began to think better of *Prusias*, than of him. In like sort he admonished *Antiochus*, not to look for any good conclusion of his War with the *Egyptian*, so long as the *Romans* could make him give over, by denouncing their will and pleasure. Finally, he requested both of them, either to compell the *Romans* to surcease from their War upon *Macedon*; or else to hold them as common enemies unto all Kings. *Antiochus* lay far out of the *Romans* way: and therefore was little troubled with such remonstrances. *Eumenes* was more nearly touch't; and as he felt part of this to be true, so had he reason to stand in doubt of the rest. Yet when he should give answer, he began to offer a bargain of Peace for mony. He thought the *Romans* to be no less weary, than *Perseus* was afraid. Wherefore he promised for his own part, That if he might have fifteen hundred Talents for withdrawing his hand from this War, then would he remain a Neuter therein: and that for some greater quantity of mony (how much I find not) he would also bring the *Romans* to condescend unto Peace: and for assurance of his true meaning herein, he offered to give Hostages: *Perseus* liked well to receive the Hostages, but not to lay out the mony, especially before-hand, as was required. He would fain have Peace with *Rome*, and not with *Eumenes* only. For procuring of this, he promised to be at any reasonable cost; but he would lay down the mony in the Temple at *Samothrace*: whence it should be delivered unto *Eumenes*, after that the Peace was fully concluded and ratified. The Isle of *Samothrace* was *Perseus* his own: and therefore *Eumenes* thought the mony no nearer to him, being there, than if it remained in *Pella*. Besides, his labour deserved somewhat, howsoever the business might happen to succeed: so that needs he would have part of his wages in *prest*. Thus the two Kings did no more than lose time; and *Eumenes* grew suspected of the *Romans*, as a Traitor.

After the same manner dealt *Perseus* with King *Gentius* the *Illyrian*. He had attempted this *Illyrian* before; who dealt plainly, and said, That without mony he could not stir. Hereunto *Perseus* loved not to hearken; thinking, that his Treasures would serve at the last cast, to deliver him from all his fears. But when the *Romans* had gotten within *Tempe*, then did his fear urge him to prodigality; so as he agreed to pay three hundred Talents which *Gentius* demanded for a recompence. So the bargain was soon made, and pledges on both sides delivered for performance. This was openly done by *Perseus*, to the end that all his Army might have comfort, by such access of strength to their party. Presently upon the bargain made, Embassadors were sent to *Rhodes*, from both *Perseus* and *Gentius*: who desired the *Rhodians*, to take upon them as Arbitrators between *Perseus* and the *Romans*, and to bring the War to an end. The *Rhodians* thinking that *Martius* the Consul was no less desirous of Peace than the *Macedonian*, arrogantly promised, that they, by their authority, would make Peace; wishing the Kings to shew themselves conformable. But the *Roman* Senate, hearing proud words to the same effect, from the *Rhodian* Embassadors, gave an answer as disdainful, angry, and menacing, as they could devise: so as this vain glory of the *Rhodians* was thoroughly chastised; and more throughly should have been, if their submission had not been as humble, as their folly was proud. Such use of *Gentius* his friendship, made *Perseus*, without laying out one Ounce of Silver. Now fain he would have hastened this young and rash *Illyrian* to enter with all speed into the War: but then must the mony be hastened away. *Pantauchus* the *Macedonian* Embassador, who remained with *Gentius*, exhorted him daily to begin the War by Land and Sea, whilst the *Romans* were unprovided. But finding what it was that made all to stay; he sent word to *Perseus*. Hereupon ten Talents were sent to *Pantauchus*: who delivered it to the young King, as Earnest of that which followed. More followed it indeed; and sealed up with the seal of the *Illyrians*, but carried by *Macedonians*, and not too fast. Before this mony came into *Illyria*, *Gentius* had laid hands upon two *Roman* Embassadors, and cast them into Prison. Which *Perseus* no sooner heard, than he re-called his Treasure-bearers, and sent them with their load to *Pella*; for that now the *Illyrian* was of necessity to make War with the *Romans*, whether he were hired thereto or not.

There came about the same time through *Illyria*, to the aid of *Perseus*, under one *Clondicus*, a petty King, ten thousand Horse, and ten thousand Foot of the *Gauls*, which were (as *Plutarch* hath it) the *Bastarnæ*. These had before-hand made their bargain, and were to receive present pay at the first. At their entry into the Kingdom, *Perseus* sent one to them; desiring their Captains to come visit him, whom he promised to gratifie with goodly rewards; hoping that the multitude would take good words for payment. But the first question that their General asked, was, whether the King had sent mony to give their Souldiers their pay in hand, according to his bargain? Hereto the messenger had not what to answer. Why then (said *Clondicus*) tell thy Master, that the *Gauls* will not stir one foot further, until they have Gold, as was agreed, and Hostages. *Perseus* hereupon took counsel: if to utter his own opinion before men so wise that they would not contradict him, were to take counsel. He made an invective against the incivility and avarice of the *Bastarnæ*: who came with such numbers, as could not but be dangerous to him and to his Kingdom. Five thousand Horse of them he said would be as many as he should need to use; and not so many, that he should need to fear them. It had been well done, if any of his Counsellors would have told him, That there wanted not employment for the whole Army of them, since without any danger to the Kingdom, they might be let out, by the way of *Perrhæbia*, into *Thessaly*: where, wasting the Country, and filling themselves with spoil, they should make the *Romans* glad to forsake *Tempe*, even for hunger and all manner of want; therein doing the King notable service, whether they won any Victory or not. This, and a great deal more, might have been alledged, if any man had dared to give advice freely. In conclusion, *Antigonus*, the same messenger that had been with them before, was sent again, to let them know the King's mind. He did his errand: upon which followed a great murmur of those many Thousands that had been drawn so far to no purpose. But *Clondicus* asked him now again, Whether he had brought the mony along with him to pay those five Thousand, whom the King would entertain. Hereto when it was perceived that *Antigonus* could make no better answer, than shifting

Liv. lib. 44. Plutarch. in vit. Æmyl.

ting excuſes, the *Baſtarnæ* returned preſently towards *Danubius*, waſting the Neighbour-parts of *Thrace*; yet ſuffering this crafty meſſenger to eſcape unhurt: which was more than he could well have expected.

Thus dealt *Perſeus*, like a careful Treaſurer, and one that would preſerve his mony for the *Romans*, without diminiſhing the ſum. But of this painful Office he was very ſoon diſcharged by *L. Æmylius Paulus* the new Conſul: who in fifteen days after his ſetting forth from *Italy*, brought the Kingdom of *Macedon* to that end, for which God had appointed over it a King ſo fooliſh and ſo cowardly.

SECT. VIII.

Of L. Æmylius Paulus *the Conſul. His Journey. He forceth* Perſeus *to diſcamp, He will not hazard Battle with any diſadvantage. Of an Eclipſe of the Moon.* Æmylius *his ſuperſitition. The Battle of* Pydna. Perſeus *his flight. He forſakes his Kingdom: which haſtily yields to* Æmylius. Perſeus *at* Samothrace. *He yields himſelf to the* Roman *Admiral, and is ſent priſoner to* Æmylius.

BY the War of *Macedon*, the *Romans* hitherto had gotten much diſhonour. Which, though it were not accompanied with any danger, yet the indignity ſo moved them, that either * they decreed that Province to *L. Æmylius Paulus*, without putting it, as was otherwiſe their manner, to the chance of Lot, between him and his fellow-Conſul; or at leaſt were gladder that the Lot had caſt it upon him, than ſo worthy a man was advanced to the dignity of a ſecond Conſulſhip. He refuſed to propound unto the Senate any thing that concerned his Province; until by Embaſſadors, thither ſent to view the Eſtate of the War, it was perfectly underſtood, in what condition both the *Roman* Forces, and the *Macedonian*, at the preſent remained. This being throughly known to be ſuch, as hath been already told, the Senate appointed a ſtrong ſupply, not only to the Conſul, but unto the Navy, and likewiſe to the Army that lay between *Illyria* and *Epirus*; from which *App. Claudius* was removed, and *L. Anicius* ſent thither in his place. *Æmylius*, before his departure from *Rome*, making an Oration to the People, as was the cuſtom, ſpake with much gravity and authority. He requeſted thoſe that thought themſelves wiſe enough to manage this War, either to accompany him into *Macedon*, and there aſſiſt him with their advice; or elſe to govern their tongues at home, and not take upon them to give directions by hearſay, and cenſure by idle reports: for he told them plainly, that he would frame his doings to occaſions; not to the expectation of the multitude. The like ſpeech of his Father *L. Æmylius*, who died valiantly in the battle of *Cannæ*, might well be living in ſome of their memories; which was enough to make them conform themſelves the more gladly unto the inſtructions given by a wiſe and reſolute Conſul.

* *Plut. in vit. Æmyl.*

All his buſineſs within the City being diſpatched, *Æmylius* was honourably attended at his ſetting forth on his Journey, with an eſpecial hope of men, that he ſhould finiſh it ſo ſoon and happily, was more than could have been hoped or imagined. He came to *Brunduſium*: whence, when the wind came fair, he ſet Sail at break of day, and arrived ſafely at the Iſle of *Corcyra* before night. Thence he paſſed to *Delphi*: where having done ſacrifice to *Apollo*, after the fifth day he ſet forwards to the Camp, and was there in five days more. So are there but five of the fifteen days remaining, in which he finiſhed the War.

Perſeus lay ſtrongly encamped at *Dium*: having ſpared no labour of Men and of Women to fortifie the Banks of *Enipeus*, where it was fordable in dry weather: ſo as there was little hope or none, to force him; and conſequently, as little poſſibility to enter that way into *Macedon*. One great inconvenience troubling the *Romans*, and much diſabling them to make attempt upon *Dium*, was lack of freſh Water. For there were ten miles between *Dium* and *Tempe*; all the way lying between the Sea ſhore, and the foot of *Olympus*, without any Brook or Spring breaking forth on that ſide. But *Æmylius* found preſent remedy for this, by digging Wells on the Shore; where he found ſweet Springs: as commonly there is no Shore that wants them, though they riſe not above the ground. Want of this knowledge was enough to hinder *Martius* from taking up his Lodging any nearer to the Enemy, than the Town of *Heraclea*, on the River of *Peneus*; where he had watering at pleaſure, but could perform no ſervice of any worth. Yet when the *Roman* Camp had ſuch means to lye cloſe to the *Macedonian*, as it preſently did, the paſſage onward being defended as hath been ſhewed, ſeemed no leſs difficult than before. Wherefore it was neceſſary to ſearch another way: which by enquiry was ſoon found out. There was a narrow paſſage over *Olympus*, leading into *Perrhæbia*; hard of aſcent, but ſlenderly guarded, and therefore promiſing a fair Journey. *Martius* either had not been informed hereof, or durſt not attempt it; or perhaps could not get his Souldiers to make the adventure; they fearing leſt it would prove ſuch a piece of work as had been their march over *Oſſa* into *Tempe*. But *Paulus* was a man of greater induſtry, courage, and ability to command. He had reformed, even at his firſt coming, many diſorders in the *Roman* Camp: teaching the Souldiers among other good Leſſons, to be obedient and ready in execution; without troubling themſelves, as had been their manner, to examine the doings and purpoſes of their General. And now he appointed about five Thouſand men to this enterpriſe; whereof he committed the charge unto *Scipio Æmylianus* and *Q. Fabius Maximus*, his own Sons by nature; but adopted, the one of them, by a Son of *Scipio* the *African*; the other, by one of the *Fabii*. *Scipio* took with him ſome light-armed *Thracians* and *Cretians*; but his main ſtrength was of Legionaries. For the Kings Guard, upon the Mountain, conſiſted in a manner, wholly of Archers and Slingers; who though, at ſome diſtance they might do notable ſervice againſt thoſe that ſhould climb up unto them; yet when the darkneſs took away their aim, they were like to make a bad nights work, being to deal with thoſe that were armed to fight at hand. To conceal the buſineſs about which they went, *Scipio* and *Fabius* took a wrong way towards the Fleet; where Victuals were provided for their Journey: it being noiſed, that they were to run along the Coaſts of *Macedon* by Sea, and waſte the Country. All the way they were

were passing the Mountains (which was about three days) the Consul made shew of a meaning to set upon *Perseus* where he lay, rather to divert the Kings attention from that which was his main Enterprise, than upon any hope to do good, in seeking to get over *Enipeus*. The channel of *Enipeus*, which received in Winter time a great fall of waters from the Mountains, was exceeding deep and broad; and the ground of it was such, as though at the present it lay well-near all dry, yet it served not for those that were weightily armed to fight upon. Wherefore *Æmylius* employed none save his *Velites*; of whom the Kings light Armature had advantage at far distance, though the *Romans* were better appointed for the close. The Engines from off the Towers which *Perseus* had raised on his own bank, did also beat upon the *Romans*, and gave them to understand, that their labour was in vain. Yet *Æmylius* persisted as he had begun: and recontinued his assault, such as it could be, the second day. This might have served to teach the *Macedonians*, that some greater work was in hand: since otherwise a good Captain, as *Æmylius* was known to be, would not have troubled himself with making such bravado's, that were somewhat costly. But *Perseus* lookt only unto that which was before his eyes: until his men, that came running fearfully down the Mountain, brought word into the Camp, that the *Romans* were following at their backs. Then was all full of tumult, and the King himself no less (if not more) amazed than any of the rest. Order was forthwith given to dislodge: or rather without order, in all tumultuous haste, the Camp was broken up, and a speedy retreat made to *Pydna*. Whether it were so, that they which had the custody of the passage were taken sleeping, or whether they were beaten by plain force, *Scipio* and *Fabius* had very good success in their Journey. It may well be, that they slept until the *Romans* came somewhat near to them; and then taking alarm, when their Arrows and Slings could do little service, were beaten at handy-strokes: so as the different relations that are cited by *Plutarch* out of *Polybius*, and an Epistle of *Scipio*, may each of them have been true. Thus was an open way cleared into *Macedon*: which had been effected by *Martius* in the year foregoing; but was closed up again through his not prosecuting so rich opportunity.

Perseus was in an extream doubt what course to take, after this unhappy beginning. Some gave advice to man his Towns, and so to linger out the War: having been taught by the last years example, how resolute the People were in making defence. But far worse counsel prevailed: as generally it doth in turbulent and fearful deliberation. The King resolved to put all at once to hazzard of battle: fearing belike to put himself into any one Town, lest that should be first of all besieged; and he therein (as cowardly natures always are jealous) not over-carefully relieved. This was even that same that *Æmylius*, or any invader, should have desired. So a place was chosen near unto *Pydna*, that served well for the *Phalanx*, and had likewise on the sides of it some pieces of higher ground, fit for the Archers and light Armature. There he abode the coming of the Enemy; who stayed not long behind him. As soon as the *Romans* had sight of the Kings Army; which with greater fear than discretion, had hasted away from them, forsaking the Camp that was so notably well fortified: they desired nothing more, than to give Battle immediately: doubting lest otherwise the King should change his mind, and get further off. And to this effect *Scipio* brake with the Consul; praying him not to lose occasion by delay. But *Æmylius* told him, that he spake like a young man; and therefore willed him to have patience. The *Romans* were tyred with their Journey; had no Camp wherein to rest themselves; nor any thing there, save only the bare ground whereon they trod. For these, and the like respects, the Consul made a stand: and shewing himself unto the *Macedonian*, who did the like, in order of Battle, gave charge to have the Camp measured out and entrenched behind the Army; whereinto, at good leisure, he fell back, without any manner of trouble. After a nights rest, it was hoped both by the *Romans* and the *Macedonians*, that the matter should be determined; each part thinking their own General to blame, for that they had not fought the same day. As for the King, he excused himself by the backwardness of the Enemy, who advanced no further; but kept upon ground serving ill for the *Phalanx*: as on the other side, the Consul had the reasons before shewed, which he communicated to those about him the next day.

That evening (which followed the third of *September*, by the *Roman* account) *C. Sulpitius Gallus*, a Colonel, or Tribune of a Legion, who had the former year been Prætor, foretold unto the Consul, and (with his good liking) unto the Army, an Eclipse of the Moon, which was to be the same night: willing the Souldiers not to be troubled therewith, for that is was natural, and might be known long before it was seen. It was the manner of the *Romans*, in such Eclipses, to beat Pans of Brass, and Basons, as we do in following a swarm of Bees; thinking that thereby they did the Moon great ease, and helped her in her labour. But this prognostication of *Sulpitius* converted their superstition into admiration of his deep skill, when they saw it verified. Contrariwise, the *Macedonians* howled and made a great noise, as long as the Eclipse lasted: rather perhaps because it was their fashion, than for that they were terrified therewith, as with a prodegy betokening their loss: since their desire to fight was no whit lessoned by it. I will not here stand to dispute, Whether such Eclipses do signifie, or cause any alteration in civil affairs, and matters that have small dependance on natural complexion: for the argument is too large. More worthy of observation it is, how superstition captivates the wisdom of the wisest, where the help of true Religion is wanting. *Æmylius*, though he were sufficiently instructed concerning this defect of the Moon, that it was no supernatural thing, nor above the reach of humane understanding, so as he should need to trouble himself with any devout regard thereof: yet could he not refrain from doing his duty to this Moon, and congratulating with sacrifice her delivery, as soon as she shone out bright again: for which he is commended even by *Plutarch*, a sage Philosopher, as a godly and religious man. If *Sulpitius* perhaps did not assist him in this fooliſh devotion, yet it is like, that he, being a Senator, and one of the Councel for War, was partaker the next morning in a sacrifice done to *Hercules*; which was no less fooliſh. For a great part of the day was vainly consumed, e're *Hercules* could be pleased with any sacrifice, and vouchsafe to shew tokens of good luck in the entrails of the Beasts. At length, in the belly of the one and twentieth sacrifice, was found a promise of Victory to *Æmylius*: but with condition, That he should not give the onset. *Hercules* was a

Greek, and partial, as nearer in alliance to the *Macedonian* than to the *Roman*. Wherefore it had been better to call upon the new goddeſs, lately Canonized at *Alabanda*; or upon *Romulus*, founder of their City, on whom the *Romans* had beſtowed his Deity; or (if a God of elder date were more authentical) upon *Mars* the Father of *Romulus*, to whom belonged the guidance of Military affairs; and who therefore would have limited his favour, with no injunctions contrary to the rules of War.

Now concerning the Battle; *Æmylius* was throughly perſwaded, that the King meant to abide it: for that otherwiſe he would not have ſtayed at *Pydna*, when as, a little before, his leiſure ſerved to retire whither he liſted, the *Romans* being further off. In regard of this, and perhaps of the tokens appearing in the Sacrifices, the Conſul thought that he might wait upon advantage, without making any great haſte. Neither was it to be neglected, that the morning Sun was full in the *Romans* faces: which would be much to their hinderance all the fore-noon. Since therefore *Perſeus* kept his ground, that was commodious for the *Phalanx*, and *Æmylius* ſent forth part of his men to bring in Wood and Fodder, there was no likelihood of fighting that day. But about ten of the Clock in the morning, a ſmall occaſion brought to paſs that, which whereto neither of the Generals had over earneſt deſire.

A Horſe brake looſe at watering, which two or three of the *Roman* Souldiers followed into the River, wading after him up to the knees. The Kings men lay on the further bank: whence a couple of *Thracians* ran into the Water, to draw this Horſe over to their own ſide. Theſe fell to blows, as in a private quarrel; and one of the *Thracians* was ſlain. His Countrimen ſeeing this, haſted to revenge their fellows death, and followed thoſe that had ſlain him over the River. Hereupon company came in, to help on each part, until the number grew ſuch, as made it paſt a fray, and cauſed both the Armies to be careful of the event. In fine, each of the Generals placed his men in order of battle, accordingly as the manner of his Country, and the Arms wherewith they ſerved, did require. The ground was a flat Level, ſave that on the ſides a few Hillocks were raiſed here and there; whereof each part might take what advantage it could. The *Macedonians* were the greater number, the *Romans* the better Souldiers, and better appointed. Both the King and the Conſul encouraged their men with lively words: which the preſent condition could bountifully afford. But the King, having finiſhed his Oration, and ſent on his men, withdrew himſelf into *Pydna*: there to do ſacrifice, as he pretended, unto *Hercules*. It is the leſs marvel, that he durſt adventure battle, ſince he had bethought himſelf of ſuch a ſtratagem, whereby to ſave his own perſon. As for *Hercules*, he liked not the ſacrifice of a Coward; whoſe unſeaſonable devotion could be no better then Hypocriſie. For he that will pray for a good Harveſt, ought alſo Plough, Sow, and Weed his Ground. When therefore the King returned to the battle, he found it no better than loſt: and he in looking to his own ſaftey, cauſed it to be loſt altogetherr by beginning the flight.

The acts of this day, ſuch as we find recorded are, That the *Roman* Elephants could do no manner of good: That the *Macedonian Phalanx* did ſo ſtoutly preſs onwards, and beat off all which came before it, as *Æmylius* was thereat much aſtoniſhed, that the *Peligni* ruſhing deſperately on the *Phalanx*, were overborn; many of them ſlain, and the Squadrons following them ſo diſcouraged herewith, as they retired apace towards an Hill. Theſe were the things that fell out averſe to the *Romans*; and which the Conſul beholding, is ſaid to have rent his Coat-Armour for grief. If the King with all his power of Horſe, had in like manner done his devoyre, the Victory might have been his own. That which turned the fortune of the battle, was the ſame which doubtleſs the Conſul expected, even from the beginning: the difficulty, or almoſt the impoſſibility of holding the *Phalanx* long in order. For whilſt ſome of the *Romans* ſmall Battalions preſſed hard upon one part of it, and others recoyled from ia; it was neceſſary (if the *Macedonians* would follow upon thoſe which were put to the worſe) that ſome Files having open way before them, ſhould advance themſelves beyond the reſt that were held at a ſtand. This coming ſo to paſs, admoniſhed the Conſul what was to be done. The long Pikes of the *Macedonians* were of little uſe, when they were charged in flank by the *Roman* Targettiers; according to the direction given by *Æmylius*, when he ſaw the front of the Enemies great battle become unequal, and the ranks in ſome places open, by reaſon of the unequal reſiſtance which they found. Thus was the uſe of the *Phalanx* proved unavailable againſt many ſmall Squadrons, as it had been formerly in the battle of *Cynoſcephalæ*: yea this form of Embattailing was found unſerviceable againſt the other, by reaſon, that being not every where alike diſtreſſed, it would break of it ſelf; though here were little ſuch inconvenience of Ground, as had been at *Cynoſcephalæ*.

Perſeus, when he ſaw his battle begin to rout, turned his Bridle preſently, and ran amain towards *Pella*. All his Horſe eſcaped, in a manner untouched, and a great number followed him; the little harm which they had taken, witneſſing the little good ſervice which they had done. As for the poor Foot, they were left to the mercy of the Enemy: who ſlew above twenty Thouſand of them; though having little cauſe to be furious, as having loſt in that Battle, only ſome fourſcore, or ſixſcore men at the moſt. Some of the Foot, eſcaping from the execution, overtook the King and his Company in a Wood, where they fell to railing at the Horſe-men, calling them Cowards, Traitors, and ſuch other names, till at length they fell to blows. The King was in doubt leſt they had ill meaning to himſelf: and therefore turned out of the common way, being followed by ſuch as thought it good. The reſt of the company diſperſed themſelves: every one as his own occaſions guided him. Of thoſe that kept along with their King, the number began within a while to leſſen. For he fell to deviſing upon whom he might lay the blame of that days misfortune, which was moſt due to himſelf: thereby cauſing thoſe that knew his nature, to ſhrink away from him, how they could. At his coming to *Pella*, he found his Pages and Houſhold-ſervants, ready to attend him, as they had been wont. But of his great men that had eſcaped from the Battle, there was none appearing in the Court. In this melancholly time, there were two of his Treaſurers that had the boldneſs to come to him, and tell him roundly of his faults. But in reward of their unſeaſonable admonitions, he ſtabbed them both to death. After this, none whom he ſent for would come

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at him. This boded no good. Wherefore ſtanding in fear, leſt they that refuſed to come at his call, would ſhortly dare ſome greater miſchief, he ſtole out of *Pella* by night. Of his Friends he had with him only *Evander* (who had been employed to kill *Eumenes* at *Delphi*) and two other. There followed him likewiſe about 500 *Cretians*, more for love of his mony than of him. To theſe he gave of his Plate, as much as was worth about fifty Talents, though ſhortly he couſened them of ſome part thereof; making ſhew as if he would have redeemed it, but never paying the mony. The third day after the Battle he came to *Amphipolis*, where he exhorted the Townſ-men to fidelity with Tears: and his own ſpeech being hindered by Tears, he appointed *Evander* to ſpeak what himſelf would have uttered. But the *Amphilopitans* made it their chief care to look well to themſelves. Upon the firſt fame of the overthrow, they had emptied their Town of two thouſand *Thracians* that lay there in Garriſon: ſending them forth under colour of a gainful employment, and ſhutting the Gates after them. And now to be rid of the King, they plainly bad *Evander* to be gone. The King hearing this, had no mind to tarry: but Embarking himſelf and the Treaſure which he had there, in certain Veſſels that he found in the River *Strymon*; paſſed over the Iſle of *Samothrace*: where he hoped to live ſafe, by priviledges of the Religious Sanctuary therein.

Theſe miſerable ſhifts of the King make it the leſs doubtful, how all the Kingdom fell into the power of *Æmylius*, within ſo few days after his Victory. *Pydna*, which was neareſt at hand, was the laſt that yielded. About ſix Thouſand of the Souldiers, that were of ſundry Nations, fled out of the Battle into that Town; and prepared for defence: the confuſed rabble of ſo many ſtrangers hindering all deliberation and conſent. *Hippius*, who had kept the paſſage over *Oſſa* againſt *Martius*, with *Pantaucus*, who had been ſent Embaſſador to *Gentius* the *Illyrian*, were the firſt that came in: yielding themſelves, and the Town of *Berea*, whither they had retired out of the Battle. With the like meſſage came others from *Theſſalonica*, from *Pella*, and from all the Towns of *Macedon*, within two days: the loſs of the head bereaving the whole body of all ſenſe and ſtrength. Neither did they of *Pydna* ſtand out any longer, when they knew that the King had forſaken his Country: but opened their Gates upon ſuch terms, that the ſack of it was granted to the *Roman* Army. *Æmylius* ſent abroad into the Country, ſuch as he thought meeteſt, to take charge of other Cities: he himſelf marching towards *Pella*. He found in *Pella* no more than three hundred Talents: the ſame, whereof *Perſeus* had lately defrauded the *Illyrian*. But within a very little while he ſhall have more.

It was ſoon underſtood, that *Perſeus* had taken Sanctuary in the Temple at *Samothrace*: his own Letters to the Conſul confirming the report. He ſent theſe Letters by perſons of ſuch mean condition, that his caſe was pitied, for that he wanted the ſervice of better men. The ſcope of this writing was, to deſire favour: which, though he begged in terms ill beſeeming a King, yet ſince the inſcription of his Epiſtle was, *King Perſeus to the Conſul Paulus*; the Conſul, who had taken from him his Kingdom, and would not allow him to retain the Title, refuſed to make any anſwer thereunto. So there came other Letters, as humble as could be expected: whereby he craved and obtained, that ſome might be ſent to confer with him about matters of his preſent eſtate. Nevertheleſs, in this Conference, he was marvellouſly earneſt, that he might be allowed ſtill to retain the name of King. And to this end it was, perhaps, that he had ſo carefully preſerved his Treaſure, unto the very laſt: flattering himſelf with ſuch vain hopes as theſe: That the *Romans* would neither violate a Sanctuary, nor yet neglect thoſe great riches in his poſſeſſion; but compound with him for mony, letting him have his deſire to live at eaſe, and to be called King. Yea, it ſeems that he had indeed, even from the beginning, a deſire to live in this Iſle of *Samothrace*: both for that in one of his Conſultations about the War, he was dehorted by his Friends, from ſeeking to exchange his Kingdom of *Macedon*, for * ſuch a paltry Iſland; and for *Lib. l. 42.* that he offered to lay up the mony which *Eumenes* demanded, in the holy Temple that was there. But he finds it otherwiſe. They urge him to give place unto neceſſity, and, without more ado, to yield to the diſcretion and mercy of the people of *Rome*. This is ſo far againſt his mind, that the Conference breaks off without effect. Preſently there arrives at *Samothrace*, *Cn. Octavius* the *Roman* Admiral with his Fleet: who aſſayes, as well by terrible Threats, as by fair Language, to draw the King out of his lurking hole; wherein for fear of Impriſonment, he had now already Impriſoned himſelf. When all would not ſerve, a queſtion was moved to the *Samothracians*; How they durſt pollute their Temple, by receiving into it one that had violated the like holy priviledge of Sanctuary, by attempting the murder of King *Eumenes* at *Delphi*? This went to the quick. The *Samothracians*, being now in the power of the *Romans*, take this matter to heart; and ſent word to the King, that *Evander*, who lives with him in the Temple, is accuſed of an impious fact, committed at *Delphi*, whereof unleſs he can clear himſelf in judgement, he muſt not be ſuffered to prophane that holy place, by his abiding in it. The reverence born to his Majeſty, now paſt, makes them forbear to ſay, that *Perſeus* himſelf is charged with the ſame crime. But what will this avail, when the Miniſter of the fact being brought into Judgment, ſhall (as is to be feared) appeach the Author? *Perſeus* therefore willeth *Evander* to have conſideration of the little favour that can be expected at the *Romans* hand; who are like to be preſidents and overſeers of this judgement: ſo as it were better to dye valiantly, ſince none other hope remains, than to make good an ill cauſe; where, though he had a good plea, yet it could not help him. Of this motion *Evander* ſeems to like well: and either kills himſelf, or hoping to eſcape thence, by deferring the time as it were to get poyſon wherewith to end his life, is killed by the Kings commandment. The death of this man, who had ſtuck to *Perſeus* in all times of need, makes all the Kings friends that remained hitherto, to forſake him: ſo as none are left with him, ſave his wife and children, with his Pages. It is much to be ſuſpected, that they which leave him upon this occaſion, will tell perilous tales, and ſay, That the King hath loſt the priviledge of this holy Sanctuary, by murdering *Evander* therein. Or if the *Romans* will affirm ſo much, who ſhall dare to gainſay them? Since therefore there is nothing but a point of formality, and even that alſo liable to diſpute, which preſerves him from captivity, he purpoſeth to make an

escape, and fly, with his Treasures, unto *Cotys* his good friend, into *Thrace*. *Oroandes*, a *Cretian*, lay at *Samothrace* with one Ship; who easily was perswaded to waft the King thence. With all secrecy the Kings mony, as much as could be so conveyed, was carryed aboord by night; and the King himself; with his Wife and *Children (if rather it were not true, that he had with him only *Philip* his elder Son, being his Brother by nature) with much ado got out at a Window by a Rope, and over a Mud-wall. At his coming to the Sea-side, he found no *Oroandes* there: the *Cretian* had played a *Cretian* trick, and was gone with the mony to his own home. So it began to wax clear day, whilst *Perseus* was searching all along the Shore: who had stayed so long about this, that he might fear to be intercepted e're he could recover the Temple. He ran therefore amain towards his Lodging: and thinking it not safe to enter it the common way, lest he should be taken, he hid himself in an obscure Corner. His Pages missing him, ran up and down making inquiry; till *Octavius* made Proclamation, That all the Kings Pages, and *Macedonians* whatsoever, abiding with their Master in *Samothrace*, should have their lives and liberty, with all to them belonging, which they had either in that Isle, or at home in *Macedon*, conditionally, That they should presently yield themselves to the *Romans*. Hereupon they all came in. Likewise *Ion* a *Thessalian*, to whom the King had given the custody of his Children, delivered them up to *Octavius*. Lastly, *Perseus* himself, with his Son *Philip*, accusing the gods of *Samothrace*, that had no better protected him, rendred himself, and made the *Roman* Victory compleat. If he had not trusted in those gods of *Samothrace*, but employed his whole care in the defence of *Macedon*, without other hope of living, than of reigning therein; he might well have brought this War to an happier end. Now, by dividing his cogitations, and pursuing at once, those contrary hopes of saving his Kingdom by Arms, and himself by flight, he is become a spectacle of misery, and one among the number of those Princes, that have been wretched by their own default. He was presently sent away to *Æmylius*; before whom he fell to the ground so basely, that he seemed thereby to dishonour the Victory over himself, as gotten upon one of abject quality, and therefore the less to be esteemed. *Æmylius* used to him the language of a gentle Victor: blaming him, though mildly, for having, with so hostile a mind, made War upon the *Romans*. Hereto good answer might have been returned by one of better Spirit. As for *Perseus*, he answered all with a fearful silence. He was comforted with hope of life, or (as the Consul termed it) almost assurance; for that such was the mercy of the People at *Rome*. After these good words, being invited to the Consuls Table, and respectively entreated, he was committed prisoner to *Q. Ælius*.

Plutarch. in vit. Æmyl. Liv. lib. 45 Liv. l. 42.

Such end had this *Macedonian* War, after four years continuance: and such end therewithall had the Kingdom of *Macedon*; the glory whereof, that had sometime filled all parts of the World then known, was now translated unto *Rome*.

SECT. IX.

Gentius *King of the* Illyrians *taken by the* Romans.

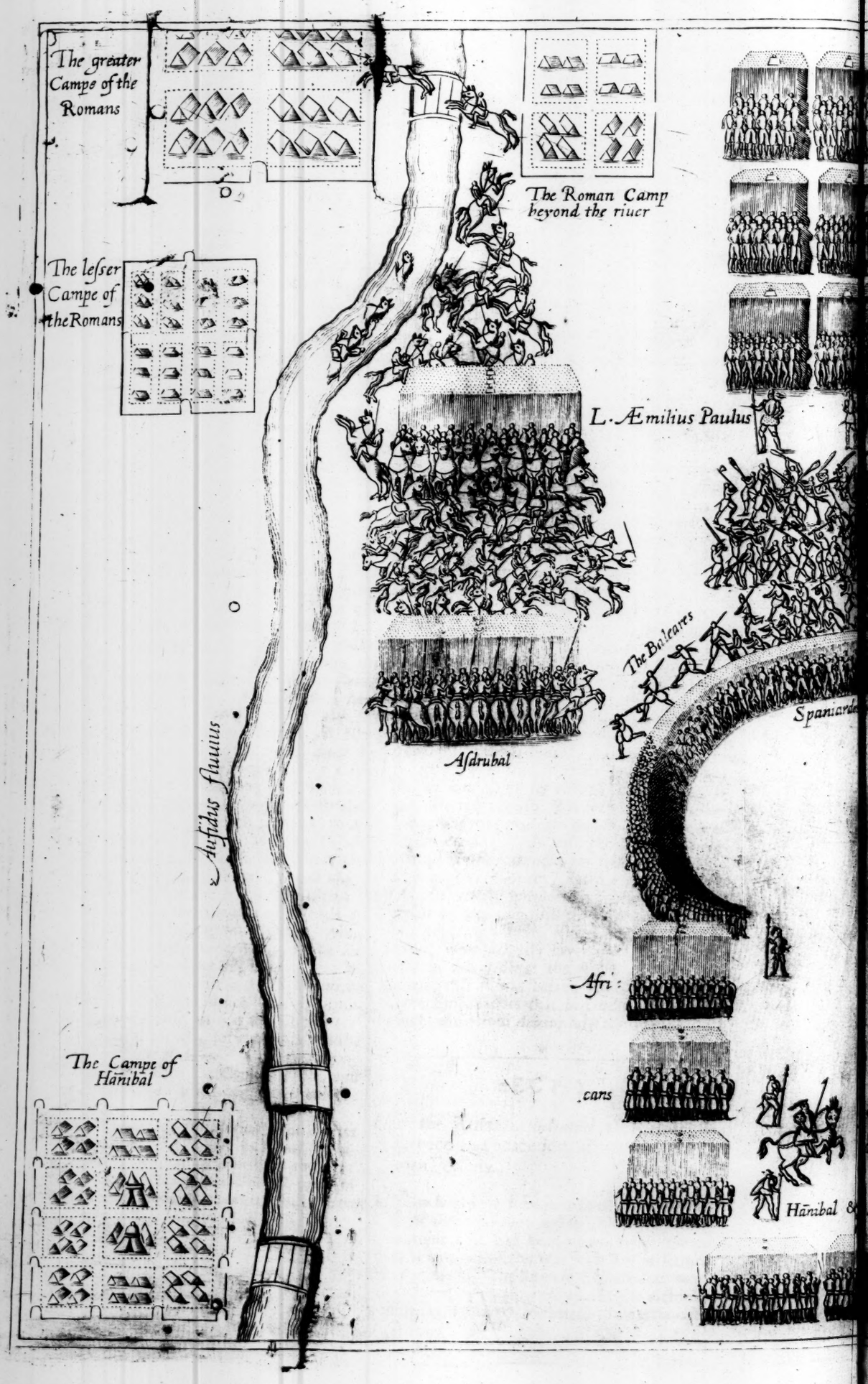
ABout the same time, and with like celerity, *Anicius* the *Romans* Prætor, who succeeded unto *App. Claudius*, had the like success against King *Gentius* the *Illyrian*. *Gentius* had an Army of fifteen Thousand; with which he was at *Lissus*, ready to assist King *Perseus* as soon as the mony should come, whereof he had received only ten Talents. But *Anicius* arrested him on the way, fought with him, overcame him, and drave him into *Scorda*. This Town was very defensible by nature, besides the help of Fortification; and strongly manned with all the force of *Illyria*; which, assisted with the Kings presence, made it seem unpossible to be won, in any, not a very long time. Yet *Anicius* was confident in his late Victory; and therefore presented his Army before the Walls, making countenance to give an assault. The *Illyrians*, that might easily have defended themselves within the Town, would needs issue forth and fight. They were, it seems, rather passionate than couragious: for they were beaten; and thereupon forthwith began amazed to treat about yielding. The King sent Embassadors; by whom, at first, he desired Truce for three days, that he might deliberate concerning his Estate. It ill became him, who had laid violent hands on the *Roman* Embassadors, to have recourse to such mediation. But he thought his own fault pardonable, in as much as hitherto there was no greater harm done by him, than the casting of those Embassadors into prison, where they were all alive. Having obtained three days respite, he passed up a River, within half a mile of the *Roman* Camp, into the Lake of *Scrdà*, as it were to consult the more privately; though indeed, to hearken whether the report were true, that his Brother *Caravantius* was coming to his rescue. Finding that no such help was toward, it is wonder, that he was so foolish as to return into *Scorda*. He sent messengers craving access unto the Prætor; before whom, having lamented his folly past (which, excepting the dishonesty, was not so great as his folly present) he fell down humbly, and yielded himself to discretion. All the Towns of his Kingdom, together with his Wife, Children, Brother, Friends, were presently given up. So this War ended in thirty days: the people of *Rome* not knowing that it was begun, until *Perpenna*, one of the Embassadors that had been imprisoned, brought word from *Anicius* how all had passed.

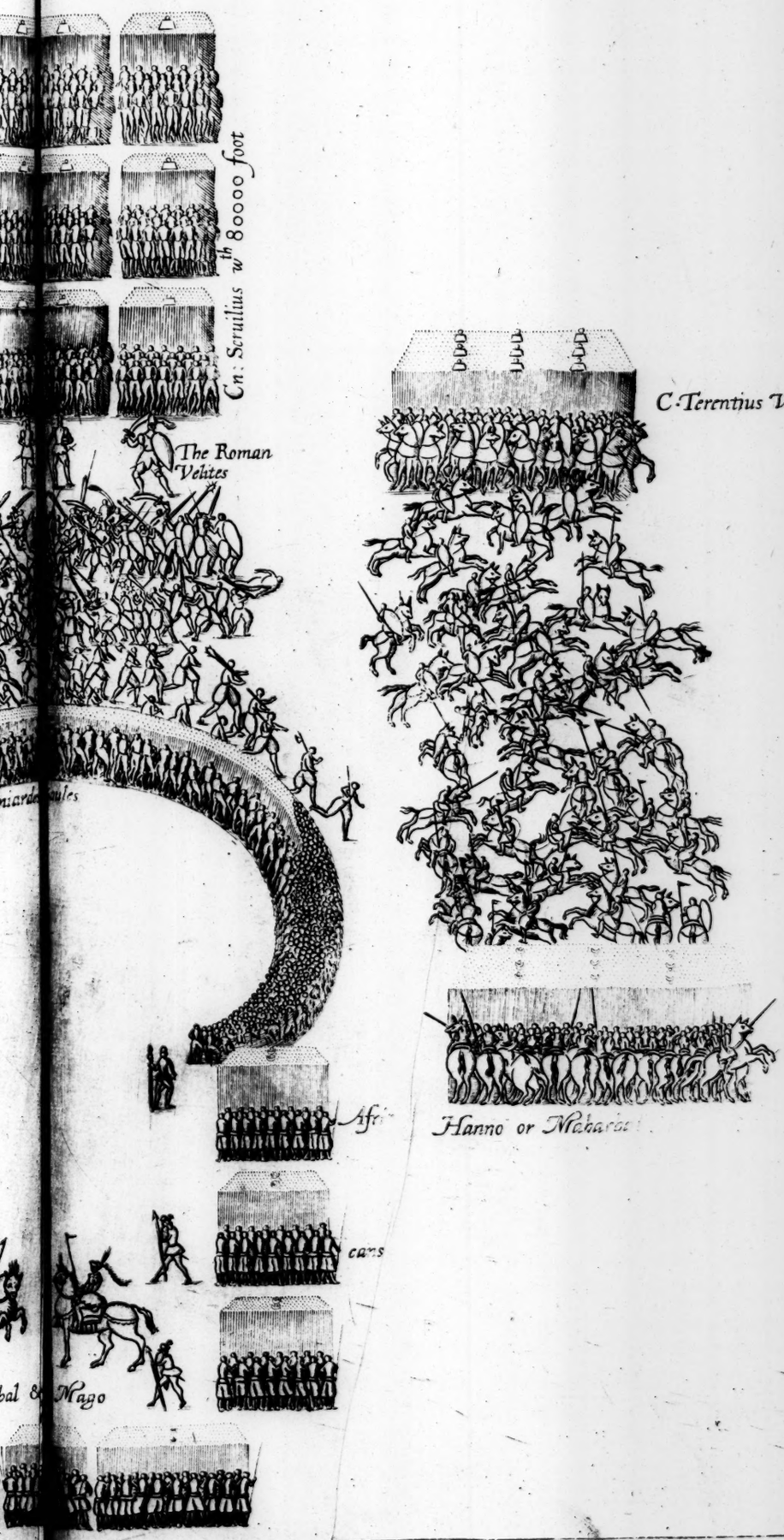
* *Called now Scutari.*

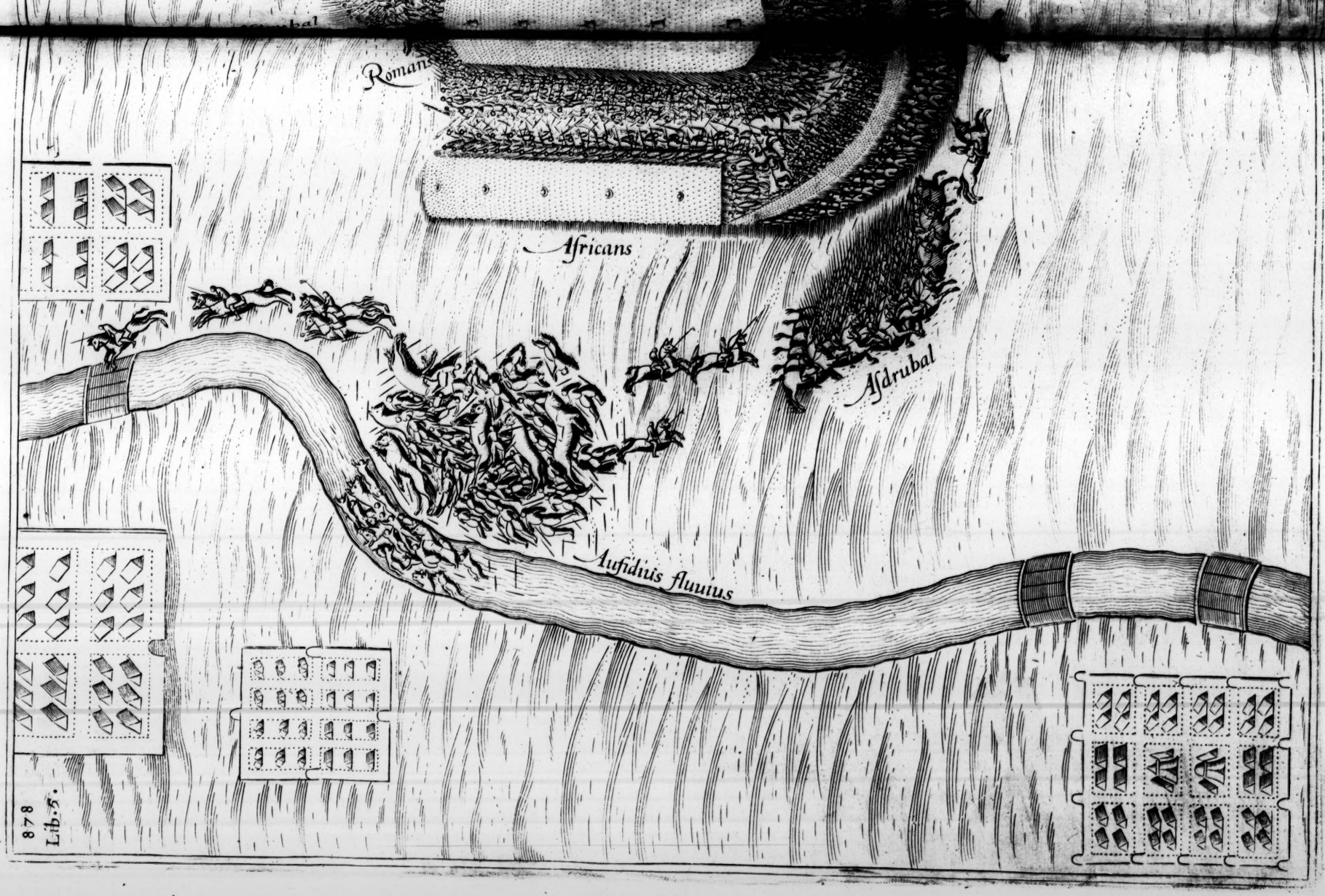
SECT. X.

How the Romans *behaved themselves in* Greece *and* Macedon, *after their Victory over* Perseus.

NOw began the *Romans* to swell with the pride of their fortune; and to look Tyrannically upon those that had been unmannerly toward them before, whilst the War with *Perseus* seemed full of danger. The *Rhodian* Embassadors were still at *Rome*, when the tydings of these Victories were brought thither. Wherefore it was thought good


The greater Campe of the Romans
The lesser Campe of the Romans
The Roman Camp beyond the riuer
L. Æmilius Paulus
The Baleares
Asdrubal
Afri:
cans
Hānibal &
Hānibal
Aufidus fluuius


Cn. Scrullius with 80000 foot
C. Terentius Varro
The Roman Velites
Hanno or Maharbal
Mago



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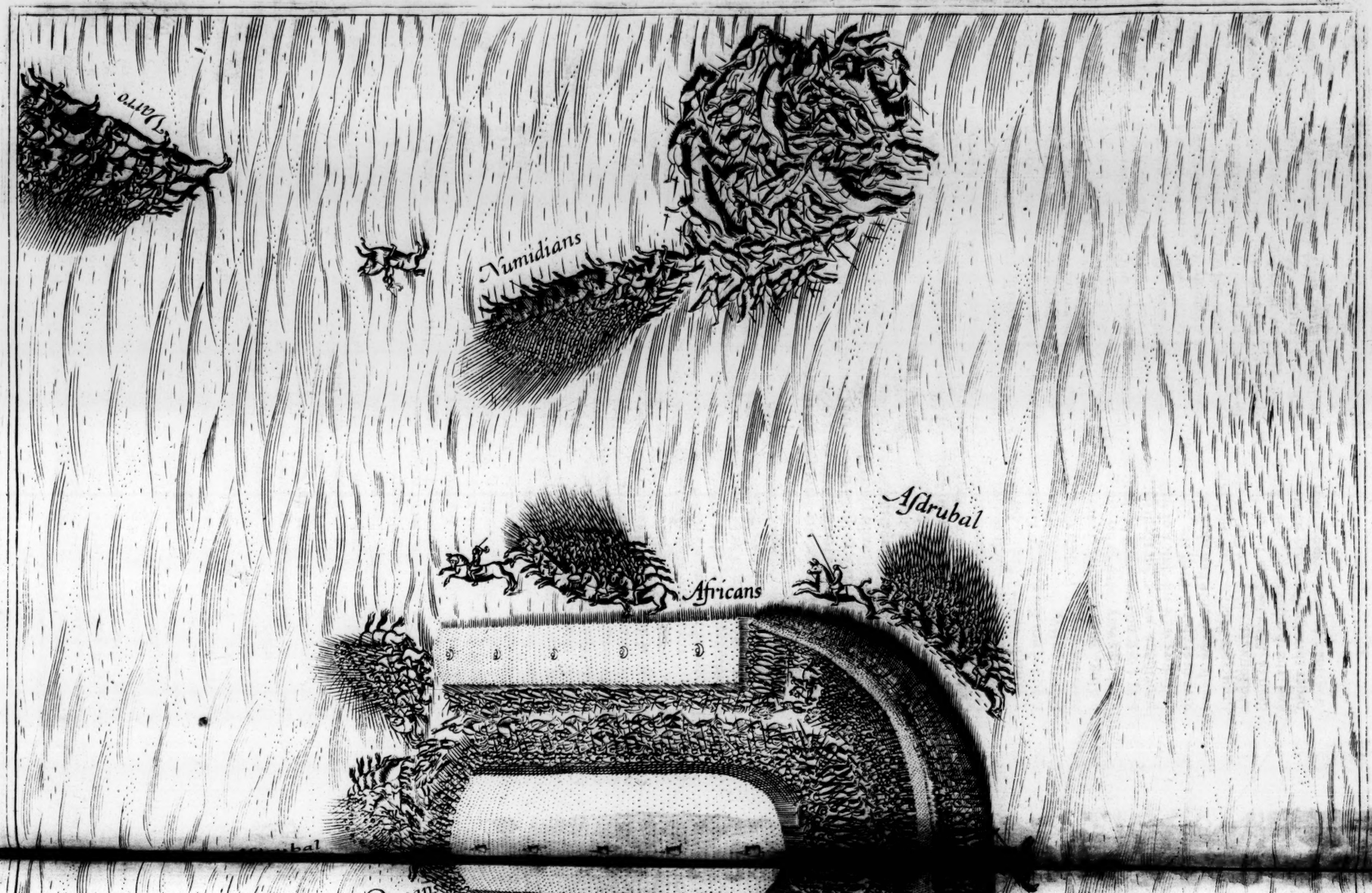

Numidians
Asdrubal
Africans

good to call them into the Senate, and bid them do their errand again. This they performed with a bad grace; saying, That they were sent from *Rhodes* to make an overture of Peace; forasmuch as it was thought, that this War was no less grievous to the *Romans* themselves, than to the *Macedonians* and many others: but that now they were very glad, and in behalf of the *Romans* did congratulate with the Senate and People of *Rome*, that it was ended much more happily than had been expected. Hereto the Senate made answer, That the *Rhodians* had sent this Embassage to *Rome*, not for love of *Rome*, but in favour of the *Macedonian*; whose partizans they were, and should so be taken. By these threats, and the desire of some (covetous of the charge) to have War proclaimed against *Rhodes*; the Embassadors were so affrighted, that in mourning Apparel, as humble Suppliants, they went about the City, beseeching all men, especially the great Ones, to pardon their indiscretion, and not to prosecute them with vengeance, for some foolish words. This danger of War from *Rome* being known at *Rhodes*, all that had been any whit averse from the *Romans* in the late War of *Macedon*, were either taken and condemned, or sent Prisoners to *Rome*; excepting some that slew themselves for fear, whose goods also were Confiscated. Yet this procured little grace; and less would have done, if old *M. Cato*, a man by nature vehement, had not uttered a mild sentence, and advertised the Senate, That in decreeing War against *Rhodes*, they should much dishonour themselves, and make it thought, that * rather the wealth of that City, which they were greedy to ransack, than any just cause, had moved them thereto. This consideration, together with their good deserts in the Wars of *Philip* and *Antiochus*, helped well the *Rhodians*: among whom, none of any mark remained alive, save those that had been of the *Roman* Faction. All which notwithstanding, many years passed, e're by importunate suit, they could be admitted into the society of the *Romans*: a favour which till now they had not esteemed; but thought themselves better without it, as equal Friends.

Cæsar. in orat. apud Sallust. de conjurat. Catilinæ.

With the like, or greater severity, did the *Romans* make themselves terrible in all parts of *Greece*. *Æmylius* himself made progress thorow the Country; visiting all the famous places therein, as for his pleasure: yet not forgetting to make them understand what power he had over them. More than five hundred of the chief Citizens in *Demetrias*, were slain at one time by those of the *Roman* Faction, and with help of the *Roman* Souldiers. Others fled, or were banished, and their Goods Confiscated. Of which things, when complaint was made to the Consul, the redress was such, as requited not the pains of supplication. His friends, that is to say, those which betrayed unto the *Romans* the liberty of their Country, he feasted like a King, with excessive chear; yet so, that he had all things very cheap in his Camp: an easie matter, since no man durst be backward in sending provisions, nor set on them the due price. Embassadors were likewise sent from *Rome*, some, to give order for settling the Estate of *Macedon* towards which they had more particular instruction from the Senate, than was usual in such case; and some, to visit the affairs of *Greece*. The Kingdom of *Macedon* was set at liberty by *Æmylius*, and the Embassadors, his Assistants, who had order therefore from the Senate. But this liberty was such as the *Romans* used to bestow. The best part of it was, That the Tribute which had been payed unto the Kings, was lessened by half. As for the rest, the Country was divided into four parts, and they forbidden Commerce one with the other. All the Nobility were sent Captive into *Italy*, with their Wives and Children, as many as were above fifteen years old. The ancient Laws of the Country were abrogated: and new given by *Æmylius*. Such mischief the Senate thought it better to do, at the first alteration of things in this Province, and in the time of Conquest, then otherwise to leave any inconvenience that should be worse in the future. But concerning the *Greeks*, that were not Subjects to *Rome*, the things done to them could deserve no better name than meer Tyranny: yea, and shameless perjury; were it not so, that the familiar custom, among Princes and great Estates, of violating Leagues, doth make the Oaths of confœderation seem of no validity. The Embassadors that were sent to visit the *Greeks*, called before them all such men of note, from every quarter, as had any way discovered an unserviceable disposition towards the *Romans*. These they sent to *Rome*; where they were made sure enough. Some of these had sent Letters to *Perseus*, which fell at length into the *Romans* hands: and in that respect, though they were not Subjects; yet wanted there not colour, for using them as Traitors, or at least as Enemies. But since only two men were beheaded, for having been openly on the *Macedonian* side: and since it is confessed, that the good *Patriots* were no less afflicted in this inquisition, than they that had sold themselves to the King: this manner of proceeding was inexcusable Tyranny. With the *Achæans* these Embassadors were to deal more formally; not so much because that Common-wealth was strong; (though this were to be regarded by them, having no Commission to make or denounce War) and like to prove untractable, if manifest wrong were offered; as for that there appeared no manner of sign, by Letters, or otherwise, whereby any one of the *Achæans* could be suspiciously charged to have held correspondence with the *Macedonian*. It was also so, that neither *Callicrates*, nor any of his Adherents, had been employed by the Nation, in doing or suffering their service to the *Romans*; but only such as were the best *Patriots*. Yet would not therefore the Embassadors neglect to use the benefit of the time: wherein, since all men trembled for fear of *Rome*, the season served fitly to rank the *Achæans* with the rest. And hereto *Callicrates* was very urgent: fearing, and procuring them to fear in behalf of him and his friends, that if some sharp order were not now taken, he and his fellows should be made to pay for their mischievous devices e're long time passed. So the Embassadors came among the *Achæans*: where one of them, in open Assembly of the Nation, spake, as *Callicrates* had before instructed him. He said, That some of the chief among them, had with mony and other means befriended *Perseus*. This being so, he desired that all such men might be condemned; whom, after sentence given, he would name unto them. After sentence given (cryed out the whole Assembly) what Justice were this? Name them first, and let them answer; which if they cannot well do, we will soon condemn them: Then said the *Roman* boldly, That all their Prætors, as many as had led their Armies, were guilty of this crime. If this were true, said *Xenon*, a temperate man, and confident in his innocence, than should

I like-

I likewiſe have been friend to *Perſeus*: whereof, if any man accuſe me, I ſhall throughly anſwer him, either here preſently, or before the Senate at *Rome*. Upon theſe words of *Xenon*, the Embaſſador laid hold and ſaid, That even ſo it were the beſt way, for him and the reſt to purge themſelves before the Senate at *Rome*. Then began he to name others, and left not until he had cited above a Thouſand; willing them to appear and anſwer before the Senate. This might even be termed the Captivity of *Greece*; wherein ſo many of the honeſteſt and worthieſt men were carried from home, for none other cauſe, than their love unto their Country; to be puniſhed according to the will of thoſe, who could not endure, that virtue, and regard of the publick liberty, ſhould dwell together in any of the *Greeks*. At their coming to *Rome*, they were all caſt into Priſon, as men already condemned by the *Achæans*. Many Embaſſages were ſent from *Achaia*, (where it is to be wondred, that any ſuch honeſt care of theſe innocent men could be remaining: ſince honeſty had been thus puniſhed as a Vice, in ſo many of the worthieſt among them) to inform the Senate, that theſe men were neither condemned by the *Achæans*, nor yet held to be offenders. But inſtead of better anſwer, it was pronounced; That the *Senate thought it not expedient for the Country, that theſe men ſhould return into* Achaia. Neither could any ſolicitation of the *Achæans*, who never ceaſed to importune the Senate for their liberty, prevail at all; until after ſeventeen years, fewer than thirty of them were inlarged, of whom that wiſe and virtuous man *Polybius* the great Hiſtorian, was one. All the reſt were either dead in priſon, or, having made offer to eſcape, whether upon the way before they came to *Rome*, or whether out of Jayle, after that they were committed thereto, ſuffered death as Malefactors.

This was a gentle correction, in regard of what was done upon the *Epirots*. For the Senate being deſirous to preſerve the *Macedonian* Treaſure whole; yet withall, to gratifie the Souldiers, gave order, that the whole Country of *Epirus* ſhould be put to ſack. This was a barbarous and horrible cruelty; as alſo it was performed by *Æmylius* with miſchievous ſubtilty. Having taken leave of the *Greeks*, and of the *Macedonians*, with bidding them well to uſe the liberty beſtowed upon them by the people of *Rome*; he ſent unto the *Epirots* for ten of the principal men out of every City. Theſe he commanded to deliver up all the Gold and Silver which they had; and ſent along with them, into every of their Towns, what companies of men he thought convenient, as it were to fetch the mony. But he gave ſecret inſtructions to the Captains, that upon a certain day by him appointed, they ſhould fall to ſack, every one the Town whereinto he was ſent. Thus in one day were threeſcore and ten Cities, all confederate with the *Roman* Souldiers; and beſides other acts of Hoſtility in a time of Peace, a hundred and fifty Thouſand of that Nation made Slaves. It may be granted, that ſome of the *Epirots* deſerved puniſhment, as having favoured *Perſeus*. But ſince they among this people, that were thought guilty of this offence; yea, or but coldly affected to the *Romans*, had been already ſent into *Italy*, there to receive their due; and ſince this Nation, in general, was not only at the preſent in good obedience, but had even in this War done good ſervice againſt the *Romans*; I hold this act ſo wicked, that I ſhould not believe it, had any one Writer delivered the contrary. But the truth being manifeſt by conſent of all, it is the leſs marvellous that God was pleaſed to make *Æmylius* Childleſs, even in the Glory of his Triumph, how great ſoever otherwiſe his virtues were.

In ſuch manner dealt the *Romans*, after their Victory with the *Greeks* and *Macedonians*. How terrible they were to other Kingdoms abroad, it will appear by the efficacy of an Embaſſage ſent from them to *Antiochus*; whereof, before we ſpeak, we muſt ſay ſomewhat of *Antiochus* his foregoers, of himſelf, and of his affairs about which theſe Embaſſadors came.

SECT. XI.

The War of Antiochus *upon* Egypt *brought to end by the* Roman *Embaſſadors.*

ANtiochus the Great, after his Peace with the *Romans*, did nothing that was memorable in the ſhort time following of his Reign and Life. He died the ſix and thirtieth year after he had worn a Crown, and in the ſeventeenth or eighteenth of *Ptolomy Epiphanes*; while he attempted to rob the Temple of *Bell*, or according to *Juſtine*) of *Jupiter*. He left behind three Sons, *Seleucus Philopator*, *Antiochus Epiphanes*, *Demetrius Soter*; and one Daughter, *Cleopatra*, whom he had given in marriage to *Ptolomy Epiphanes* King of *Egypt*. *Seleucus*, the fourth of that name, and the eldeſt of *Antiochus* his Sons; reigned in *Syria* twelve years, according to *Euſebius*, *Appian*, and *Sulpitius*: though *Joſephus* give him but ſeven years. A Prince, who, as he was ſlothful by nature, ſo the great loſs which his Father *Antiochus* had received, took from him the means of managing of any great affair. Of him, about three hundred years before his birth, *Daniel* gave this Judgement, *Et ſtabit in loco ejus viliſſimus & indignus decore regio. And in his place* (ſpeaking of *Antiochus*, the Father of this man) *ſhall ſtart up a vile perſon, unworthy the honour of a King.* Under this *Seleucus*, thoſe things were done which are ſpoken of *Onias* the high Prieſt, in theſe words, and others to the ſame effect: *What time as the holy City was inhabited with all Peace, becauſe of the godlineſs of* Onias *the Prieſt, it came to paſs, that even the King did honour the place, and garniſhed the Temple with great gifts.* And all that is written in the third Chapter of the ſecond of *Maccabees*, of *Simon*, of *Benjamin*, who by *Appollonius* betrayed the Treaſure of the Temple: and of *Heliodorus* ſent by the King to ſeize them; of his miraculous ſtriking by God, and his recovery at the prayers of *Onias*, of the Kings death, and of his ſucceſſor *Antiochus Epiphanes*. It is therefore from the reign of this King, that the Books of the *Maccabees* take beginning. Which Books ſeem not to be delivered by one and the ſame hand. For the firſt Book, although it touch upon *Alexander* the Great, yet it hath nothing elſe of his Story; nor of the acts of his Succeſſors, till the time of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, the Brother and Succeſſor of this *Seleucus*, from whom downward to the death of *Simon Maccabæus* (who died in the hundred threeſcore and ſeventeen year of the *Greeks* in *Syria*) that firſt Book treateth. The Author of the ſecond Book, although he take the Story ſomewhat further off, by way of a Proeme, yet he

Strab. l. 16. Juſt. l. 35.

Euſeb. in Chro. App. de bell. Syr. Ant. 22. l. 5.

Dan. 11. 21. 2 Mac. 3.

endeth

endeth with the hundred and one and fiftieth year of the *Grecian* Reign, and with the death of *Nicanor*, slain by *Judas*: remembring in the fourth Chapter the practice of *Jason* the Brother of *Onias*; who, after the death of *Seleucus*, prevailed with *Antiochus Epiphanes*, his successor, for the Priesthood. It is also held by *Jansenius*, and other grave Writers, that it was in the time of this *Onias*, that *Arius* King of the *Spartans* sent Embassadors to the *Jews*, as to their Brothers and Kinsmen. Which intelligence between them and the *Greeks*, *Jonathan* the Brother and Successor of *Judas*, remembreth in the Preamble of that Epistle, which he himself directed to the people of *Sparta* by *Numenius* and *Antipater* his Embassadors, whom he employed at the same time to the Senate of *Rome*; repeating also the former Letters word by word, which *Arius* had sent to *Onias* the high Priest, whereto *Josephus* adds, that the name of the *Lacedæmonian* Embassador was *Demoteles*, and that the Letters had a square Volume, and were sealed with an Eagle holding a Dragon in her Claws.

1 Mac. 12.

Super Eccl. c. 5.

Now to this *Seleucus*, the fourth of that name, succeeded *Antiochus Epiphanes*, in the hundred and seven and thirtieth year of the *Greeks* in *Syria*. He was the second Son of the Great *Antiochus*: and he obtained his Kingdom by procuring the death of the King his Brother; which also he usurped from his Brothers Son.

Ptolomy Philometor, his Nephew by his Sister *Cleopatra*, being then very young, had been about seven years King of *Egypt*.

Ptolomy Epiphanes, the Father of this King *Philometor*, had reigned in *Egypt* four and twenty year, in great quiet, but doing little or nothing that was memorable. *Philip* of *Macedon*, and the Great *Antiochus*, had agreed to divide his Kingdom between them, whilst he was a Child. But they found such other business e're long with the *Romans* as made them give over their unjust purpose; especially *Antiochus*, who gave with his Daughter in marriage, unto this *Ptolomy*, the Provinces of *Cœlosyria*, *Phœnice*, and *Judæa*, which he had won by his Victory over *Scopas*, that was General of the *Egyptian* Forces in those parts. Nevertheless, *Ptolomy* adhered to the *Romans*: whereby he lived in the greater security. He left behind his two Sons, this *Ptolomy Philometor*, and *Ptolomy Physcon*; with a Daughter *Cleopatra*. *Cleopatra* was wife to the elder of her Brethren, and after his death to the younger, by whom she was cast off, and her Daughter taken in her stead. Such were the marriages of these *Egyptian* Kings.

Ptolomy Philometor, so called (that is, the Lover of his Mother) by a bitter nick-name, because he slew her, fell into hatred with his Subjects, and was like to be chased out of his Kingdom, his younger Brother being set up against him. *Physcon* having a strong party, got possession of *Alexandria*; and *Philometor* held himself in *Memphis*, craving succour of King *Antiochus* his Uncle. Hereof *Antiochus* was glad: who under colour to take upon him the protection of the young Prince, sought by all means possible to possess himself of that Kingdom. He sent *Apollonius* the Son of *Mnestheus* Embassador into *Egypt*, and under colour to assist the Kings Coronation, he gave him instructions to perswade the Governours of the young King *Philometor*, to deliver the King his Nephew, with the principal places of that Kingdom, into his hands; pretending an extraordinary care and desire of his Nephews safety and well doing. And the better to answer all arguments to the contrary, he prepared a forcible Army to attend him. Thus came he along the Coast of *Syria* to *Joppe*, and from thence on the sudden he turned himself towards *Jerusalem*; where, by *Jason* the Priest, (a Chaplain fit for such a Patron) he was with all pomp and solemnity received into the City. For though lately, in the time of *Seleucus*, the Brother and Predecessor of *Epiphanes*, that impious Traitor *Simon* of the Tribe of *Benjamin*, Ruler of the Temple, when he would have delivered the Treasures thereof to *Apollonius*, Governour of *Cœlisoria* and *Phœnicia*, was disappointed of his wicked purpose by miracle from Heaven; the said *Apollonius* being strucken by the Angel of God, and recovering again at the prayer of *Onias*: yet sufficed not this example to terrifie others from the like ungodly practices. Presently upon the death of *Seleucus*, this *Jason*, the Brother of *Onias*, seeking to supplant his Brother, and to obtain the Priesthood for himself, offered unto the King three hundred and threescore Talents of silver, with other rents and sums of mony. So he got his desire, though he not long enjoyed it.

2 Mac. 4.

2 Mac. 3.

3 Mac 4.

This naughty dealing of *Jason*, and his being over-reached by another in the same kind, calls to mind a by-word taken up among the *Achæans*, when as that mischievous *Callicrates*, who had been too hard for all worthy and virtuous men, was beaten at his own weapon, by one of his own condition. It was thus:

One Fire than other burns more forcibly,
One Wolf than other Wolves does bite more sore,
One Hawk than other Hawks more swift does fly:
So one most mischievous of men before,
Callicrates, *false knave as knave might be,*
Met with Menalcidas *more false than he.*

And even thus it fell out with *Jason*: who within three years after was betrayed, and overbidden by *Menelaus* the Brother of *Simon*, that for three hundred Talents more obtained the Priesthood for himself: *Jason* thereupon being forced to fly from *Jerusalem*, and to hide himself among the *Ammonites*.

From *Jerusalem*, *Antiochus* marched into *Phœnicia*, to augment the numbers of his men of War, and to prepare a Fleet for his expedition into *Egypt*; with which, and with a mighty Army of Land-forces, *He went about to reign over* Egypt, *that he might have the dominion of two Realms, and entred* Egypt *with a mighty company; with Chariots and Elephants, with Horsemen, and with a great Navy, and moved War against* Ptolemæus *King of* Egypt; *but* Ptolemæus *was afraid of him, and fled, and many were wounded to death. He won many strong Cities, and took away the spoils of the Land of* Egypt. Thus was fulfilled the Prophecy of *Daniel*: *He shall enter into the quiet and plentiful Provinces, and he shall do that which his Fathers have not done, nor his Fathers Father.* Never indeed had any of the Kings of *Syria* so great a Victory over the *Egyptians*, nor took from them so great riches. For he gave a notable overthrow to the Captains of *Ptolomy*, between *Pelusium*, and the Hill *Cassius*, after which he entred and sackt the greatest and richest of all the Cities of *Egypt*, *Alexandria* excepted, which he could not force. In conclusion, after that *Antiochus* had smitten *Egypt*, *he turned again, and went up towards* Israel *and* Jerusalem *with a mighty people, and entred proudly into the Sanctuary, and took away the Golden Altar,*

1 Mac. 1. 17.

V. 18. 19, 20, &c.

Dan. 11. 24

Hier. in Dan.

Mal. 1. 2. c. 1.

Altar, and the Candleſtick for the light, and all the inſtruments thereof, and the table of the Shew-bread, and the pouring Veſſels, and the Bells, and the Golden Baſons, and the Vail, and the Crowns, and the Golden Apparel. He took alſo the Silver, and the Gold, and the precious Jewels, and the ſecret Treaſures: and when he had taken away all, he departed into his own Land, after he had murdered many men.

Lib. 6. It was about the beginning of the *Macedonian* War, that *Antiochus* took in hand this *Egyptian* buſineſs. At what time he firſt laid claim to *Cœloſyria*, juſtifying his title by * the ſame allegations ** Cap. 5. ſect. 2.* which his Father had made; and ſtiffly averting, that this Province had not been conſigned over to the *Egyptian*, or given in dowry with *Cleopatra*. Eaſie it was to approve his right unto that which he had already gotten, when he was in a fair way to get all *Egypt*: The *Achæans*, *Rhodians*, *Athe-* *Polyb Leg. 81, 82, &c.* *nians*, and other of the *Greeks*, preſſed him, by ſeveral Embaſſages, to ſome good concluſion. But his anſwer was, that if the *Alexandrians* could be contented to receive their King his Nephew *Philometor*, the elder Brother of the *Ptolomies*, then ſhould the War be preſently at an end; otherwiſe not. Yet when he ſaw that it was an hard piece of work to take *Alexandria* by force: he thought it better to let the two Brothers conſume themſelves with inteſtine War, than by the terrour of his Arms, threatning deſtruction unto both of them, to put into them any deſire of coming to agreement. He therefore withdrew his Forces for the preſent; leaving the *Ptolomies* in very weak eſtate, the younger almoſt ruinated by his invaſion, the elder hated and forſaken by his people.

But how weak ſoever theſe *Egyptians* were, their hatred was thought to be ſo ſtrong, that *Antiochus* might leave them to the proſecution thereof; and follow, at good leiſure, his other buſineſs at *Jeruſalem*, or elſewhere. So after the ſack of *Jeruſalem*, he reſted him a while at *Antioch*, and then made a journey into *Cilicia*, to ſuppreſs the Rebellion of the *Thracians*, and others in thoſe parts, who had been given, as it were, by way of dowry, to a Concubine of the Kings, called *Antiochis*. For Governour of *Syria* in his abſence, he left one *Andronichus*, a man of great authority about him. In the mean while, *Menelaus*, the Brother of *Simon*, the ſame who had thruſt *Jaſon* out of the Prieſthood, and promiſed the King three hundred Talents for an In-come; committing the charge of the Prieſthood to his Brother *Lyſimachus*, ſtole certain Veſſels of Gold out of the Temple: whereof he preſented a part to *Andronichus* the Kings Lieutenant, and ſold the reſt at *Tyre*, and other Cities adjoyning. This he did, as it ſeemeth to advance the payment of the three hundred Talents promiſed; the ſame being now by *Soſtratus* eagerly demanded. Hereof when *Onias* the Prieſt (formerly diſpoſſeſſed by *Jaſon*) had certain knowledge, being moved with zeal, and deteſting the ſacriledge of *Menelaus*, he reproved him for it; and fearing his revenge, he withdrew himſelf into a Sanctuary at *Daphne*.

Daphne was a place of delight, adjoyning as a ſuburb to *Antioch*. In compaſs it had about ten miles: wherein were the Temples of *Apollo* and *Diana*, with a Grove, ſweet Springs, banquetting places, and the like; which were wholly, in a manner, abuſed to luſt, and other ſuch voluptuouſneſs. Whether it were well done of *Onias* to commit himſelf to the protection of *Apollo* and *Diana*, or to claim priviledge from the Holineſs of a ground conſecrated to any of the Heathen Gods, I will not ſtand to diſcourſe. Only I ſay for mine own opinion, that the inconvenience is far leſs, to hold this Book as Apocryphal, than to judge this fearful ſhift which *Onias* (though a virtuous man) made for his life, either commendable or allowable, as the Book ſeems to do. As for this refuge, it could not ſave the life of the poor old man: *for* Menelaus *taking* Andronichus *apart, prayed him to ſlay* Onias. *So when he came to* Onias, *he counſelled him craftily, giving him his right hand with an Oath,* *2 Mac. 2. 4.* *and perſwaded him to come out of the Sanctuary; ſo he ſlew him incontinently, without any regard of righteouſneſs.* Hereof when complaint was made to *Antiochus* after his return out of *Cilicia*, *He took away* Andronichus *his garment of purple, and rent his clothes, and commanded him to be led throughout* *2 Mac. 4.* *the City; and in the ſame place where he had com-* *38.* *mitted the wickedneſs againſt* Onias, *he was ſlain as a murderer.* In taking revenge of this innocent mans death, I ſhould have thought that this wicked King had once in his life time done Juſtice. But preſently after this, at the ſuit of one *Ptolomy*, a Traitor to *Ptolomy Philometor*, he condemned innocent men to death, who juſtly complained againſt *Menelaus*, and his Brother *Lyſimachus*, for a ſecond robbing of the Temple, and carrying thence the Veſſels of Gold remaining. Hereby it is manifeſt, that he was guided by his own outragious will, and not by any regard of Juſtice: ſince he revenged the death of *Onias*, he ſlew thoſe that were in the ſame cauſe with *Onias*; *Who, had they told their* *Verſe 47.* *cauſe yea, before the* Scythians, *they ſhould have been heard as innocent.* By reaſon of ſuch his unſteadineſs, this King was commonly termed *Epimanes*, that is, Mad, inſtead of *Epiphanes*, which ſignifieth Noble, or Illuſtrious.

After this, *Antiochus* made preparation for a *2 Mac. 5. 1.* ſecond Voyage into *Egypt*, *and then were there ſeen throughout all the City of* Jeruſalem, *forty days long, Horſemen running in the Air with Robes of Gold, and as Bands of Spear-men, and as Troops of Horſemen ſet in array, encountring and courſing one againſt another.* Of theſe prodigious ſigns, or rather forewarnings of God, all Hiſtories have delivered us, ſome more, ſome leſs. Before the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* by *Veſpatian*, a Star in the form of a Sword appeared in the Heavens directly over the City, after which there followed a ſlaughter like unto this of *Epiphanes*, though far greater. In *Plin. lib. 2. cap. 57.* the *Cymbrian* Wars, *Pliny* tells us, that the Armies were ſeen fighting in the Air from the morning till the evening.

In the time of Pope *John* the eleventh, a fountain poured out blood inſtead of Water, in or near the City of *Genoa*; ſoon after which the City was taken by the *Saracens*, with great ſlaughter. Of *Mercur. Vipere de Prodig. l. 8* theſe and the like prodigious ſigns, *Vipera* hath col- *Vipira de priſco & ſacro inſti-* lected many, and very remarkable. But this one *tuto.* ſeemeth to me moſt memorable, becauſe the moſt notorious. All men know, that in the Emperour *Nero*, the off-ſpring of the *Cæſars*, as well natural as adopted, took end; whereof this notable ſign gave warning.

When *Livia* was firſt married to *Auguſtus*, an *Suet. Galba* Eagle let fall into her Arms a white Hen, holding a Lawrel branch in her mouth. *Livie* cauſed this Hen to be carefully nouriſhed, and the Lawrel branch to be planted: of the Hen came a fair increaſe of white Poultry; and from the little branch there ſprang up in time a Grove of Lawrel; ſo that afterwards, in all Triumphs, the Conquerours did uſe to carry in their hands a branch of Bayes taken out of this Grove; and after the Triumphs ended,

ended, to ſet it again in the ſame ground: which Branches were obſerved, when they happened to wither, to foreſhew the death of thoſe perſons who carried them in Triumph. And in the laſt year of *Nero*, all the broods of the white Hens died, and the whole Grove of Bayes withered at once. Moreover, the heads of all the *Cæſars* Statues, and the Scepter placed in *Auguſtus* his hand, were ſtricken down with lightning. That the *Jews* did not think ſuch ſtrange ſigns to be unworthy of regard; it appears by their calling upon *God*, and praying, that theſe tokens might turn to good.

Now, as the firſt voyage of *Antiochus* into *Egypt*, was occaſioned by diſcord of the two Brethren therein Reigning; ſo was this ſecond Expedition cauſed by their good agreement. For the elder *Ptolomy* being left in *Memphis*, not ſtrong enough to force his Brother, who had defended *Alexandria* againſt all the power of their Uncle; thought it the beſt way to ſeek entrance into that royal City, rather by perſwaſion, than by Arms. *Phyſcon* had not yet forgotten the terrour of the former ſiege: the *Alexandrines*, though they loved not *Philometor*, yet loved they worſe to live in ſcarcity of Victuals (which was already great among them, and like to grow extream) ſince nothing was brought in from the Country; and the Friends of the younger Brother ſaw no likelihood of good iſſue to be hoped for without reconciliation. Theſe good helps, and above all theſe, the loving diſpoſition of *Cleopatra*, who then was in *Alexandria*, encouraged *Philometor* in his purpoſe. But that which made him earneſtly deſirous to accompliſh it, was the fear wherein he ſtood of his Uncle. For though *Antiochus* was gone out of *Egypt* with his Army; yet had he left behind him a ſtrong Garriſon in *Peluſium*: retaining that City, which was the Key of *Egypt*, to his own uſe. This conſideration wrought alſo with *Phyſcon*, and with thoſe that were about him; ſo as by the vehement mediation of *Cleopatra* their Siſter, the two Brethren made an end of all quarrels.

When the news of this accord was brought to *Antiochus*, he was greatly enraged, for notwithſtanding that he had pretended no other thing than the eſtabliſhment of the King *Philometor* his Nephew, and a meaning to ſubject his younger Brother unto him, which he gave in anſwer to all Embaſſadors, yet he now prepared to make a ſharp War upon them both. And to this end he preſently furniſhed and ſent out his Navy towards *Cyprus*, and drew his Land Army into *Cœloſyria*, ready to enter *Egypt* the Spring following. When he was on his way as far as *Rhinocorura*, he met with Embaſſadors ſent from *Ptolomy*. Their errand was partly to yield thanks to *Antiochus* for the eſtabliſhing of *Philometor* in his Kingdom, partly to beſeech him, That he would rather be pleaſed to ſignifie what he required to have done in *Egypt*, which ſhould be performed, than to enter it as an Enemy with ſo puiſſant an Army. But *Antiochus* returned this ſhort anſwer, That he would neither call back his Fleet, nor withdraw his Army, upon any other condition; than that *Ptolomy* ſhould ſurrender into his hands, together with the City of *Peluſium*, the whole Territory thereto belonging: and that he ſhould alſo abandon and leave unto him the Iſle of *Cyprus*, with all the right that he had unto either of them, for ever. For anſwer unto theſe demands, he ſet down a day certain, and a ſhort one. Which being come and paſt, without any accord made, the *Syrian* Fleet entred *Nilus*, and recovered as well thoſe places which appertained to *Ptolomy* in *Arabia*, as in *Egypt* it ſelf; for *Memphis*, and all about it, received *Antiochus*, being unable to reſiſt him. The King having now no ſtop in his way to *Alexandria*, paſſed on thitherwards by eaſie journeys.

Of all theſe troubles paſt, as well as of the preſent danger wherein *Egypt* ſtood, the *Romans* had notice long ago. But they ſound, or were contented to find, little reaſon for them to intermeddle therein. For it was a Civil War: and wherein *Antiochus* ſeemed to take part with the juſter cauſe. Yet they gave ſignification, that it would be much diſpleaſing unto them, to have the Kingdom of *Egypt* taken from the rightful owners. More they could not, or would not do; being troubled with *Perſeus*; and therefore loth to provoke *Antiochus* too far. Nevertheleſs, the *Egyptian* Kings being reconciled and ſtanding joyntly in need of help againſt their Uncle, who prepared and made open War againſt them both: it was to be expected, that not only the *Romans*, but many of the *Greeks*, as being thereto obliged by notable benefits, ſhould arm in defence of their Kingdom. *Rome* had been ſuſtained with food from *Egypt*, in the War of *Hannibal*; when *Italy*, lying waſte, had neither Corn nor Mony wherewith to buy ſufficient ſtore. By help of the *Egyptians* had *Aratus* laid the foundation of that greatneſs, whereto the *Achæans* attained. And by the like help had *Rhodes* been defended againſt *Demetrius Poliorcetes*. Neither were theſe friendly turns which that bountiful houſe of the *Ptolomyes* had done for ſundry people abroad; ill followed, or ſeconded, by others as bad in requital: but with continuance of ſuitable benificence, from time to time increaſed. Wherefore the two Brothers ſent abroad confidently for aid; eſpecially to the *Rhodians* and *Achæans*, who ſeemed moſt able to give it effectually. To the *Romans*, *Phyſcon* and *Cleopatra* had ſent, a year ſince: but their Embaſſadors lay ſtill in *Rome*. Of the *Achæans* they deſired in particular, that *Lycortas* the brave Warriour might be ſent unto them, as General of all the *Auxiliaries*, and his Son *Polybius* General of the Horſe. Hereunto the *Achæans* readily condeſcended: and would immediately have made performance, if *Calicrates* had not interpoſed his miſchievous Art. He, wherby ſeeking occaſion to vaunt his obſequiouſneſs to the *Romans*, or much rather envying thoſe Noble Captains, whoſe ſervice the Kings deſired; withſtood the common voice: which was, That their Nation ſhould, not with ſuch ſmall numbers as were requeſted, but with all their power, be aiding unto the *Ptolomies*. For it was not now (he ſaid) convenient time to entangle themſelves in any ſuch buſineſs, as might make them leſs able to yield unto the *Romans* what help ſoever ſhould be required in the *Macedonian* War. And in this ſentence, he, with thoſe of his faction, obſtinately perſiſted; terrifying others with big words, as it were in behalf of the *Romans*. But *Polybius* affirmed, that *Martius* the late Conſul had ſignified unto him, that the *Romans* were paſt all need of help: adding further, that a thouſand Foot, and two hundred Horſe, might well be ſpared to the aid of their Benefactors, the *Egyptian* Kings, without diſabling their Nation to perform any ſervice to the *Romans*; foraſmuch as the *Achæans* could without trouble, raiſe thirty or forty thouſand Souldiers. All this notwithſtanding, the reſolution was deferred from one meeting to another; and finally broken by the violence of *Calicrates*. For when it was thought that the Decree ſhould

have paſſed; he brought into the Theatre where the Aſſembly was held, a Meſſenger with Letters from *Martius*: whereby the *Achæans* were deſired to conform themſelves to the *Roman* Senate; and to labour, as the Senate had done, by ſending Embaſſadors to ſet *Egypt* in peace. This was an advice againſt all reaſon. For the Senate had indeed ſent Embaſſadors to make peace: but as in a time of greater buſineſs elſewhere, with ſuch milde words, that nothing was effected. Wherefore it was not likely that the *Achæans* ſhould do any good in the ſame kind. Yet *Polybius* and his friends durſt not gain-ſay the *Roman* Counſel; which had the force of an Injunction. So the Kings were left in much diſtreſs; diſappointed of their expectation. But within a while was *Perſeus* overcome; and then might the Embaſſadors, ſent from the *Roman* Senate, perform as much as any Army could have done.

Audience had been lately given by the Senate, unto thoſe Embaſſadors of *Phyſcon* and *Cleopatra*: which having ſtayed more than a whole year in the City, brought nothing of their buſineſs to effect until now. The Embaſſadors delivered their meſſage in the name of thoſe that had ſent them: though it concerned (which perhaps they knew not) *Philometor*, no leſs than his Brother and Siſter.

In this Embaſſage of *Ptolomy*, now requeſting help from *Rome*, appeared a notable change of his fortune, from ſuch as it had been before three or four years laſt paſt. For in the beginning of theſe his troubles, which began with the *Macedonian* War; either he, or *Eulæus*, or *Lenæus* (upon whom the blame was afterwards laid) which had the government of him, thought his affairs in ſuch good eſtate, that not only he determined to ſet upon *Antiochus* for *Cæloſyria*, but would have interpoſed himſelf between the *Romans* and *Perſeus*, as a competent Arbitrator; though it fell out well, that his Embaſſador was by a Friend perſwaded to forget that point of his errand. From theſe high thoughts he fell on the ſudden, by the rebellion of his Brother and Subjects, to live under protection of the ſame *Antiochus*. And now at ſuch time as by attonement with his Brother and Subjects, he might have ſeemed to ſtand in no need of ſuch protection, he hath remaining none other help whereby to ſave both his Kingdom and Life, than what can be obtained by their interceſſion which were employed againſt him. This miſerable condition of him, his Brother and Siſter, ſhewed it ſelf, even in the habit of thoſe Embaſſadors. They were poorly clad; the hair of their heads and beards overgrown, as was their manner in time of affliction; and they carried in their hands branches of Olive. Thus they entred into the Senate, and there fell, groveling and proſtrate upon the Floor. Their Garments were not ſo mean and mournful, nor their looks and countenances ſo ſad and dejected, but that their ſpeech was than either of the other far more lamentable. For, having told in what danger their King and Country ſtood; they made a pitiful and grievous complaint unto the Senate, beſeeching them to have compaſſion of their Eſtate, and of their Princes, who had always remained friendly and faithful to the *Romans*. They ſaid that the people of *Rome* had ſo much heretofore favoured this *Antiochus* in particular, and were of ſuch account and authority, with all other Kings and Nations; as, if they pleaſed but to ſend their Embaſſadors, and let *Antiochus* know that the Senate was offended with his undertaking upon the King their Confederate; then would he preſently raiſe his ſiege from before *Alexandria*, and withdraw his Army out of *Egypt* into *Syria*. But that if the Senate protracted any time, or uſed any delay; then ſhould *Ptolomy* and *Cleopatra* be ſhortly driven out of their Realms, and make repair to *Rome*, with ſhameful diſhonour to the Senate and People thereof, in that, in the extream dangers of all their fortunes, they had not vouchſafed to relieve them.

The Lords of the Senate moved with compaſſion, ſent incontinently *C. Popilius Lenus*, *C. Decimius*, and *A. Hoſtilius*, as Embaſſadors to determine and end the War between thoſe Kings. In commiſſion they had firſt to find King *Ptolomy*, and then *Antiochus*, and to let them both underſtand, that, unleſs they ſurceaſed, and gave over Arms, they would take that King no more for a friend to the Senate and People of *Rome*, whom they found obſtinate, or uſing delay. So theſe *Romans*, together with the *Alexandrine* Embaſſadors, took their leave, and went onward their way within three days after.

Whilſt *Popilius* and his fellows were on their way toward *Egypt*, *Antiochus* had tranſported his Army over *Luſini*, ſome forty miles from *Alexandria*. So near was he to the end of his Journey, when the *Roman* Embaſſadors met him. After greetings and ſalutations at their firſt encounter, *Antiochus* offered his right hand to *Popilius*: but *Popilius* filled it with a Roll of Paper; willing him to read thoſe Mandates of the Senate before he did any thing elſe. *Antiochus* did ſo; and having a little while conſidered of the buſineſs, he told *Popilius*, That he would adviſe with his friends, and then give the Embaſſadors their anſwer. But *Popilius*, according to his ordinary blunt manner of ſpeech, which he had by nature, made a Circle about the King with a Rod which he held in his hand, willing him to make him ſuch an anſwer as he might report to the Senate, before he moved out of that Circle. The King aſtoniſhed at this ſo rude and violent a Commandment, after he had ſtayed and pauſed a while, I will be content (quoth he) to do whatſoever the Senate ſhall ordain. Then *Popilius* gave unto the King his hand, as to a Friend and Ally of the *Romans*.

Thus *Antiochus* departed out of *Egypt*, without any good iſſue of his coſtly Expedition; even in ſuch manner as *Daniel* had propheſied long before: yea, fulfilling every particular circumſtance, both of returning, and of doing miſchief to *Jeruſalem* after his return; like as if theſe things had rather been Hiſtorified than foretold by the Prophet. As for the *Roman* Embaſſadors, they ſtayed a while, and ſettled the Kingdom of *Ægypt*, leaving it unto the elder Brother, and appointed the younger to reign over *Cyrene*. This done, they departed towards *Cyprus*; which they left, as it had been, in the power of the *Egyptian*, having firſt ſent away *Antiochus*'s Fleet, which had already given an overthrow to the *Egyptian* Ships. *Dan.* 11. 29, 30, &c.

SECT.

SECT: XII.

How the Romans *were dreadful to all Kings. Their demeanour towards* Eumenes, Prusias, Masanissa, *and* Coyts. *The end of* Perseus *and his Children. The instability of Kingly Estates. The Triumphs of* Paulus, Anicius, *and* Octavius. *With the Conclusion of the Work.*

BY this peremptory demeanour of *Popilius*, in doing his Message, and by the ready obedience of King *Antiochus* to the will of the Senate; we may perceive how terrible the *Romans* were grown, through their Conquest of *Macedon*. The same *Popilius* had been well contented, a year before this, to lay aside the roughness of his natural condition, and to give good language to the *Achæans* and *Ætolians*, when he went Embassador to those people of *Greece*, that were of far less power than King *Antiochus*. Likewise, *Antiochus* had with good words, and no more than good words, dismissed other Embassadors which came from *Rome*, in such sort, as they complained not, much less used any menacing terms, though he performed nothing of their request. But now the case was altered. So found other Kings as well as *Antiochus*.

Eumenes sent to *Rome* his Brother *Attalus*, to gratulate the Victory over *Perseus*, and to crave help or countenance of the Senate against the *Gallo-Greeks*, which molested him. Very welcome was *Attalus*, and lovingly entertained by most of the Senators: who bad him be confident, and request of the Senate his Brothers Kingdom for himself; for it should surely be given him. These hopeful promises tickled *Attalus* with such ambition, that he either approved, or seemed to approve the motion. But his honest nature was soon reclaimed by the faithful councel of *Stratius* a Physitian; whom *Eumenes* had sent to *Rome* of purpose to keep his Brother upright. So, when he came into the Senate, he delivered the errand about which he had been sent, recounting his own services done to
* *Liv. l. 45.* the *Romans* in the late War, * wherewithall, he forgat not to make of his Brother as good mention as he could: and finally, requested, That the Towns of *Ænus* and *Maronea* might be bestowed
Pol. Leg. 95 upon himself. * By his omitting to sue for his Brothers Kingdom, the Senate conceived opinion, that he meant to crave another day of audience for that business alone. Wherefore to make him understand how gracious he was, they not only granted all his desire; but in the presents which they gave unto him (as was their custom to Embassadors that came with an acceptable message) they
Polyb. ibid. used singular magnificence. Nevertheless *Attalus* took no notice of their meaning, but went his way, contented with what they had already granted. This did so highly displease the Senate, that whilst he was yet in *Italy*, they gave order for the liberty of *Ænus* and *Maronea*: thereby making uneffectual their promise; which otherwise they could not, without shame, revoke. And as for the *Gallo-Greeks*, which were about to invade the Kingdom of *Pergamus*; they sent Embassadors to them, with such instructions, as rather encouraged than hindred them in their purpose. The displeasure of the Senate being so manifest; *Eumenes* thought it worthy of his labour to make another Voyage to *Rome*. He might well blame the folly of his second Voyage thither, for this necessity of the third: since, by his malice to *Perseus*, he had laid open unto these ambitious Potentates the way to his own doors. No sooner was he come into *Italy*, than the Senate was ready to send him going. It was not thought expedient to use him as an Enemy, that came to visit them in love: neither could they, in so doing, have avoided the note of singular inconstancy: and to entertain him as a Friend, was more than their hatred for his ingratitude, as they deemed it, would permit. Wherefore they made a Decree, That no King should be suffered to come to *Rome*; and by virtue thereof sent him home, without expence of much farther complement.

Prusias King of *Bythinia* had been at *Rome* somewhat before; where he was welcomed after a better fashion. He had learned to behave himself as humbly as the proud *Romans* could expect or desire. For, entring into the Senate, he lay down and kissed the threshold, calling the *Fathers* his gods and saviours; as also he used to wear a Cap, after the manner of Slaves newly manumissed, professing himself an enfranchised Bondman of the people of *Rome*. He was indeed naturally a slave, and one that by such abject flattery kept himself safe, though doing otherwise greater mischief than any wherewith *Perseus* had been charged. His errand was, besides matter of complement, to commend unto the Senate the care of his Son *Nicomedes*, whom he brought with him to *Rome*, there to receive education. Further petition he made, to have some Towns added to his Kingdom: whereto, because the grant would have been unjust, he received a cold answer. But concerning the Wardship of his Son, it was undertaken by the Senate: which, vaunting of the pleasure lately done to *Egypt*, in freeing it from *Antiochus*, willed him thereby to consider, what effectual protection the *Romans* gave unto the children of Kings, that were to their Patronage commended.

But above all other Kings, *Masanissa* held his credit with the *Romans* good. His quarrels were endless with the *Carthaginians*: which made the friendship of the *Romans* to him the more assured. In all Controversies they gave judgement on his side: and whereas he had invaded the Country of *Emporia*, holding the Lands, but unable to win the Towns; the *Romans* (though at first they could find no pretext, whereby to countenance him in this oppression) compelled finally the *Carthaginians* both to let go all their hold, and to pay five hundred Talents to the *Numidian*, for having hindred him of his due so long. Now indeed had *Rome* good leisure to devise upon the ruine of *Carthage*: after which, the race of *Masanissa* himself was shortly by them rooted up. But hereof the old King never dreamed. He sent to *Rome* one of his Sons, to congratulate the Victory over *Perseus*; and offered to come thither himself, there to sacrifice for joy unto *Jupiter* in the *Capitol*. His good will was lovingly accepted; his Son rewarded, and he entreated to stay at home.

Coyts the *Thracian* sent Embassadors to excuse himself touching the aid by him given to *Perseus*, for that the *Macedonian* had him bound by Hostages; and to intreat, That his Son, which was taken with the Children of *Perseus*, might be set at liberty for convenient ransome. His excuse was not taken; since he had voluntarily obliged himself to *Perseus*, by giving Hostages without necessity: Yet was his Son given back to him ransomefree; with admonition to carry himself better toward the *Romans* in time following. His King-

dom lay between *Macedon*, and ſome barbarous Nations; in which reſpect, it was good to hold him in fair terms.

As for thoſe unhappy Kings, *Perſeus* and *Gentius*, they were led thorow *Rome*, with their Children and Friends, in the Triumphs of *Æmylius* and *Anicius*. *Perſeus* had often made ſuit to *Æmylius*, that he might not be put to ſuch diſgrace: but he ſtill received one ſcornful anſwer, That it lay in his own power to prevent it; whereby was meant, that he might kill himſelf. And ſurely, had he not hoped for greater mercy than he found, he would rather have ſought his death in *Macedon*, than to have been beholding to the courteſie of his inſolent Enemies for a wretched life. The iſſue of the *Roman* clemency, whereof *Æmylius* had given him hope, was no better than this: After that, he, and his fellow-King, had been led in Chains thorow the Streets, before the Chariots of their Triumphing Victors, that were committed to priſon, wherein they remained without hope of releaſe. It was the manner, that when the Triumpher turned his Chariot up towards the *Capitol*, there to do ſacrifice, he ſhould command the Captives to be had away to priſon, and there put to death: ſo as the honour of the Vanquiſher, and miſery of thoſe that were overcome, might be both together at the utmoſt. This laſt ſentence of death was remitted unto *Perſeus*: yet ſo, that he had little joy of his life; but either famiſhed himſelf, or (for it is diverſly reported) was kept watching perforce by thoſe that had him in cuſtody; and ſo dyed for want of ſleep. Of his Sons, two dyed; it is uncertain how. The youngeſt called *Alexander* (only in name like unto the Great, though deſtined ſometimes perhaps by his Father, unto the fortunes of the Great) became a Joyner, or Turner; or, at his beſt preferment, a Scribe under the *Roman* Officers. In ſuch poverty ended the Royal houſe of *Macedon*: and it ended on the ſudden; though ſome eightſcore years after the death of that Monarch, unto whoſe ambition this whole Earth ſeemed too narrow.

If *Perſeus* had known it before, that his own Son ſhould one day be compelled to earn his living by handy-work, in a painful Occupation; it is like, that he would not as in a wantonneſs of Soveraignty have commanded thoſe poor men to be ſlain, which had recovered his Treaſures out of the Sea, by their skill in the feat of diving. He would rather have been very gentle, and would have conſidered, that the greateſt oppreſſors, and the moſt under-trodden wretches, are all ſubject unto the one high Power, governing all alike with abſolute command. But ſuch is our unhappineſs; inſtead of that bleſſed Counſel, *Do as you would be done unto*, a ſentence teaching all moderation, and pointing out the way to felicity; we entertain that arrogant thought, *I will be like to the moſt High*: that is, I will do what ſhall pleaſe my ſelf. One hath ſaid truly,

Juven. ſat. 10.

——*vv*—— *Et qui nolunt occidere quenquam*
Poſſe volunt.——

Even they that have no murdrous will,
Would have it in their power to kill.

All, or the moſt, have a vain deſire of ability to do evil without controll: which is a dangerous temptation unto the performance. God, who beſt can judge what is expedient, hath granted ſuch power to very few: among whom alſo, very few there are, that uſe not this to their own hurt. For who ſees not that a Prince, by racking his Soveraign Authority to the utmoſt extent, enableth (beſides the danger to his own perſon) ſome one of his own Sons or Nephews to root up all his progeny? Shall not many excellent Princes, notwithſtanding their brotherhood, or other nearneſs in blood, be driven to flatter the Wife, the Minion, or perhaps the Harlot that governs one, the moſt unworthy of his whole houſe, yet reigning over all? The untimely death of many Princes which could not humble themſelves to ſuch flattery; and the common practice of the *Turkiſh* Emperors to murder all their Brethren, without expecting till they offended; are two good proofs hereof. Hereunto may be added, that the Heir of the ſame *Roger Mortimer*, who murdered moſt traiterouſly, and barbarouſly, King *Edward* the ſecond; was, by reaſon of a marriage, proclaimed, in time not long after following, Heir apparent to the Crown of *England*: which, had he obtained, then had all the power of *Edward* fallen into the race of his mortal enemy, to exerciſe the ſame upon the Line of that unhappy King. Such examples of the inſtability whereto all mortal affairs are ſubject; as they teach moderation, and admoniſh the tranſitory gods of Kingdoms, not to authorize by wicked precedents, the evil that may fall on their own poſterity: ſo do they neceſſarily make us underſtand, how happy that Country is, which hath obtained a King able to conceive and teach, That **God is the ſoreſt and ſharpeſt Schoolmaſter that can be deviſed, for ſuch Kings, as think this world ordained for them, without controllment to turn it upſide-down at their pleaſure.*

* The true Law of free Monarchies.

Now concerning the Triumph of *L. Æmylius Paulus*, it was in all points like that of *T. Quintius Flaminius*: though far more glorious, in regard of the Kings own perſon, that was led along therein, as part of his own ſpoils; and in regard likewiſe both of the Conqueſt, and of the Booty. So great was the quantity of Gold and Silver carried by *Paulus* into the *Roman* Treaſury, that from thenceforth, until the Civil Wars which followed upon the death of *Julius Cæſar*, the Eſtate had no need to burthen it ſelf with any Tribute. Yet was this noble Triumph likely to have been hindred by the Souldiers; who grudged at their General, for not having dealt more bountifully with them. But the Princes of the Senate over-ruled the people and Souldiers herein, and brought them to reaſon by ſevere exhortation. Thus *Paulus* enjoyed as much honour of this Victory as men could give. Nevertheleſs, it pleaſed God to take away from him his two remaining Sons, that were not given in Adoption: of which, the one dyed five days before the Triumph, the other three days after it. This loſs he bore wiſely: and told the people, That he hoped to ſee the Common-wealth flouriſh in a continuance of proſperity; ſince the joy of his Victory was requited with his own private calamity, inſtead of the publick.

Chap. 3. ſect. 4.

About the ſame time, *Octavius* the Admiral, who had brought *Perſeus* out of *Samothrace*: and *Anicius* the Prætor, who had conquered *Illyria*, and taken King *Gentius* priſoner; made their ſeveral Triumphs. The glory of which magnificent ſpectacles, together with the confluence of Embaſſages from all parts, and Kings, either viſiting the Imperial City, or offering to viſit her, and do their duties in perſon; were enow to ſay unto *Rome*, *Sume Superbiam, Take upon the Majeſty that thy deſerts have purchaſed.*

BY

BY this which we have already ſet down, is ſeen the beginning and end of the three firſt Monarchies of the World; whereof the Founders and Erecters thought, that they could never have ended. That of *Rome* which made the fourth, was alſo at this time almoſt at the higheſt. We have left it flouriſhing in the middle of the Field; having rooted up, or cut down, all that kept it from the eyes and admiration of the World. But after ſome continuance, it ſhall begin to loſe the beauty it had; the ſtorms of ambition ſhall beat her great boughs and branches one againſt another; her Leaves ſhall fall off, her Limbs wither, and a rabble of barbarous Nations enter the Field, and cut her down.

Now theſe great Kings, and conquering Nations, have been the ſubject of thoſe ancient Hiſtories, which have been preſerved, and yet remain among us; and withall of ſo many tragical Poets, as in the perſons of powerful Princes and other mighty men have complained againſt Infidelity, Time, Deſtiny, and moſt of all againſt the Variable ſucceſs of worldly things, and Inſtability of Fortune. To theſe undertakings, theſe great Lords of the World have been ſtirred up, rather by the deſire of Fame, which ploweth up the Air, and ſoweth in the Wind; than by the affection of bearing rule, which draweth after it ſo much vexation, and ſo many cares. And that this is true, the good advice of *Cineas* to *Pyrrhus* proves. And certainly, as Fame hath often been dangerous to the living, ſo it is to the dead of no uſe at all; becauſe ſeparate from knowledge. Which, were it otherwiſe, and the extream ill bargain of buying this laſting diſcourſe, underſtood by them which are diſſolved; they themſelves would then rather have then wiſhed, to have ſtoln out of the world without noiſe, than to be put in mind, that they have purchaſed the report of their actions in the World, by rapine, oppreſſion, and cruelty: by giving in ſpoil the innocent and labouring ſoul to the idle and inſolent; and by having emptied the Cities of the World of their ancient Inhabitants, and filled them again with ſo many and ſo variable ſorts of ſorrows.

Since the fall of the *Roman* Empire (omitting that of the *Germans*, which had neither greatneſs nor continuance) there hath been no State fearful in the Eaſt, but that of the *Turk*: nor in the Weſt any Prince that hath ſpread his wings far over his Neſt, but the *Spaniard*; who ſince the time that *Ferdinand* expelled the *Moors* out of *Granado*, have made many attempts to make themſelves Maſters of all *Europe*. And it is true, that by the Treaſures of both *Indies*, and by the many Kingdoms which they poſſeſs in *Europe*, they are at this day the moſt powerful. But as the *Turk* is now counterpoiſed by the *Perſian*, ſo inſtead of ſo many Millions as have been ſpent by the *Engliſh*, *French*, and *Netherlands* in a defenſive War, and in diverſions againſt them, it is eaſie to demonſtrate, that with the charge of two hundred thouſand pound continued but for two years, or three at the moſt, they may not only be perſwaded to live in peace, but all their ſwelling and overflowing Streams may be brought back into their natural channels and old banks. Theſe two Nations, I ſay, are at this day the moſt eminent, and to be regarded; the one ſeeking to root out the Chriſtian Religion altogether, the other the Truth and ſincere Profeſſion thereof; the one to joyn all *Europe* to *Aſia*, the other the reſt of all *Europe* to *Spain*.

For the reſt, if we ſeek a reaſon of the ſucceſſion and continuance of this boundleſs ambition in mortal men, we may add to that which hath been already ſaid; That the Kings and Princes of the World have always laid before them the actions, but not the ends of thoſe great Ones which preceded them. They are always tranſported with the glory of the one, but they never mind the miſery of the other, till they find the experience in themſelves. They neglect the advice of God, while they enjoy life, or hope of it; but they follow the councel of death, upon the firſt approach. It is he that puts into man all the wiſdom of the World, without ſpeaking a word; which God, with all the words of his Law, promiſes, or threats, doth infuſe. Death, which hateth and deſtroyeth man, is believed; God, which hath made him, and loves him, is always deferred. *I have conſidered* (ſaith *Solomon*) *all the works that are under the Sun, and behold, all is vanity and vexation of ſpirit*: but who believes it till Death tells it us? It was Death, which opening the Conſcience of *Charles* the fifth, made him enjoyn his Son *Philip* to reſtore *Navarre*; and King *Francis* the firſt of *France*, to command that juſtice ſhould be done upon the Murderers of the *Proteſtants* in *Merindol* and *Cabrieres*, which till then he neglected. It is therefore death alone that can ſuddenly make man to know himſelf. He tells the proud and inſolent, That they are but abjects, and humbles them at the inſtant; makes them cry, complain, and repent; yea, even to hate their forepaſſed happineſs. He takes account of the rich, and proves him a beggar; a naked beggar, which hath intereſt in nothing, but in the gravel that fills his mouth. He holds a Glaſs before the eyes of the moſt beautiful, and makes them ſee therein their deformity and rottenneſs; and they acknowledge it.

O eloquent, juſt, and mighty Death! whom none could adviſe, thou haſt perſwaded; what none have dared, thou haſt done; and whom all the world hath flattered, thou only haſt caſt out of the world and deſpiſed: thou haſt drawn together all the far ſtretched greatneſs, all the pride, cruelty, and ambition of man, and covered it all over with theſe two narrow words, *Hic jacet*.

Laſtly, whereas this Book, by the title it hath, calls it ſelf, *The firſt part of the General Hiſtory of the World*, implying a *ſecond* and *third* Volume; which I alſo intended, and have hewn out; beſides many other diſcouragements, perſwading my ſilence; it hath pleaſed God to take that glorious *Prince* out of the world, to whom they were directed, whoſe unſpeakable and never enough lamented loſs hath taught me to ſay with *Job*, *Verſa eſt in luctum Cithara mea, & Organum meum in vocem flentium.*

FINIS.

To the READER.

THe uſe of Chronological Tables is needful to all Hiſtories, that reach to any length of time; and moſt of all, to thoſe that are moſt general: ſince they cannot, like Annals, yearly ſet down all occurrences not coherent. This here followeth, may ſerve as an Index to the preſent part of this work, pointing unto the ſeveral matters, that having fallen out at one time, are far diſjoyned in the relation. Certainly it is not perfect, neither do I think that any can be. For howſoever the years of the firſt Patriarchs may ſeem to have been well-near compleat, yet in the reigns of the Kings of Juda and Iſrael, we find many fractions, and the laſt year, or years of one King reckoned alſo as the foremoſt of another. The ſame is moſt likely to have fallen out in many other, though not ſo preciſely recorded. Hereto may be added the divers and imperfect forms of the years, which were in uſe among ſundry Nations, cauſing the * Summer months, in proceſs of ſome ages, to fall into the winter, and ſo breeding extream confuſion in the reckoning of their times. Neither is it a ſmall part of trouble, to chooſe out of ſo many, and ſo utterly diſagreeing computations, as have already gotten Authority, what may probably be held for truth. All this, and a great deal more, is to be alledged, in excuſe of ſuch errours, as a more intentive and perfect Calculator ſhall happen to find herein. It may ſerve to free the Book, and likewiſe the Reader (if but of mean judgement) from any notorious Anachroniciſm; which ought to ſuffice. The book indeed will need it, even in that regard; not only from ſome errours of the Preſs, in the numbrings of years, but for ſome haſty miſ-reckonings of mine own, which I deſire to have hereby reformed, in hope that the Printing of this Table ſhall not want careful diligence. The Reader, if he be not offended with the reſt, ſhall find reaſon to be pleaſed with this, as tending wholly to his own eaſe.

* See lib. 2 cap. 3. ſect. 6.

The titles over the Columns, have reference to that which follows under them, as will readily be Conceived. Where two titles, or more, are over the head, as [Rome / Nabonaſſer] there do the numbers underneath proportionably anſwer, the higher to the higher, the lower to the lower. For example, The walls of Jeruſalem were finiſhed in the 319 Year from the building of Rome, and in the 314 from Nabonaſſer. In like manner it is to be underſtood, That Jehoſaphat began his reign in the 3774 of the Julian Æra, in the 3092 of the World, and in the 99 year of the Temple. This needs not more illuſtration, nor indeed ſo much, to thoſe that are acquainted with works of this kind. To avoid prolixity, I have forborn to inſert thoſe years, which I find not ſigned with ſome regardable accident, as with the birth or death of ſome Patriarch; the beginning of ſome Kings reign; ſome change of Government; ſome battle fought, or the like. So of the 13 years wherein Sylvius Capetus reigned over the Latines, I note only the firſt; that is, omitting all between the 4 of Jehoſaphat, wherein Capetus began, unto the 17 wherein Sylvius Aventinus ſucceeded, and wherein Jehoram firſt reigned with Jehoſaphat his Father. For I thought it vain to have filled up a Page with 12 lines of idle ciphers, numbring forth, 2, 3, 4, 5. and ſo ſtill onwards, till I had come to the firſt of Aventinus, and the 17 of Jehoſaphat. In ſetting down the Kings, there is noted over the head of every one, what place he held in order of ſucceſſion: as whether he were the firſt, ſecond, fifth, ſeventh, or ſo forth, in rank of thoſe that reigned in his Country, without notable interruption: Before the name, is the firſt year of his reign; at the end or foot of the name (as the ſpace gives leave) is the whole number of years in which he reigned; in the ſpaces following underneath, are thoſe years of his, which were concurrent with the beginning of ſome other King, or with the year of any remarkable accident. Where two numbers, or more, are found before one Kings name; there it is to be underſtood, that the ſame year belonged not only to the King then beginning, but unto ſome one or more of his foregoers: as the firſt year of Jehoram King of Iſrael, was the ſame with the ſecond of his Brother Ahaziah, and the 22 of his Father Ahab. So where two or three names are found in one ſpace, as in the 3077 year of the World, Zimri, Tibni, and Omri; it is meant, that every one of them reigned in ſome part of the ſame year, which is reckoned the ſecond of Ela, and the firſt of Omri. Particularly, under the reigns of the Egyptian Kings, are ſet down the years of thoſe Dynaſties, which it was thought meet to inſert; as likewiſe otherwhiles, the day, the month, upon which Nabonaſſar's year began, which how it varied from other years, may be found in the place laſt above cited.

Concerning the Æra, or account of years, from Iphitus, who began the Olympidas, from Rome

Rome *built, from* Nabonaſſar, *and the like; as much as was thought convenient hath been ſaid, where due place was, in the book it ſelf: ſo as it remaineth only to note, that under the title of* Olympiads, *is ſet down, firſt the number of the* Olympiad, *and beneath it, the year of that* Olympiad; *as that* Cyrus *began his reign in* Perſia, *in the* 55 Olympiad, *and the firſt year thereof.*

Now, for that the years of the world, of the Olympiads, *of* Rome, *of* Nabonaſſar, *and other, had not beginning in one month, but ſome of them in* March, *ſome in* April, *ſome about* Midſummer, *and ſome at other times: the better to expreſs their ſeveral beginnings, ſome painful Chronologers have divided them proportionably in their ſeveral Columns, oppoſing part of the one year to part of the other: not (as I have here done) cutting all overthwart with one ſtraight line, as if all had begun and ended at one time. But this labour have I ſpared, as more troubleſome than uſeful, ſince the more part would not have apprehended the meaning, and ſince the learned might well be without it. It will be only needful to obſerve, that howſoever the* Æra *of the* Olympiads *be* 24 *years elder than that of* Rome, *and* 29 *than that of* Nabonaſſar, *yet the reign of ſome King may have begun at ſuch a time of the year as did not ſute with this difference. But hereof I take little regard. The more curious will eaſily find my meaning: the vulgar will not find the difficulty. One familiar example will explain all. Queen* Elizabeth *began her reign the* 17 *of* November, *in the year of our Lord* 1558. *She was crowned, held a Parliament, brake it up, threw down Images, and reformed many things in Religion, all in her firſt year, yet not all in that year* 1558. *but the greater part in the year following, whether we begin with the firſt of* January, *or with the* 25 *of* March. *The like may be otherwhiles found in this Table, but ſo, as the difference is never of a whole year.*

The Julian *Period, which I have placed as the greater number, over the years of the World, was delivered by that honourable and excellently learned* Joſeph Scaliger: *being accommodated to the* Julian *years, now in uſe among us. It conſiſteth of* 7980 *years, which reſult from the multiplication of* 19, 28, *and* 15, *that is, of the Cycle of the Moon, the Cycle of the Sun, and the years of an Indiction. Being divided by any of theſe, it leaves the number of the preſent year, or if no fraction remain, it ſhews the laſt year of that Cycle to be current. For example, in the* 4498 *of this Period, when was fought the great battle of* Cannæ, *the Prime or golden number was* 14, *the Cycle of the Sun.* 18, *and conſequently the Dominical Letter* F. *as may be found by dividing the ſame number of the* Julian *Period* 4498, *by* 19 *for the Prime, by* 28 *for the Cycle of the Sun. This* Julian *Period, after the preſent accompt, always exceeds the year of the World by* 682. *Beſides the former uſes, and other thence redounding, it is a better Character of a year, than any other* Æra (*as,* From the beginning of the World, From the Flood, From *Troy* taken, *or the like*) *which are of more uncertain poſition. More I ſhall not need to write, as touching the uſe or explication of theſe Tables. Neither was thus much requiſite to ſuch as are converſant in works of this kind: it ſufficeth if hereby all be made plain enough to the vulgar.*

A

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

Years of the Julian Period, World, Patriarchs, &c.

	Julian.	*The World and Adam*															
	683	1 *Adam* 930															
	813	131	1 *Seth* 912														
	918	236	106	1 *Enos* 905													
	1008	326	169	91	1 *Cainan.* 910	*All the years of the Patriarchs, wherein they begat children, died, or performed any thing, are reckoned compleat: which is inferred out of the addition of the years before they begat children, unto those that follow; making always a compleat sum,* Gen. 5.											
	1078	396	266	161	71	1 *Mahalalel* 895											
	1143	461	331	226	136	66	1 *Jared* 962										
	1365	623	493	388	298	228	163	1 *Enoch,* 265									
	1370	688	558	453	363	293	228	66	1 *Methuselah* 969								
	1557	875	745	640	550	480	415	253	188	1 *Lamech,* 777							
Adam died about the end of the year.	1612	930	800	695	605	535	470	308	243	56							
Enoch translated.	1669	987	857	752	662	592	527	365	300	113							
Seth died about the end of this year.	1724	1042	912	807	717	647	582		355	168							
	1739	1057		822	732	662	595		370	183	1 *Noah,* 950						

	Julian. The World	Enos.	Cainan	Mahalaleel.	Jared.	Methuselah.	Lamech.	Noah.	Sem.				
Enos *died.*	1822 1140	905	815	745	680	453	266	84					
Cainan *died.*	1917 1235		910	842	775	548	361	179					
Mahalaleel *dyed this year.*	1972 1290			895	830	603	416	234					
Jared *dyed.*	2104 1422					735	584	366					
Floud threatned, Gen.6.3.	2219 1537					850	663	481					
	2241 1559					872	685	503	1 *Sem.* 600				
Lamech *dyed.*	2333 1651					964	777	595	93				
Methuselah *died this year a little before the Floud.* Noah *entred into the Ark,* C.7. § 8. & 9. *The Floud.*	2338 1657					969		600	98				
The Floud ceaseth. Noah *issued out of the Ark.*	2339 1657							601	99				
	Julian World Floud.	*Noah.*	*Sem.*	1 *Arphaxad,* 438									
	2341 1659	603	101										
	2376 1694 37	638	136	36	1 *Salah,* 433						11	54	
	2406 1724 67	668	166	66	31	1 *Heber.* 464						164	
	2440 1758 101	702	200	100	65	35	1 *Peleg.*		*Kings of Assyria.*				
	2470 1788 131	732	230	130	95	65	31	1 *Reu.* 239	1 *Nimrod.* 114				
	2502 1820 163	764	262	162	127	97	63	33	33	1 *Sarug.* 230	*Kings of Egypt.*		
*Vide, lib.*2.*c.*2.§ 2.	2530 1848 191	692	290	190	155	125	91	63	61	29	1 1 *Cham* 161		
	2532 1850 193	694	292	192	157	127	93	63	63	31	3	1 *Nabor,* 148	
	2561 1879 222	823	321	221	186	156	122	92	92	69	32	30	1 *Terah,*205
	2584 1902 245	846	344	244	209	179	145	115	2 1 *Belus,* 65	83	55	53	24

	Julian World Flood	Noah.	Sem.	Arphaxad.	Salah.	Heber.	Peleg.	Reu.	Assyria	Sarug.	Egypt.	Nahor	Terah.	Kings of Sicyon.	
	2618 1936 279	880	278	378	243	213	179	149	35	117	89	87	58	1 1 Ægyleus, 3	
	2649 1967 316	911	409	309	274	244	210	180	3 1 Ninus, 52	148	120	118	89	32	
	2670 1988 331	932	430	330	295	265	231	201	22	169	11	139	110	2 1 Europs 45	
The last year of Peleg *his life.*	2678 1996 339	940	438	338	303	273	239	209	30	177	149	147	118	9	
The death of Nahor.	2679 1997 340	941	439	339	304	274		210	31	178	150	148	119	10	
Noah *died this year.*	2688 2006 349	950	448	348	313	283		219	40	187	159		128	19	
The 16 Dynastie in Egypt, *Vid.* L.2. c.3. § 3,4,5, *&c.*	2691 2009 352		451	351	316	286		222	43	190	2 1 Mizraim or Osiris.		131	22	1 Abraham. 275
	2701 2019 362		461	361	326	296		232	4 1 Semiramis 42	200	11		141	32	11
The last year of Reu.	2708 2026 369		463	368	333	303		239	8	207	18		148	39	18
	2715 2033 376		475	375	340	310			15	214	25		155	3 1 Telkin or Selchin, 20	25
The last of Sarug.	2731 2049 392		491	391	356	326			31	230	41		171	17	41
	Julian World Promise	*Sem.*	*Arphaxad.*		*Salah.*	*Heber.*	*Assyria.*		*Egypt.*		*Terah.*		*Sicyon.*	*Abraham.*	
	2739 2053 396	495	395		360	330	35		45		175	4 1. *Apis*, 25		45	
	2743 2061 404	503	403		368	338	5 2 *Ninias* 28		53		183	9		53	
	2760 2078 421	520	420		385	355	18		70		200	5 1 Thelxion or Thelasien, 52		70	
Abraham *receives the promise.* Terah *dies in* Haran. L.2. c.1. § 1,2,3.	2765 2083 426	525	425		390	360	23		75	205		6		75	
	Julian World Promise	*Sem.*	*Arphaxad.*		*Salah.*	*Heber.*	*Abraham.*		*Assyria.*		*Egypt.*	*Sicyon.*			
Abraham enters into Canaan, & descends into Egypt. The first of the 430 years of servitude.	2766 2084 1	526	426		391	361	76		24		76	7			
Abraham *returns into* Canaan.	2767 2085 2	527	427		392	362	77		25		77	8			
Abraham *his victory over* Chedorlaomer, *and other Kings.* L.2.c.1.§ 8.9, *&c.*	2775 2093 10	535	435		400	370	85		33		85	16			
Ismael *born.*	2777 2095 12	537	437		402	372	87		35		87	18			
Arphaxad *dies.*	2778 2096 13	538	438		403	373	88		36		88	19			

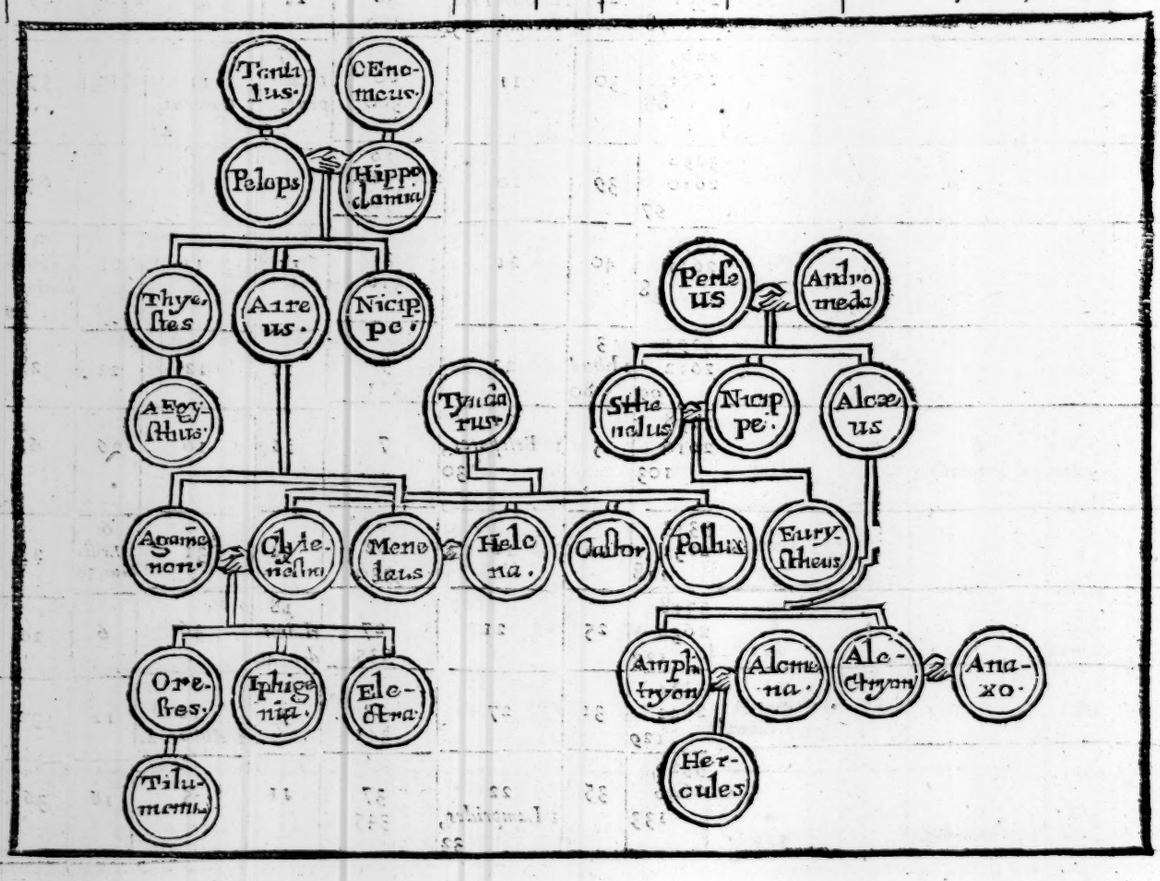
	Julian World Promise	Sem.	Salah.	Heber.	Abraham.	Assyria	Egypt.	Sicyon.		
	2781 2099 16	541	406	376	91	6 1. *Arius*, 30	91	22		
Isaac *born when* Abraham *was* 100. *years old compleat*, 101. *current.*	2791 2109 25	551	416	386	101	11	101	32	1. *Isaac* 180	
The last year of Salah.	2808 2126 43	568	433	403	118	28	118	49	18	
	2811 2129 46	571		406	121	7 1. *Aralius*, 40	121	52	21	
	2812 2130 47	572		407	122	2	122	6 1. *Ægir*, 34	22	
Sarai *the Wife of* Abraham *died this year.*	2827 2145 62	587		422	137	17	137	16	37	
Isaac *took* Rebecca *to wife, when he was* 40 *years old compleat.*	2831 2149 66	591		426	141	21	141	20	41	
The last year of Sem.	2840 2158 75	600		435	150	30	150	29	50	
	Julian World Promise	Heber.	Abraham.	Isaac.	Jacob.	Assyria	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Argives.	
	2846 2164 81	441	156	56		36	156	7 1. *Thurmachus*, 45		
	2851 2169 86	446	161	61	1. *Jacob* 147	8 1. *Belus*, 30	161	6	1 1. *Inachus*, 50	
Abraham *died this year.*	2865 2183 100	460	175	75	15	15	175	20	15	
Heber *died this year.*	2869 2187 104	464		79	19	19	179	24	19	
The seventeenth Dynastie, called of the Shepherds, beginning this year, lasted 103. *years.*	2891 2199 116			91	31	9 1. *Armamithres*, 38	191 1	36	31	
	2760 2209 126			101	41	11	201 11	8 1. *Leucippus*, 53	41	
	2901 2219 136			111	51	21	211 21	11	2 1. *Phoreneus*, 00	
The Flood of Ogyges, *a thousand and twenty years before the Olympiads.* See Lib. 1. c. 7. §. 2.	2919 2237 154			129	69	10 1. *Belocus Priscus*, 35	229 39	29	19	
	2942 2260 177			152	92	24	252 62	52	42	1. *Joseph*, 110
	2944 2262 179			154	94	26	254 64	9 *Mossapius* 47	44	3
See L. 2. c. 2. § 6.	2952 2270 187			162	102	34	3. & 4. 1. *Typhon, & after him Hercul.* 7. 72	9	52	11
	2954 2272 189			164	104	11 1. *Belus*, 52	3 74	11	54	13

	Julian World Promise			Isaac.	Jacob.	Assyria	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Argives.	
Joseph *sold into* Egypt.	2959 2277 194			169	109	6	5 1 Orus, 79. 115	16	59	18
	2961 2279 196			171	111	8	3 81	18	3 1 Apis, 35	20
The last year of Isaac.	2970 2288 205			180	120	17	12 90	27	10	29
Israel *into* Egypt.	2980 2298 215				130	27	22 100	37	20	39
The eighteenth Dynastie in Egypt, *which lasted* 348 *years.*	2984 2302 219				134	31	26 1	41	24	43
	2991 2309 226				141	38	33 8	10 1 Perastus. 46	31	50
	2996 2314 231				146	43	38 13	6	4 1 Argus.	55
Jacob *dies in* Egypt.	2997 2315 232				147	44	39 14	7	2	
	Julian World Promise	Joseph	Assyria.		Egypt.		Sicyon.	Argives.		
	3006 2324 241	65	12 1 Altades, 32		48 23		16	11		
	3037 2355 272	96	32		79 54		11 1 Plemnæus, 48	42		
	3038 2356 273	97	13 1 Mamitus 30		80 55		2	43		
The last year of Joseph.	3051 2369 286	110	14		93 68		15	56		
	3066 2384 301		29		108 83		30	5 1 Pirasus, or Criasus, 54		
	3068 2386 303	11	14 1 Mancaleus 30		110 85		32	3		
	3074 2392 309	11	7		6 1 Sesostris the Great, 33 91		38	9		
	3085 2403 320	17	18		12 102		12 1 Orthopolis, 63	20		
	3098 2416 333	17	15 1 Spherus, or Iphereus, 20		25 115		14	33		
	3107 2425 342		10		7 1 Sesostris the second, 14 124		23	42		
	3116 2434 351	1 Mo-	19		10 133		32	51		

	Julian World Promise	Moses	Assyria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Argives.		
	3118 2436 353	3	16 1 Mamilas, or Mamelius, 30	12 135	34	53		
	3120 2438 355	5	3	14 137	36	6 1 Phorbas, 35		
	3121 2439 356	6	4	8 1 Orus, 2 or Busiris, 38. 138.	37	2	Athenians.	
	3148 2466 383	33	17 1 Sparetus, 40	28 165	13 1 Marathius. 30	29		
	3151 2469 386	36	4	31 168	4	32	1 1 Cecrops 50	
Moses *visits his brethren the Israelites, kills an Egyptian, and flees into* Midian.	3155 2473 390	40	8	35 172	8	7 1 Tripas, 46	5	
	3159 2477 394	44	12	9 1 Thermutis, or Acencheres, Qu. 12. 176.	12	5	9	
	3171 2489 406	56	24	10 1 Rathoris, or Achoris 9. 188	24	17	21	
	3178 2469 413	63	31	8 195	14 1 Marathus, 20	24	28	
	3180 2498 415	65	33	11 1 Chencres, 16 197	3	26	30	
	3188 2506 423	67	18 1 Ascatades. 40	9 205	11	34	38	
Moses *his wandring into* Egypt.	3195 2513 430	80	8	16 212	18	41	45	
	Julian World Exod.	Moses	Assyria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Argos.	Athens	
The Pasi-over. Israel *delivered out of* Egypt. Pharaoh *drowned. The Law given. The first of the* 480 *years from* Exodus *to the building of the Temple.*	3196 2514 1	81	9	12 1 Acherres, 8 213	19	42	46	
The Flood of Deucalion, *and conflagration of* Phaeton *about this time.*	3198 2516 3	83	11	3 215	15 1 Echireus 55	44	48	
	3201 2519 6	86	14	6 218	4	8 1 Crotopus, 21	2 1 Cranaus, 10	
	3204 2522 6	89	17	13 1 Cherres, 15 221	7	4	4	
	3211 2529 16	96	24	8 228	14	11	3 1 Amphitrion, 12	
	3219 2537 24	104	32	14 1 Armeus, or Danaus, 5. 236	22	19	9	
	3222 2540 27	107	35	4 239	25	9 1 Sthenelus, 11	12	

	Julian. World. Exod.	Moses.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Argos.	Athens.	
	3223 2541 28	108	36	5 240	26	2	4 Erichthonius, 50	
	3224 2542 29	109	37	15 1 Rameſſes 68 241	27	3	2	Troy.
	3228 2546 33	113	19 1 Amyntas, 4	5 245	31	7	6	
	3229 2547 34	114	2	6 246	32	8	7	1 1 Dardanus, 6
	3233 2551 38	118	6	10 250	36	10 1 Danaus, 50	11	5
The last year of Moſes.	3235 2553 40	120	8	12 252	38	3	13	7
	Julian. World. Exod.	Iſrael.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Argos.	Athens.	Troy.
The Iſraelites enter the Land of Promiſe.	3236 2554 41	1 1 Joſua, 18	9	13 253	39	4	14	8
	3253 2571 58	18	26	30 270	16 1 Corax 30	21	31	25
	3254 2572 59	2 1 Othoniel, 40	27	31 271	2	22	32	26
	3273 2591 78	20	20 1 Belochus the ſecond, 25	50 290	21	41	5 1 Pandion 40	45
	3283 2601 88	30	11	60 300	17 1 Epopeus, 35	11 1 Lynceus, 41	11	55
	3292 2610 97	39	20	16 1 Memphis 40 309	10	10	20	64
	3293 2611 98	40	21	2 310	11	11	21	2 1 Erichonius, 46
	3294 2612 99	3 1 Ehud 80	22	3 311	12	12	22	2
	3298 2616 103	5	21 1 Belopares, 30	7	16	16	26	6
	3313 2631 118	20	16	22 330	31	31	6 1 Erichtheus, 50	21
	3318 2636 123	25	21	27 335	18 1 Lamedon 40	36	6	26
	3324 2642 129	31	27	33 341	7	12 1 Abbas, 2.	12	32
	3328 2646 133	35	22 1 Lamprides, 32	37 345	11	5	16	36

The 19. Dynastie: *of the* Larthes, 194. *years.* See Lib. 2. c. 26. §. 4.	3332 2650 137	39	5	17 1. *Zethus, or Sethosis,* 55 1	15	9	20	40
	3339 2657 144	46	12	8 8	22	16	27	5 1. *Tros.* 60
Tantalus *in Phrygia.*	3347 2665 152	54	20	16 16	30	13 1. *Prætus,* 17	35	9
	3358 2676 163	65	21	27 27	19 1. *Sicyon,* 45	12	46	20
	3360 2678 165	67	23 1. *Sosares,* 20	29 29	3	14	48	22
	3363 2681 168	70	4	32 32	6	17	7 1. *Cecrops the second* 40	25
Pelops *in Pisa, who gave name to Peloponnesus.*	3364 2682 169	71	5	33 33	7	14 1 *Acrisius,* 31	2	26
Ion *and* Xuthus *the sons of* Hellen. See Llb. 2. c. 17. § 6.	3374 2692 179	4 1 *Debora and Ba.* 40	15	43 43	17	11	12	36
	3380 2698 185	7	24 1. *Lampares.* 30	49 49	23	17	18	42
	3387 2705 192	14	15	18 1. *Ramses,* 66 56	30	24	25	49
After the death of Acrisius, the Kingdom of the Argives was divided into many small parts, and overgrown by that of Mycena, whereof some Kings descended from Perseus, others from Pelops, as in the Pedegree following.	3394 2712 199	21	15	8 63	37	31	32	56



	Julian. World. Exod.	Israel.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Mycen.	Athens.	Troy.
	3399 2717 204	26	20	13 68	42		37	4 1. *Ilus*, 55
	3402 2720 207	29	23	16 71	45	1. *Eurysthe*us, 4	40	4
	3403 2721 208	30	24	17 72	20 1. *Polybius*,40	2	8 1 *Pandi*-*thæ*, 2	5
	3410 2728 215	37	25 1. *Pannias*,45	24 79	8	9	8	12
	3414 2732 219	5 1 *Gideon*, 40	5	28 83	12	13	12	16
Pandion *chased out of his Kingdom, which is recovered by his son* Ægeus, *in few years after. The omission of this Interregnum, and reckoning the years in the forty eight of* Ægeus, *or the numbring them apart by themselves, breeds answerable difference in the times of the Athenians following as* Mnestheus, Carops, *and the rest.*	3427 2745 232	14	28	41 96	25	26	25	29
	3432 2750 237	19	23	46 101	30	31	9 1. *Ægeus*, 40	34
Oedipus *in* Thebes.	3443 2761 248	30	34	57 112	21 1. *Inachus*, 4	42	12	45
	3447 2765 252	34	38	61 116	5	1. *Atreus and Thyestes* 65	16	49
	3453 2771 258	40	44	19 *Amenophis*, 122 40	11	7	22	55
	3454 2772 259	6 1 *Abimelech*	45	2 123	12	8	23	5 1. *Laomedon* 36
	3455 2773 260	2	26 1. *Sosarmus*, 19	3 124	13	9	24	2
	3457 2775 262	7 1. *Tholas*, 23	3	5 126	15	11	26	4
	3474 2762 379	18	27 1. *Mitreus*, 27	22 143	32	28	43	21
	3480 2792 285	8 1. *Jair*. 22	7	28 149	38	34	10 1. *Theseus*,30	27
	3485 2803 290	6	12	33 154	22 1. *Phetus*, 8	39	6	32
	3490 2808 295	11	17	38 159	6	44	11	1. *Priamus*, 40
	3493 2811 298	14	20	20 1. *Annemenes* 162 26	23 1. *Adrastus*, 4	47	14	4
	3497 2815 302	18	24	5 166	24 1. *Polyphides*,31	51	18	8
	3501 2819 306	22	28 1. *Teutanes*, 32	9 170	5	55	22	12

	Julian. World. Exod.	Israel.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Mycenæ.	Athens.	Troy.
	3502 2820 307	9 1. Jephtha, 6	2	10 171	6	56	23	13
	3508 2826 313	10 1. Ibzan, 7	8	16 177	12	62	29	19
	3510 2828 315	3	10	18 179	14	64	11 1. Mnesitheus 44	
	3512 2830 317	5	12	20 181	16	1. Agamemnon, 18	3	23
	3515 2833 320	11 1. Elon 10	15	23 184	19	4	6	26
The War of Troy *began this year.*	3519 2837 324	5	19	21 2. Thucris. 7 188	23	8	10	30
	3525 2843 330	12 1. Abdon. 8	25	7 194	29	14	16	36
The 20. Dynastie called of the Diapolitani, began this year in Egypt, *and lasted 178. years.* See Lib. 2. cap. 26. § 4.	3526 2844 331	2	26	20 1. Dynastie, 178	30	15	17	37
	3528 2846 333	4	28	3	25 1. Pelasgus, 20	17	19	39
Troy *taken 408. years, before the beginning of the Olympiads.* See Lib. 2. c. 14. § 1.	3529 2847 334	5	29	4	2	18	20	40. *Troy taken.*

	Julian. World. Exod.	From Troy taken	Israel.	Assyria.	Egypt	Sicyon	Mycenæ.	Athens.	The Kingdom of the Latines.
	3530 2848 335	1	6	30	5	3	1. Ægystus, 6	21	
	3533 2851 338	4	13 1. Sampson, 20	29 1. Teuteus, 40	8	6	4	24	1 1. Æneas, 3
	3534 2852 339	5	2	2	9	7	5	12 1 Demophon, 33	2
	3536 2854 341	7	4	4	11	9	1. Orestes, 70	3	2 1. Ascanius, 38
	3548 2866 353	19	16	16	23	26 1. Zeucippus, 32	13	15	13
	3553 2871 358	22	14 1. Eli, 40	21	28	6	18	20	18
	3567 2885 372	38	15	35	42	20	32	13 1. Oxintes, 12	32
	3573 2891 378	44	21	30 1. Thyneus, 30	48	26	38	7	38
	3574 2892 379	45	22	2	49	27	39	8	3 1. Syl. Posthumus, 29

	Julian. World. Exod.	From Troy taken.	Israel.	Assyria	Egypt	Sicyon.	Mycenæ.	Athens.	The Kingdom of the Latines.
The Sicyonian Kings ended in Zeucippus.	3579 2897 384	50	27	7	54	32	44	14 1. Aphidas, 1	6
	3580 2898 385	51	28	8	55		45	15 1. Timætes, 8	7
	3588 2906 393	59	36	16	63		53	16 1 Melambus, 37	15
	3593 2911 398	64	15 1. Samuel, and after him Saul, 40	21	68		58	6	20
	3603 2921 408	74	11	31 1. Dercilus, 40	78		68	16	4 1. Sylvius Æneas, 31
	3606 2924 411	77	14	4	81		1. Tisamenus, 2	19	4
The descent of the Heraclidæ into Peloponnesus, gave end to the Kingdom of Mycena, and beginning to the Kingdom of Sparta, Corinth, and Messene, the Kings whereof I forbear to insert into this Table.	3609 2927 414	80	17	7	84			22	7
	3625 2943 430	96	33	23	100			17 1. Codrus, 21	23
	Julian. World. Exod.	From Troy taken.	Israel.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Athens	Latins.		
	3633 2951 438		104	1. David, 40	31	108	9	31	
	3634 2951 439		105	2	32	109	10	5 1. Syl. Latinus 50	
	3643 2961 448		114	11	32 Eupales, 38	118	19	10	
The Medontidæ succeed unto the Athenian Kings after the death of Codrus. See Lib. 2. c. 17. § 10.	3646 2964 451		117	14	4	121	1 1. Medon, 20	13	
	3666 2984 471		137	34	24	141	2 1 Agasius, 36	33	
Vaphres reigneth in Egypt, See L. 2. c. 26. § 5.	3673 2991 478	Temple 1	144	1. Solomon, 40	31	148	8	40	
Solomon began to build the Temple 408. years compleat after the deliverance out of Egypt.	3676 2994 481	3	147	4	34	151	11	43	
	3681 2999	6	152	9	33 1. Leoßhenes 45	156	16	48	
	3684 3002	9	155	12	4	159	19	6 1. Syl. Alba.	
	3692 3010	17	163	20	12	1. Sesac. 26 167	27	9	
	3702 3020	27	173	30	22	11 177	3 1. Archippus 19	19	

	Julian. World.	Temple.	From Troy taken	Israel.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Athens	Latins.	
The 21. Dynasty in Egypt, which lasted 130. years.	3704 3022	29	175	32	24	13 1	3	21	
The Ionick migration after the taking of Troy, 180. years. See Lib. 2. c. 17. § 6.	3709 3027	34	180	37	29	18 6	8	26	

	Julian. World. Temple.	Troy.	Juda.	Israel.	Assyria.	Egypt	Athens	Latins
	3713 3031 38	148	1 1. Reboboam. 17	1 1. Jeroboam, 22	33	22 10	12	30
	3718 3036 43	189	6	6	38	1. Chemmis, 50 15	17	35
	3721 3039 46	192	9	9	41	4 18	4 1. Tecsippus, 40	38
	3723 3041 48	194	11	11	43	6 20	3	7 1. Syl. Atys, 62
	3726 3044 51	197	14	14	34 1. Pyrithiades, 30	9 23	6	4
	3730 3048 55	201	2 1. Abijam, 3	18	5	13 27	10	8
	3733 3051 58	204	3 1. Asa. 41	21	8	16 30	13	11
	3734 3052 59	205	2	22 2 1. Nadab, 2	9	17 31	14	12
	3735 3053 60	206	3	2 3 1. Baasha, 24	10	18 32	15	13
	3749 3067 74	220	17	15	24	32 46	29	8 1 Syl. Cap. 28
	3756 3074 81	227	24	22	35 1. Ophrateus 20	39 53	36	8
	3758 3076 83	229	26	24 4 1. Ela, 2	3	41 55	38	10
Of those Israelitish Kings. See L. 2. c. 19. § 5.	3759 3077 84	230	27	2 5 1 { 5. Zimri. 6. Tibni. 7. Omri, 12	4	42 56	39	11
	3762 3080 87	233	30	4	7	45 59	3 1. Phorbas, 31	14
	3768 3086 93	239	36	10	13	1. Cheops, 56 65	7	20
	3770 3088 95	241	38	12 8 1. Ahab, 22	15	3 67	9	22
	3774 3092 99	245	4 1. Jehosaphat, 25	5	19	7 21	13	26

	Julian World Temple	Troy.	Judá.	Israel.	Assyria	Egypt	Athens	Latins	
	3776 3094 10	247	3	7	16 1 Ophratanes, 50	9 73	15	28	
	3777 3095 102	248	4	8	2	10 74	16	9 1 Syl. Capetus, 13	
Of Jehoram *his ſundry beginnings to reign.* See l. 2. c. 20. § 1. & 2.	3790 3108 115	261	17 5 1 Jehoram.	21 9 1 Ahazia, 2.	15	23 87	29	10 1 Syl. Tyberinus, 8	
	3791 3109 116	262	18 2	22 2 10 1 Jehoram.	16	24 88	30	2	
	3793 3111 118	264	20 0	3	18	26 90	6 1 Mezales, 30.	4	
	3793 3113 120	266	22 1 Jehoram again 8	5	20	28 92	3	6	
Jehoſaphat *dies, and* Jehoram *reigns alone.*	3798 3116 123	269	25 4	8	23	31 95	6	11 1 Syl. Agrippa	
	3802 3120 127	273	8 6 1 Ahazia. 1.	12	27	35 99	10	5	
	3803 3111 128	274	7 1 Athalia. 7	11 1 Jehu 28.	28	36 100	11	6	
	3809 3125 134	280	7 8 1 Joas 40.	7	34	42 106	17	12	
Carthage *built.* L. 2. c. 22. § 6.	3819 3137 144	290	11	17	44	52 116	27	22	
	3825 3143 148	294	15	21	48	65 120	7 1 Dioetus, 28	26	
	3824 3142 149	295	16	22	49	1 Crephres, 50 121	2	27	
	3826 3144 151	297	18	24	37 Ocrazapes, or 1 Anacyndaraxes, 47	3 123	4	29	
	3831 3149 n56	302	23	12 1 Jehoahaz, 17	6	8 128	9	34	
The end of the 21 Dynaſtie. The Dynaſties following I omit.	3833 3151 158	304	25	3	8	10 130	11	36	
	3839 3157 164	310	31	9	14	16	17	52 1 Syl. Alladius, 19	
Joas *reigned with his Father.* L. 2. c. 22. § 7.	3845 3163 170	316	37	15 13 1 Joas.	20	22	23	7	
Joas *reigns alone.*	3847 3165 172	318	39	1 Joas, 16.	22	24	25	9	
	3848 3166 173	319	40 9 1 Amazia, 20.	2	23	25	28	10	

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	Julian World Temple	Troy.	Juda.	Israel.	Assyria	Egypt	Athens	Latins	
	3851 3169 176	322	4	5	26	28	8 1 Phrisdus 19	13	
	3858 3166 183	329	11	12	33	35	8	13 1. Syl. Aventinus, 37	
	3868 3180 187	333	15	16 14 1 Jeroboam, 41	37	39	12	5	
	3862 3186 193	339	21	7	38 1 Sardanapalus 20	45	18	11	
	3870 3188 195	341	23	9	3	47	9 1. Ariphron 20	12	
	3874 3192 199	345	27	13	7	1. Micerinus 6	5	16	
	Julian World Temple	Troy.	Juda.	Israel.	Assyria	Egypt	Athens	Latins	Media
L.2. c.22. § 11.	3877 3195 202	348	1. Interregnum 11. years.	16	10	4	8	19	
	3880 3195 205	351	4	19	13	2. Bocchorus. 44	11	22	
L.2. c.22. § 12.	3887 3205 212	358	11	26	20. Sardanapalus slain	8	18	29	
L.2. c.33. § 1. & 4.	3888 3206 213	359	10 1. Uzzia. 0 Azaria, 52	27		9	19	30	1 1. Arbaces. 28
	3890 3208 215	361	3	29		11	10 1. Thesporus, 27	32	3
L.2. c.23. § 4.	3892 3210 217	363	5	31	1. 1 Belesus or Phul, 48	13	3	34	5
	3895 3213 220	366	8	34	4	16	6	14 1. Syl. Procas 23	8
L.2. c.23. § 1.	3903 3221 228	374	16	1. Interregnum 23. years.	12	24	14	9	16
	3916 3234 241	387	29	14	25	37	27	22	2 1. Sosormus, 30
	3917 3235 242	388	30	15	26	38	10 1. Agamemnon. 20	23	2
	3918 3236 243	389	31	16	27	39	2	15 1. Syl. Amulius. 44	3
	2924 3242 249	395	37	22	33	1 Asychis and after him Amyntis 6	8	7	9
Zacharia *began at the very end of the year.* L.2. c.23. § 1.	3925 3143 250	396	38	23 15 Zachariah six Months.	34	2	9	8	10

	Julian World	Troy.			Juda.	Israel.	Assyria	Egypt.	Athens	Latins	Media
	3926 3244 151	397			39	16 Shallum one month 17 Menahem 10	35	3	10	9	11
This year nearly concurs with the first of Menahem.	3927 3245 252	398			40	1	36	4	11	10	12
	3930 3248 255	401			43	4	39	1 *Sabacus the Ethiopian.* 50	14	13	15
	3937 3255 262	408	*Iphit.*	*Olympiads.*	50	18 1 *Pekahia* 2.	46	4	12 1 *Æschylus,* 23	20	22
The beginning of the Olympiads. L.2. c.23. § 5.	3938 3256 263	409	1	1 1	51	2	47	9	2	21	23
	3939 3257 264	410	2	1 2	52	19 1 *Peka Romeliæ,* 2	48	10	3	22	24
L.2. c.23. § 6.	3940 3258 265	411	3	1 3	11 1 *Jotham,* 16	2	2 1 *Tiglath. Phul. Assar.* 2	11	4	23	25
	Julian World Temple	*Iphit.*	*Olym.*	*Juda.*	*Israel.*	*Assyria*	*Egypt.*	*Athens*	*Latins*	*Media*	
	3946 3264 271	9	3 1	7	8	7	17	10	29	3 1 *Medidus,* 40	
	3955 3273 208	18	5 2	16 12 1 *Ahaz.* 16	17	16	26	19	38	10	
	3959 3277 284	22	6 2	5	1 *Interregnum 7 years.*	20	30	23	42	14	
	3960 3278 285	23	6 3	6	2	21	31	13 1 *Alcmenon* 2	43	15	
	Julian World Temple	*Rome.* *Nabon*	*Iphit.*	*Olym.*	*Juda.*	*Israel.*	*Assyria*	*Egypt.*	*Athens*	*Romans*	*Media*
Rome *built,* l.2. c.24. § 5. Carops *the first, governing in* Athens *for ten years: after whom succeeded six chosen each after other for the like time; thence the Office became Annual.*	3962 3280 287	1	25	7 1	8	4	23	33	1 1 *Carops,* 10	1 1 *Romulus,* 37	17
	3966 3284 291	5	29	8 1	12	20 1 *Hosea* 9	27	37	5	5	21
The Æra of Nabonasser. L.2. c.25. § 1.	3967 3285 292	6 1	30	8 2	13	2	3 1 *Salmanassar, or Nabonessar.* 10	38	6	6	22
Ezekiah *began in the very end of this year.* L.2. c.25. § 1.	3968 3286 293	7 2	31	8 3	14 13 Ezekiah 29	3	2	39	7	7	23
This year concurs with the first of Ezekiah. *Ibid.*	3969 3287 294	8 4	32	8 4	15 1	4	3	40	8	8	24
The beginning of the first Messenian War. Whereof see L.2. c.27. § 4. *It lasted* 20 *years.*	3971 3289 296	10 5	34	9 2	3	6	5	42	10	10	26
Samaria *is besieged by* Salmanassar.	3972 4290 297	11 6	35	9 3	4	7	6	43		11	27

The Captivity of the ten Tribes.	3974 3292 299	13 8	37	10 1	6	9	8	45		13	29
	3976 3294 301	15 10	39	10 3	8		10 4 1 Senacherib. 7	47		15	31
L.2. c.26. § 7.	3980 3298 305	19 14	43	11 3	12	Kings of the Chaldeans.	5	1 Sechon 33		19	35
Senacharib's *Army destroyed, and he slain.* L.2. c.25. § 2.	3982 3300 307	21 16	45	12 1	14		7	3		21	37
	3983 3301 308	22 17	46	12 2	15	1 Merodach, or Mardocempadus	5 Asarhaddon 10	4		22	38
	3986 3304 311	25 20	49	13 1	18	4	4	7		25	4 1 Cardiceas, 15
Merodach *gets the whole Empire. This year, or in the end of the year fore-going. An Eclipse of the Moon.*	3993 3311 311	32 27	56	14 4	25	1 1 Merodach. 40	11	14		32	8
	Julian World Temple	*Rome. Nabon*	*Iphit.*	*Olym.*	*Juda.*	*Chaldea.*	*Egypt.*	*Rome.*	*Media*	*Lydia.*	
Two Eclipses of the Moon, in the second year of Mardocempadus	3994 3312 319	33 28	57	15 1	26	2	15	33	9		
	3997 3319 322	36 31	60	15 4	29	5	18	36	12	1 1 Gyges, 38	
	3998 3316 323	37 32	61	16 1	14 1 Manasses 55	6	19	37	13	2	
	3999 3317 324	38 33	62	16 2	2	7	20	Interregnum one year	5 1 Deioces, 53	3	
	4000 3318 325	39 34	63	16 3	3	8	21	2 1 Numa Pompilius, 43	2	4	
L.2. c.27. § 2.	4013 3331 338	52 47	76	19 4	16	21	1 Interregnum, 2	14	15	17	
	4015 3333 340	54 49	78	20 2	18	23	1. 12 Princes, 15	16	17	19	
The beginning of the second Messenian War; which lasted about 18 years. L.2. c.27. § 4.	4020 3347 354	68 63	92	23 4	32	37	15 1 Psammiticus 44	30	31	33	
L.2. c.28. § 3.	4033 3351 358	72 67	96	24 4	36	2 1 Ben-Merodach, 21	5	34	35	37	
	4035 3353 360	74 69	98	25 2	38	3	7	36	37	2 1 Ardys. 49	
	4043 3361 368	82 77	106	27 2	46	11	15	3 1 Tullus Hostilius 32	45	9	
	4052 3370 377	91 86	115	29 3	55	20	24	10	6 1 Phraartes, 24	18	
	4053 3371 378	92 87	116	29 4	15 1 Amon, 2	21	25	11	2	19	

	Julian. World. Temple.	Rome. Nabon	Iphit.	Olymp.	Juda.	Chaldea.	Egypt.	Rome	Media	Lydia.	
The expedition of the Scythians. L.2. c.28. § 3. & 4.	4054 3372 379	93 88	117	30 1	2	3 Nabu-Iasser, 35.	26	12	3	20	
	4055 3373 380	94 89	118	30 2	16 1 *Josias*, 31	2	27	13	4	21	
L.2. c.28. § 1.	4073 3391 398	112 107	136	34 4	19	20	1. *Neco* 17	31	22	39	
	4075 3393 400	114 109	138	35 2	21	22	3	4 *Ancus Marcus* 24	24	41	
	4076 3394 401	115 110	139	35 3	22	23	4	2	7 *Cyaxares* 40	42	
	4084 3402 409	123 118	147	37 3	30	31	12	10	9	3 *Sadyattes*, 12	
L.2. c.28. § 1. & 2.	4085 3402 410	124 119	148	37 4	37 17 *Jehoahaz* 3 months	32	13	11	10	2	
Nabuchodonosor *had reigned one year with his Father, which is to be regarded in Astronomical observations concerning his time.* L. 2. c. 25. § 1. & c.28. § 6.	4086 3404 411	125 120	149	38 1	18 1. *Jehojakim*, 11	33	14	12	11	3	
	4089 3407 414	128 123	152	38 4	4	4 1. *Nabuchodonosor the great*, 44	17	15	14	6	
	4090 3408 415	129 124	153	39 1	5	2	1. *Psammis*, 12	16	15	7	
	4096 3414 421	135 130	159	40 3	11 1 9 1. *Jechonias.* 3 mon. 20 *Zedekiah* 11 years.	8	7	22	21	4 1 *Halyattes* 57	
Zedekiah *his journey to Babylon.* L.2. c.28. § 6.	4099 3417 424	138 133	162	41 2	4	11	10	5 1. *Tarquinius Priscus* 58	24	4	
	4102 3420 427	141 136	165	42 1	7	14	1. *Apries or Hophra*	4	27	7	
Jerusalem taken by Nabuchodonosor, *with whose* 18. *for the more part, and partly with whose* 19. *this year concurs.*	4106 3424 431	145 140	169	43 1	11	18	5	8	31	11	
	Julian. World.	*Rome. Nabon*	*Iphit.*	*Olymp*	*Captivity.*	*Chaldea.*	*Egypt.*	*Rome*	*Media*	*Lydia.*	
Jerusalem destroyed.	4107 3425	146 141	170	43 2	1	19	6	9	32	12	
Egypt conquered by Nabuchodonosor. L.3. c.1. § 8. & 9.	4111 3429	150 145	174	44 2	5	23	1 *Phar. Hophra slain, and the kingdom of Egypt governed 40 years by Viceroys.*	13	36	16	
	4116 3434	155 150	179	45 3	10	28	6	18	8 1. *Astyages*, 35	21	
Nabuchodonosor *lives wild: and his Kingdom is governed by others for him, during seven years.* L.3. c.1. § 13.	4125 3443	164 159	188	47 4	19	37 1. *Evilmerodac.*	15	27	10	30	
	4127 3445	166 161	190	48 2	21	9 1. *Niglisar*, & *Nitocris.*	17	29	12	32	

	Julian. World. Temple.	Rome. Nabon	Iphit.	Olymp.	Juda.	Chaldea.	Egypt.	Rome	Media	Lydia.	
Nabuchodonosor *recovers his sense and kingdom.*	4131 3449	170 165	194	49 2	25	43 1 Laborosardach 9 months.	21	33	16	36	
L. 3. c. 1. § 6. *The 27. of* Jeconia *his captivity compleat, and he enlarged.*	4133 3451	172 167	196	49 4	27	5 Evilmerodach 26	23	35	18	38	
	4137 3455	176	200	50 4	31	5	27	6 1 Servius Tullus, 44	22	42	
Forty years after the conquest of Egypt past, Amasis *began his Reign: this being inclusively the 41. and therefore the next year seems concurrent with* Amasis *his 1.*	4151 3469	190 185	214	54 2	54	19	Amasis, 34	15	9 1 Cyaxares, or Darius the Mede 26	56	
	4153 3471	192	216	54 4	47	21	2	17	3	5 1. Crœsus, 14	
	Julian. World.	*Rome. Nabon*	*Iphit.*	*Olymp.*	*Persia.*	*Chaldea.*	*Egypt.*	*Rome*	*Media*	*Lydia.*	*Jews.*
	4154 3472	193 188	217	55 1	1 1. Cyrus in Persia. 23	22	3	18	4	2	48
The seven Sages of Greece.	4159 3477	198 193	222	56 2	6	6 1. Balthasar. 17	8	23	9	7	53
Pisistratus makes himself Tyrant in Athens.	4164 3482	203 198	227	57 3	11	6	13	28	14	12	58
	4166 3484	205 200	229	58 1	13	8	15	30	16	14 Crœsus taken by Cyrus.	60
The end of the Chaldean Empire.	4175 3493	214 209	238	60 2	22	17 Balthasar slain.	24	39	25		69
	4176 3494	215 210	239	60 3	23	1. Darius the Mede, 2	23	40	26		70
The beginning of Cyrus his Empire. *His Edict of liberty to the Jews.*	4177 3405	216 211	240	60 4	1. Cyrus, 7	2	26	41	Years from 1. Cyrus.		Zorobabel.
	4181 3499	220 215	244	61 4	5		30	7 L. Tarquinius Superbus, 25	5		*Only* Zorababel & Nehemias *are remembred as governours of the Jews, unto the* 32 *of* Artaxerxes Mnemon. *But there were many before* Nehemias, *as himself witnesseth, Ch.* 5. *v.* 15. *so that the stories of them, their number and names are uncertain.*
	4184 3502	223 218	247	62 3	2 1. Cambyses, 7		33	4	8		
The 2. *first years of* Psammiticus, *and part of the third may be added to the years of his Father, if it be true that Cambyses wan Egypt presently on the death of* Amasis, L. 3. c. 4. § 3.	4186 3504	225 220	249	63 1	3		1. Psammiticus 3	6	10		
The conquest of Egypt by Cambyses.	4188 3506	227 222	251	63 3	5		3	8	12		
	Julian. World.	*Rome. Nabon*	*Iphit.*	*Olymp.*	*Persia.*	*Egypt*	*Rome.*	*Greece*	*Jews.*	*From Cyrus.*	
Cambyses reigned seven years and five months, so as his last year was filled up by the Magi, and (as may seem) a good part of the next, L. 3. c. 4. § 4.	4191 3509	230 225	254	64 2	8 The Magi one year.		11			15	
	4192 3510	231 226	255	64 3	1 1. Darius Hystaspes. 36		12			16	

	Julian. World.	Rome. Nabon	Iphit.	Olymp.	Persia.	Egypt.	Rome	Greece.	Jews & from Cyrus.
	4197	236	260	65	6		17	Hippias the son of Pisistratus tyrant in Athens	21
	3515	231		4					
	4204	243	267	67	13 Babylon which had rebelled, taken by Darius.		42		28
	3522	238		3					
The Tarquins expelled Rome. L. 4. c. 1. § 1.	4205	245	268	68	14		25		29
	3523	239		4					
The Carthaginians first League with Rome. L. 5. c. 1. § 2.	4206	245	269	68	15		Brutus and Publ. cola } Consuls.		30
	3524	240		1					
L. 2. c. 5. § 2.	4211	250	274	69	20 Darius his expedition against the Scythians.				35
	3529	245		2					
	4212	251	275	69	21			The Athenians and Ionians take Sardes	36
	3530	246		3					
	4222	261	285	72	31		Sp. Cassius Postb. Cominius Consuls.	The battel of Marathon.	46
	3540	356		1					
	4226	265	289	73	35	Egypt rebelleth against Darius.			50
	3544	269		1					
	4228	267	291	73	4 1. Xerxes, 21				50
	3546	260		3					
The Law Agraria in Rome propounded, for division of Lands: which bred great commotion.	4229	268	292	73	2	Egypt recovered by Xerxes.	Proc. Virginius. Sp. Cassius } Cons.		52
	3547	263		4					
An Eclipse of the Sun. L. 3. c. 6. § 2.	4233	272	296	74	6. The great muster of Xerxes his Army at Sardes.				57
	3551	267		4					
L. 3. c. 6. § 3. & 6.	4234	273	297	75	7			The battels at Thermopylæ, Artemisium and Salamis.	58
	3552	268		1					
L. 3. c. 6. § 9, 10, & 11.	4235	274	298	75	8 Xerxes his tragical love.			The battel of Platea & Mycale.	59
	3553	269		2					
L. 2. c. 7. § 1 & 2.	4237	267	300	75	10			The Athenians rebuild the walls, and lay the foundation of their Dominion.	62
	3555	271		4					
	4244	283	307	77	17			The great victories of Simon at Eurymedon and elsewhere.	68
	3562	278		3					
L. 2. c. 7. § 3.	4248	287	311	78	21. The death of Xerxes by the treason of Artabanus.			Themistocles being banished flies to Artaxerxes	72
	3566	282		3					
	4249	288	312	78	5 1. Artaxerxes Longimanus. 46				73
	3567	283		4					
	4251	290	314	94	3	Inarus set up as King by the Egyptians.			75
	3569	285		2					
L. 3. c. 7. § 5 & 7.	4255	294	318	80	7. The marriage of Hester.	Inarus vanquished by the Persians.			79. Esdras cometh to Jerusalem. Daniel his 70 weeks, or 490. years beginneth.
	3573	289		2					
	4264	303	327	82	16		The Decemviri chosen to compound a body of the Roman Laws.	Hippocrates the great Physician, and Democritus the Philosopher flourish.	10
	3582	298		3					

The account from the solution of the Captivity, is the same with that from Cyrus.	Julian. World.	Rome. Nabon	Iphit.	Olymp.	Persia.	Egypt.	Rome	Greece.	Jews or from Cyrus and Daniel.
	4265	304	328	82	17		The Decemviri chosen for a second year, tyrannize and usurp the place three years.	Simon's voyage to Cyprus, in which he died.	89
	3583	299		4					11
Nehemias comes to Jerusalem.	4268	307.	331	83	20			A league for 36 years between Athens and Sparta.	92
	3586			3					14
	4272	311	335	84	24		Tribuni Militum first chosen instead of Consuls, Dionys. Livy placeth them in the 110. year of Rome.		96
	3590	306		3					18
	4273	312	336	84	25			The conquest of Samos by the Athenians under Pericles	97
	3591	307		4					19
	4278	317	341	86	30			The Athenians & the Corcyræans against the Corinthians.	102
The walls of Jerusalem finished.	3596	312		1					24
	4280	319	343	86	32				104
Nehemias returns to King Artaxerxes.	3598	314		3					26
	4283	322	346	87	25			The first year of the Peloponnesian War.	107
L. 3. c. 8. § 1.	3601	317		2					29
L. 3. c. 9. § 1.	4289	328	352	88	6				
L. 3. c. 8. § 1.	3607	323		4	Xerxes 2 months 7 Sogdianus 8 months.			The victory of the Athenians at Pylus.	113 35
	4290	329	353	89	8				114
L. 3. c. 9. § 1.	3608	324		1	1. Darius Nothus. 19.				36
	4292	331	355	89	3			A vain and troublesome peace between Athens and Sparta.	116
L. 3. c. 8. § 5. & 6.	3610	326		3	11 Egypt rebelleth against the Persians, & sets up Kings that reign successively, till Ochus his re-conquest.				38
	4301	340	364	92		1		The Athenian forces in Sicil utterly destroyed.	125
L. 3. c. 9. § 1. & c. 8. § 8.	3619	335		4		1. Amyrtæus, 6.			48
	4302	341	365	92	13. Darius enters into confederacy with the Spartans.	2		The government of the 400. in Athens which was suppressed in the year following.	128
Cap. 8. § 9.	3620	336		1					50
The Carthaginians invade Sicil with an Army of 300000. L. 5. c. 1. § 4. † 3.	4304	343	367	93	15	4		The Athenians begin to recover strength.	125
	3622	338		3					50
	4306	345	369	93	17	6		Alcibiades after many victories returns from banishment to Athens, is made General, and banished again.	130
L. 3. c. 8. § 10.	3624	340		1					52
	4307	346	370	93	18	2		The battel at Arginusæ.	131
	3625	341		2		1. Nephres 6.			53
	4308	347	371	93	19	2		Dionysius the elder usurps tyranny in Syracuse.	132
	3626	342		3					54
	4309	348	372	93	9				
L. 3. c. 8. § 12.	3627	343		4	1. Artaxerxes Mnemon. 43.	3		The battel at Argos, Potamos, &c.	133 55
	4311	350	374	94	3	5	The siege of Veii, lasted 10. years.		135
	3629	345		2					57
	4313	352	376	94	The expedition of Cyrus against Artaxerxes.	3		Socrates put to death. The 30 tyrants put down in Athens.	137
L. 3. c. 10. § 1.	3631	347		4		1. Acoris, 12.			59

	Julian. and World.	Rome. and Nabon	Iphitus	Olymp.	Persia.	Egypt.	Rome.	Greece.	Jews. From Cyrus Daniel.
L. 3. c. 11. § 4.	4318	357	381	96	10	6		Agesilaus wareth in Asia.	142
	3638	352		1					64
L. 3. c. 11. § 7.	4320	359	383	96	12	8		The victory of Conon at Gnidus, &c.	144
	3638	354		3					64
	4321	360	384	96	13	9	Veit taken by Camillus.	Xenophon and Plato flouriſh.	145
	3639	355		4					67
	4325	364	388	97	17	3 1. Pſammiticus the ſon of Inarus, and after him Nephres, that had been expelled, reign'd in all about two years.	The honourable victory of Camillus over the Faliſci.		149
	3643	359		4					71
L. 4. c. 7. § 1. L. 3. c. 11. § 9.	4326	365	389	98	18	2	Rome taken and burnt by the Gauls.	The Peace of Antalcidus.	150
	3644	360		1					72
	4327	367	390	98	19	4 1. Nectanebus 18			151
	3645	361		2					73
	4332	371	395	99	24	6	M. Manlius Capitolinus put to death.	The Lacedemonians take the Citadel of Thebes by Treaſon.	156
	3650	366		3					78
L. 3. c. 11. § 11.	4336	375	399	100	28	10		The Thebans recover their Citadel and make ſtrong war upon the Lacedemonians.	160
	3654	370		3					82
	4340	379	403	101	32	14	Tribunes of the people continued 5. years in office, propound popular Laws, among which that one of the Conſuls ſhould be ſtill a Plebeian.		164
	3658	374		3					86
L. 3. c. 12. § 1.	4343	382	406	102	35	17		The famous battel of Leuctra.	167
	3661	377		2					89
L. 3. c. 12. § 4.	4345	384	408	102	37	4 1. Tachus 8, Euſebius gives only 2. years to Tachus. Reinic. 6. but the ſtory of him proves more.	L. Sextius a Plebeian, and L. Æmilius. Conſuls.	The haſty growth of the Theban Eſtate.	169
	3663	379		4					91
	4351	390	414	104	43. Many Provinces rebel againſt Artaxerxes & are ſoon reclaimed.	7		The great battel of Mantinea: Epaminondas dies.	175
	3669	385		2					97
L. 3. c. 12. § 8.	4352	391	415	104	10 1. Ochus.	8. Tachus betrayed by Ageſilaus. 1. Nectanebus, 13		Peace in Greece. The Athenians weaken themſelves by converting their treaſure to vain uſes.	176. Jonathan about this time High 98. Prieſt.
	3670	386		3	23				
	4354	393	417	105	3	3		1. Philip King of Macedon 24 years and part of the 25	178
	3672	388		1					100
L. 4. c. 1. § 4.	4359	398	422	106	8	8		6. The Phocian War begins.	183
	3677	393		2					105
	4364	403	427	107	13. Ochus reconquers Egypt.	13. Nectanebus flies into Æthopia.		11	188
	3682	398		3					110
L. 4. c. 1. § 6.	4368	407	431	108	17			15. The end of the Phocian War.	192
	3686	402		3					114
L. 5. c. 1. § 4. † 4.	4369	408	432	108	18			16. Timolton his voyage into Sicil.	193
	3687	403		4					115
	4370	409	433	109	19	Nabonaſſar. November the 17		17. Philip waſteth Illyria, and draws the Theſſalians to follow him.	194
	3688	404		1					116
After this the years from Cyrus and Daniel are too few by one.	4375	414	438	110	1. Arſes. 3.			22	199 Jaddus High
	3693	409		2					121 Prieſt. 16

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	Julian and World.	Rome. and Nabon.	Iphit.	Olymp.	Persia.	Egypt.	Rome.	Greece.	Jews From Cyrus Daniel.	
	4376	415	439	110	2			23		2
	3694	410		3				The battel of Cheronea. Philip chosen captain General of the Greeks.		199
										121
	4378	417	441	111	19	Nabon.		25		4
	3696	412		1	1 Darius 6 years, & somewhat more.	Novemb. 15		Philip slain by Pausanias. 1. Alexander the great 12 years and 5 months.		201
										123
	4379	418	442	111	2			2		5
	3697	413		2				Thebes razed by Alexander.		202
										124
	4380	419	443	111	3			3		6
	3698	414		3				Alexander passeth into Asia.		203
										125
	4381	420	444	111	4			4		7
L.4. c.7. § 1.	3699	415		4	The Battel of Issus.					204
										126
L.4.c.2. § 5,6.& 7. & L.5. c.2. § 8	4382	421	445	112	5		The Gauls enter into league with the Romans.	5	8	Jaddus meeting Alexander, is reverenced by him.
	3700	416		1				Alexander wins Tyre and Egypt.	205	
									127	
	Julian.	Rome.	Iphit.	Olympiads.						
	World.	Nabon.								
	4383	422	446	112	6				6	9
An Eclipse of the Moon.	3701	417		2	The battel of Arbela.				Babylon, Susa, and Persepolis won by Alexander.	206
										128
	4384	423	447	112	7					10
L.4. c.2. § 13.	3702	418		3	Darius slain by Bessus.				7	207
										129
					Macedon.	Egypt.		Greece.	Roman.	Jews.
										Daniel.
	4385	424	448	112	8 Alexander changeth conditions: he puts to death Parmenio and Philotas.					11
	3703	419		4						130
	4386	425	449	113	9 Alexander passeth into India: kills Clytus and Callisthenes.					12
	3704	420		1						131
										16
Alexander died 17 days before the Summer Solstice. From Nabonassar hitherto are collected 424 years: and hence to the reign of Augustus, 294. The same is 781 years, which agrees with this account. Ptolem. Almagest. l. 3. c.8.	4390	429	453	114	13 Alexander dies at Babylon.	Nabon. Novemb. 12				135
	3708	424		1						
	4391	430	454	114	1 Arideus, 6 & 4 moneths.	1	L.3.c.3.§ 1,2, & 3.	The Lamian War.		1. Onias, 23
	3709	425		2		1 Ptolomy Lagi. 39.				136
	4394	433	457	115	4	4 Perdiccas slain in Egypt. Nab. Nov. 11.	L.4. c.3. § 8. & 9.	Victories of Eumenes.		4
	3712	428		1						139
	4395	433	458	115	5. Antigonus sent against Eumenes.	5				5
	3713	429		2						140
Arideus slain by Olympias: Antigonus beaten by Eumenes.	4397	436	460	115	7	7				7
	3715	431		4						142
Eumenes betrayed to Antigonus. Olympias slain by Cassander. Antigonus grows dreadful.	4398	441	461	116	1 Cassander, 19	8		Thebes re-edified by Cassander.		8
	3716	432		1						143
Some place the beginning of Seleucus in this 12. from Alexander, by which accompt he reigned 32 years.	4402	441	465	117	5	12 Nabonassar. Novemb. 9	Demetrius beaten at Gaza, by Ptolomy and Seleucus.			12
	3720	436		1						147
Peace between Alexanders Captains, with division of Provinces.	4493	442	466	117	6	13				13
	3721	437		2						148

	Julian and World.	Rome. Nabon	Iphitus	Olymp.	Macedon.	Egypt.	Syria and the Kingdom of the Greeks.	Greece.	Romans.	Jews. Daniel
The Æra of the Kingdom of the Greeks.	4404 3722	443 438	467	117 3	7	14	1 1. *Selencus*, 30 1	L.4 c.5.§7		14 149
Alexander's *Captains assume the Name of Kings.*	4406 3724	445 440	469	118 1	9	16 Ptolomy overcome by Demetrius at Cyprus.	3 3	Athens set free by Demetrius the Son of Antigonus.		16 151
Lib. 4. c. 6. § 4.	4413 3731	452 447	476	119 4	16	23	10. *The battel at Ipsus wherein Antigonus was slain*, 10			23 158
	4414 3732	453 448	477	120 1	17	24	11. *Seleucus makes alliance with Demetrius* 11			1. *Timon the ancient.* 13 159
	4417 3735	456 451	480	120 4	1. *Antipater and Alexander the son of Cassander.*	27	14 14			4 162
L.4. c.6. § 7.	4421 3739	460 455	484	121 4	2. *Demetrius* 6	31	18 18			8 166
	Julian. World.	*Rome. Nabon*	*Iphitus*	*Olympiads.*	*Macedon.*	*Egypt*	*Syria.*	*Greece.*	*Rome.*	*Jews Daniel*
	4427 3745	466 461	490	123 2	1. *Pyrrhus*, 7 Months.	37	24			1. *Eleazar high Priest*, 19 172
	4428 3746	467 462	491	123 3	1. *Lysimachus*, 5	38	25			2 173
	4429 3747	468 463	492	123 4	2	39 9 1. *Ptolomy Philadelph.* 38	26 26			3 174
The Translation of the Bible by the Septuagint.	4432 3750	471 466	495	124 3	5	4	29 29		*The Tarentines raise War in the Eastern parts of Italy, and call in Pyrrhus against the Romans.*	6 177
See L. 4. c.6. § 9. & c.7. § 2.	4433 3751	472 467	496	124 4	6. *Lysimachus slain. Seleucus* 7. *Mon.*	5	32. *Seleucus slain in the end of the* 124. *Olymp. Polyb. and Justin.* 30		*Pyrrhus his victory against the Romans.*	7 178
L.4. c.7. § 3. & 7.	4434 3752	473 468	497	124 1	1. *Pt. Ceraunus Antipater. Meleager. Sosthenes.*	6 *Nabon. Nov.* 1.	2 1. *Antiochus Soter*, 19 31	*The Gauls do great spoil in Macedon and Greece, under Brennus and Belgius.*		8 179
	4436 3754	475 570	499	125 1	1 1. *Antigonus Gonatas*, 26	8	3 33		*Pyrrhus goes into Sicil.*	10 181
L.5. c.2. § 6.	4438 3756	477 572	501	126 1	3	10. *Nabonassars year begins, Oct.* 1	5 35	*About these times the Achæan begun their society.*	*Pyrrhus called out of Sicil against the Ro.*	12 183
	4439 3757	478 473	502	126 2	4	11	6 26		*Pyrrhus overthrown by the Romans.*	13 184
L.4. c.7. § 5.	4441 3759	480 475	504	126 4	6	13	8 38	*Pyrrhus slain at Argos.*	*The Tarentines crave aid of the Carthaginians.*	15 186
The Translation by the Septuagint finished this 17. of Philadelphus.	4445 3763	484 477	508	127 4	10	17	12 42			19 190 *Consuls.*
	4446 3764	485 480	509	128 1	11	18. *Nabonassar Oct.* 29	2 90			1. *Manasses high Priest*, 27 191
The more ancient Roman Consuls have been often so uncertain, that Livy hath doubted whom to name.	4450 3768	489 484	513	129 1	15	22. *Nabonassar Oct.* 28	17 47	L.5.c.1.§3	*The beginning of the first Punick War.*	5 *Ap. Claudius, Mutulvius.*

	Julian. World.	Rome. Nabon.	Iphitus	Olymp.	Macedon.	Egypt	Syria and the Kingdom of the Greeks.	Greece.	Romans.	Jews. Daniel	Consuls.
	4453	492	516	129	18	25	3 1. Antiochus Theus, 16			8	L. Valerius.
	3771	487		4			15			198	T. Otacilius.
	4454	493	517	130	19	26	2		Duilius his victory at Sea	9	C. Duilius.
Lib. 5. c. 1. § 6.	3772	488		1			51			199	Cn. Cornelius.
	4457	496	520	130	22	29	5		Regulus passeth into Africk.	12	M. Attil. Reg.
	3772	491		4			54			202	Cn. Cornelius.
	4458	497	521	131	23	30	6	Marcus Carymensis Prætor of the Acheans	Regulus taken prisoner.	13	L. Manlius.
L. 5. c. 1. § 8.	3776	492		1			55	Aratus recovers Sicyon, and joyns it to the Acheans.		203	Q. Cæditus.
	4463	502	526	132	28	35	11			18	L. Cæcilius.
	3781	497		2			60			208	C. Furius.
The Roman Consuls beaten at Lilybæum.	4464	504	527	132	29	36	12		Regulus his death.	19	C. Atilius.
The beginning of the Parthian Kingdom.	3782	498		2			61			209	L. Manlius.
	4465	504	528	132	30	37	13		Shipwrack and unhappy fight of the Romans at Sea.	20	P. Claudius Pulcher, and
	3783	499		4			62			210	L. Junius.
	4467	506	530	133	32	1. Ptolomy Euergetes, 25	15			22	L. Cæcilius.
	3785	501		3			64			212	M. Fabius.
	4467	508	532	133	34	3	4 1. Seleucus Calinicus, 20			24	M. Fabius.
Amilcar the Carthaginian in Sicil.	3787	503		4			66			214	C. Atilius.
L. 5. c. 1. § 11.	4472	511	535	134	2 Demetrius, 10	6	4		Lutatius his great victory at Ægateis.	27	C. Luct. Catul.
	3790	506		3			69			217	A. Posthumus.
	4473	512	536	134	2	7	5	Aratus wins Corinth.	Peace granted to Carthage.	Onias, 1	Q. Lutatius.
The War of the Mercenaries with the Carthaginians. L. 5. c. 2.	3791	507		4			70			218	A. Manlius.
	4473	513	537	135	3	8 Nabon Oct. 22	6			1 Simon the just 28	C. Claudius. M. Sempronius
	3792	508		1			71			219	
The War with the Mercenaries ended.	4476	515	539	135	5	10	8		The Romans take Sardinia from the Carthaginians.	3	Gracchus.
	3794	510		3			73			221	Falco.
	4482	521	545	137	3 1. Antigonus Doson, 10	16	14			9	Lepidus.
	3800	516		1			79			227	Malleolus.
	4483	522	546	137	2	17	15		A Roman Ambassadour slain by Queen Tenta.	10	M. Æmylius.
	3801	517		2			80			230	M. Junius.
	4485	524	548	137	4	19	17		Tenta, Queen of Illyria subdued by the Romans.	10	L. Posthumus.
L. 5. c. 2. § 7.	3803	519		4			82			234	C. Fulvius.
	4489	528	552	138	8	23	5 1. Seleucus Ceraunus, 3			16	L. Æmylius.
L. 5. c. 5. § 1.	3807	523		4			86			234	C. Atilius.
	4492	531	555	139	11	26	5		Marcellus his victory over the Gauls about Milan.	19	C. Cornelius.
Flaminius was also Consul this year. See L. 5. c. 2. § 8.	3810	526		3			1. Antiochus the Great. 36 89			237	M. Marcellus.
	4493	532	556	139	12	4 1. Ptolomy Philopater, 27	2			20	P. Cornelius.
L. 5. c. 5. § 2.	3811	527		4			90			238	M. Minutius.
	4494	533	557	140	4 1. Philip, 42	2	3			20	L. Veturius.
	3812	528		1			91			239	C. Lutatius.

	Julian. World.	Rome. Nabon.	Iphit.	Olymp.	Macedon.	Egypt.	Syria and kingdom of the Greeks.	Greece.	Rome.	Jews and Dan.	Consuls.
Annibal taketh Saguntum.	4495	534	558	140	2	3	4	*Demetrius Pharius chased out of his Lordship.*		22	L. Æmylius.
	3813	529		2			92			240	M. Livius.
The beginning of the second Punick war.	4596	934	559	140	3	4	5	L. 5. c. 3. § 4.	*The battels of Ticinus and Trebia.*	23	P. Cor. Scipio
	3814	529		3			93			241	T. Sempronius.
The occurrences of this year are referred by Polyb. l. 5. to the 3. of the 140. Olymp. This battel of Thrasymene was fought in the Spring: The Olympian year began at the summer solstice.	4497	536	560	140	4 *Sol Eclipsf. Liv. l. 22. Feb. 11. reckoning by Jul. year.*	5. *War in Syria between Antiochus and Ptol.*	6	*Philip & the Achæans at peace with the Etol.*	*The battels of Thrasymene.*	24	C. Flaminius.
	3815	530		4			94			242	Cn. Servilius.
Hannibal *and* Marcellus, Hiero *King of* Syracuse *dies.* Heronymus *succeeds.*	4498	537	561	141	5	6 Nabonassers *year begins October,* 16	7		*The great battel at Cannæ.*	25	C. Terent. Varro.
	3816	532		1			95			243	L. Æn. Paul.
	4499	538	562	141	6	7	8		*Posthumius the R. Consul slain by the Gauls.*	26	L. Posthumus. T. Semp. Grac.
	3817	533		2			96			244	Q. Fabius.
The two Scipio's slain in Spain. Hannibal *wins* Tarentum.	4502	541	565	142	9	10	11	*Philip & the Achæans war with the Etolians and Romans in Greece.*	*Syracuse won by Marcel.*	247 1 Onias H. Priest	Ap. Claudius.
	3829	536		1			99		*Capua besieged*		Q. Fulvius.
Hannibal *at the Walls of* Rome.	4503	542	566	142	10	11	12		*Young Scipio sent into Spain.*	2	Cn. Fulvius.
	3821	537		2			100		*Capua won by the Romans.*	248	P. Sulpitius.
	4507	546	570	143	14	15	16		*The battel at Metaurus.*	6	C. Clau. Nero.
	3825	561		2			104			252	M. Livius.
	4508	547	571	143	15	16	17		*Scipio drives the Carthaginians quite out of Spain*	7	Q. Cecilius.
	3826	542		3			105			253	L. Veturius.
	4510	549	573	144	17	5 t. Ptolomy Epiphanes.	19		*Scipio invades Africk.*	9	Cethegus.
	3828	544		1			107			255	P. Sempronius.
	4511	550	574	144	18	2	20		*King Syphax taken.*	10	Servilius, and
	3829	545		2			108			256	Servius.
	4512	551	575	144	19	3	21		*Hannibal vanquished by Scipio.*	11	T. Claudius.
	3830	546		3			109			257	M. Servilius.
The end of the second Punick war, and beginning of the Macedonian war with Philip. *This year and the next were three Eclipses of the Moon.*	4513	552	576	144	20	4	22		*Scipio triumphs over Carthage.*	12	Lentulus.
	3831	547		4			110			258	Pætus.
	4516	555	579	145	23 Philip *overcome at the River* Absus, *by the Romans.*	7	25		L. 5. c. 5. §. 1. 3.	15	T. Q. Flamin.
	3834	550		3			113			261	Sex. Ælius.
L. 5. c. 5. § 14.	4517	556	580	145	*The battel at* Cynocephalæ. 24.	8	26	*Liberty of Greece proclamed by the Romans.*		16	Cethegus.
	3835	551		4			114			262	Q. Minutius.
Hannibal *expelled* Carthage, L. 5. c. 5. § 4. & c. 4. § 5.	4518	557	581	146	25. *Peace between* Philip *and the Romans*	9	27			17	L. Furius.
	3836	552		1			115			263	Marcellus.
Cap. 5. § 5.	4519	558	582	146	26	10	28	*War upon Nabis the tyrant.*		18	M. Cato.
	3837	553		2			116			264	L. Valerius.
Cap. 5. § 7.	4522	561	585	147	29	13	31 *Antiochus at Chalcis* 119			21	L. Quintius.
	3840	556		1						267	Cn. Domitius.
	4523	562	586	147	30	14	52 *Antiochus vanquished at Thermopylæ,* 120.		*The great victory of L. Scipio over Antiochus in Asia, which gave beginning to the Roman luxury.*	22	Acil. Glabrio.
	3841	557		2						268	Nasica.
	4524	563	587	147	31	15	33	c. 5. §. 8		23	L. Scipio.
	3842	558		3			121			269	C. Lælius.

	Julian. World.	Rome. Nabon.	Iphit.	Olymp.	Macedon.	Egypt.	Syria and kingdom of the Greeks.	Greece.	Rome.	Jews and Daniel	Consuls.
L. 5. c. 5. § 9.	4527	566	590	148	34	18	36		Scipio banisheth himself from Rome.	26	Lepidus.
	3845	561		2			124			272	Flaminius.
	4528	567	591	148	35	19	6 1. Seleucus Philopater. 12. 125			27	S. Posthumius.
	3846	562		3						273	Q. Martius.
L. 5. c. 6. § 2.	4532	570	594	149	38	22	4		Scipio, Hannibal, and Philopemen die. Tully Scipios death two years earlier.	30	Marcellus.
	3849	565		2			128			276	Q. Fabius.
L. 5. c. 6. § 3.	4532	571	595	149	39 The tyranny of Philip, his son Demetrius accused to him, and slain next year.	23	5			31	Paulus.
	3850	566		3			129			277	Cn. Bæbius.
Cap. 6. § 4.	4533	572	596	149	40	24	6	Callicrates betrays the Achæans, and all the Greeks		32	Cethegus.
	3851	567		4			130			278	M. Bæbius.
	4534	573	597	150	41	1. Ptolemeus Philometor, and his brother Physcon. 35	7			33	A. Posthumius
	3852	568		1			131			279	Piso
	4535	574	598	150	42 1 Perseus, 11. or 12 years	2	8			34	Piso.
	3853	569		2			132			280	Manlius.
An Eclipse of the Moon the 7 of Philometor, 573 years, and 206 days, from the beginning of Nabonassar, which agrees with this account. It was by Julian years the last of April, about one the clock in the morning.	4540	579	603	151	6	7	7 1. Antiochus Epiphanes. 12. 137			39	Sp. Posthumius
	3858	574		3						285	Scævola.
	4541	580	604	151	7	8	2		See l. 5. cap. 6. § 11.	Jason buyeth the high Priesthood, & after him Menelaus	L. Posthumius.
	3859	575		4			138				M. Popilius.
	4543	582	606	152	9 The beginning of the war of Perseus.	10	4		c. 6. §§ 6.	288	P. Licinius.
	3861	577		2			140				C. Cassius.
	4545	584	608	152	11	12. Egypt invaded by Antiochus under pretences of helping one King against another.	6			290	Martius,
	3863	579		4			142				Servilius.
A total Eclipse of the Moon foregoing the overthrow of Perseus, in the year of Nabonassar here noted.	4546	585	609	153	12 Perseus vanquished and taken.	13 Antiochus commanded out of Egypt by the Romans, spoil'd the Temple.	7	Cap. 6. § 8, 9, & 11.	Gentius King of Illyria taken.	192 Persecution in Jury for Religion.	L. Æm. Paul.
	3864	580		1			143				C. Licinius.
	4547	586	610	153	Macedon made a Roman Province.	14	8	The captivity of all the best among the Greeks.	Triumphs in Rome.	C. 6. § 10. & 12.	Pætus.
	3865	581		2			144				Junius.
	4549	588	612	153		16	10			1 Judas Maccabæus, 6	Torquatus.
	3867	581		4			146				Octavius.

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